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No. 197

House of Representatives

The House met at 6 p.m. and was called to order by the Speaker pro tempore (Mr. Byrne).

DESIGNATION OF THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore laid before the House the following communication from the Speaker:

> WASHINGTON, DC, December 4, 2017.

I hereby appoint the Honorable BRADLEY BYRNE to act as Speaker pro tempore on this day.

PAUL D. RYAN, Speaker of the House of Representatives.

PRAYER

The Chaplain, the Reverend Patrick J. Conroy, offered the following prayer: God of wisdom, we give You thanks for giving us another day.

Prior to the Great Compromise, Benjamin Franklin addressed the Constitutional Convention: "We indeed seem to feel our own want of political wisdom, since we have been running about in search of it. . . . In this situation of this assembly, groping as it were in the dark to find political truth, and scarce able to distinguish it when presented to us . . . have we now forgotten our powerful friend?'

Lord, You are the powerful friend referred to by Franklin, and we turn again to You to ask that Your wisdom might break through the political discussions of these coming days.

Bless the Members of the people's House, and all of Congress, with the insight and foresight to construct a future of security in our Nation's politics, economy, and society. May they, as You, be especially mindful of those who are poor and without power.

May all that is done be for Your greater honor and glory.

Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair has examined the Journal of the last day's proceedings and announces to the House his approval thereof.

Pursuant to clause 1, rule I, the Journal stands approved.

PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Will the gentlewoman from Florida FRANKEL) come forward and lead the House in the Pledge of Allegiance.

Ms. FRANKEL of Florida led the Pledge of Allegiance as follows:

I pledge allegiance to the Flag of the United States of America, and to the Republic for which it stands, one nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

COMMUNICATION FROM THE CLERK OF THE HOUSE

The SPEAKER pro tempore laid before the House the following communication from the Clerk of the House of Representatives:

> OFFICE OF THE CLERK, House of Representatives, Washington, DC, December 4, 2017.

Hon. PAUL D. RYAN,

The Speaker, House of Representatives, $Washington,\,DC.$

DEAR MR. SPEAKER: Pursuant to the permission granted in Clause 2(h) of Rule II of the Rules of the U.S. House of Representatives, the Clerk received the following message from the Secretary of the Senate on December 4, 2017, at 11:25 a.m.:

That the Senate passed with an amendment H.R. 1.

With best wishes, I am.

Sincerely,

KAREN L. HAAS.

LEXIE HOLBROOK AND JAKE WAGONER

(Ms. FOXX asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Ms. FOXX. Mr. Speaker, today I rise to wish two very special constituents a happy birthday.

Mrs. Lexie Holbrook and her greatgreat-great nephew, Mr. Jake Wagoner, of Wilkes County, recently celebrated their respective birthdays. Mrs. Holbrook observed her 110th birthday, and Jake enjoyed his 10th birthday.

Mrs. Holbrook is the grande dame of North Wilkesboro and holds the title of the oldest living person in the county.

While 100 years and 5 days may separate them in age, they share a strong bond. Jake is proud of Lexie's age, and he regards her experience as cool. Further, he believes her to be something of a celebrity. Jake reported to his fourth grade class about Lexie's upcoming birthday and exclaimed: "That's right, she's mine.'

The pride and love Mr. Wagoner feels for Lexie is inspiring. Mr. Speaker, I hope their story will serve to inspire others to strengthen the ties of friendship across generational lines—as we should all hope to have such bonds within our families.

DUE PROCESS

(Ms. FRANKEL of Florida asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Ms. FRANKEL of Florida. Mr. Speaker, this Congress, with a unanimous voice vote, passed a resolution that mandates antisexual harassment training for Members and staff.

Of course, it is about time. But here is the thing, Mr. Speaker: it is pitiful and embarrassing that a Member of Congress would need an instruction manual that tells them that they must keep their pants on in their office.

What we need is to create an environment of a safe and respectful workplace and policies and procedures that will allow victims to come forward to be fully compensated, for Members to be held accountable, and to have fair due process.

☐ This symbol represents the time of day during the House proceedings, e.g., ☐ 1407 is 2:07 p.m.

Matter set in this typeface indicates words inserted or appended, rather than spoken, by a Member of the House on the floor.



H9601

2017 NATIONAL BLUE RIBBON SCHOOL AWARD

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

Mr. KELLY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in recognition of Greenville Junior/Senior High School in Greenville, Pennsylvania, and Laurel Junior/Senior High School in New Castle, Pennsylvania, which were recently honored by the Department of Education as 2017 National Blue Ribbon Schools.

This award, given to only 342 schools in America this year, is based on a school's overall academic performance as well as its progress in closing achievement gaps among its students.

In her message of congratulations, Secretary DeVos commended the visionaries, innovators, and leaders who are preparing every child for a bright future. I am proud to join her in congratulating the teachers and administrators of Greenville and Laurel, as well as the families of these students, for the love and support they provide.

Most of all, I want to congratulate the students themselves for a job well done. They are truly a credit to Pennsylvania's Third District and to our country. It is an honor to represent them in the people's House.

EXPRESSING GRATITUDE TO THE MEN AND WOMEN IN FEDERAL LAW ENFORCEMENT

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

Ms. JACKSON LEE. Mr. Speaker, I serve on the House Judiciary Committee and serve as the ranking member on the Crime, Terrorism, Homeland Security, and Investigations Subcommittee, which means that I deal with every single Federal law enforcement entity across the Nation.

I am disappointed and I am outraged by the language from the Commander in Chief to suggest that the FBI is in tatters. We have agreements and disagreements with the chief law enforcement agency, but these men and women protecting us in this Nation, but also against domestic terrorism and even beyond, are called around the Nation to investigate heinous crimes. Their expertise is respected.

I remember when there was a child molester in my community. I worked with local police, but I insisted that the FBI get involved. They were willing to do so even though it was not a matter across State lines. Their very presence made a difference.

I think we owe them a better response, and I certainly think the Commander in Chief has a responsibility to do a better job.

I also believe that we have got to pass CHIP because thousands of children need healthcare. It is important for us to do our job.

REPUBLICAN TAX BILL

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

Mr. ENGEL. Mr. Speaker, at least Robin Hood stole from the rich and gave to the poor, but my Republican colleagues, with this Republican tax bill, are stealing from the poor and the middle class and giving to the rich. It is absolutely disgraceful. The tax bill boosts the rich and burdens the middle class.

I can say I have been here a long time, and this is one of the worst bills I have ever seen in all my years in Congress.

What happened to the Republican Party talking about fiscal responsibility? This blows a \$1 trillion hole in the Federal deficit and puts the burden on our children and grandchildren.

So let's not look at this tax scam. People should be getting together on both sides of the aisle. Tear up this one-sided bill, and let's put our heads together and come up with something good.

It was done during the Ronald Reagan years in a bipartisan way. Why can it not be done that way now?

My particular State of New York, my home State of New York, gets really attacked by this. High cost-of-living States get really attacked.

It is not right to play political games. You take a look at this, and you notice that blue States get attacked with this terrible bill.

Tear it up. Let's work together and come up with something good.

RECESS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 12(a) of rule I, the Chair declares the House in recess until approximately 6:30 p.m. today.

Accordingly (at 6 o'clock and 9 minutes p.m.), the House stood in recess.

□ 1830

AFTER RECESS

The recess having expired, the House was called to order by the Speaker pro tempore (Mr. BYRNE) at 6 o'clock and 30 minutes p.m.

APPOINTMENT OF CONFEREES ON H.R. 1, TAX CUTS AND JOBS ACT

Mr. BRADY of Texas. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to clause 1 of rule XXII, and by direction of the Committee on Ways and Means, I offer a motion.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the motion.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. Brady of Texas moves that the House take from the Speaker's table the bill, H.R. 1, with the Senate amendment thereto, disagree to the Senate amendment, and request a conference with the Senate thereon.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Texas is recognized for 1 hour.

Mr. BRADY of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I strongly support this motion to go to conference on the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act, and I urge my colleagues to join me in voting to advance this progrowth, profamily tax reform legislation.

Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time, and I move the previous question on the motion.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Texas (Mr. BRADY).

The question was taken; and the Speaker pro tempore announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and navs were ordered.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 222, nays 192, not voting 19, as follows:

[Roll No. 653]

YEAS-222

Abraham Franks (AZ) McCarthy Aderholt Frelinghuysen McCaul McClintock Allen Gaetz Amodei Gallagher McHenry Arrington Garrett McKinley Gianforte Babin McMorris Gibbs Bacon Rodgers Banks (IN) Gohmert McSally Barletta Goodlatte Meadows Barr Gosar Meehan Barton Gowdy Messer Mitchell Bergman Granger Graves (GA) Biggs Moolenaar Bilirakis Mooney (WV) Graves (LA) Bishop (MI) Graves (MO) Mullin Black Griffith Newhouse Blackburn Grothman Noem Norman Blum Guthrie Bost. Handel Nunes Brady (TX) Olson Harper Palazzo Brat Brooks (AL) Hartzler Palmer Hensarling Brooks (IN) Paulsen Buck Herrera Beutler Pearce Bucshon Hice Jody B Perrv Budd Higgins (LA) Pittenger Burgess Poe (TX) Holding Byrne Poliquin Calvert Hollingsworth Posey Hudson Carter (GA) Ratcliffe Carter (TX) Huizenga Reed Reichert Chabot Hultgren Hunter Cheney Rice (SC) Coffman Hurd Robv Roe (TN) Cole Issa Collins (GA) Jenkins (KS) Rogers (AL) Collins (NY) Jenkins (WV) Rogers (KY) Johnson (LA) Comer Rohrabacher Comstock Johnson (OH) Rooney, Francis Rooney, Thomas Conaway Johnson, Sam J. Ros-Lehtinen Cook Jordan Costello (PA) Joyce (OH) Katko Roskam Cramer Crawford Kelly (MS) RossCulberson Kelly (PA) Rothfus Curbelo (FL) King (IA) Rouzer Davidson Kinzinger Royce (CA) Davis, Rodney Knight Russell Kustoff (TN) Rutherford Denham Labrador Dent Sanford DeSantis LaHood Schweikert DesJarlais LaMalfa Scott, Austin Diaz-Balart Sensenbrenner Lamborn Duffv Lance Sessions Duncan (SC) Latta Shimkus Duncan (TN) Lewis (MN) Shuster Dunn Long Simpson Loudermilk Smith (MO) Emmer Lucas Luetkemeyer Estes (KS) Smith (NE) Farenthold Smith (TX) Faso MacArthur Smucker Ferguson Marchant Stefanik Fitzpatrick Stivers Marino Marshall Fleischmann Taylor Fortenberry Massie Tenney Thompson (PA) Foxx Mast

The result of the vote was announced

A motion to reconsider was laid on

Mr. SCALISE. Mr. Speaker, I was unavoid-

ably detained. Had I been present. I would

MOTION TO INSTRUCT

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, I have a mo-

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The

Mr. Neal moves that the managers on the

part of the House at the conference on the

disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the

Senate amendment to the bill H.R. 1 be in-

(1) disagree with section 11081 of the Sen-

ate amendment (relating to elimination of

shared responsibility payment for individ-

uals failing to maintain minimum essential

(2) recede from section 1303 of the House

bill (relating to repeal of deduction for cer-

tain taxes not paid or accrued in a trade or

ant to clause 7 of rule XXII, the gen-

tleman from Massachusetts (Mr. NEAL)

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursu-

Clerk will report the motion to in-

So the motion was agreed to.

have voted "yea" on rollcall No. 653.

tion to instruct at the desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

as above recorded.

the table.

struct.

structed to-

coverage), and

Stated for:

December 4, 2017 Thornberry Walden Tiberi Walker Tipton Walorski Walters, Mimi Trott Weber (TX) Turner Webster (FL) Upton Valadao Wenstrup Westerman Wagner Walberg Williams Adams Gabbard Aguilar Gallego Garamendi Amash Barragán Gomez Gonzalez (TX) Bass Bera Gottheimer Green, Al Beyer Bishop (GA) Green, Gene Blumenauer Grijalva Blunt Rochester Hanabusa Bonamici Hastings Boyle, Brendan Heck F. Higgins (NY) Brady (PA) Himes Brown (MD) Hoyer Brownley (CA) Huffman Jackson Lee Bustos Butterfield Jayapal Capuano Jeffries Johnson (GA) Carbajal Cárdenas Johnson, E. B. Carson (IN) Jones Cartwright Kaptur Castor (FL) Keating Kelly (IL) Castro (TX) Chu, Judy Khanna Cicilline Kildee Clark (MA) Kilmer Clarke (NY) Kind Clay King (NY) Cleaver Krishnamoorthi Clyburn Kuster (NH) Cohen Langevin Larsen (WA) Connolly Larson (CT) Cooper Correa Lawrence

Wilson (SC) Wittman Womack Woodall Yoder Yoho Young (AK) Young (IA) Nolan Norcross O'Rourke Pallone

> Roybal-Allard Ruiz Ruppersberger Rush Ryan (OH) Sánchez Sarbanes Schakowsky Schiff Schneider Schrader Scott (VA)

and the gentleman from Texas (Mr. BRADY) each will control 30 minutes. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Massachusetts. GENERAL LEAVE

> Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members have 5 legislative days to revise and extend their remarks.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 4 minutes.

Mr. Speaker, this could be a long few days if they can't agree on a motion to go to conference. That is not exactly the most heightened controversy we

Mr. Speaker, I want to stand in support of the Democratic motion to instruct conferees on the Ryan-McConnell tax package and in strong opposition to the Republican tax plan.

Behind me is a replica of the national debt clock. This clock was just reconfigured. New features have been added just in time for the Republicans to acknowledge that they are about to add \$1 trillion to this national debt clock. which they tortured Democratic Presidents on for years about the debt.

So let me provide you with some historical perspective. In January of 2001, when Bill Clinton said good-bye, we were looking at a \$5.4 trillion surplus, four straight balanced budgets, and record economic growth. The CBO said that the surplus might even go beyond \$5.6 trillion.

But what really happened during that period of time?

After the Bush administration left, we were staring at \$6.1 trillion worth of debt.

So what happened?

In 2001, the Republican Party cut taxes by \$1.3 trillion and said it was all about economic growth. Then they came back in 2003 and said: Well, the growth hasn't been substantial enough, so we are going to cut taxes by another \$1 trillion, \$2.3 trillion of tax cuts, and a repatriation tax holiday where the money is returned at 5.25 percent on the promise of economic growth and job creation; none of which happened.

So where are we tonight?

We are back to the same old pattern and playbook that they continue to utilize. They promised job growth. In a meeting with the President recently. he said he didn't understand why we couldn't have job growth of 4, 5, or 6 percent. I don't know an economist who thinks we are going to have 6 percent economic growth, but they use that as the linchpin, the excuse for a tax cut that is going to add \$1 trillion to the budget deficits, all based on the economic following assumption: maybe.

Maybe we will have growth that will help us to pay down the debt. All of the mainstream economists say maybe a return of one-third on the tax cuts in terms of revenue. Joint Committee on Taxation, The Wharton School, the Tax Policy Center, moodys.com, they all say the same thing: None of this is going to happen.

So we are also back to a familiar argument that they hear, and I think you should pay some attention to this for the moment.

They will say things repeatedly like: It is the people's money. The people know what to do with it.

Well, let me say this as well tonight: It is the people's veterans hospitals; one million new veterans after Iraq and Afghanistan who are going to be in need of long-term care. That is the people's responsibility.

In addition, 10,000 baby boomers retire every single day in America. Social Security is part of their retirement system, even as it averages about \$15,000 for American citizens.

We are going to live longer, and we herald that achievement regularly, but it is also going to mean more Alzheimer's and more dementia that families are going to have to reconcile, and they are going to come back and say at the right moment: Oh, because there is less revenue, we are going to have to have cuts in social spending.

So they are going to say at the right moment: Oh, we are going to have to now change the way we calculate Medicare and Social Security.

This is a missed opportunity above everything else. Everybody agrees on what is wrong with the Tax Code.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself an additional 1 minute.

Mr. Speaker, there was a chance here to do some investment in human capital: community colleges, vocational education, internship programs. The

NAYS-192

O'Halleran Panetta Pascrell Pavne Pelosi Perlmutter Peters Peterson Pingree Polis Price (NC) Raskin Rice (NY) Richmond Rosen Scott David Serrano Sewell (AL) Shea-Porter Sherman Sinema Sires Slaughter

Suozzi Swalwell (CA) Takano Thompson (CA) Thompson (MS) Titus Tonko Torres

Smith (NJ)

Smith (WA)

Soto

Speier

Tsongas Vargas Veasey Vela Velázquez Visclosky Wasserman Schultz

Waters, Maxine Watson Coleman Welch Wilson (FL) Yarmuth.

Neal Zeldin NOT VOTING-

Gutiérrez Beatty Renacci Bishop (UT) Kennedy Rokita Bridenstine Kihuen Scalise Loebsack Buchanan Stewart Conyers Love Walz Curtis Pocan Flores Quigley

Lawson (FL)

Lewis (GA)

Lieu, Ted

LoBiondo

Lowenthal

Lujan Grisham,

Luján, Ben Ray

Carolyn B.

Maloney, Sean

Lininski

Lofgren

Lowey

M.

Lynch

Matsui

McCollum

McEachin

McGovern

McNerney

Meeks

Meng

Moore

Nadler

Moulton

Murphy (FL)

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Crowley

Cummings

Davis (CA)

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Deutch

Dingell

Doggett

Ellison

Engel

Eshoo

Evans

Foster

Fudge

Espaillat

Esty (CT)

Frankel (FL)

Donovan

Doyle, Michael

DeSaulnier

Davis, Danny

Cuellar

□ 1904

Mses. JAYAPAL, WILSON of Florida, and Mr. THOMPSON of California their vote from changed "yea" "nay."

MEADOWS, DESJARLAIS, Messrs. MASSIE, BIGGS, NORMAN, BUDD, BUCK, GOSAR, JORDAN, and HARRIS changed their vote from "nay" "yea."

Labor Department reported 3 weeks ago, 6 million jobs go unanswered in America every single day.

I hope tonight, as the Republicans confer, they can tell us where they are actually conferring because, between the paste and the bubble gum, they keep putting on a new dimension to their proposal.

This should be a debate that included both parties. Before I reserve my time, for the moment, I want to say this: We had a chance to really do something big. They have, unbelievably, proposed to take the entire revenue architecture of this country in 3 weeks without one hearing, without one witness. They are going to change it all, and the middle class is about to get it in the neck to take care of people at the top.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. BRADY of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

I rise in strong opposition to the motion to instruct. Today, we are moving to the crucial final stage in delivering once-in-a-generation tax reform to the American people. The choice we face now is clear.

Do we want to stick with this complex, costly, unfair system that, today, caters to special interests and drives American jobs overseas?

Do we want to stick with the slowgrowth Tax Code that keeps our economy in second gear and all but guarantees rising debt and deficits?

Or do we think it is time to go in a new direction? Do we think it is finally time to provide our workers, our families, and our job creators with a Tax Code that is simple, that is fair, that is built to create jobs and leapfrog America back into the lead pack around the world?

□ 1915

Do we think it is time to get our economy growing again, I mean, truly growing, where better jobs, bigger paychecks, and more opportunity are available to people throughout this country?

Many in Washington say they support tax reform, yet every argument we hear is about keeping taxes higher, keeping the growth of jobs and paychecks lower, and keeping more of this broken Tax Code that is so complex and so unfair to everyday Americans.

It almost seems too many in Congress are rooting against a growing and prosperous American economy. Too many who claim to be concerned about the deficit today joyfully added trillions of dollars to the national deficit when it meant Washington could spend more.

When our friends on the other side took control of the House, in the first year, they doubled the deficit. In the second year, they tripled the deficit. They then went on a roll of \$1 trillion of more debt every year. In fact, they voted for a \$1 trillion stimulus, absolutely unpaid for, that did nothing to

grow the economy. That was when Washington could spend. But now, when it comes to letting families and our Main Street businesses spend more of their own hard-earned money, all of a sudden they say "no."

Come on.

If you ask my constituents in Texas, they will tell you, without a doubt, it is time to go in a new direction. It is time to be progrowth. It is time to leave this slow-growth status quo behind us for good.

Without a doubt, my constituents and so many Americans throughout our country are rooting for a healthier, stronger economy and a simpler, fairer Tax Code that allows them to keep more of their hard-earned money. That is why, right now, it is time for us to come together in a conference committee and finalize the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act for the American people.

When the Ways and Means Committee started working on tax reform over 6 years ago, we knew this road would be long and difficult. We have had our share of ups and downs along the way, but we stuck with it because we knew the American people were counting on us. We know they are counting on us now.

So, with this conference committee, we are going to come together to give the American people the best of what our two bills have to offer. At every step, we are going to ask ourselves:

How can we truly deliver the Tax Code Americans deserve?

How do we drive rates lower for families?

How do we encourage more investment in job creation on Main Street?

How do we bring jobs back to America from overseas?

How can we better support parents and students and homeowners and retirees?

How can we make our economy stronger and healthier than ever?

How can we improve lives across our country?

We have all worked hard to get to this point in the process. I am proud of the bill we have delivered in the House, and I want to congratulate the Senate as well.

Right now, we are closer than ever to delivering on our tax reform promise to the American people, but some of our most important work is still ahead of

Now is the time for us to dig deep on behalf of the people we were sent here to serve. Now is the time for us to come together in a conference committee and unite behind one historic tax cut bill that will help Americans in all walks of life.

This truly is the moment and the opportunity that we and so many Americans have worked for and waited for and deserve. Now is the time to seize it. Working truly together, I am confident we will.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to oppose this motion to instruct that kills tax reform, and I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. LEVIN), who announced this past weekend that he is going to leave this institution. He has served this institution with distinction and grace for a long period of time.

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, the chairman of the committee says: Come together.

You have done it alone. You have snubbed your nose at the American people as well as the process of this institution.

The GOP tax bill combines the Republicans' long-term faith in trickledown economics with a new, brazen disregard for the facts that have become the hallmark of the Trump Presidency.

This bill is mostly about cutting taxes for the very wealthy, not the middle class. Making the very wealthy even richer is not the path to broadbased economic prosperity and growth. Tax cuts for the very top do not pay for themselves; instead, they increase the debt. These are the facts that have been presented by the Joint Committee on Taxation, and so many others have called the Republican bill a boondoggle and delusional.

Republicans say the facts be damned as they rush this legislation out of desperation, not deliberation.

Mr. BRADY of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I would point out that a family of four in Michigan's Ninth District will save over \$1,700 each and every year.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. ROSKAM), the chairman of the Tax Policy Subcommittee and a leader on the tax reform effort.

Mr. ROSKAM. Mr. Speaker, I direct the membership's attention to an argument the ranking member made a couple of minutes ago where he criticized repatriation efforts in the past. He is right: they underperformed.

Why did they underperform?

They were a holiday. It was temporary. So we learned from that. I wasn't around when it happened, but we have learned from that, Mr. Speaker, and we are saying let's not do that again. Let's have a permanent policy that unlocks American dollars that are locked out overseas right now. Most folks think it is between \$3 trillion and \$4 trillion that can come back home.

Where does that come back home?

It will come to the Sixth Congressional District of Illinois. It will go to Massachusetts. It will go to Texas. It will go to all of these places to be reinvested.

Why?

This is a dynamic, vibrant economy that can become better. This is an attractive place. We just need to make it better.

The other argument that he made, essentially, is: Look, is this really going to create growth?

He is right to point out that not all tax cuts are created equal as it relates to growth. The whole purpose, though,

is not simply growth. It is also tax relief.

I have got a constituency that got jammed by Democrats in the Illinois General Assembly this year with a massive tax hike on the middle-income folks in Illinois. They need relief. So part of this is to offer relief.

The way that we have approached this is to say let's create this as it relates to the investment and expensing. If you look at the Tax Foundation and the nonpartisan work that they have done, they will tell you, that investment that we are making—that is, throwing away depreciation schedules and telling small businesses, if you invest, you can write it all off in year one—that creates activity.

So, we ought to shed and shun this motion to instruct and, instead, let's work through the normal conference process.

Mr. Speaker, in closing, let me give you one quick anecdote. A manufacturer in my district told me this. They are planning to invest \$30 million in their manufacturing plant. Next year, if we do this bill, they are not going to invest \$30 million in that facility; they are going to invest \$50 million.

That is one company in one cul-desac in one subdivision in suburban Chicago. If you ripple that throughout the entire economy, great things happen.

Vote "no" on the motion, and let's proceed to conference.

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. Doggett), a valued member of the Ways and Means Committee.

Mr. DOGGETT. Mr. Speaker, more than a bill, this is a lie wrapped in lies, a sneak attack on America ramming through here at warp speed before the truth catches up with the lies. A very thin sugarcoating of tax changes for some in the middle class conceals massive special interest giveaways.

But I am convinced that the reckoning will come. Americans will demand accountability for a scheme that showers its benefits overwhelmingly on corporations and those at the top of the economic ladder, including the Trump family personally benefiting.

The reckoning will come when students and the sick find out they are paying not less taxes, but more taxes, under this bill.

The reckoning will come as Republicans use the huge debt burden that they are deliberately creating by this bill as an excuse to cut Medicare, educational opportunities, and other vital investments.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, I yield the gentleman from Texas an additional 30 seconds.

Mr. DOGGETT. This sham of a bill provides rewards to corporate tax dodgers and creates a giant new loophole for outsourcing American jobs abroad.

The only coming together here is the coming together between the master of distraction, the big tweet down the

street, who is joined here by the masters of deceit in Congress. They ignore any wrong he commits. He can embrace child molesters; he can attack our law enforcement officers; he can challenge the very basis of the free press in our country, using any means necessary, whatever deception, to try to foist off this sham of a bill on America.

It should be rejected.

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

Mr. BRADY of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I would note that the average family of four making \$59,000 a year in the 35th District of Texas will see a tax cut of over \$1,100.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from New York (Mr. REED), a key leader of the Ways and Means Committee who knows what it is like to create jobs in New York.

Mr. REED. Mr. Speaker, I thank Chairman BRADY for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, before I get into my speech this evening, I just want to take a moment.

I just heard a colleague on the other side of the aisle call me, essentially, a master of deceit. This country is sick and tired of this type of divisive rhetoric. I am here to tell you that it is time to put the American people first.

I understand that we sit sometimes in this Chamber in the biggest political theater in the United States of America, but at some point in time I have got to say enough is enough.

To my colleagues on the other side of the aisle, I would ask us and the American people back home to look at the legislation that we have done in the committee.

The bottom line, in the House bill, hardworking taxpayers in my district are going to see \$1,600 of their hard-earned dollars remain in their pocket with the government not taking that money away from them.

There are differences between the House bill and the Senate bill. I think there are legitimate parts to the Senate bill we should consider in this conference committee that we are going to entertain here very shortly. They are things like the medical expense deduction, things like, potentially, the historic tax credit. But that is how legislation is drafted. We have a body in the Senate, we have a body in the House, and we come together to put the best product forward for the American people.

I will tell you, as I have heard from my colleagues on the other side of the aisle, if reducing taxes is not a part of economic growth, then you disagree with every Governor in the United States of America, because every Governor's economic development plan across this country, what does it do?

You see the commercials as you travel around this country: Come to New York State; we are open for business because we have lowered our taxes for opportunities and growth. I see it in Il-

linois. I see it in California. I see it in Texas

So what we have done with the proposal in the House is exactly that. We have focused relief on hardworking taxpayers, and we have lowered the tax burden overall so that people can invest in their businesses, invest in their families, and grow the economy, which, at the end of the day, do you know what that means for an American person?

It means more money for them, but, most importantly, it means a job—a job not only to make money, but it is good for the soul. It is good for the heart. It brings you pride in knowing that you did an honest day's work to get an honest day's amount of pay. That is what growth is about. It is not about numbers. It is about people and opportunity.

I ask my colleagues, join us in rejecting this motion to instruct, and let's get to the business of the people and finish the job once and for all.

□ 1930

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from California (Mr. THOMPSON), a valued member of the Ways and Means Committee.

Mr. THOMPSON of California. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this motion.

The underlying bill raises taxes on millions of middle class working Americans; it adds over \$2.3 trillion to our national debt; and if the Senate has its way, 13 million people will lose their healthcare.

This bill was written behind closed doors by a handful of Republicans to give massive permanent tax breaks to corporations at the cost of our middle class working Americans. Not one legislative hearing was held in the House on this bill. The Senate bill was passed in the dark hours of the night with scribbles in the margins.

Every single person in our country should know how their Member of Congress voted on this, because you and your children will be paying for it for decades to come.

This is a bad bill. I hope this will be a serious conference to improve this reckless piece of legislation.

Mr. BRADY of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I would point out that the average family of four in the Fifth District of California will see a tax cut of over \$2,370.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 4 minutes to the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. RICE), a key leader of tax reform who has a terrific accounting and business background.

Mr. RICE of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, the American Dream is what separates us from the rest of the world. It promises that, with hard work and determination, you can improve your station in life and that your children have the opportunity for a better life than yours; but for many in the generation coming of age in the past decade, the American Dream has been a little tarnished, just out of reach.

The last time we did tax reform was 30 years ago. At that time, we were the world's uncontested economic leader, our economic system and Tax Code were competitive; but for decades, we have sat idly as the world restructured to pass us by.

As we became less competitive, more and more American companies and American jobs left our shores. What has been the result? We have lost millions of middle class jobs.

In 1990, the middle class comprised 50 percent of American families, today only 40 percent. Today the middle class makes just about the same take-home pay as they did in 1990, 27 years later.

When we all worry about income disparity and the gulf between the rich and the poor in this country, this is the source of the problem. The American middle class is smaller and has not had a raise in 30 years.

How could this happen? It has everything to do with this bloated, overregulating, and overtaxing Federal Government, a government that sucks the life out of the economy and forces our companies, our innovators, and our job creators out of the country to survive.

Some folks say it doesn't matter that we have the highest business tax rate in the world; that is not why companies left. They say those jobs aren't coming back.

Well, I say the outdated Tax Code is an anchor around the neck of American business, our innovators, and our American middle class. I say the American worker can compete with anyone on a level playing field if we just get government out of the way.

Since January, we have been working to correct that. We have made dramatic steps in reducing regulation, and you are already seeing the economic lift.

Today we continue to advance a tax cut which will restore economic growth, put more take-home pay into the pockets of hardworking Americans, and restore opportunity for a generation. It will bring American jobs back to America, which will grow our middle class, and finally, after 30 years, give the middle class the pay raise it deserves.

If you really wish to grow the economy, you should support this tax reform package. If you really wish to give the middle class a raise, you should support tax reform. If you really wish to reduce income disparity, you should support this tax reform package. If you really wish to give hope to Americans who have given up and left the workforce, and reduce crime and addiction in this country, you should support this tax reform package. If you want America to have the economic strength to remain a force of peace and stability in the world, you should support this tax reform package.

Finally, if you support the American Dream, you should support this tax reform package.

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Con-

necticut (Mr. LARSON), a neighbor and a good friend.

Mr. LARSON of Connecticut. Mr. Speaker, I will submit for the RECORD at a later time a notice from both the comptroller and the commissioner of Revenue Services for the State of Connecticut, who notes that a married family with a kid in college would see a \$767 tax increase next year and a \$1,667 increase in the year 2027.

Mr. Speaker, we have already protested what we think about this bill, what they have done to this process, the stain that this is on this institution.

1986 has been cited. No public hearings. We had 30 hearings, 12 subcommittee hearings, 456 witnesses. We have none, and now you do a bill in double secret probation. You make Dean Wormer look good from "Animal House". This is what is wrong with this process here today.

The cruelest cut is that you perpetrate a \$25 billion cut in Medicare that you don't even have to vote on. That is the worst cut. Talk about a cowardly act in the night: a \$25 billion cut to our seniors. No wonder the AARP has spoken out so strongly against it.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. All Members are reminded that they should address their remarks to the Chair

Mr. BRADY of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I am proud to remind the House that a family of four in Connecticut's First District will see a tax cut of \$3,858 each and every year.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Arizona (Mr. Schweikert), a new member and a key member of the Ways and Means Committee.

Mr. SCHWEIKERT. Mr. Speaker, I thank the chairman for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, before I start, what I wanted to share is I have been blessed to be on the Ways and Means Committee now for 11 months. I have found the members on the left, the right, a group of folks with pretty high IQs. It is a smart bunch. We have different views, even within our own, within your own, but it is fascinating. It is joyful to be on a committee where when you do argue with each other, particularly when we have conversations in the back, they happen at a fairly high level.

Can I give you sort of a personal global view of how I am viewing this tax reform? I truly believe this will be the single biggest, most important vote I make in my life.

We all know what status quo is. Status quo, in many of the models, basically says, in about 15, 18 years, we hit a debt crisis. Are we arguing here for status quo or our change, or are we having an argument here that you don't like our changes, but you also agree we need to have a revolution in our economic growth?

If we build our lives as it is set right now with a 1.8, 1.9 percent GDP growth for the next three decades, my 2-yearold's future is miserable. Those very seniors whom someone was just speaking about, do you understand what happens to those earned entitlements? There is no money. We hit a debt crisis. We are just a few years away from publicly held debt equaling the size of our entire economy.

If you love people, if you care about this country keeping its promises, we have got to grow. We have seen the attempts at sort of managed economy, managed control, managed targeted.

How about something much more elegant: let's make us competitive in the world again; let's get rid of all the lob-byist-created little special deals in the Tax Code, or as many as we can politically, and do everything we can to get this economy growing.

Yes, it is going to require more, in my view of the world, than tax reform. We are going to have to deal with immigration, we are going to have to deal with technology, we are going to have to deal with regulation, but we all know around here that if we do not have a revolution in this Tax Code, our future is pretty dark.

With economic growth, our future is actually really bright. When you see the Atlanta Fed telling us, just in anticipation of tax reform, we have crossed 3½ percent GDP growth right now, maybe that 1.8 percent misery of economic growth isn't our future, isn't the future for my little girl, isn't the future for every American, but it is an opportunity for this country to start looking as it should: a land of opportunity.

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Oregon (Mr. Blumenauer), a particular champion of all renewable energy forms.

Mr. BLUMENAUER. Mr. Speaker, I listen to my friend from Arizona, and I wonder what planet he is on. He is concerned about his little 2-year-old, yet they finance the largest transfer of wealth in our Nation's history by adding more debt on the backs of his children, our grandchildren, and generations to come.

They want the public to have more of their money, yet they are not supporting our motion to instruct that would stop this notion that we are going to jack up premium prices 10 percent a year by destabilizing the insurance markets, the notion of these ugly surprises that the lobbyists have snuck in, and we will find out about them every single week going forward.

Reject this misguided approach. Let's work together.

Rebuild and renew America? The States can raise a gas tax. We refuse to acknowledge a straightforward proposition to do that here.

Let's reject this atrocity.

Mr. BRADY of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I would note that a family of four in Oregon's Third District will see tax savings of \$2,256.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. Pascrell), a very important member of the Ways and Means Committee.

Mr. PASCRELL. Mr. Speaker, the President himself will see a financial windfall. If the majority wasn't helping him hide his tax returns, the American people could see the truth.

The bill exacerbates dramatic and historic health inequality, wealth inequality. Adding \$1.5 trillion to our national debt, as this bill does, without benefiting the middle and working class is legislative malpractice.

So while Republicans tout this as a middle class tax cut, some taxpayers at every income level will pay more on this bill. A middle-aged married couple with no children earning \$80,900 a year who itemize could end up paying \$4,330 more in 2018. Many of my constituents will see a big tax increase after losing the full State and local tax deduction. That is absurd.

The authors of this bill said all of the individual tax cuts will expire after 2025, as well as change the measure of inflation, which will slowly bump taxpayers into higher income brackets. Are we kidding, and who are we kidding?

Mr. BRADY of Texas. Mr. Speaker, that family of four in New Jersey's Ninth District making \$90,000 a year, two workers, will see a tax cut of \$2,044.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from New York (Mr. Crowley), a member of the leadership of the Democratic Party. I think he is going to tell us about what the elimination of the State and local tax deduction means to the people of New York.

Mr. CROWLEY. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, I want to point out to my colleague and friend from Texas that the specifics he is talking about are temporary as they are applied to personal income tax, but they are permanent for corporations. All of your tax cuts are permanent for the corporate world, but not for individuals.

He talks about a family of four. Take it for \$1,100 a year, divide it by four, it is \$250.

□ 1945

They are going to borrow \$1.5 trillion. Divide it by 300 million, and that is \$5,000 per American. Do the math. They are spending the future of our country to give the biggest tax cut to corporations and the wealthiest—\$4 billion alone to the Trump family. You do this on the backs by double taxation in places like Pennsylvania, New York, California, and New Jersey, where you are double taxing through the SALT provision, State and local taxes.

This is going to have an incredible impact on the lives of your constituents. How anyone with a conscience on the Republican side of the aisle could support this bill in California, New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, and all the other tax States in this country is unconscionable.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Members are reminded that they should direct their remarks to the Chair.

Mr. BRADY of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to report that the median family of four in New York's 14th District making \$63,000 a year working hard will see a tax cut of \$1,251.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. Danny K. Davis), who is a valued member of the Ways and Means Committee. The gentleman is also a great champion of new markets tax credits and the historic tax credit which is eliminated in the Republican tax plan.

Mr. DANNY K. DAVIS of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, in every place that I went yesterday, people asked me: What are you going to say to the conferees?

I said that I am going to join with my colleagues and say to the conferees: Help the needy and not the greedy.

I am going to say to the conferees: Why give 50 percent of the tax break to the wealthiest 1 percent of the population in this country?

I am going to say: Why cut Medicare, Medicaid, and provisions of the Affordable Care Act that have kept millions of people from having the agony, pain, and frustration of not being able to find healthcare?

I am going to say: Save the children; save the veterans; save the center cities that are decayed; save the infrastructure; save the safety net; and save America.

Mr. BRADY of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I am proud to report that that median family of four with two kids in the Seventh District of Illinois making \$73,000 really working hard where every dollar counts will see a tax cut of \$1,546.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from New York (Mr. HIGGINS), who is a valued member of the Ways and Means Committee.

Mr. HIGGINS of New York. Mr. Speaker, it has been said by the U.S. Treasury Secretary that tax cuts pay for themselves. He says that not only will these corporate taxes pay for themselves, they will add an additional \$2 trillion in economic activity. Nobody believes that. There is no credible report that supports that contention.

What do pay for themselves are tax credits, particularly the Federal historic tax credit. That is one that returns generously to the Federal Treasury. The Federal historic tax credit returns more to the Treasury than it costs. In fact, \$25 billion in credits have returned \$29 billion to the Federal Treasury; \$5 of private investment is made for every dollar in the Federal historic tax credit program.

Nationally, \$132 billion in private investment has been made because of \$25 million in Federal historic tax credits. Over 43,000 buildings in downtown areas like my community of Buffalo, New York, have benefited tremendously from this valuable program.

It is eliminated in the House bill; it is eliminated in the Senate bill; and the conference should restore it as an issue of fairness.

Mr. BRADY of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I am proud to report that that median family of four making \$74,000, blue-collar workers in the 26th District of New York, will see a tax cut of \$1,562.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from Alabama (Ms. SEWELL), who is a great champion of the middle class and a Marshall Scholar.

Ms. SEWELL of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, we are not ready for conference. The Senate bill was written by lobbyists in the dead of night when Republicans hoped no one was paying attention. There was no CBO score, no debate, no time to even read the bill, and now the majority thinks this bill is ready to go to conference? Really? Not.

The House and Senate bills will put us at least \$1.4 trillion into debt, will cause cuts to Social Security and Medicare, and will raise taxes on 82 million Americans.

Mr. Speaker, this is a bad deal for Americans, and it is an even worse deal for my constituents in Alabama. In my State of Alabama, over 500,000 families making \$80,000 a year or less will see a tax increase. It will result in \$205 million being taken away from teachers and students, and it will put \$168 million in charitable donations at risk.

These bills are not for the middle class. These bills will do enormous damage to the middle class.

Mr. Speaker, we are not ready for conference.

Mr. BRADY of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I would point out that the median family of four making \$65,000 in Alabama's Seventh District would see a tax cut of \$1,311.

I would also point out that the Congressional Budget Office doesn't score a tax reform bill. That is the Joint Committee on Taxation. That score was available to Ways and Means Committee members the day we voted on this bill and available, again, to House Members before we approved it as well.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentlewoman from Washington (Ms. Delbene).

Ms. DelBene. Mr. Speaker, over the past few weeks, Republicans have been cutting backroom deals that benefit the wealthy and well-connected out of the light of day, piling hurt onto people who won't be able to speak for themselves.

Now we are on the verge of being force-fed a bill in which corporations

get massive tax cuts while hard-working Americans are forced to pick up the tab. Over the life of the Ryan-McConnell plan, 36 million middle class families struggling to pay for healthcare, education, childcare, housing, and retirement are going to see their taxes go up. Now millions may lose healthcare coverage as well.

What happened to fiscal responsibility?

Economists are telling us that the increased debt won't be paid for by economic growth, and CEOs are openly sharing their plans to reward their shareholders with their new tax breaks—not create jobs.

This bill is reckless, and I urge my colleagues to support this motion.

Mr. BRADY of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I point out that a median family of four with two kids in Washington's First District will see a tax cut of \$5,008.

I would also remind my colleagues that President Obama raised the national debt by \$9 trillion in new Washington spending.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from California (Ms. SÁNCHEZ), who is a distinguished member of the Ways and Means Committee.

Ms. SÁNCHEZ. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to ask a simple question: What is the rush? Why are we rushing to vote on a \$1.7 trillion tax bill that will end up being paid off the backs of working Americans?

Don't be fooled. Working Americans will pay for this bill. That is why the National Association of Realtors warned that the typical homeowner in my State could see their home value drop between \$37,000 and \$57,000. That is why the Joint Committee on Taxation has said the Republican bill would increase costs to college students and their families by \$71 billion.

We all know whose retirement Republicans will raid when their overly optimistic growth numbers don't materialize. They are going to go after your Medicare and Social Security.

The American people deserve better than this Republican tax scam. Instead of rushing to get this done, let's work together to get it done right.

Mr. BRADY of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I would point out that that hardworking family of four in California's 38th District would see a tax cut of \$1,870.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from California (Ms. JUDY CHU), who is the former revenue commissioner of California and who knows something about revenue projections.

Ms. JUDY CHU of California. Mr. Speaker, this tax scam is one of the greatest cons I have seen in my time in Congress, and Republicans know it. Why else would they rush to vote without giving the public time to review or understand legislation that impacts 100

percent of our economy? In the Senate, they even shattered regular order to pass this bill with handwritten, illegible changes in the dead of night on Saturday. Perhaps it is because they don't want anybody to see how far this bill strays from their promises.

They promised historic tax cuts, but unless you are already rich or a corporation already seeing record profits, you are unlikely to benefit. Instead, you and your children will be paying to make the rich richer.

Republicans don't even deny that individuals get less than corporations. But it is okay, they claim, because that money will get to you eventually. They keep citing these magical numbers of money that you will get, but we know these dollars won't come.

Whether losing deductions for State and local taxes, paying more for student loans, or facing higher healthcare prices, thanks to the repeal of the mandate, the GOP tax scam will hurt millions

Mr. BRADY of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I would point out that that hardworking family of four in the 27th District of California will see a tax cut of \$2.249.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. Kelly), who is a key member of our Tax Policy Subcommittee and a businessperson himself.

Mr. KELLY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I wasn't going to speak tonight because I was just trying to figure out what it is that we are trying to get here and if it is always going to be the same thing as if it is not our bill, just not the bill we want.

When we talk about a rush to judgment, for 31 years, we have postponed the inevitable. We no longer can compete globally because of our corporate tax rates and the regulations.

Our people—and I don't care if they are Republican voters or Democratic voters or people that don't vote at all—isn't it time to give them a little bit more money in their take-home pay? Isn't it time to let them get up in the morning with an idea that "I can actually be better at the end of the day than when I started"? Isn't it time for us to talk about bringing millions of jobs back to the United States as opposed to sitting here and trying to battle back and forth about something that politically doesn't make any sense?

For the folks who are sitting at home, do they realize how far we are getting away from what we pledged we would do for them: a dynamic and robust economy that allows for more take-home pay, a dynamic and robust economy that allows corporations to flourish and not flounder, and a tax plan that absolutely puts America back where it so deservedly belongs?

With all the assets that we are blessed with, with all the talent that we are blessed with, and with all the opportunity that we are blessed with, can we really think that tonight is the night to turn this into a political bat-

tle, to make one side look good and one side look bad?

Is it always going to be the war on the wealthy? Is it always going to be the war on some entity? Does it have to be some type of identity before we can actually back away and say: Tonight we are going to do something for every single hardworking American?

Please, refrain from using the term "middle class." There is nothing, I think, that flies more in the face of who we aren't as a society than classifying people: "Oh, they are middle class"; "Oh, they are upper class," which leads people to think: "Oh, there must be a lower class."

I am asking, tonight, not for either side of the aisle, but for America to look at what is going on and say: It is not time for us to get back in the game.

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. CLYBURN), who is the assistant Democratic leader

In reference to my friend, Mr. Kelly, Mr. Clyburn is a real champion of the middle class.

Mr. CLYBURN. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me this time.

Mr. Speaker, let me say to the gentleman from Pennsylvania, it is time to do all of those things that he just spoke about, but this piece of legislation does none of those things. In fact, it raises taxes on 87 million middle-income families, cuts \$25 billion a year from Medicare, kicks 13 million people off of their health insurance, makes it easier for companies to ship jobs overseas, eliminates long-held deductions for teachers, students, and the chronically ill, makes individual tax cuts temporary but corporate tax cuts permanent, and increases the deficit by more than \$1.5 trillion.

□ 2000

The hypocrisy of so-called conservatives is staggering. Corporations will save billions and shareholders will get richer, while our children and grand-children foot the bill.

The Democratic motion would instruct conferees to protect deductions for State and local taxes and restore the Affordable Care Act's individual mandate. Doing so will stop 13 million Americans from losing their health insurance and put a halt to the 10 percent premium hike that CBO estimates the Ryan-McConnell tax scam would cause.

Mr. Speaker, the individual mandate is at the heart of the Affordable Care Act. Repealing it—as the GOP tax scam does—is a deliberate attempt to undercut the law, create chaos in the health insurance marketplaces, increase premiums, and decrease choice and coverage.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to restore State and local tax deductibility and the individual mandate.

Mr. BRADY of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I point out that a middle class family

making \$74,000, in the Fifth District of South Carolina, will see a tax cut of \$1,568.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 4 minutes to the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. HOYER), one of the best legislators in the House, the Democratic whip.

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Speaker, I thank Mr. NEAL for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Pennsylvania, as he well knows, is one of my favorite Members. He is a good friend. He is a man of great integrity. But, Mr. Speaker, both the House and Senate bills are bad bills, and this is a sad day in the House.

Hypocrisy is on stark display. Responsibility is absent, and politics—and donors—have subverted policy.

This conference is a sham: an attempt to make it appear that the House and Senate are going through regular order. Sadly, we have not gone through regular order. The thought is we will reconcile the two versions of the dangerous Republican tax increase and deficit bill. I call this a death tax because it will explode the deficit, as happened in 1981, when, under Ronald Reagan for 8 years, we increased the debt of this country 189 percent.

The chairman of the Ways and Means Committee mentions Mr. Obama, who increased it 88 percent, or less than half of the Reagan increase in the debt. And we were promised then, as we are promised now, that cutting these taxes would grow the economy. It would if that were the case

But there won't be any real regular order in this conference, just as there hasn't been throughout this entire process. There will only be further closed-door, backroom antics by Republican leaders on their own, asking Republican Members to take it or leave it. And this motion to instruct, of course, will be defeated.

But Democrats are offering it because, from the very beginning, we have made clear that we are here to work toward the kind of tax reform that the American people want: tax reform that I worked with in 1986.

And they don't want an elimination of the deduction for State and local taxes, which our motion would instruct the conferees not to do. The deductions for State and local taxes support schools and first responders in our communities, and the American people don't want to kick 13 million people off of their health insurance coverage.

So our motion would instruct conferees to take that dangerous provision out. But no motion to instruct can address all of the ways that the Republican tax bill has put our people, and our future in danger

The Senate bill raises taxes on somewhere around 78 million middle class households, not as a pejorative, but as an income spectrum. Why? To offset massive tax cuts for those not with whom we are at war, but who are doing very well and don't need our help.

It plunges our children and grand-children—of which I have a number—an additional \$1.7 trillion in debt—and I think that is the minimum—making them pay tomorrow for what Republicans refuse to pay for today.

And for what? For what, Mr. Speaker, are we being asked to do all of these things? For economic growth? For jobs?

We know it won't grow our economy in any substantial way faster. Why? Because almost every economist tells us that. And we know that the few jobs the Senate bill would create—and listen to this: that they claim that they will create—will cost \$1.9 million per job.

The vast majority of Americans won't benefit from this plan; but those who are already extremely wealthy will benefit greatly—as a matter of fact, 52 times what the gentleman will tell us.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, I yield an additional 1 minute to the gentleman from Maryland.

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Speaker, there is a saying that Texans like to use: "That dog won't hunt." It doesn't do what it is purported to do. It doesn't take Einstein to predict what will happen this time around, when he defined insanity as "doing the same thing over and over again and expecting different results."

I have been here. I have seen this. I have heard this argument. It has always resulted in the same thing.

I have more to say, but my time is up.

Mr. Speaker, let me say to the gentleman from Texas, the chairman of the committee—he is going to tell me how much people in my district get a tax break—tell me about my children and my grandchildren whose debts he will pile on them to borrow money from China, or someplace else, to give this tax cut that they will then have to pay off in their time. Tell me how much my children will have their taxes raised.

He apparently doesn't know. That is sad.

Mr. BRADY of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 1 minute.

Mr. Speaker, I am proud to report that a median, hardworking, middle class family in the Fifth District of Maryland, will see a tax cut of \$4,158.

Mr. Speaker, I will remind everyone here tonight that the first year our Democrats took over the majority in the House, they doubled the deficit. The second year, they tripled the deficit. In the third year, it went above \$1 trillion a year, and it stayed there until Republicans took control of the House. My friends on the other side of the aisle added \$9 trillion to this deficit. But that was when Washington was spending.

Today, we want to give people back control of their money, and, all of a sudden: Whoa, wait a minute. Deficits suddenly matter?

I believe that claim is the hypocrisy in this debate.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, apparently the gentleman forgets the difference between the Clinton years and the Bush years, as it relates to the deficits.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from California (Ms. PELOSI).

Ms. PELOSI. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding; and I thank him, and the Democratic members of the Ways and Means Committee, for being committed to the truth: to the facts.

To hear the distinguished chairman of the committee say what he said about the budget is almost ludicrous. almost laughable, if it weren't so serious, in terms of the impact that it has on America's future. He knows that, in the last 4, and maybe even 5, years of the Clinton administration, the budget was in balance or in surplus—the operational budget—and it was on a path to reducing the national debt, until President Bush came in, gave tax cuts to the high end, a giveaway to the pharmaceutical industry with the Medicare part D legislation, and three unpaid for wars.

That is what the experts will tell you increased the deficit that was on a path of the national debt going down. It was a swing, Mr. Speaker, of \$11 trillion: to date, the biggest swing in history.

When President Obama came into office, he was inheriting a deficit—I am not talking about the national debt; I am just talking about the annual deficit—of \$1.4 billion. When he left office, it was about a third of that.

So don't try to mislead the American people. We owe them the truth. We owe them facts. That is why what is happening tonight in this body is so important: the violence that the Republicans are doing with their legislation on the economy of our country, robbing from our children's future to reward the wealthiest people and biggest corporations in America.

Mr. Speaker, I rise tonight to ask my colleagues a simple question: Who do we represent when we come to this floor?

The American people, overwhelmingly, oppose the GOP tax scam—they see it as that—and they are making their voices heard.

The American people are calling the Republican Congress to abandon the House and Senate bills, which pillage the middle class and pad the pockets of big CEOs and GOP donors.

The American people want us to start over and, actually, put the middle class first.

We should be working in a bipartisan way in order to do that, so that it will not only be right, but that it will be sustainable, and that there will be some certainty in our economy that this is a path forward that has bipartisan support.

But have the Republicans in the people's House listened to the American people? No.

Last month, House Republicans voted to raise taxes. In this House, House Republicans voted to raise taxes on 36 million middle class American families: stripping deductions from students and teachers, children and seniors, and homeowners and workers. They kept saying they were going to work it out with the Senate.

Last week, in the dead of night, Senate Republicans voted to raise taxes on 78 million middle class families, while also spiking health premiums, and exploding the ranks of the health uninsured.

Tonight, heading into this conference on the House and Senate bills, Republicans have sent an unmistakable message to middle class America: Pick your poison. Because, with either bill, middle class families lose; the American people lose.

According to an analysis by The Washington Post, the GOP tax scam is "probably the most regressive tax cut in the past 50 years. . . . It is hard to find a tax plan that has done less for the middle class."

That is what we talked about. Who are we here to represent? Why are they doing this?

Well, they are doing this to give a tax cut to the top 1 percent. Sixty-two percent of the benefits of the Senate bill go to the top 1 percent in our country.

Is that fair, to give nearly \$1.5 trillion in tax cuts to corporate America, while heaping other benefits on them to make it easier for them to send jobs overseas. Why? Well, some of their people have told us why.

Congressman Chris Collins said: My donors are basically saying, "Get it done or don't ever call me again."

Senator LINDSEY GRAHAM has said the "financial contributions will stop," if the tax scam fails. "Scam" is my added word.

The Director of National Economic Council, Gary Cohn, has said: "The most excited group out there are the big CEOs, about our tax plan."

This is interesting to see the Freedom Caucus, which I thought was a values-based caucus, committed to reducing the national debt: a debt that is being added to here that we may never recover from.

What happened to the Freedom Caucus? Weren't they supposed to be deficit hawks? Has that become an endangered species? No. It has become extinct. It does not exist on the Republican side, but it does exist on the Democratic side.

□ 2015

We intend to fight this robbing of the future of increasing the deficit into the trillions of dollars by fighting this bill to the end.

Where are all the Republicans who promised to reduce the deficit?

Where are our Republican colleagues who insist that we have no funds to spare for the healthcare of our children, the education of our young people, the job-creating infrastructure of the 21st century unless we find offsets?

Yet \$1.5 trillion to corporate America, un-offset; tax cuts to the wealthiest people in our country, un-offset.

That means children have to pay for their healthcare with their immunizations. It is absolutely appalling. It isn't a statement of values in any way.

Today, quietly, the Republicans—and some of them are admitting it with glee—are sharpening their knives for Medicare, Medicaid, and Social Security. Recognizing how they are increasing, they are soaring the national debt, now they have to find some ways to pay for it, so they are coming after Medicare, Medicaid, and Social Security. The understanding of some is that it is only a question of whether they do it this year or a following year after the election.

Well, I think you are in a lose-lose situation. I think you lose with your donors if you don't pass this bill, but you are going to lose with the American people if you do.

Democrats believe that people deserve better. We deserve bipartisanship in how we put this together so it is sustainable. We are offering a better deal, better jobs, better wages, and a better future.

The American people deserve real, bipartisan, permanent tax reform that puts the middle class first.

The truth is that our colleagues either choose to ignore or do not understand the gravity of the situation. As they say in "The Music Man," this is a terrible assault on the middle class. So tonight, with the Democrats' motion to instruct conferees, we want the Republicans to show where they stand.

Will Republicans vote "yes" to protect the vital State and local tax deduction that enables people to live in a safe place? Or will they vote to double-tax middle class families, drive down home values, and endangering key funding for firefighters, law enforcement, and schools?

Will Republicans vote to protect the healthcare of those with preexisting conditions?

No, no, no, no, no.

Or will they vote to spike families' premiums and add 13 million more Americans to the ranks of the uninsured if this bill goes through?

I have said that this, with stiff competition by some of the other things they have put forth, is the worst bill in the history of the United States Congress.

Now, how can I make that claim? Well, because it involves more money, hurts more people, increases the deficit by so much more. And just because everything is bigger in our country, the consequences of this bill, a multitrillion-dollar economy being addressed by a bill that had no hearings, no expert testimony, just with the speed of light, as JAMIE RASKIN says, the speed of light, in the dark of night, here we are.

Who else thinks this is not a good idea?

This is what the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops has said: "... this proposal appears to be the first Federal income tax modification in American history that will raise income taxes on the working poor while simultaneously providing a large tax cut to the wealthy. This is simply unconscionable."

I believe them.

Let us remember the words of St. Augustine: "A State which is not governed according to justice would be just a bunch of thieves." He said that 17 centuries ago.

When His Holiness Pope Benedict wrote about this in his first encyclical, God is Love, he went on to say: Sometimes you have to work hard to determine what justice is. But in doing so, you must beware of the dazzling blindness of money and power.

Apparently, you did not heed that.

Let us look honestly at the GOP tax scam before us. No justice.

I urge my colleagues on both sides of the aisle to vote "yes" on the motion to instruct conferees, to at least inject some element of fairness and common sense into this destruction, and then to reject this terrible bill.

Mr. BRADY of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 30 seconds.

I would point out that a hardworking middle class family in the 12th District of California will see a tax cut of \$5.508.

I would point out as well that the claim that this is an attack on the middle class and received four Pinocchios is simply untrue by The Washington Post.

And while we are fact-checking, I will remind the American public that President Obama did inherit a deficit. He inherited it from a Democratic House and a Democratic Senate, and then he made it worse.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, might I inquire as to how much time I have remaining?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Massachusetts has $3\frac{1}{4}$ minutes remaining.

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, I have no further speakers, and I yield myself the balance of my time.

Mr. Speaker, we have heard this discussion back and forth tonight about tax relief for the middle class; and we have heard the other side say that you are going to get \$1,189 for a family of four, I think, making \$59,000 a year.

But what they don't say is that they are going to take away the State and local tax deduction; they are going to take away the ability of children to deduct interest payments on student debt; that they are going to shave back the mortgage interest deduction; get rid of the historic tax credit; that they are going to get rid of new markets tax credits.

And here is the best one of all: as champions of the middle class they are, they are going to repeal the estate tax.

The gentleman from Pennsylvania, who is my friend, said that we need to stop talking about wealth.

Well, how about approaching it this way? We are wealthy and we are not going to take it anymore, because that is essentially what this argument is about.

When you look at the distribution tables as to who gets what in this tax proposal, the concentration of wealth at the very top is highlighted time and again.

When we talk about tax relief for the middle class, when we examine what this is about to do to California, to New York, to Massachusetts, and to Connecticut, to name, but a few of the States that are going to pay a penalty for this tax plan—

And I dispute fully what the chairman said about the Obama years. Fourteen million jobs were created during the Obama years. Twenty-three million jobs were created during the Clinton years. The day that George Bush left, we were losing 800,000 jobs a month in America. That is the reality.

When you look at economic growth during those years, the 2 percent that we look at was not enough. But it has now been almost 13 years when middle class people have not had a pay raise and, time and again, we have heard the preposterous argument—and, boy, did it get us into trouble—that tax cuts pay for themselves.

You cannot find a mainstream economist that will say that tax cuts pay for themselves

Now you hear the repeated argument that, if we cut taxes and we add dynamic scoring, based upon what might occur, or maybe, or if, then we are told that this is going to alleviate slow productivity and slow growth in America, all based upon the premise of tax cuts.

You know what we should be doing tonight, Mr. Speaker?

We should be talking about investing in human capital. We should be talking about the 6 million jobs that go unanswered in America every single day. We should be talking about community colleges. We should be talking about the idea of apprenticeship programs and, yes, investing in vocational education. We should be also talking about, finally, what to do about the 2 million people in America who have opiate addictions and don't go to work every day. We should be concerned about the labor participation rate in America.

Instead, the answer always becomes the Holy Grail of Republican economics; cut taxes for the people at the very top, and plead the case that what you are really doing is for people in the middle class.

The alternative minimum tax is devoted to people at the top, and the idea of repealing the estate tax for so few people in America is outrageous.

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

Mr. BRADY of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I am prepared to close, and I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, this is a clear choice. Opponents of tax reform make this a

clear choice. They stand for business as usual, special interests as usual, losing our U.S. jobs overseas as usual, making it hard for young people coming out of school to find good-paying jobs as usual, and Washington having a greater claim over your earnings than you do as usual. That is what the opponents of tax reform stand for today.

Today is about no more of that. It is time to drain the swamp. It is time to drain this Tax Code. It is time for a fairer and simpler Tax Code that Americans deserve, to close loopholes and special interests and lower tax rates so hardworking Americans can keep more of what they earn.

Say "no" to the swamp. Say "yes" to a new Tax Code and a new era of American prosperity. I urge a "no" on the motion to in-

I urge a "no" on the motion to instruct.

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

Mr. LEWIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of this Democratic motion, and I thank the Gentleman from Massachusetts for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, it is clear that your desperation for a political win is more important than the needs of our nation.

For a few days, you will celebrate this holiday gift for the rich and wealthy. But in January, Mr. Speaker, the bill will come due.

To cover the costs of these tax cuts, you will destroy the hopes and dreams of the American people, of working families, of the young and old, and of generations yet unborn.

Make no mistake, Social Security, Medicare, and CHIP will be on the chopping block cuts.

Bipartisan solutions for transportation, affordable housing, and student debt will be out of reach.

And with this tax cut, every single federal program that matters to the American people will be dealt a crippling blow.

Mr. Speaker, you cannot get blood from a turnip, and you cannot justify robbing poor Peter to pay billionaire Paul.

I urge each and every one of my colleagues to remember this moment, to remember this time, and to support this Democratic motion.

Ms. JACKSON LEE. Mr. Speaker, I am opposed to the House agreeing to conference with the Senate on their cruel and immoral \$1.7 trillion tax giveaways to wealthy corporations and the top one percent, but as a member of the Budget Committee, I rise in strong support of the Democratic Motion to Instruct Conferees appointed by the House to conference with the Senate on H.R. 1, the so-called "Tax Cut and Jobs Act," which more accurately should be called the "Republican Tax Scam Act."

The Motion to Instruct does two things: first, it directs House conferees to disagree with Section 11081 of the Senate amendment which would eliminate the Affordable Care Act's individual mandate by instructing conferees.

Second, the Motion to Instruct would also oppose eliminating the current tax deduction for state and local property, income, and sales taxes by instructing house conferees to recede from Section 1303 of the House bill.

Instead, we should junk this shameful legislation and start over in a bipartisan manner that provides relief to working and middle

class families, does not increase the deficit, and ensures that the government has the resources needed to make the investments required to keep our country strong, safe, healthy, and economically competitive.

H.R. 1, on the other hand, raises taxes on poor, working, and middle class families; explodes the deficit by adding an additional \$2.2 trillion over ten years; and will require an estimated \$5.4 trillion cut in funding for the programs ordinary Americans depend on for health security, educational opportunity, and economic progress.

Mr. Speaker, in the last several months we have witnessed and borne the brunt of several of the most powerful storms ever recorded, including Hurricanes Harvey, Irma, and Maria.

I remember so well that the President visited Texas and promised the people affected by Hurricane Harvey of his unwavering commitment to provide everything needed to recover.

We need that promise kept now, and approval of this reckless and immoral tax plan will make it virtually impossible to keep the promise.

Residents of Texas who are facing the long road to recovery need at least \$61 billion for home flood mitigation, repair, replacement, and home buyouts.

There are other states with pressing needs related to disaster recovery.

My colleagues across the aisle and the President should understand that the Texas and Florida congressional delegations are in full agreement regarding the need to meet the disaster recovery needs of the states and territories

There are particular concerns for our seniors who survived the terrible storms that ravaged the Texas Coast, Florida, U.S. Virgin Islands and Puerto Rico because so many of them are alone, while trying to do the difficult and hard job of cleaning out their homes, or removing debris from their yards.

That work is nowhere near done in my State of Texas.

Thousands of families have no home because of the storm, and many more thousands are living in gutted out shells of structures they once called home and too many others are sleeping in cars.

Houston's response to the immediate disaster was impressive and all-encompassing for the size and complexity of the disaster caused by unprecedented flooding due to Hurricane Harvey.

The efforts of Houston Mayor Sylvester Turner and the work of the Public Works Department, Police, and First Responders, as well as Federal and State agencies that were joined by citizen volunteers helped save thousands of lives.

We have communities in Texas that are struggling to find the new normal that FEMA officials warned Texans would need to accept following the historic flood.

The effort is being made difficult by a lack of appreciation by the Administration of the true cost of recovery for Texas, Florida, the U.S. Virgin Islands and Puerto Rico.

FEMA has proven that it is excellent at disaster response, but is showing that they are not very good at recovery management for individuals and families.

The Administration risks a shutdown over not adequately meeting the needs of hurricane impacted areas.

Mr. Speaker, 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

That is why Americans reject this Republican tax giveaway by an overwhelming 2:1 margin according to a poll released recently by Quinnipiac.

Specifically, 61 percent think the Republican tax scam will benefit the wealthy the most; only 16 percent say the plan will reduce their taxes.

59 percent think it a very bad idea to eliminate the deduction for state and local income taxes

Nearly half of respondents (49 percent) think it a bad idea to lower the corporate tax rate from 35 percent to 20 percent.

This Republican tax plan is even more toxic to my constituents in the Eighteenth Congressional District of Texas.

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.

My constituents understand that 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

- 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:
- Eliminating the deductibility of state and 3. local taxes;
- 4. Eliminating existing deductions for student loan interest or making taxable college endowment funds or college fellowships expenses.

Mr. Speaker, 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

While super-wealthy corporations and individuals are reaping windfalls, millions of middle-class and working families will see their taxes do un:

- 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 per-

cent for 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, 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.

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.

Congressional Republicans 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.

That is why I support the Democratic Motion to Instruct Conferees, even though I strongly oppose the Motion to Go to Conference on H.R. 1, the "Republican Tax Scam Act."

The SPEAKER pro tempore. All time for debate has expired.

Without objection, the previous question is ordered on the motion to inThere was no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion to instruct.

The question was taken; and the Speaker pro tempore announced that the noes appeared to have it.

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 186, nays 233, not voting 14, as follows:

[Roll No. 654] YEAS-186

Gabbard Adams Neal Aguilar Gallego Nolan Garamendi Barragán Norcross Bass Gomez O'Halleran Bera Gonzalez (TX) O'Rourke Beyer Gottheimer Pallone Bishop (GA) Green, Al Panetta Blumenauer Green, Gene Pascrell Blunt Rochester Grijalva Pavne Bonamici Hanabusa Pelosi Boyle, Brendan Hastings Perlmutter Heck Peters Brady (PA) Higgins (NY) Peterson Brown (MD) Himes Pingree Brownley (CA) Hover Polis Bustos Huffman Price (NC) Butterfield Jackson Lee Raskin Capuano Javapal Rice (NY) Carbajal Jeffries Richmond Cárdenas Johnson (GA) Rosen Carson (IN) Johnson, E. B. Roybal-Allard Kaptur Cartwright Castor (FL) Keating Rush Kelly (IL) Castro (TX) Ryan (OH) Chu. Judy Khanna. Sánchez Cicilline Kihuen Sarbanes Clark (MA) Kildee Schakowsky Clarke (NY) Kilmer Schiff Clay Kind Schneider Krishnamoorthi Schrader Clyburn Kuster (NH) Scott (VA) Cohen Langevin Scott, David Connolly Larsen (WA) Serrano Cooper Larson (CT) Sewell (AL) Correa Lawrence Shea-Porter Lawson (FL) Sherman Courtney Lee Sinema Levin Crist Sires Crowley Lewis (GA) Slaughter Cuellar Lieu Ted Smith (WA) Cummings Lipinski Soto Davis (CA) Loebsack Speier Davis Danny Lofgren Suozzi DeFazio Lowenthal Swalwell (CA) DeGette Lowey Lujan Grisham, Takano Delanev Thompson (CA) DeLauro M. Thompson (MS) DelBene Luján, Ben Ray Titus Demings Lvnch DeSaulnier Maloney, Tonko Torres Deutch Carolyn B. Tsongas Dingell Maloney, Sean Vargas Matsui Doggett Doyle, Michael McCollum Veasey McEachin McGovern Velázquez McNerney Engel Visclosky Wasserman Eshoo Meeks Schultz Espaillat Waters, Maxine Esty (CT) Moore Moulton Watson Coleman Evans Murphy (FL) Welch Foster Frankel (FL) Wilson (FL) Nadler Napolitano Fudge Yarmuth

NAYS-233

Abraham Bishop (MI) Aderholt Bishop (UT) Allen Black Amash Blackburn Amodei Blum Arrington Bost Babin Brady (TX) Bacon Brat Banks (IN) Brooks (AL) Barletta Brooks (IN) Buchanan Barr Bergman Buck Bucshon Biggs Bilirakis Budd

Burgess Byrne Calvert Carter (GA) Carter (TX) Chabot Cheney Coffman Cole Collins (GA) Collins (NY) Comer Comstock Conaway

Cook Costello (PA) Cramer Jones Crawford Jordan Joyce (OH) Culberson Curbelo (FL) Katko Kelly (MS) Curtis Davidson Kelly (PA) Davis, Rodney King (IA) Denham King (NY) Dent Kinzinger Des Jarlais Knight Kustoff (TN) Diaz-Balart Donovan Labrador Duffy LaHood Duncan (SC) LaMalfa Duncan (TN) Lamborn Dunn Lance Latta Emmer Estes (KS) Lewis (MN) Farenthold LoBiondo Faso Long Ferguson Loudermilk Fitzpatrick Love Fleischmann Lucas Fortenberry Foxx MacArthur Franks (AZ) Marchant Frelinghuysen Marino Marshall Gaetz Gallagher Massie Garrett Mast. McCarthy Gianforte Gibbs McCaul Gohmert McClintock McHenry Goodlatte Gosar McKinley Gowdy McMorris Granger Graves (GA) McSally Graves (LA) Meadows Graves (MO) Meehan Griffith Messer Mitchell Grothman Guthrie Moolenaar Handel Harper Mullin Harris Newhouse Hartzler Noem Hensarling Norman Herrera Beutler Nunes Hice, Jody B. Olson Higgins (LA) Palazzo Palmer Holding Paulsen Hollingsworth Pearce Hudson Perry Huizenga Pittenger Hultgren Poe (TX) Hunter Poliquin Posey Ratcliffe Hurd Issa

Jenkins (KS)

Jenkins (WV)

Johnson (LA)

Johnson (OH) Roby Johnson, Sam Roe (TN) Rogers (AL) Rogers (KY) Rohrabacher Rokita Rooney, Francis Rooney, Thomas .T Ros-Lehtinen Roskam Ross Rothfus Rouzer Royce (CA) Russell Rutherford Sanford Scalise Schweikert Sensenbrenner Sessions Shimkus Shuster Luetkemeyer Simpson Smith (MO) Smith (NE) Smith (NJ) Smith (TX) Smucker Stefanik Stewart Stivers Taylor Tenney Thompson (PA) Thornberry Tiberi Tipton Trott Turner Valadao Wagner Mooney (WV) Walberg Walden Walker Walorski Walters, Mimi Weber (TX) Webster (FL) Wenstrup Westerman Williams Wilson (SC) Wittman Womack

NOT VOTING-14

Woodall

Young (AK)

Young (IA)

Yoder

Zeldin

Yoho

Flores Barton Renacci Beatty Gutiérrez Ruppersberger Bridenstine Kennedy Scott, Austin Convers Pocan Walz Quiglev

Reichert

Rice (SC)

Rodgers

\square 2054

McSALLY and HERRERA Mses. BEUTLER changed their vote from "yea" to "nay."

Ms. MOORE, Mr. GOTTHEIMER, and Ms. SPEIER changed their vote from "nay" to "yea."

So the motion to instruct was reiected.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, the Chair appoints the following conferees on H.R. 1:

From the Committee on Ways and Means, for consideration of the House bill and the Senate amendment, and modifications committed to con-Texas, ference: Messrs. Brady of

NUNES, ROSKAM, Mmes. BLACK, NOEM, Messrs. NEAL, LEVIN, and DOGGETT.

From the Committee on Energy and Commerce, for consideration of section 20003 of the Senate amendment, and modifications committed to conference: Messrs. Walden, Shimkus, and Ms. Castor of Florida.

From the Committee on Natural Resources, for consideration of sections 20001 and 20002 of the Senate amendment, and modifications committed to conference: Messrs. BISHOP of Utah, Young of Alaska, and GRIJALVA.

There was no objection.

ENCOURAGING JAMIE DUPREE AS HE BATTLES TONGUE PROTRU-SION DYSTONIA

(Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend her remarks.)

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Mr. Speaker, I would like to talk about Jamie Dupree, who serves as the radio news director of the Washington Bureau of the Cox Media Group.

I have had the privilege of knowing Jamie for more than two decades. With his professional coverage of both congressional and national politics, Jamie has become a trusted voice for radio listeners in Atlanta, as well as in my home State of Florida.

However, in the summer of 2016, Jamie, a radio reporter, lost his voice to tongue protrusion dystonia, a neurological condition which can create severe speech, swallowing, and breathing difficulties. This is a rare condition, which has no known treatment, and it prevents Jamie's brain from connecting to his mouth and causes his throat to push his tongue out of his mouth when he attempts to speak, squeezing the sound out of his voice—a radio reporter.

However, in spite of his severe health problems, Jamie has remained active through Twitter and his news blog. Mr. Speaker, Jamie Dupree is a perfect example of the positive role that devoted and professional journalists play in our free society, and I wish him and his family all of the best during this most difficult time.

Thank you, Jamie. Godspeed.

CONGRATULATING THE HILLSIDE HIGH SCHOOL COMETS

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

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. Speaker, I rise to congratulate my alma mater, Hillside High School, class of 1976, in Hillside, New Jersey. The Hillside Comets football team won their State championship against the Point Pleasant Boro Panthers on Saturday.

The Hillside Comets finished their season with a 9-3 record. They beat the top-seeded Panthers to bring home Hillside's first State title since 1985.

The Comets are only the second football team from Union County to win a State title in central Jersey in 15 vears.

Mr. Speaker, the Hillside Comets football team are winners both on and off the field. Sixteen players are on the honor roll, and five of them are members of the National Honor Society. The team's successes are, no doubt, a testament to the high expectations set by their head coach, Barris Grant.

I was honored to join the Comets at their celebration on Sunday, and I am proud to have such outstanding students in my district. I ask my colleagues to join me in congratulating the Hillside High School Comets, winners on and off the field.

□ 2100

STANFORD CHAMPION SWIMMER AND RAPIST BROCK TURNER: POSTER BOY FOR SWIMMING, POSTER BOY FOR RAPE

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

Mr. POE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, last year, Stanford rapist and champion swimmer Brock Turner was sentenced to a mere 6 months in prison for his disgusting crime: raping an unconscious young woman behind a dumpster in the darkness of night.

The judge claimed a prison sentence would have "a severe impact on him." Never mind that a rape victim sometimes gets a life sentence of mental turmoil and anguish.

But apparently, the light punishment is still too tough for the rapist and his daddy dearest. Now they have gone crying and appealing to the courts, trying to avoid the designation that Turner earned as a registered sex offender.

Daddy's high-dollar legal team is claiming the victim was intoxicated and Turner should get more leniency. It is the old defense: it was the victim's fault.

The fact the victim was intoxicated and unconscious makes the crime worse. She was helpless. She could not consent or fight back.

Rape is never the fault of the victim-never.

Uphold the conviction and give Brock Turner the only title he deserves: sex offender and poster boy for rape.

And that is just the way it is.

REPUBLICAN TAX SCAM

(Ms. KAPTUR asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Ms. KAPTUR. Mr. Speaker, the American public has caught on to our Republican colleagues' tax scam. They know this bill takes from the struggling middle class and bountifully rewards the billionaire class transnational corporations that ship our jobs overseas. In fact, the only permanent tax giveaways in their bill are for rich corporations and those lovely Wall Street banks that care so much for the American people.

The Joint Committee on Taxation estimates a \$1 trillion addition to our national debt as a result of this bill. The Congressional Budget Office estimates that 80 percent of Americans, those making less than \$100,000 a year, will see a tax increase under their plan. But you know what? They will wait until after next year's election to lock it in.

There is very little in this bill good for average Americans. Our Republican colleagues are actually pushing America into deeper financial servitude to foreign investors from places like China and Saudi Arabia who are going to buy the Treasury debt securities, and our taxpayers will end up having to pay them principal plus billions and billions and billions in interest.

How does that servitude sound like making America great again, putting us in hock in greater and greater amounts to foreign interests?

BELLA, THE DEER

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

Ms. TENNEY. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to recognize a former constituent and local legend, Bella, the white-tailed deer.

Bella's saga as Pulaski's mascot began in 2009, when her mother was tragically hit by oncoming traffic. Alone, with nowhere to turn, a local farmer was kind enough to extend his barn to the motherless fawn. He took her in. cared for her throughout the cold months of winter, and named her Bella.

Bella has spent her life happily wandering the streets of Pulaski, joining residents on walks with their dogs, meeting fishermen along the banks of the nearby Salmon River, and posing for selfies on the porches of residents throughout the village.

The Village of Pulaski embraced and cared for Bella for 9 years. She was often seen wearing a bright orange dog collar so hunters would know who she was. Bella even had her own Facebook page with over 4,000 likes that kept residents up to date on her adventures and whereabouts.

Sadly, Bella hasn't been seen for several months, and the consensus among residents and the local media is that Bella has passed on.

Bella has brought joy to this beautiful community in the foothills of the Adirondack Mountains and the Tug Hill Plateau region and all who had the pleasure of meeting her. She was a village mascot and a symbol of the reciprocity of kindness shown by so many in our community.

One compassionate resident reached out to an orphaned Bella when she needed help the most, and Bella spent the rest of her life paying us all back with her cheerful greetings and the Pulaski community.

CONGRATULATING JOE LUTHER, CTE TEACHER OF THE YEAR

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

Mr. THOMPSON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to congratulate an instructor at Central Pennsylvania Institute of Science and Technology for being named the national technical education teacher of the

CPI's horticulture and landscaping instructor, Joe Luther, will be given the Carl J. Schaefer Memorial Award, which is presented annually to recognize career technical education teachers for their outstanding service. Mr. Luther will accept the award this Thursday at a ceremony in Nashville, Tennessee.

The award is presented by NOCTI, which is the largest provider of industry-based credentials and partner industry certifications for career and technical education programs across the Nation. It was named for Dr. Carl J. Schaefer, who was a lifelong champion of CTE. He gained national recognition as a CTE educator and author and was one of NOCTI's founding fathers.

This is the second time an instructor at CPI has received the award. In 2015. dental assistant instructor Mindi Tobias was selected as a top CTE teacher in the Nation.

Mr. Speaker, as co-chair of the House Career and Technical Education Caucus, I am most proud of CPI and Mr. Luther for this outstanding recogni-

REPUBLICAN TAX BILL

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

Mr. LAMALFA. Mr. Speaker, we hear a lot of negative about the tax reform bill that is moving through. Gladly, tonight, we have moved to conference committee, where we can continue the process and the conversation. We can now take more and more opinions people have on how to make the bill better. It has been getting better as we go.

In my own district, the First District of California, when all is said and done, this will simplify the Tax Code for more and more tax filers. Already, 70 percent of taxpayers do not use the method of trying to itemize every single item. Instead, they use the standard deduction. That will save time in tax preparation, netting them a better tax situation for their families.

I see a direct guaranteed tax cut for most people in rural California, rural America, and those who earn \$100,000 or less. That is the middle-income folks we are targeting and who we need to

warm spirit which reflects the grateful help. That is what this bill will do. It will also create more jobs by the job creators in this country.

> This is a good step and a good direction for America's taxpayers.

TAX BILL FOR AMERICA

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. BACON). Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 3, 2017, the gentleman from Texas (Mr. GOHMERT) is recognized until 10 p.m. as the designee of the majority leader.

Mr. GOHMERT. Mr. Speaker, I appreciate my colleague pointing out that we have done something good here.

When people talk about the tax bill that was passed, it is not everything everybody wanted, that is for sure. It is not everything Republicans wanted, but it is going to do good for most every American.

I would love to have seen just an across-the-board tax cut. I would like to have seen a tax cut that brought everybody to pay the same exact percentage. You make more, you pay more; you make less, you pay less.

For those who believe in a tithe, that kind of always worked well for the Lord. Everybody pays the same percentage, whether it is a widow's mite or hundreds of billions of dollars or the billions that Warren Buffett refuses to have his company pay even though he says he would love to pay for taxes. He ought to tell his lawyers that.

In any event, there are people who were paying 10 percent who are now not going to pay any taxes. I don't see how anybody across the aisle could keep saying it is going to be worse for the poor, because those who were paying 10 percent tax are not going to pay any tax. It is good for them. It is great for them.

I would love to see everybody have something that they pay in-something—so that they have some investment in the income tax system. It seems to help focus people's attention on government when they see how much they are paying into the Federal Government when it is a real percentage. The bill cuts completely any income tax for those who were paying 10 percent.

For those who were paying 25 percent, they are being cut to 12 percent. It is a tremendous tax advantage for them. In fact, you see that all the way through the tax bill, the creation of which was led by KEVIN BRADY, chairman of the Ways and Means Committee. He did an incredible job bringing all the different interests together to get a great bill.

At the upper end, the 39.6 percent tax was not changed. I guess the reason the committee decided they wanted to leave the 39.6 for the wealthiest Americans in place is because that way the Democrats could not come in-I know this was the thinking: If the only tax rate we don't lower is for the wealthiest Americans, we leave that where it is, then they can't come in and say we

are cutting taxes for the wealthiest Americans and putting it on the backs of the poorest Americans.

Well, they have come in and said it anyway. We might as well have given everybody a fair tax break instead of leaving the wealthiest taxes right where they were, 39.6 percent, because they still came in and said it. Schumer is still saying it in the Senate.

The truth is, when you look at the tax rates that people will pay and the exemptions being doubled, it is going to be much better for most people.

There were some things in the Senate bill I liked. I didn't realize, but I heard from people back home, we do have some seniors who do pay so much in medical expense that takes such a tremendous amount of the small income they have that they do have enough to take deductions for their medical expenses. If they are not allowed to take those medical expenses as deductions, accountants tell me many of their clients will end up being bankrupt.

The Senate left that provision in, and I am hopeful that that will be in the final bill. We don't need to be hurting our seniors who are paying so much in medical expenses even though they were assured ObamaCare would cure all ills when it came to healthcare.

If you like your insurance, you can keep it. Well, that turned out to be a lie.

If you like your doctor, you could keep your doctor. That turned out to be a lie.

If you liked the medicine you were taking, you could keep taking that medicine. It turned out to be a lie.

In fact, there were actual incentives in ObamaCare for the insurance companies not to bring in the best cancer treaters, the best heart facilities, because that means people with cancer and heart problems would sign up for those policies, and they might have to pay too much.

So it was really deviously inventive by the architect of ObamaCare to create a system that is going to be so bad it is going to fail at some point. The hope was that, when that day came, people would throw up their hands say: This is awful. I never thought I would say this, but maybe we are better off just letting the government take over every bit of healthcare.

Well, the government was already close to taking over all healthcare under ObamaCare, but as Senator Obama told people on video, it is basically government running all phases of healthcare. They give it a deceptive name: single-payer. But we can't get there in one step. It will take a couple of steps.

□ 2115

Well, ObamaCare was step one, and a complete government takeover of people's healthcare was step two.

Fortunately, if we can add to the House bill what was added into the Senate bill, a complete repeal of the individual mandate, then we will be on our way to bringing down premiums, to having people choose the health insurance policies they want.

Ultimately, we have got to encourage people to put their own money not in the pocket of the government, not in the pocket of the insurance company, but into their own health savings accounts and build that up. That is the hope for the future for young people: to have enough money in their account down the road that, by the time they become senior citizens, not only will they not want government intrusion, they won't need it.

Those that are chronically ill, chronically poor, and cannot work, we have got to reform welfare and return the requirements that were put in place that caused single moms for the first time in 30 years to start making much more than they had, when their income had been flat for 30 years when adjusted for inflation. I was surprised to see that on a chart—on a graph at Harvard, at a seminar up there; but sure enough, the facts spoke for themselves.

There are things we can do to help people return to work, to take care of themselves, make their own decisions, and I think this tax bill will help do that, especially if we put in the repeal of the individual mandate, as surprised as I am to keep hearing about how this tax bill is going to hurt the poor in America.

When the people who are paying 10 percent tax don't pay any tax, the people who were paying 25 percent start paying 12 percent tax, it is just really hard to accept someone saying that they are going to be paying more tax to help the rich when the rich did not get a tax reduction from the 39.6 percent.

I do want to take up a critically important decision by the Supreme Court of the United States. There is an article from Ian Mason today: "President Donald Trump's travel ban is once again to largely go back into effect after the Supreme Court of the United States stayed two lower courts' injunctions Monday.

"The orders come in response to filings by the Department of Justice Friday, asking the Supreme Court to stay the preliminary injunctions in the two main travel ban cases, Hawaii v. Trump in the Ninth Circuit and International Refugee Assistance Project v. Trump in the Fourth Circuit. These cases have been proceeding up and down the Federal court system for months."

I do think, in the Judiciary Committee, it is time that we start bringing in some of these renegade judges who were not content to wear black robes and be judges, but took on the role of being legislators and being elected executives. They took all three branches into themselves, because basically what power the President didn't have to fully invoke the travel ban, Congress had given him any extra that he needed. He had full authority to do what he did.

Anybody can see that people could come in from countries where radical Islam was destroying the countries, and there were messages from the leaders of those radical Islamic groups who said: We are getting our soldiers into these groups of refugees that are going into Western civilization so that we can destroy them.

I mean, they weren't even hiding what they were doing, although they didn't tell us which individuals were their soldiers.

We had heard previously about vetting of individuals. We heard testimony in our committee that at least people coming from Iraq, when they applied to be refugees, they had some background we could compare and contrast what they were saying about their reasons to come in. We even had fingerprints on IDs. We had their criminal records from Iraq. We had their government records from Iraq. But as they came from Syria, some other countries, when Yemen was in chaos, we did not have the government records. We didn't have fingerprints. We didn't have anything.

We were told by those charged with the obligation of vetting these individuals: We will vet them, but we have got absolutely nothing to vet them with, so they will end up coming in, because we have got nothing to say that what they are saying is not true, even when they are radical Islamists who want to kill Americans and destroy our way of life

What President Trump did was exceedingly reasonable, yet we had a Deputy Attorney General, Sally Yates, step forward and say: I am going to take on the role of President and justice and legislator and tell you I am not going to defend this law because I have judged it not to be up to my standards.

Well, she was wrong. She was wrong then and she is wrong today as she talks about issues even after her judgment is shown to be so flawed, as the Supreme Court has.

I know the travel ban was changed somewhat, but still, from what the Supreme Court has indicated, the President had the power to do what he did to protect Americans, despite what "Justice" Sally Yates said, without her black robe on, when she defied orders and defied the Constitution and refused to carry out her duties.

So that is a bit of good news.

Sarah Carter has another great story today that she got out. It can be found on hannity.com: "FBI Supervisor Booted From Mueller Probe Interviewed Mike Flynn."

The article says: "A supervisory special agent who is now under scrutiny after being removed from Robert Mueller's special counsel's office for alleged bias against President Trump also oversaw the Bureau's interviews of embattled former National Security Advisor Michael Flynn, this reporter has learned. Flynn recently pled guilty to one count of lying to the FBI last week.

"FBI agent Peter Strzok was one of two FBI agents who interviewed Flynn, which took place on January 24 at the White House, said several sources. The other FBI special agent who interviewed Flynn is described by sources as a field supervisor in the 'Russian Squad, at the FBI's Washington field office,' according to a former intelligence official with knowledge of the interview.

'Strzok was removed from his role in the special counsel's office after it was discovered he had made disparaging comments about President Trump in text messages between him and his alleged lover, FBI attorney Lisa Page, according to The New York Times and Washington Post, which first reported the stories. Strzok is also under investigation by the Department of Justice Inspector General for his role in Hillary Clinton's email server and the ongoing investigation into Russia's election meddling. On Saturday, the House Intelligence Committee's chairman, DEVIN NUNES, chided the Justice Department and the FBI for not disclosing why Strzok had been removed from the special counsel 3 months ago. according to a statement given by the chairman.

"The former U.S. intelligence official told this reporter, 'with the recent revelation that Strzok was removed from the special counsel investigation for making anti-Trump text messages, it seems likely that the accuracy and veracity of the 302 of Flynn's interview as a whole should be reviewed and called into question."

Now, the 302 is the section 302 report summary by the FBI agent of what was said by the witness.

So we have a biased witness at the FBI who is not recording what Mike Flynn said word for word. He is writing down in his notes his biased, skewed opinion of what Mike Flynn said. We know it is biased, it is skewed.

Since Mike Flynn worked faithfully for so many years under-and survived-the purges over and over of Commander in Chief Obama and very. very briefly worked for Donald Trump, it would appear that Mike Flynn should have had more credibility than this Strzok character who hated Donald Trump so much.

I have heard talk that Mike Flynn could have fought this, but he basically had been bankrupted by the Department of Justice. He could not afford the attorney's fees anymore and, as sometimes happens, they threatened to go after his son. So he agreed to plea on this one count, since apparently the biased, prejudiced, partisan FBI agent Strzok had something different in his notes, his summary of what Mike Flynn said than what Mike Flynn said he said. So he pled out from under the terrible legal fees and this task force that seems to have unlimited authority, that doesn't seem to be reined in by Mr. Rosenstein that appointed Mueller

Then we found out, well, heck no, of course not, because Rosenstein and

Mueller were involved in getting files sealed; the facts of which, from what we understand, should have prevented the sale of American uranium from ever going forward.

So it only makes sense, gee, to convince Jeff Sessions to recuse himself. He says he talked to the career guys, like Rosenstein. He considered Rosenstein a career guy. Then he appoints his buddy who helped him in the Russian investigation over a number of years, which established that Russia was trying to corner the market, that they were bribing and they were committing crimes trying to get American uranium. For heaven's sake, if all of that came out, then Hillary Clinton wouldn't have been able to get her buddies to approve that sale so that Russia could end up with so much of our uranium

\Box 2130

Of course, if Russia didn't end up with so much of our uranium, do you really think \$145 million from Uranium One-from the stockholders who ended up with the uranium and all the money that flowed with it, do you really think they would have given that to the Clinton Foundation? Because let's face it, they haven't given a dime since.

If they were all that charged up with all the good the Clinton Foundation was doing, doesn't it make sense they would have kept giving after Hillary Clinton was no longer the Secretary of State and when there was still hope of her being President? Even though that is gone, gee, wouldn't they have still contributed if it was all about the good the Clinton Foundation was doing?

Instead of a guid pro guo, if you get us this uranium, we will make you rich. You will hit the Russian lottery, the megamillions lottery for the Clintons. And hit the Russian lottery they did.

"A former FBI agent said the investigation into Strzok and the reported text messages between him and Page shows a 'bias that cannot be ignored particularly if he had anything to do with Flynn's interview and his role in

"The former U.S. intelligence official questioned, 'how logical is it that Flynn is being charged for lying to an agent whose character and neutrality was called into question by the special counsel?

"According to an anonymous source in The Washington Post, Strzok and Page had exchanged a number of texts that 'expressed anti-Trump sentiments and other comments that appeared to favor Clinton."

That was apparently between Strzok and his lover. So it is not because he is a man full of hate: apparently, he is a man full of love.

"McCabe told Flynn: Some agents were heading over to the White House, but Flynn thought it was part of the routine work the FBI had been doing and said they would be cleared at the gate,' the source said.

"It wasn't until after they were already in Flynn's office that he realized he was being formally interviewed. He didn't have an attorney with him,' they added '

"According to another source with direct knowledge of the January 24 interview, McCabe had contacted Flynn by phone directly at the White House. White House officials had spent the 'earlier part of the week with the FBI overseeing training and security measures associated with their roles so it was no surprise to Flynn that McCabe had called."

Snuck up on him. Apparently that is supposed to be a lesson: the FBI calls, you never know if it is somebody who hates you and hates the people you work for.

An article by Daniel Flynn of Breitbart: "The former Assistant Director of the FBI wonders who investigates the investigators in the wake of former Trump administration National Security Advisor Michael Flynn pleading guilty to lying to the FBI and agreeing to cooperate with special counsel Robert Mueller's probe.

Bob Mueller should have never been offered nor accepted the job as special counsel as he has a huge conflict of interest,' Jim Kallstrom tells Breitbart News. 'He should have recused himself."

It sounds like what I have been saying for many months now.

"Not only do observers describe Mueller and the man he recommended to replace him as FBI Director, James Comey, as close or even best friends. but the special counsel pursues an investigation heavily involving the Bureau he once led. How one maintains detachment in leading a team that includes numerous anti-Trump partisans in a probe involving one's close friend and the former Bureau for which Mueller served as Director goes unexplained.

"Other problems Kallstrom sees include the means by which investigators obtained information and what constituted probable cause to obtain it.

"The Obama administration apparently had the advantage of using electronic surveillance, collecting information on the Trump campaign. Kallstrom explains. 'That collection, in my view, may be found to be unlawful.'

'At the very least, one administration conducting surveillance on the opposition party looking to replace it strikes as unusual if not unprecedented. In 1972, for instance, President Richard Nixon's political team relied on former agents of the FBI and CIA to gather intelligence on the Democratic Party.

"If the surveillance and investigatorv methods prove unlawful. Kallstrom notes that this puts Mueller in an awkward position of looking into its close friend and perhaps the Bureau

that both men once led.

"If they used the phony dossier as the predicate for the FISA order they obtained, that could be a huge problem,' Kallstrom tells Breitbart News.

'If they knew the information was phony, that is a felony. If they did not know it was phony, they were incompetent.'

"The 'dossier,' which Americans belatedly discovered as an opposition research investigation funded by Hillary Clinton's campaign and other partisan sources, served as a justification in the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act court to obtain a wiretap to Trump campaign adviser Carter Page, Christopher Steele, the former British intelligence officer who compiled the opposition research dubbed an intelligence dossier in the media, admits that he neither traveled to Russia nor spoke to many of the sources for the anti-Trump document that the Clinton campaign funded and the FBI used in its investigation.

"'This whole matter with the dossier and the investigations that ensued, including FISA surveillance and the unmasking of hundreds of names, in my view, will prove to be violations of the rules set down by the Congress for unmasking, or worse, will be found to be violations of Federal law,' Kallstrom concludes. 'The Justice Department should find out if the FBI paid for this phony dossier and should inspect the affidavit that was given to FISA court to determine the accuracy of their probable cause.'"

Hopefully, that is what is being done at this time, but, as I understand it, the pro-Hillary Clinton people still at the Justice Department have not been forthcoming with the information. That remains to be seen.

Other articles are talking about the anti-Trump text messages showing a pattern of bias on Mueller's team, by Chuck Ross today in the Daily Caller. Jonathan Easley with The Hill: "FreedomWatch Sues to Remove Mueller."

Thank goodness for FreedomWatch doing so.

The article says: "A conservative group filed suit on Monday seeking to remove special counsel Robert Mueller from the Justice Department's investigation into Russian meddling.

"Conservative lawyer Larry Klayman, the founder of the watchdog group FreedomWatch, filed a complaint in U.S. District Court that seeks to force the Justice Department to investigate leaks from the special counsel, as well as 'the obvious conflicts of interest among staff.'

"The complaint against Attorney General Jeff Sessions and FBI Director Christopher Wray states that 'it is a criminal offense to leak grand jury information' and seeks Mueller's removal

"Robert Mueller is not a "man of integrity" as the Washington, D.C., Democrat and Republican political establishment like to spin,' Klayman said in a statement. 'He is just another pol who is representing his establishment benefactors in both political parties who want to see the Presidency of Donald Trump destroyed.'

"There is deep anger at Mueller on the right and growing calls for him to recuse himself from the special counsel investigation into whether Trump campaign officials had improper contacts with Moscow during the 2016 election.

"Klayman is hanging his legal effort on the notion that Mueller is too close to former FBI Director James Comey and allegations that his team has leaked damaging stories about those he's investigating to the press. The complaint also argues that Mueller has politicized the probe by hiring Democrats for his investigative team.

"Conservatives have also argued that Mueller's probe has extended beyond his mandate of investigating Russian meddling.

"More recently, conservative media and others on the right have drawn attention to Mueller's time as FBI Director, questioning why he didn't alert regulators that a subsidiary of a foreign uranium mining company was under investigation before a controversial deal for the sale of the company to a Russia-owned firm was approved.

"'He must be held accountable to the law and should not be able to do as he pleases to further his and his friends', like former FBI Director James Comey's, political agenda,' Klayman said. 'We are hopeful that the court will order Justice to do its job and conduct an expeditious and impartial investigation and then order Mueller to step down as special counsel. There are others, perhaps who practice outside of the Washington, D.C., swamp, who could step in and do an honest and conflict-free investigation of so-called Russian collusion.'"

Quite interesting, but this article today from Samantha Schmidt, Washington Post, is quite ironic. "James Comey, Sally Yates and Eric Holder Defend FBI After Trump's Twitter Attack."

Now, this is the same Eric Holder who lied to us repeatedly in our Judiciary Committee hearings. He obfuscated, concealed evidence, refused to disclose evidence, was found in contempt, but he still has the unmitigated gall to step forward as if he is a paragon of virtue and can stand up for Mueller's character. I guess.

Comey also has taken to tweeting out Bible verses. I think that is wonderful. I applaud him reading the Bible. I wish he had been relying on the Bible a little more when he was FBI Director before he started preparing the statement that would indicate there was nothing to prosecute Hillary Clinton over before she was actually investigated and before he gave immunity to people, before he let her lawyer, who was a witness, sit in on conversations before he was part of exonerating her. even though the evidence that he recited made clear an offense had been committed.

There were stories that the only reason he came out before the election and said he was reopening the investigation was so that he could keep FBI agents

who had found all these tens of thousands of emails on Anthony Weiner's computer, Huma Abedin's—they said that this surely justifies because here are emails that she said didn't exist.

So he goes public and says they reopened. If that is true, they kept those FBI agents from coming forward, resigning, or saying that he was doing what it appears now, with more evidence, that he was apparently doing, exonerating Hillary Clinton, though evidence was there to go further.

I remember telling some media back then, well, we will know whether this is a serious reopening of the investigation, words like that. If he comes back in a week and says, "Oh, no," before the election, "nothing here," then clearly he would not have had enough time to go through all the emails. And they hadn't, but he came forward and exonerated her anyway.

The New York Post had an article yesterday, the editorial board: "Another Anti-Trump 'Smoking Gun' Turns Out to Be Nothing."

"Once again, a supposed big break in the drive to destroy President Trump over 'collusion' with the Russians during the 2016 campaign stands exposed as nothing more than bad reporting. Plus, the professionalism of the FBI looks compromised by anti-Trump bias'"

As it does by the comments by people like Yates, Holder, and Comey.

It says: "The media went berserk Friday on news that former Trump confidante Mike Flynn had copped a plea deal with special counsel Bob Mueller. All the usual suspects launched an orgy of speculation on what beans Flynn 'must' have spilled.

"It all went into overdrive as ABC's Brian Ross reported that Flynn had been instructed to reach out to Moscow during the campaign: This seemed to be the long-awaited proof of collusion with Vladimir Putin against Hillary Clinton.

"Except that Ross retracted the claim hours later: The reach-out was only after election day, when any President-elect is expected to start connecting with other world leaders, U.S.-friendly or not."

□ 2145

That is the whole sad thing about Mike Flynn. It was not a crime for him to reach out to the Russians after the election. The claim was that there was some big collusion to bring down Hillary Clinton, when it appears we really don't know who hacked into the DNC server. It certainly could have been an inside job involving the Awan brothers, or at least Imran Awan. Pretty sad days.

The Hill reports dismissed FBI agent changed Comey's language on Clinton emails to "extremely careless." Olivia Beavers, today, reported:

"The former FBI official, who was recently fired from special counsel Robert Mueller's Russia team over messages critical of President Trump, reportedly edited a key phrase that removed possible legal implications in

former FBI Director James Comey's statement about his decision on the Hillary Clinton email investigation.

"Peter Strzok, who served as a counterintelligence expert at the Bureau, changed the description of Clinton's actions in Comey's statement, CNN reported Monday, citing U.S. officials familiar with the matter.

"One source told the news outlet that electronic records reveal that Strzok changed the language from 'grossly negligent' to 'extremely careless,' scrubbing a key word that could have had legal ramifications for Clinton. An individual who mishandled classified material could be prosecuted under Federal law for 'gross negligence.'"

Pretty tragic.

The article goes on to say:

"Strzok, who served as the No. 2 official leading the probe into the Clinton email server, has been thrust into the center of controversy after news of his dismissal from Comey's team.

"A group of people were part of the drafting process, using a red pen on Comey's statement before he publicly came forward, another U.S. official familiar with the matter told CNN.

"Senate Judiciary Chairman CHUCK GRASSLEY questioned the revised language change after receiving FBI records last month before CNN reported Strzok's edits.

"Mueller and his team are broadly investigating Russian interference in the 2016 election, including whether Trump campaign aides colluded with the Russians."

And, boy, "broadly investigating" is an understatement.

"In July 2016, Comey said that Clinton's use of a private email server while Secretary of State was 'extremely careless,' but he added that 'no reasonable prosecutor' would charge her."

Mr. Speaker—I want to finish on this note—Salem, Oregon; FOX News; Jonathan Easley reporting:

"A Mexican man, who was deported from the United States more than a dozen times was sentenced Friday in Oregon to 35 years in prison after pleading guilty to sodomy, kidnapping, sex abuse, and other charges in separate attacks on two women.

"Sergio Jose Martinez told victims" relatives he would see them in hell after sentence was pronounced Friday in a Portland courtroom."

And I would interject, there is a decent chance they may not be at the same place he is in the next life.

"Just a day earlier, another man who had also been deported multiple times for being in America illegally, Jose Ines Garcia Zarate, was found not guilty by a jury in San Francisco in the shooting death of a woman. That case that touched off a national immigration debate."

I just want to finish by saying that there is a lot of talk about amnesty, DACA, all these different things, but, Mr. Speaker, the truth is: until the border is secured, we should not even be talking about amnesty, about any kind of legality for people who are here illegally, because it creates another swarm across our border. And if we are going to do this, we are going to have to keep doing it every few years because the people are going to keep coming.

We must build a wall where it is needed, and we must secure the border. When that is done, we can work these other things out. But until the border is secured, we should not even be talking about it.

People, like these criminals, these rapists, shouldn't even have been in this country. People are dead who should be alive. People have had their lives murderously tortured through horrendous sexual assaults. So many lives have been harmed or ended.

Let's secure the border, let's do what it takes, and then we can work the other things out.

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

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. GOHMERT. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 9 o'clock and 51 minutes p.m.), under its previous order, the House adjourned until tomorrow, Tuesday, December 5, 2017, at 10 a.m. for morning-hour debate.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

3277. A letter from the Congressional Review Coordinator, Animal and Plant Health Inspection Service, Department of Agriculture, transmitting the Department's final rule — Importation of Fresh Mango Fruit From Vietnam Into the Continental United States [Docket No.: APHIS-2016-0026] (RIN: 0579-AE25) received November 29, 2017, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; (110 Stat. 868); to the Committee on Agriculture.

3278. A letter from the Program Specialist (Paperwork Reduction Act), Office of the Comptroller of the Currency, Department of the Treasury, transmitting the Department's Major final rule — Regulatory Capital Rules: Retention of Certain Existing Transition Provisions for Banking Organizations That Are Not Subject to the Advanced Approaches Capital Rules [Docket ID: OCC-2017-0012] (RIN: 1557-AE 23) received November 30, 2017, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; (110 Stat. 868); to the Committee on Financial Services.

3279. A letter from the Program Specialist (Paperwork Reduction Act), Office of the Comptroller of the Currency, Department of the Treasury, transmitting the Department's Major final rule — Mandatory Contractual Stay Requirements for Qualified Financial Contracts [Docket ID: OCC-2016-0009] (RIN: 1557-AE05) received November 30, 2017, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; (110 Stat. 868); to the Committee on Financial Services.

3280. A letter from the Program Specialist (Paperwork Reduction Act), Office of the

Comptroller of the Currency, Department of the Treasury, transmitting the Department's joint final rule — Community Reinvestment Act Regulations [Docket No.: OCC-2017-0008] (RIN: 1557-AE15) November 30, 2017, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; (110 Stat. 868); to the Committee on Financial Services.

3281. A letter from the Director, Office of Legislative Affairs, Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, transmitting the Corporation's Major final rule — Regulatory Capital Rules: Retention of Certain Existing Transition Provisions for Banking Organizations That Are Not Subject to the Advanced Approaches Capital Rules (RIN: 3064-AE 63) received November 30, 2017, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; (110 Stat. 868); to the Committee on Financial Services.

3282. A letter from the Director, Office of Congressional Affairs, Nuclear Regulatory Commission, transmitting the Commission's final rule — Clarification of Licensee Actions in Receipt of Enforcement Discretion per Enforcement Guidance Memorandum EGM 15-002, "Enforcement Discretion for Tornado-Generated Missile Protection Noncompliance" [Interim Staff Guidance, Revision 1] [DSS-ISG-2016-01, Revision 1] received November 29, 2017, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; (110 Stat. 868); to the Committee on Energy and Commerce.

3283. A letter from the Deputy Assistant Secretary, Legislative Affairs, Department of State, transmitting the 2017 Annual Report on the Benjamin A. Gilman International Scholarship Program, pursuant to 22 U.S.C. 2462 note; Public Law 106-309, Sec. 304; (114 Stat. 1095); to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

3284. A letter from the Secretary, Department of Education, transmitting the Department's 57th Semiannual Report to Congress on Audit Follow-up, covering the six-month period ending September 30, 2017, pursuant to Sec. 5(b) of the Inspector General Act, as amended; to the Committee on Oversight and Government Reform.

3285. A letter from the Secretary, Department of Veterans Affairs, transmitting the Department's semiannual report from the Office of Inspector General for the period April 1, 2017, through September 30, 2017, pursuant Sec. 5(a) of the Inspector General Act of 1978, as amended; to the Committee on Oversight and Government Reform.

3286. A letter from the Secretary, Department of the Treasury, transmitting the Department's semiannual report to Congress from the Treasury Inspector General and the Treasury Inspector General for Tax Administration for the period of April 1, 2017, through September 30, 2017, pursuant to the Inspector General Act of 1978, as amended; to the Committee on Oversight and Government Reform.

3287. A letter from the Labor Member, Management Member, Railroad Retirement Board, transmitting the Board's semiannual report to Congress, pursuant to Sec. 5 of the Inspector General Act of 1978, Public Law 95-452, as amended; to the Committee on Oversight and Government Reform.

3288. A letter from the Administrator, U.S. Small Business Administration, transmitting the Administration's Semiannual Report to Congress covering the period of April 1, 2017, through September 30, 2017, pursuant to Sec. 5 of the Inspector General Act of 1978, Public Law 95-452, as amended; to the Committee on Oversight and Government Reform.

3289. A letter from the Acting Secretary, Department of Health and Human Services, transmitting the Department's determination on a petition filed on behalf of workers who were employed at the Carborundum Company in Niagara Falls, New York, to be added to the Special Exposure Cohort, pursuant to 42 U.S.C. 7384q(c)(2); Public Law 106-398, Sec. 1 (as amended by Public Law 108-375, Sec. 3166(b)(1)); (118 Stat. 2188); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

3290. A letter from the Acting Secretary, Department of Health and Human Services, transmitting the Department's determination on a petition filed on behalf of workers at the Rocky Flats Plant in Golden, Colorado, to be added to the Special Exposure Cohort, pursuant to the Energy Employees Occupational Illness Compensation Program Act, pursuant to 42 U.S.C. 7384q(c)(2); Public Law 106-398, Sec. 1 (as amended by Public Law 108-375, Sec. 3166(b)(1)); (118 Stat. 2188); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. GOODLATTE: Committee the Judiciary. H.R. 38. A bill to amend title 18, United States Code, to provide a means by which nonresidents of a State whose residents may carry concealed firearms may also do so in the State; with an amendment (Rept. 115–433). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. HENSARLING: Committee on Financial Services. H.R. 2396. A bill to amend the Gramm-Leach-Bliley Act to update the exception for certain annual notices provided by financial institutions; with an amendment (Rept. 115-434). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union

Mr. GOWDY: Committee on Oversight and Government Reform. H.R. 3731. A bill to provide overtime pay for employees of the United States Secret Service, and for other purposes (Rept. 115–435, Pt. 1). Ordered to be printed.

Mr. GOWDY: Committee on Oversight and Government Reform. H.R. 2897. A bill to authorize the Mayor of the District of Columbia and the Director of the National Park Service to enter into cooperative management agreements for the operation, maintenance, and management of units of the National Park System in the District of Columbia, and for other purposes (Rept. 115–436, Pt. 1). Ordered to be printed.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XII, public bills and resolutions of the following titles were introduced and severally referred, as follows:

By Mr. PALLONE:

H.R. 4530. A bill to provide that a person or governmental entity is not subject to civil or criminal liability under Federal law for gaming activity that is lawful under State law, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Energy and Commerce, and in addition to the Committee on the Judiciary, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned.

By Mr. POE of Texas:

H.R. 4531. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to treat rents received by a real estate investment trust from a parking facility leased to a taxable REIT subsidiary in the same manner as rents from lodging and health care facilities leased to

such a subsidiary; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. CURTIS (for himself, Mr. BISHOP of Utah, Mr. STEWART, and Mrs. LOVE):

H.R. 4532. A bill to create the first Tribally managed national monument, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Natural Resources.

By Mr. BARR (for himself, Mr. Rogers of Kentucky, Mr. YARMUTH, Mr. GUTHRIE, Mr. MASSIE, and Mr. COMER):

H.R. 4533. A bill to designate the health care system of the Department of Veterans Affairs in Lexington, Kentucky, as the "Lexington VA Health Care System" and to make certain other designations; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mrs. COMSTOCK:

H.R. 4534. A bill to amend the interstate Compact governing the Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Authority, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure, and in addition to the Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned.

By Ms. DELAURO (for herself, Ms. SLAUGHTER, and Mr. GUTIÉRREZ):

H.R. 4535. A bill to establish limitations on the quantity of inorganic arsenic in rice and rice products under chapter IV of the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act; to the Committee on Energy and Commerce, and in addition to the Committee on Agriculture, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned.

By Mr. DONOVAN:

H.R. 4536. A bill to establish an Anti-Bullying Roundtable to study bullying in elementary and secondary schools in the United States, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Education and the Workforce.

By Mr. DUFFY (for himself, Mr. Heck, Mr. Sherman, Mr. Ross, Mr. Budd, Mr. Capuano, Mr. Rothfus, and Ms. Tenney):

H.R. 4537. A bill to preserve the State-based system of insurance regulation and provide greater oversight of and transparency on international insurance standards setting processes, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Financial Services, and in addition to the Committee on Rules, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned.

By Mr. ELLISON (for himself, Mr. KHANNA, Mr. CICILLINE, Mr. POCAN, Mr. NOLAN, Ms. JAYAPAL, and Mr. GRIJALVA):

H.R. 4538. A bill to require the Attorney General and the Federal Trade Commission to conduct regular merger retrospective reviews of the economic effects of mergers to which section 7A of the Clayton Act applies; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. KEATING (for himself and Mr. FOSTER):

H.R. 4539. A bill to require the Secretary of the Treasury to mint coins in commemoration of the 400th anniversary of the landing of the Mayflower and settlement of Plymouth Colony, the signing of the Mayflower Compact near Provincetown, and the role of the indigenous Wampanoag Tribes in the realization of the settlement; to the Committee on Financial Services.

By Mr. MARINO:

H.R. 4540. A bill to amend the Congressional Accountability Act of 1995 to require

Members of Congress to reimburse the Treasury for amounts paid as awards and settlements under the Congressional Accountability Act of 1995 in connection with violations of such Act which were committed personally by the Members, to prohibit the imposition of nondisclosure agreements as a condition of the payment of an award or settlement in connection with a violation of such Act, and for other purposes; to the Committee on House Administration.

By Mrs. MURPHY of Florida (for herself, Mr. NEAL, and Mr. PALLONE):

H.R. 4541. A bill to extend funding for certain public health programs, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Energy and Commerce, and in addition to the Committee on Ways and Means, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned.

By Miss RICE of New York (for herself and Mr. Krishnamoorthi):

H.R. 4542. A bill to direct the Secretary of Transportation to establish a distracted driving education grant program, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

By Mr. SIRES:

H.R. 4543. A bill to establish a regulatory framework for the comprehensive protection of personal data for individuals under the aegis of the Federal Trade Commission, to amend the Children's Online Privacy Protection Act of 1998 to improve provisions relating to collection, use, and disclosure of personal information of children, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Energy and Commerce.

By Mr. SIRES:

H.R. 4544. A bill to amend the Fair Credit Reporting Act to provide protections for consumers after a data breach at a consumer reporting agency, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Financial Services.

By Mr. TIPTON (for himself and Mrs. CAROLYN B. MALONEY of New York):

H.R. 4545. A bill to amend the Federal Financial Institutions Examination Council Act of 1978 to improve the examination of depository institutions, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Financial Services.

By Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN:

H.J. Res. 123. A joint resolution making further continuing appropriations for fiscal year 2018, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Appropriations.

By Ms. LEE (for herself, Ms. Ros-LEHTINEN, Ms. ESTY of Connecticut, Mr. ELLISON, Mr. CARSON of Indiana, Ms. WASSERMAN SCHULTZ, Mrs. WAT-SON COLEMAN, Mr. TAKANO, Mr. PRICE of North Carolina, Mr. DEUTCH, Mrs. BEATTY, Mr. PAYNE, Ms. JACKSON LEE, Ms. HANABUSA, Mr. COHEN, Ms. CLARKE of New York, Ms. McCOLLUM, Mr. SERRANO, Mr. LEWIS of Georgia, and Mr. CICILLINE):

H. Con. Res. 96. Concurrent resolution supporting the goals and ideals of World AIDS Day; to the Committee on Energy and Commerce, and in addition to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned.

By Mr. JONES (for himself and Mr. YOHO):

H. Res. 643. A resolution amending the Rules of the House of Representatives to observe a moment of silence in the House on the first legislative day of each month for those killed or wounded in the United States engagement in Afghanistan; to the Committee on Rules.

By Ms. BASS (for herself, Mr. ENGEL, Mr. Poe of Texas, Ms. Lee, Mr. Rich-MOND, Mr. PAYNE, Ms. JACKSON LEE, Mr. Lewis of Georgia, Mr. Hastings, Mr. BISHOP of Georgia, Mr. CLYBURN, Ms. NORTON, Ms. EDDIE BERNICE Johnson of Texas, Mr. Thompson of Mississippi, Mr. Blumenauer, Mr. McGovern, Mr. Clay, Mr. Cleaver, Ms. Moore, Mr. Cohen, Mr. Carson of Indiana, Ms. Fudge, Ms. Sewell of Alabama, Mrs. BEATTY, Mr. JEFFRIES, Mr. O'ROURKE, Mr. POCAN, Mr. VEASEY, Ms. KELLY of Illinois, Ms. PLASKETT, Mrs. WATSON COLEMAN, Ms. Blunt Rochester, Mrs. Demings, Mr. ESPAILLAT, Mrs. LAWRENCE, Mrs. LOVE, Mr. KHANNA, Mr. DOGGETT, Mr. RUSH, Mr. PALLONE, and Ms. ADAMS):

H. Res. 644. A resolution strongly condemning the slave auctions of migrants and refugees in Libya, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

CONSTITUTIONAL AUTHORITY STATEMENT

Pursuant to clause 7 of rule XII of the Rules of the House of Representatives, the following statements are submitted regarding the specific powers granted to Congress in the Constitution to enact the accompanying bill or joint resolution.

By Mr. PALLONE:

H.R. 4530.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article I, Section VIII.

By Mr. POE of Texas:

H.R. 4531.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article 1, Section 8, Clause 18

By Mr. CURTIS:

H.R. 4532.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article IV, Section 3, clause 2

Article I, Section 8, clause 18

By Mr. BARR:

H.R. 4533.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article 1, Section 8.

By Mrs. COMSTOCK:

H.R. 4534.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article I, Section 8, Clause 3 (Interstate Commerce Clause)

Article I, Section 8, Clause 17 (District of Columbia; Federal Property Clause)

Article I, Section 8, Clause 18 (Necessary and Proper Clause)

Article I, Section 9, Clause 7 (Appropriations Clause)

Article I, Section 10, Clause 3 (Compact Clause)

By Ms. DELAURO:

H.R. 4535.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article 1, Section 8, Clause 3 of the United States Constitution.

By Mr. DONOVAN:

H R. 4536

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article 1, Section 8 of the United States Constitution.

By Mr. DUFFY:

H.R. 4537.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article I, section 8, clause 1 (relating to the general welfare of the United States); and Article I, section 8, clause 3 (relating to the power to regulate interstate commerce). By Mr. ELLISON:

H.R. 4538.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article I, Section 8, Clause 3, which states: "[The Congress shall have Power] To regulate Commerce with foreign Nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian Tribes;"

By Mr. KEATING:

H.R. 4539

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article 1, Section 8 of the United States Constitution.

By Mr. MARINO:

H.R. 4540.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article 1, Section 8 of the $\bar{\text{U}}$ nited States Constitution.

By Mrs. MURPHY of Florida:

H.R. 4541.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article I, Section 8 of the United States Constitution, which gives Congress the power to regulate commerce among the several states and to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution this power.

By Miss RICE of New York:

H.R. 4542.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article I. Section 8

By Mr. SIRES:

H.R. 4543.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Pursuant to clause 3(d)(1) of rule XIII of the Rules of the House of Representatives, the Committee finds the authority for this legislation in article 1, section 8 of the Constitution.

By Mr. SIRES:

H.R. 4544.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Pursuant to clause 3(d)(1) of rule XIII of the Rules of the House of Representatives, the Committee finds the authority for this legislation in article 1, section 8 of the Constitution.

By Mr. TIPTON:

H.R. 4545.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article I, Section 8, Clause 3 of the United State Constitution:

To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several states, and with the Indian tribes;

By Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN:

H.J. Řes. 123.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

The principal constitutional authority for this legislation is clause 7 of section 9 of article I of the Constitution of the United States (the appropriation power), which states: "No Money shall be drawn from the Treasury, but in Consequence of Appropriations made by Law . . ." In addition, clause 1 of section 8 of article I of the Constitution (the spending power) provides: "The Congress shall have the Power . . . to pay the Debts and provide for the common Defence and general Welfare of the United States Together, these specific constitutional provisions establish the congressional power of the purse, granting Congress the authority to appropriate funds, to determine their purpose, amount, and period of availability, and to set forth terms and conditions governing their use.

ADDITIONAL SPONSORS

Under clause 7 of rule XII, sponsors were added to public bills and resolutions, as follows:

 $\rm H.R.~103;~Ms.~PLASKETT,~Mr.~BISHOP~of~Georgia,~and~Mr.~Soto.$

H.R. 173: Mr. WILSON of South Carolina, Mr. Ruppersberger, Mr. Huizenga, and Ms. Herrera Beutler.

H.R. 176: Mr. HARRIS and Mr. ROKITA.

H.R. 392: Mr. CRAWFORD.

H.R. 632: Ms. Frankel of Florida, Ms. Jayapal, Ms. Clark of Massachusetts, Mr. Panetta, Mr. Carbajal, Mr. Crist, Ms. Rosen, Mr. Tonko, Mr. Espaillat, Mrs. Bustos, Mr. Soto, Mr. Suozzi, Mr. Higgins of New York, Ms. Wasserman Schultz, Mrs. Watson Coleman, Ms. Wilson of Florida, Mr. McEachin, Ms. Sewell of Alabama, Mr. Deutch, Ms. Clarke of New York, Mr. Castro of Texas, Mr. Trott, Mr. Jeffries, and Mrs. Murphy of Florida.

 $\rm H.R.$ 681: Mr. Rogers of Kentucky, Mr. Shuster, and Mr. Comer.

H.R. 754: Mr. BRENDAN F. BOYLE of Pennsylvania and Mr. FARENTHOLD.

H.R. 785: Mr. HARPER and Mr. DESJARLAIS. H.R. 846: Mr. MULLIN.

H.R. 930: Mrs. HANDEL and Mr. FERGUSON.

H.R. 947: Mr. SABLAN.

H.R. 1164: Mr. Schneider, Mr. Hastings, Mr. Brendan F. Boyle of Pennsylvania, Mr. Harris, Mr. Johnson of Louisiana, Mr. McEachin, and Mr. Pallone.

H.R. 1178: Mr. MARINO.

H.R. 1229: Ms. MAXINE WATERS of California.

H.R. 1406: Mrs. DINGELL.

H.R. 1516: Mr. SABLAN.

H.R. 1552: Mr. HARRIS.

H.R. 1676: Mr. GRIJALVA, Mr. SMUCKER, and Mr. ALLEN.

 $\ensuremath{\mathrm{H.R.}}$ 1861: Ms. Clarke of New York and Mr. McEachin.

H.R. 1890: Mrs. Comstock.

H.R. 1897: Mr. PETERS.

H.R. 2024: Mr. Jeffries.

H.R. 2147: Mr. CORREA. H.R. 2162: Mr. SMUCKER.

H.R. 2290: Mr. KELLY of Pennsylvania and Mr. Poliquin.

H.R. 2310: Mr. FERGUSON.

H.R. 2327: Mr. ROKITA.

 $\rm H.R.~2434;~Mr.~Hollingsworth$ and $\rm Mr.~MacArthur.$

H.R. 2452: Mr. DEFAZIO.

H.R. 2475: Mr. HUFFMAN and Mr. YARMUTH. H.R. 2589: Mr. WILSON of South Carolina.

 $\rm H.R.~2740;~Mr.~Foster,~Mr.~Pocan,~and~Mr.~Garamendi.$

H.R. 2796: Mr. HARRIS.

H.R. 2820: Mr. LANCE, Mr. COSTA, and Mr. SOTO.

H.R. 2838: Mr. Johnson of Georgia.

H.R. 2851: Mrs. HANDEL and Mr. BUDD. H.R. 2942: Mr. VEASEY and Mr. SABLAN. H.R. 2948: Mr. RENACCI, Mr. KILDEE, and

Mr. AGUILAR. H.R. 2996: Mr. ARRINGTON.

H.R. 3121: Mr. ROKITA.

H.R. 3139: Mr. SMITH of Missouri.

H.R. 3197: Ms. JAYAPAL and Mr. KIND.

H.R. 3320: Mr. KING of Iowa.

H.R. 3330: Mr. McKinley and Mr. Grothman.

H.R. 3380: Mrs. Napolitano, Mr. Cicilline, and Mr. Capuano.

nd Mr. Capuano. H.R. 3447: Mr. Smith of Missouri.

H.R. 3545: Mr. Lewis of Georgia.

H.R. 3596: Mr. YODER, Ms. SEWELL of Alabama, Mr. DUNN, Mr. COMER, Ms. BROWNLEY of California, and Mr. BERGMAN.

H.R. 3602: Mr. DEFAZIO.

 $\rm H.R.~3635;~Mr.~Harris~and~Mr.~Bishop~of~Michigan.$

H.R. 3642: Mrs. LAWRENCE.

H.R. 3712: Mr. NEWHOUSE.

H.R. 3759: Mr. ROUZER, Mr. BACON, Mr. FASO, and Mr. MAST.

H.R. 3773: Mr. KILDEE, Ms. ESTY of Connecticut, Mr. HUFFMAN, and Mr. CÁRDENAS.

H.R. 3798: Mr. Graves of Missouri, Mr. RODNEY DAVIS of Illinois, and Mr. AMASH.

H.R. 3827: Ms. Eshoo.

H.R. 3861: Ms. Tenney and Mr. Rothfus. H.R. 3956: Mr. Graves of Missouri.

H.R. 4007: Mr. HOYER, Mr. HECK, Ms. MOORE, Ms. MAXINE WATERS of California, Mrs. MIMI WALTERS of California, and Ms. CHENEY

H.R. 4082: Mr. BRENDAN F. BOYLE of Pennsylvania, Mr. Pallone, Mr. Walz, Mr. HIMES, and Mr. SCHNEIDER.

H.R. 4099: Mr. CORREA.

H.R. 4143: Mr. BACON, Mr. GROTHMAN, Mr. KING of Iowa, and Mr. VEASEY.

H.R. 4207: Mr. MITCHELL.

H.R. 4223: Mr. COFFMAN and Mr. KATKO.

H.R. 4229: Mr. Lucas, Mr. Thornberry, Ms. SHEA-PORTER, and Mr. PALAZZO.

H.R. 4253: Mr. POCAN and Mr. ELLISON.

H.R. 4267: Mr. PERLMUTTER, Mr. DAVID SCOTT of Georgia, Ms. TENNEY, and Mr. WIL-

H.R. 4290: Mr. McGovern.

H.R. 4300: Mr. Coffman, Ms. Speier, Ms. NORTON, Ms. MATSUI, Mr. GRAVES of Missouri, Ms. BROWNLEY of California, Mr. RASKIN, and Mr. HIGGINS of New York.

H.R. 4306: Mr. POCAN.

H.R. 4340: Mr. Gosar and Mr. Aderholt.

H.R. 4345: Mr. RYAN of Ohio and Ms. Nor-TON

H.R. 4396: Mr. DEFAZIO, Mr. McGOVERN, Mr. LOWENTHAL, Mr. TAKANO, Mr. POCAN, Ms. ROSEN, Ms. HERRERA BEUTLER, and Mr. O'ROURKE.

H.R. 4431: Mr. COFFMAN.

H.R. 4446: Ms. NORTON.

H.R. 4462: Miss González-Colón of Puerto Rico.

H.R. 4463: Ms. LEE.

H.R. 4471: Mr. FITZPATRICK, Mr. LANCE, and Mr. Lipinski.

H.R. 4485: Mr. KIND and Ms. McCollum.

H.R. 4495: Mr. Duffy.

H.R. 4521: Mr. ESPAILLAT.

H.R. 4522: Mr. COFFMAN.

H. Con. Res. 90: Mr. LOWENTHAL, Ms. TENNEY, Ms. Frankel of Florida, Mr. Costa, and Mrs. Lowey.

H. Con. Res. 95: Mr. LARSEN of Washington, Mr. EVANS, Mr. MOULTON, and Mr. CORREA.

H. Res. 220: Mr. MEEHAN.

H. Res. 252: Ms. Eshoo and Mr. Rush.

H. Res. 318: Mrs. Bustos.

H. Res. 593: Mr. DONOVAN and Mr. KIND.

H. Res. 621: Mr. GRIJALVA. H. Res. 637: Mr. PITTENGER.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 3 of rule XII,

69. The SPEAKER presented a petition of Mr. Gregory D. Watson, a citizen of Austin, Texas, relative to urging Congress to enact legislation that would prohibit the use of any Federal Government funds to settle out of court any allegation that any current or former elected or appointed official within the Federal Government, or any current or former Federal employee, committed sexual harassment while serving in the executive, judicial, or legislative branches of the Federal Government; which was referred jointly to the Committees on House Administration, the Judiciary, and Oversight and Government Reform.



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No. 197

Senate

The Senate met at 3 p.m. and was called to order by the Honorable Joni ERNST, a Senator from the State of Iowa.

PRAYER

The Chaplain, Dr. Barry C. Black, offered the following prayer:

Let us pray.

Spirit of the living God, fall afresh on us this day. Radiate Your hope and power through our lawmakers, creating in their hearts an expectation of Your best for them, our Nation, and our world. May they face their challenges with total confidence in the triumph of Your unfolding providence.

Lord, give our Senators the wisdom to seek ways to work together to find creative solutions to the crucial issues of our time. As they seek to serve Your purposes for their lives in this generation, may they remember the sacrifices of those who fought and died for the American dream.

Lord, change and decay surround us, but You are the same yesterday, today,

We praise You and pray in Your great Name. Amen.

PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE

The Presiding Officer led the Pledge of Allegiance, as follows:

I pledge allegiance to the Flag of the United States of America, and to the Republic for which it stands, one nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

APPOINTMENT OF ACTING PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will please read a communication to the Senate from the President pro tempore (Mr. HATCH).

The legislative clerk read the following letter:

PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE, Washington, DC, December 4, 2017.

To the Senate:

Under the provisions of rule I, paragraph 3, of the Standing Rules of the Senate, I hereby appoint the Honorable Joni Ernst, a Senator from the State of Iowa, to perform the duties of the Chair.

ORRIN G. HATCH, President pro tempore.

Mrs. ERNST thereupon assumed the Chair as Acting President pro tempore.

RESERVATION OF LEADER TIME

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the previous order, the leadership time is reserved.

CONCLUSION OF MORNING BUSINESS

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Morning business is closed.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

EXECUTIVE CALENDAR

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the previous order, the Senate will resume consideration of the Nielsen nomination, which the clerk will report.

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Kirstjen Nielsen, of Virginia, to be Secretary of Homeland Security. RECOGNITION OF THE MAJORITY LEADER

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The majority leader is recognized.

Mr. McCONNELL. Madam President, today the Senate will continue to fulfill its important responsibility to confirm critical nominees for President Trump's administration. We will do that by voting to advance the nomination of Kirstjen Nielsen, the President's choice to serve as Secretary of Homeland Security.

As my colleagues know, this is an incredibly important position within our

government. With responsibilities ranging from cybersecurity, to protecting our borders, to the continued recovery efforts of the recent natural disasters, the Department of Homeland Security requires strong leadership to get the job done. Ms. Nielsen is a qualified candidate with the talent and experience to succeed. As Chief of Staff to the previous DHS Secretary, Gen. John Kelly, she understands the daily operations of the Department and shares our goals for its future.

In addition, her previous tenure with the Department makes her an ideal candidate to be ready to lead the agencv on day one.

Ms. Nielsen is an experienced professional who will help lead the Department as it faces constantly evolving threats. I look forward to advancing her nomination later today, and I urge my colleagues to join me in supporting Ms. Nielsen for this critical national security post.

GOVERNMENT FUNDING BILL

Madam President, on another matter, this week Congress will consider short-term funding legislation to provide resources to address many important issues facing our country. The House recently released its legislative text to fund the government through December 22. I look forward to our colleagues' consideration of that measure.

This bill—one without any controversial policy riders-will continue government funding and give the House and Senate time to complete their work on a long-term solution. It will keep the government open and functional, and it includes critical resources for our national defense and to give States certainty to continue the Children's Health Insurance Program while the bipartisan work on CHIP reauthorization continues.

Congressional leaders continue to work with the administration on a long-term funding proposal to help agencies accomplish their goals and to plan for the future.

• This "bullet" symbol identifies statements or insertions which are not spoken by a Member of the Senate on the floor.



As we wait for the House to take the next steps, I encourage my colleagues in the Senate to review the legislation. We will pass it before the end of the week

TAX REFORM BILL

Mr. President, on one final matter, last week, the Senate passed a critical tax reform bill to jump-start the American economy by putting more money into the pockets of hard-working families and small businesses, creating more jobs and economic opportunity, and taking steps to ensure that jobs and business stay right here in America.

This is a once-in-a-generation opportunity, and we are meeting the challenge.

Soon, the House and Senate will meet in conference to produce a final bill so that we can send it to the President's desk. Then the American people can begin to enjoy the relief.

I want to take a few minutes to thank a number of people who were key to getting us to this point. First, President Trump and Vice President PENCE, who fought for the promise they made to the American people to cut their taxes. Their tenacity, commitment to the effort, and engagement with the Senate were invaluable. I look forward to working with them on the many other priorities we plan to deliver for our country. The President and Vice President are great allies, and we will accomplish much, working together.

I also want to acknowledge the efforts of Secretary Mnuchin, Director Cohn, General Kelly, Marc Short, and many others at the White House who worked with us on this effort.

Speaker RYAN, Ways and Means Committee Chairman BRADY, and our friends over in the House have done great work, as well, and we are looking forward to getting a final bill to the President's desk soon.

To my leadership team, who provide good counsel and good humor even in the most trying of times, thank you—most especially to the majority whip, JOHN CORNYN, who is not only a valued colleague but a trusted friend. JOHN and his whip team, led by Monica Popp, helped navigate many challenges along the way. There is no doubt we wouldn't have made it this far without them.

The chairman of the Finance Committee, ORRIN HATCH. His many years of service in the Senate have brought the expertise and steady hand we needed to get this bill written, out of committee, and on to the floor. Not only is ORRIN an expert at legislating, but he also is a trusted friend, and I thank him for his many years of work to get us to this point.

The chairman of the Budget Committee, MIKE ENZI. There are few people around here who understand this complicated process better than Chairman ENZI, and we are grateful to him as well

The chair of the Energy and Natural Resources Committee, LISA MUR-

KOWSKI. This is an important moment for Alaska and for American energy security.

To the committee staffs: Finance, led by Jay Khosla; Energy and Natural Resources, led by Brian Hughes; Budget, led by Betsy McDonnell; and, of course, the Senate's dean of the tax counsels, Mark Prater—thank you.

There are a number of other Members who have been critical to the process. Senators Thune, Portman, Toomey, and Scott took on the yeoman's work in the Finance Committee as we worked to unite our conference on a bill that everyone could support. I will never forget the time and energy they have put into this effort, and I can't thank them enough. My staff calls them the "core four" of tax reform.

I would also like to extend my gratitude to the Senate Parliamentarians, who worked long hours and weekends with Republicans and Democrats alike to apply the rules of the Senate in a fair and unbiased manner.

The floor staff, doorkeepers, those working for the Sergeant at Arms, Secretary of the Senate, and Architect of the Capitol—those behind the scenes who provide essential support for the Senate whenever we are in session. You are the reason this institution functions so well. In light of the challenges before us, we appreciate your commitment and your service.

To the members of the United States Capitol Police, who stand constant guard and protect the Members, staff, and the millions of visitors who travel here, we are always grateful for your service.

We all know that without our teams on the floor and in the cloakroom, this place simply wouldn't run the way it should. Secretary for the majority, Laura Dove, Robert Duncan, and the whole cloakroom team are invaluable to the work we do each and every day. I would like to thank them for the hours they put in, no matter what the issue of the day may become.

Finally, to my own team—first to Sharon Soderstrom, who leads my staff with focus and commitment to success. I am lucky to have her by my side every day. She makes each of us better by not letting us forget why we are here; that is, to do the right thing for the American people. We have seen a lot of debates together over the last 10 years, and her counsel is always steady and straightforward. She truly is the best of the best.

Don Stewart. Stew keeps us all on our toes but always with a smile. The communications team of Robert Steurer, Antonia Ferrier, David Popp, Stephanie Penn, Kevin Grout, and many more helps communicate in a challenging news environment every single day, and I am so thankful for their efforts.

Hazen Marshall, who has been in the trenches on this every day since we started our work on this bill. Hazen may be the most likeable guy in the Senate but with a backbone of steel.

Jane Lee, my budget lead, smart, cheerful, and determined. To my leader office policy team that gets to work with the committees as well as folks outside the Senate to help keep everyone informed, field questions, and address concerns, I want to thank them all. Scott Raab, Terry Van Doren, and Erica Suares each played a role in this, and I want to thank them. Phil Maxson and my personal office staff, including Katelyn Conner and Liz Strimer, who each day help my whole team keep Kentucky in the forefront of anything we are working on, I can't thank them all enough.

To many others in both my State operation, especially Terry Carmack, and my leader office team, while I can't name everyone by name, know my appreciation goes to each of you as well. Of course, Stef Muchow, my director of operations, keeps everything running, is always working, and I can't imagine this success without her.

Finally, to the man who has been the steady hand in the tax reform effort in my office, Brendan Dunn. His leadership and counsel over the last several months has been absolutely unparalleled. Brendan, many days, worked around the clock to hear from our Members on what they were hearing from our constituents and helped us get to passage of this incredibly significant piece of legislation. He worked with the committees to draft language, rework ideas, present thoughts, and prioritize Member feedback. I couldn't be more proud of Brendan and the work he has done.

Brendan, you have my deep gratitude and admiration for how you have helped manage this critical bill. It is an honor to call you a colleague and also a friend.

I suggest the absence of a quorum. The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

RECOGNITION OF THE MINORITY LEADER
The Democratic leader is recognized.
REPUBLICAN TAX PLAN

Mr. SCHUMER. Madam President, in the early hours of Saturday morning, under the cover of darkness, the Republican majority rushed through one of the worst, most hastily considered pieces of major legislation I have seen in my time in the Senate.

The bill will cause one of the greatest transfers of wealth to corporate America and the already wealthy, while working America picks up the tab. Millions of middle-class families will pay higher taxes under the Republican plan in only a few short years. Because the bill is unpaid for, the deficit will skyrocket, cannibalizing resources for education, scientific research, infrastructure, and our military, endangering Social Security, Medicare, and Medicaid.

As I said last week, I have not seen a more regressive piece of legislation so devoid of a rationale, so ill suited for the condition of the country, so removed from the reality of what the American people need.

The text of the bill itself was released in the early evening, only several hours before a final vote took place. Lobbyists had a chance to read and change the bill before Members of the U.S. Senate. When we received the bill, there were sections of text handwritten in the margins concerning some of the most complex tax provisions. The Joint Committee on Taxation was not even able to produce an analysis of the bill until after the final vote took place at around 2 or 3 in the morning.

Amid such haste, the Republican majority likely made drafting errors and inclusions that will have unintended consequences, even severe ones. Amid such secrecy, such cloak-and-dagger legislating, the majority slipped in several additional goodies for big corporations and the very wealthy that are already being uncovered. I am sure even more will come to light in the coming

The appalling process we all witnessed led Bloomberg News-a middleof-the-road, business-oriented publication—to write the following in an editorial today:

In their rush to pass something, anything, that they can call "tax reform," congressional Republicans have achieved the impossible: They have made an awful plan even worse. The end result is sheer absurdity: a reform that actually complicates the tax code further, and that must contradict itself and partially self-destruct to attain some semblance of the fiscal discipline Republicans claim to value. It's hard to imagine a more egregious waste of time and energy, or a worse outcome for taxpayers and the broader economy.

That is Bloomberg News, not some leftwing publication. It is a business publication. If they can say that, imagine what average Americans are saving. What a condemnation from a publication that would be inclined to favor tax reform. In short, my Republican friends ought to be ashamed of the process and the product that emerged from the Senate last week.

As the two Houses of Congress prepare to go to conference, I suggest that my Republican colleagues reconsider their efforts and think again on how much better of a product we could produce through a bipartisan, open, and transparent process. Regardless, with so much left to do before the end of the year, the Republicans should not be devoting their energies toward the conference on tax reform because this bill, in both the House and Senate, needs dramatic repair.

GOVERNMENT FUNDING BILL

Madam President, on the year-end matter, the most pressing matter before the Senate this week is not tax reform. That has no immediate deadline. Rather, it is to make sure that we keep the government up and running on Fri-

day. Nobody should want to see a government shutdown. We should all be working to avoid one. I must say that I don't believe my Republican friends. Leader McConnell and Speaker Ryan, want a government shutdown. The only one at the moment who has flirted with a shutdown is President Trump, who tweeted earlier this year that we could use a "good 'shutdown' . . . to fix [the] mess" and was quoted in last week's Washington Post suggesting to associates that a shutdown could help him politically.

While congressional negotiators have continued the hard work of hashing out a deal, the President's unproductive behavior has been the only monkey wrench in the process. It is difficult to find a consensus when one of the parties at the table tweets that he "doesn't see a deal."

In a very positive development, however, the White House has reached out and asked for a second meeting with congressional leadership. We hope the President will go to this meeting with an open mind, rather than deciding that an agreement can't be reached beforehand, as he did before the first meeting.

We need to reach a budget agreement that equally boosts funds for our military and key priorities here at home, including: the opioid crisis, pension plans, veterans healthcare, student loan debt relief, and rural infrastructure. We have to provide funding for community health centers and CHIP, as well as relief for the millions of Americans still reeling from the natural disasters that hit us earlier this year. We also must come together on a bipartisan deal to pass the Dream Act, along with tough border security measures. There is a bipartisan path forward on every one of these items.

As negotiations with our Republican counterparts continue, we are hopeful the President will be open to an agreement to address the urgent needs of the American people and keep the government open.

I yield the floor.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

TAX CUTS AND JOBS BILL

Mr. CORNYN. Madam President, as the world knows by now, last Friday night—I guess early in the morning on Saturday—we passed the Senate's version of the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act. the first major overhaul of our Nation's tax system in more than 30 vears.

I want to express my gratitude to Chairman HATCH, the chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, who shepherded that bill through the com-

mittee. I thank him for his leadership, as well as that of Chairman ENZI, who led the reconciliation process in the Budget Committee. I know it is a complex, convoluted, and arcane process, but we couldn't have done it without both of those gentlemen.

I also commend our majority leader, Senator McConnell, and all of our colleagues who worked together for proceeding with final passage and for negotiating in good faith. I have said before, and I will say it again, that one of the differences between this and healthcare reform is that everyone. I believe, on our side of the aisle wanted to get to ves, wanted to find a way to find a solution, and that goes a long way to getting to a solution.

Last week, the majority leader rightfully referred to the process as a oncein-a-generation opportunity, and he is right. I am glad we got this bill across the finish line and will soon deliver to the American people the tax relief they deserve. Notwithstanding some of the propaganda that has been disseminated on this, the fact is, this bill benefits Americans of all stripes, including lowincome families.

Well, let me just start there. This bill doubles the standard deduction, which means a married couple earning up to \$24,000 will pay zero tax on that \$24,000 of earnings. Above that, we have raised the child tax credit to \$2,000 per child. The first \$1,000 of that \$2,000 is refundable. That means that even if you don't pay income taxes, if you don't make enough money to pay income taxes, you will still get the benefit of at least half of that child tax credit. It also reduces the tax bracket for low-income families as well. The bill lowers the current 15-percent rate and increases the child tax credit, both of which help persons of modest means.

This bill also helps the broad middle class. Some of our colleagues ran around like "Chicken Little" during the debate on this bill, saying that eliminating certain deductions will disproportionately harm hard-working families, but that is just not true. A family of four earning the median income of about \$73,000 will see their taxes cut by nearly \$2,200. That may be chickenfeed to some of the folks inside the beltway, but that is real tax relief for hard-working, middle-class families. We also preserve the home mortgage and charitable deductions, and families will enjoy an enhanced child tax credit which, as I mentioned earlier, along with the larger standard deduction, will help them significantly.

Finally, this bill effectively repeals ObamaCare's individual mandate. Some have called this a tax on the poor, which it is because 80 percent of the people who pay the tax or the mandate penalty earn \$50,000 or less, and that is because they can't afford to buy the government-approved health insurance. So their own government, rather than help them find affordable health coverage that suits their needs that they can afford, mandates they buy a

policy they can't afford, and when they don't do it, then taxes them with the individual mandate. We repealed that entirely, which will also ensure more take-home pay for America's families.

For America's job creators, this lowers taxes from 35 percent to a much more nationally competitive rate. What that means is, rather than hiring people overseas and keeping that money overseas earned from their labor, they will be now incentivized to bring it back to the United States to build and to hire in America. Right now, we have the highest tax rate in the industrialized world, 35 percent, when the international average for the industrialized world is roughly about 22 percent. We are getting a little below that at 20 percent, and together, with all the other advantages of doing business in America, we believe there will be a flood of money that is repatriated to the United States that is currently parked overseas, along with the jobs and investment that will go along with that.

Now that the bill has passed the Senate, we will soon begin to discuss the bill in a conference committee. This is how we reconcile the differences between the House version and the Senate version. I know there are a few items of concern and that the two versions of the bill differ to some extent, but I feel confident that with the help of Speaker RYAN and the chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, KEVIN BRADY, we can reach an agreement quickly. It is important that we do so, that we reconcile those differences as quickly as we can, because we want to get this bill on the President's desk before Christmas so the people we are targeting relief for starting from lower income Americans to the middle class, to America's job creators—can begin to enjoy the benefits of the tax cuts and tax reform right out of the gates in 2018.

It is true that our shared goals between the House and Senate are much more important than the small differences in our approaches, and these goals, as we have always agreed on, are increasing the paychecks of American workers and getting the economy working again because, unfortunately, it has become flat and stagnant.

The President has called tax reform rocket fuel, and I think that is right. Our economy has already begun to take off. It is amazing what the American economy will do when it is unleashed from overtaxation and overregulation. We have already seen the consumer confidence at a 16-year high; the stock market is hitting historic highs; people are anticipating the results of the rollback of excessive regulation during the Obama administration and the reduction in taxes, creating a much more competitive environment. It is exciting to see it beginning to happen.

As I said, the GDP grew 3 percent this last quarter, but over the last year it has been about 1.9 percent—so low that it is really not creating new jobs and certainly not creating new investment here in the United States. This tax reform and tax cut bill will change that. It will keep the American motor running fast and smoothly.

Now, it is my sincere hope that those in the driver's seat, the families and companies great and small, will reach destinations that before maybe they only dreamed of because this is really what this legislation is about. It is not about dollars and cents. It is not just about taxes. It is not just about the government's relationship with its own people, the people who are the heart and soul of this great country. This is about America's standing in the world. Will we continue to be the economic leader and the envy of the rest of the world? Will we continue to be able to have the strongest military and the ability to lead and keep the world safe, as opposed to creating vacuums when we retreat? Those vacuums are then filled by the bullies, tyrants, and dictators who certainly don't share our values.

I am excited about what we were able to accomplish last week, but we are not done yet. We need to get this bill reconciled with the House and put it on the President's desk so all Americans can enjoy the benefits of this tax reform, whether it is a direct tax reduction from their tax burden or being relieved from the onerous tax on poverty in the individual mandate or enjoying the benefit of America's increased competitiveness in the world incentivizing businesses to invest hire and improve wages right here in America. I am excited and optimistic about what the future will hold once we get this on the President's desk later this month

DACA

Madam President, the next topic I would like to address is something we refer to as DACA. This is the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals. Of course, this is a program that President Obama instituted because he decided to take an end-run around the Congress and tried to unilaterally provide relief to these young adults who came here as children with their parents illegally.

Being a recovering lawyer and judge myself, I can tell you we don't ordinarily hold children responsible for the actions of their parents. So I believe the President's compassion was appropriately placed, but his fidelity to the Constitution and to Congress's role in coming up with a solution was misplaced. So it is now our chance to put the program where it belongs, which is back into the hands of Congress, working with the administration.

As a result of what President Trump decided to do, which is to give this responsibility for a solution back to Congress, some of our Democratic friends are threatening to shut down the government this month, without an agreement on DACA. That is simply a hysterical and cynical ploy, putting

their party and their agenda ahead of the Nation. How can you claim to care about the 800,000 undocumented immigrants this program protects through work permits and deportation relief, but then turn your back on the 322 million people who need to know that their government is still able to function? That is holding 322 million Americans hostage for their political desire to get a solution on their timetable not on our timetable—and one that if we are successful and able to accomplish in January or February, will be done well in advance of the deadline in March of next year.

Let's all remember the recent course of events. President Trump announced his decision to rescind DACA on September 5 but delayed the decision to take effect for 6 months, giving us a little time to approach this problem thoughtfully and carefully. The chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee then convened a working group to study potential DACA fixes. Finally, last week, Republicans on the Senate Judiciary Committee offered an initial proposal which our Democratic colleagues rejected out of hand, refusing to even make a counterproposal.

The proposal we made included border security, interior enforcement, improvements in the E-Verify system, and a path to legal status for DACA recipients and limits on certain types of chain migration. Members of the Republican caucus, including myself, indicated a willingness to continue to negotiate, saying this was our starting point, but we insisted that any proposed solution must include border security and interior enforcement measures.

Now, as a result of our Democratic colleagues simply rejecting out of hand our initial offer and refusing to negotiate with us, it is fair to say those negotiations are currently at an impasse. By threatening to shut down the government, they are jeopardizing the future fate of those DACA recipients.

We have heard the senior Senator from Illinois, the junior Senator from California, the junior Senator from Vermont all threaten to shut down the government unless they can get their way when they want to get their way sometime this month. Perhaps they are unaware of how dire this ongoing uncertainty is. I come from a State where there are some 124,000 DACA beneficiaries, so I understand what is at stake, and I am committed to doing everything I can to helping provide them some relief, but it is not just my way or the highway. We are going to have to come up with a negotiated outcome that demonstrates our compassion for these young adults who came here as children through no fault of their own and now find themselves trapped.

We need to make sure that, No. 1, we stop or limit as much as we can illegal immigration into the United States, that we enforce our laws, and make sure people do it the right way.

We are the most generous nation in the world when it comes to legal immigration. Our country naturalizes almost 1 million people a year. We are a nation of immigrants, but we are also a nation of laws. That is what our colleagues across the aisle seem to have forgotten about. We will no longer be the great Nation we are if we fail to be a nation of laws.

We need to address the root problems as well. We can't just every few years come negotiate a temporary patch to what is a larger problem. Among them are holes in our porous border. My own State has 1,200 miles of common border with Mexico. We know that our Border Patrol and Customs officials are overwhelmed. There is outdated surveillance and detection technology and a lack heretofore of serious interior enforcement of our immigration laws. We know that our immigration courts are stacked up and badly in need of additional resources.

By playing games and threatening to shut down the government unless our Democratic colleagues get what they want when they want and engaging in stunts to shut down the government, they are only hurting their own cause and the very individuals they claim to be protecting. They are engaging in destructive identity politics and turning their backs on the rest of the Nation.

I hope that those young adults—the Dreamers, they are frequently called whom I described earlier aren't fooled by the theatrics of those who claim to help them. We all want a legislative solution, and we can find one as long as we quit the game-playing and the stunts and we sit down and negotiate seriously to try to come up with an avenue of relief, one borne by typical American compassion for these young people who find themselves at a dead end and those who believe that we need to get to the underlying causes that caused them to be in this situation in the first place; that is, a lack of appropriate border security and enforcement of our immigration laws. We can do this if we quit grandstanding and quit engaging in these sorts of stunts, and I hope we will.

Madam President, I yield the floor. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the

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

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. DURBIN. Madam President, we had a press conference in Chicago this afternoon, and several young people were there. One is named Zarna Patel. Zarna is a student at the Loyola University Stritch School of Medicine. She is from a family that came to the United States from India. They brought her here when she was 3 years old.

When she was growing up, she didn't realize that she was undocumented. She thought she was just like everybody else in her classroom, standing up, pledging allegiance to that flag, and singing the national anthem. It was the only national anthem she knew. But then came high school, and she came to realize that she was different. She wasn't documented. She wasn't "legally in America."

Well, she soldiered on with her life and did quite well. She graduated from college with a degree in science. She prayed and hoped the day would come when she could go to medical school. Lovola University in Chicago offered her—and others like her, who were protected by President Obama's Executive order known as DACA—an opportunity to apply for medical school. They didn't get quotas. It wasn't any kind of affirmative action program. It just said you can compete with all the other students. The word got out around America to those who were protected by President Obama's order that there was a medical school that would accept you if you were protected. The net result of that was over 30 were admitted. They are so extraordinary, some of the best. They were admitted to medical school, and she is one of them. It is a great story, really.

She is realizing her dream to become a doctor, but there is a problem. The problem is that on September 5, President Trump decided to abolish DACA, the program that protects Zarna Patel, and in abolishing it—announcing that he would on March 5 of next year—it meant that she would then lose the protection she had under the previous Executive order.

What difference does it make? Well, it means that she is then subject to deportation, but equally important in her life, she loses the right to legally work in America. You say that she is a student and maybe she doesn't need to work. Well, as a student, she doesn't qualify for any Federal assistance because she is undocumented, and as a student in a medical school, to further your education, you need a residency. We know a residency means an awful lot of hours of working in a hospital that is teaching you how to be a doctor and develop your specialty. So you can't have a residency if you can't legally work in America. That means that, after all of these years of work, it is over; she can't apply for a residency.

The senior Senator from Texas came to the floor and said: Let's not have a hurry-up approach to this issue. Let's slow it down a little bit. The President announced on September 5 that he was going to abolish protection for Zarna Patel and for 780,000 others just like her. Here we are, 3 months later, having done nothing.

Many of us feel a sense of urgency because these young people have their lives on hold. They are living with the anxiety and stress of not knowing whether they will be deported tomorrow or can work. It is a simple thing to

many of us as we read about it. It is life and death in the future for these young people.

So when we say to the Senator from Texas that we need to get this done, it isn't like the Senate is overwhelmed with work. I didn't have to come down here and beg for an opportunity to speak on the floor. You can see it is empty, and it has been empty most of the year. We have done precious little this year. I can point to three or four things the Senate has accomplished. We had plenty of time to address this and still do, but it takes a will on the part of the majority to get this done.

I want to thank several Republican Senators who have stepped up to try to help me get this done, especially LINDSEY GRAHAM, a Republican of South Carolina and my cosponsor of the Dream Act, and other Senators who are sponsoring it and trying to move this forward. Senator JEFF FLAKE, last week, announced that his vote on the tax plan was contingent on a conversation he had with the White House about this issue of DACA and the Dream Act.

The senior Senator from Texas comes to the floor and says I haven't really reached out to him or spoken to him about this. He must have forgotten that I handed him this sheet of paper last week. This was our proposal on border security in the hopes that, by being serious about border security, we could get Republican Senators to join us when it came to protecting those who qualified for DACA in the Dream Act. I gave this to Senator CORNYN. He knows it. I like him. He is my friend. But we have to reach the point where we realize that there is a sense of urgency here. I hear the Senator from Texas say: Well, maybe next year we will get around to it. As of March 5, this program ends, and as of March 5, 1,000 young people will lose their protection every single day for 2 years.

What it means for Zarna Patel and others is the end of a dream, the end of an opportunity to pursue an education. She is not the only one. She is 1 of 30 or 32 at the Loyola Stritch School of Medicine. There are 900 of these young people who currently have volunteered to serve in the U.S. military under the MAVNI Program. If we don't renew this program, they are gone. Think of that. They are technically undocumented and illegal in this country. They volunteered to risk their lives for America in service to our country. Now the Senator from Texas says: Well, we are in no hurry to tell them whether they can continue to serve in our militarv.

As we look across America, we have 20,000 teachers. I met one of those last Friday in Chicago. She is 24 years old, teaching in an inner-city school, and protected by DACA. The minute DACA ends on March 5 of next year, she can no longer legally work in the Chicago Public Schools system. She is finished. Pack up, clean out your desk, and go home.

Is that what we want to see happen across America? We know what these young people are doing. They are going to school. They are working while going to school. They are teachers. They are nurses. They are involved as first responders and law enforcement. They are in medical school.

The Senator from Texas questions why I am in such a hurry to get this done? I am in a hurry to get this done, and he should join me in understanding that there is a sense of urgency here. There are a lot of rumors flying around here. I am not going to honor any of them as to what might occur, other than to say, when we get Senators who are willing to sit down and accept the principle of the Dream Act, that the principle is that those who were brought here as children, who have grown up in the United States, who have no serious criminal charges in their records, and who have completed school have a chance to become legal and become citizens—that is the fundamental of the Dream Act.

It is a bill I introduced 16 years ago. I am still trying to pass it. There are bills that are not identical but are very similar that accept that premise and have been offered twice by Republicans as well.

So if the Senator from Texas will start with the Dream Act, we can then engage in additional conversations about border security. He can take the draft I gave him last week, which includes, incidentally, 12 provisions from his own bill. The Senator from Texas had a bill drafted on border security. We read it. We picked up 12 of the major provisions and included them in our offer to try to get this done in an expedited way.

I will just tell you this. If any Senators want to come to the floor and say it is not that important, it isn't timely, we need not hurry about this, we can get around to it later, I would like them to come home with me. Maybe they should even go home to their own States and meet with these young people and realize that their lives are on hold because we have put this issue on hold.

For goodness' sake, let us face our responsibilities as Senators. Let's do what we are supposed to do—legislate solutions to problems. The President challenged us. He said: I am going to abolish this program; now Congress, you pass a law to create it. He challenged us. Let us accept the challenge and do it in a bipartisan professional way. That is all I have ever asked for and all I continue to ask for.

Yes, I want it done this calendar year. I don't want excuses about maybe next January or maybe next February, because we know that on March 5, when the deadline hits, it will be a disaster for 1,000 of these young people every single day. Yes, there is a sense of urgency. Yes, there is a need for us to work together. I am going to continue to meet with Republican Senators and Democrats to find a solution,

to find a way through this, and to get it done this month in December. How can we, in good conscience, pass a spending bill giving authority and resources to this administration to go out and arrest and deport these young people and not address the underlying issue of their legality and their future in the United States? That, to me, is obvious.

I hope my colleagues, those of good will and good faith, will join me in making sure that we don't go home for the holidays until we get this job done.

BEARS EARS NATIONAL MONUMENT Madam President, very briefly, the President of the United States went to Utah to announce that he has done something that is going to be challenged in court—and should be—but is virtually unprecedented in the history of the United States. Presidents have the authority, going back to President Theodore Roosevelt, to establish monuments around this country—special and that is set aside because we believe it is important for future generations to have special access to it.

President Obama, before he left office, created the Bears Ears National Monument. It is in San Juan County in Utah. I know a little bit about it. Twenty years ago, I visited this area when it was characterized as the Red Rocks Wilderness, and I introduced a bill to protect it.

Over 20 years, little or nothing happened until President Obama designated a monument. Now comes President Trump, who has made a decision to dramatically eviscerate this monument, to basically eliminate 80 or 90 percent of the land that has been set aside

It is a beautiful part of America. It is an extraordinary part of America. It is something that most of us know little about, but if you go to the southeastern corner of Utah, you will find tourists from all over the world who come to see the beauty of this region—the Bears Ears region, the Red Rock Wilderness region.

You ask local people: If you didn't set this aside for future generations, if you didn't protect it, what would you do with this land? The people of Utah are the first to tell me: Well, there is not much you can do with it. We don't think there is oil and gas there to be drilled. The uranium efforts have petered out; there is very little of that that is left. There is not much that can be done with it. But if it is preserved, clearly people want to come visit it and be part of this unique American experience.

When I was there just a few weeks ago, there was a group in Moab, UT, in a gift shop. I kind of drew near the group—there were about a dozen of them—and they were all speaking French. These were French tourists who came to this part of Utah not only to spend their money but to see something special.

President Obama said: Let's protect it. Let's make sure that future generations can indeed enjoy it and value it.

President Trump said: No. For 80 or 90 percent of it, let's make it go away.

This is a terrible decision. It is terrible for this section of Utah, it is terrible for our country, and it is terrible for our future. If we do not protect our natural heritage for our kids, grandkids, and their kids and grandkids, then we have walked away from a fundamental responsibility, and I believe we have

We have a wonderful system across America protecting national parks. If you read the history of some of these national parks, you will know that it was a battle to stop someone who wanted to create a commercial interest there and didn't want it to be protected by the government. In this case, there doesn't appear to be any other economic interest that can really lay claim to this, but there is an effort by the Trump administration to remove the protection anyway. I think that is a serious mistake.

America is not America without its great outdoor spaces—its national parks, its historic monuments—that Congress and Presidents in both political parties have preserved for the benefit of future generations. To diminish our commitment to protecting the natural landscapes and historic places in this country from ruin by exploitation or environmental degradation would constitute a breach of our responsibility both to those who founded this Nation and to those who will inherit it. That is why we are deeply troubled by Trump's announcement President today, which would undermine the preservation of some of the country's most important national monuments and would remove protections for more than 2 million acres of public land—the largest elimination of protected land in the history of the United States of America.

Utah's most cherished national monuments—Bears Ears, which I mentioned, and the Grand Staircase-Escalante—will now be under threat from this new Trump order. Many of these are sacred lands to Native Americans, and they will now be put at risk for desecration and looting. Is that what we want to leave future generations? Is that the honor we are going to give to the lands that were part of the heritage of Native Americans? I think it is a serious mistake.

I hope that some will stand up and speak up about preserving this heritage for future generations.

Madam President, I yield the floor. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will call the roll.

The senior assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

50TH ANNIVERSARY OF ALVIS

Mr. PORTMAN. Madam President, today I am proud to stand here for the

recognition of the 50-year anniversary of a great organization in Ohio—Alvis. It is in Columbus, OH, and was formerly known as Alvis House. It was founded in Columbus, OH, with a broad mission of helping people in the community through human service programs to promote prosperous lives, with a focus on an individual's potential and not their past.

Over the years, I have had the privilege of working closely with Alvis as they have become a model for reentry programs and treatment service programs with a focus on meeting individual goals—a customized approach—building a successful future, and implementing fundamental change for families and for our communities.

Since its opening in 1967, Alvis has grown from a single 15-bed home helping 60 men a year to an organization of 13 locations throughout Columbus, Chillicothe, Dayton, Lima, and Toledo. It now serves more than 8,000 people annually. This agency has helped provide support and hope to thousands of individuals who are returning to their communities after having spent time in the criminal justice system, as well as offering recovery and developmental disability services that encourage health, growth, and independent citizenship.

Alvis has been the recipient of Federal grants authorized by the Second Chance Act for their work in reentry. As the author of the Second Chance Act when I was in the House of Representatives, I have had the opportunity and the privilege to go to Alvis facilities and to see firsthand the good work that is being done using that legislation. I am proud to have worked with my friend and the corporate president and CEO of Alvis, Denise Robinson, to assist Alvis as it delivers services to Ohioans to turn their lives around so that people can indeed fulfill their God-given potential in life, and they have had a lot of successes.

Alvis recently opened its 14th location, the Alvis Pages Recovery and Treatment Center, in April of this year on the South Side of Columbus to help provide access to treatment and recovery. Alvis continues to lead in its mission to turn lives around 180 degrees.

In my work with regard to the opioid crisis in Ohio, we have looked to this treatment center and looked to the model that they provide other treatment centers to turn those lives around.

I am confident that Alvis will continue these next 50 years to offer these same comprehensive services for overcoming the challenges of transitioning out of the correctional system, treating substance abuse, mental health, trauma, and promoting dependence and accountability for those with developmental disabilities.

I applaud the outstanding commitment of Alvis, its staff, and all those who have been involved in reaching this milestone and making these first 50 years such a success in the lives of so many people.

Madam President, I would also like to speak today about a nomination that is before the Senate right now. Today we will have the first vote on Kirstjen Nielsen, the administration's nominee to be the next Secretary of Homeland Security. I want to talk about why I believe she must be confirmed.

I had the privilege of introducing Kirstjen Nielsen during her nomination hearing in the Senate Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs Committee. In that committee, she received broad bipartisan support, and I hope the Senate can now come together in a bipartisan fashion to confirm her as Secretary so she can get on with the critical work of leading the Department of Homeland Security.

I am delighted we are having a cloture vote today—I wish it had been a few weeks ago—and I am looking for a vote to confirm her later this week. I would encourage my colleagues on both sides of the aisle to look carefully at this nomination because we need her there, and it would be great if we had a strong bipartisan vote to send her there. I think she is ready to hit the ground running on day one. I say this because she knows the Department. She knows what the challenges are, and she knows how to address them.

She will be the first Department of Homeland Security nominee ever to have had previous experience at the Department of Homeland Security. She was a Policy Director for the Transportation Security Administration during the George W. Bush administrationthat is TSA. She took over that role shortly after the attacks on September 11, 2001, and later served on President Bush's White House Homeland Security Council as the Senior Director for Prevention, Preparedness, and Response. I got to see her good work in that capacity. Most recently, she served as the Department's Chief of Staff for former Secretary John Kelly. She proved herself during the early stages of the administration's transition and experienced firsthand the challenges of managing this diverse and sprawling agen-

cy. With her homeland security experience from those transformative years in the Department, her industry and homeland security consulting experience, and her most recent efforts in this administration, I believe Ms. Nielsen will be a capable leader—needed badly in this ever-evolving threat environment in which we find ourselves.

Throughout her career in government and in the private sector, Ms. Nielsen has developed extensive experience in homeland security strategy, cyber security, transportation security, and emergency resilience—all critical areas for the next Secretary to understand. As we have seen countless times from terror attacks, cyber attacks, and natural disasters, tragedies persist despite our preparation, and we need to remain resilient and responsive

to overcome new challenges and combat these evolving threats. I believe she gets that. She understands it. I believe she is well qualified to lead the Department of Homeland Security as a result.

From our conversations we have had both before and during her nomination hearing, I can say confidently that Ms. Nielsen is committed to addressing the most pressing issues facing our country. She has signaled that she has a full commitment to working with the U.S. Congress on both sides of the aisle to get this done.

There are so many issues this Department faces. For a moment, I would like to talk about one of those issues that is critically important to me and really to every Member in this body that she has made a commitment to addressing and will be able, I think, to make a big difference; that is, the scourge of deadly forms of synthetic heroin that are being shipped into your communities.

Synthetic heroin—usually fentanyl, sometimes carfentanil—is one of the great new threats we face in our communities. It is an example of one of the emerging threats that the Department of Homeland Security and its agency, Customs and Border Protection, must address.

Fentanyl is up to 50 times more powerful than heroin. Carfentanil is even stronger than that. These drugs are increasingly taking people's lives in my home State of Ohio and around the country. Fentanyl is so deadly that as little as 3 milligrams can be lethal to an adult male.

By initial estimates of 2016 statistics, fentanyl deaths in America have increased by 540 percent in the past 3 years. In 2016 alone, more than 20,000 Americans died from fentanyl overdoses.

Tragically, my home State of Ohio is at the center of this national epidemic. In 2015, fentanyl was involved in slightly more than 38 percent of the State's overdose deaths. Last year, that number increased to more than 58 percent. Fifty-eight percent of our drug overdose deaths in Ohio last year involved fentanyl. In the first 2 months of this year—2017—fentanyl was involved in approximately 90 percent of drug overdoses. So this is an emerging threat to all of our communities.

Fentanyl is a threat to every State represented in this Chamber and in every community. While overdose victims are most often the drug users themselves, it has also become a great threat to law enforcement and to children who have been inadvertently exposed—tragically exposed—to this substance.

An example is Chris Greene, a police officer in East Liverpool, OH. He was exposed to fentanyl while performing a routine car search, he thought, earlier this year. He pulled a couple of guys over. When he pulled them over, he noticed a white powdery substance in the car, and being alert to that, he put on

his gloves, he put on a mask, and he proceeded to determine it was fentanyl they had spread around the car to try to hide the fact that they were moving drugs.

When he got back to the police station after the search to book these individuals, Officer Green noticed there was something on his shirt, and he did what any of us would do; he reached down to brush it off of his shirt. Unfortunately, it was fentanyl, and the fentanyl became exposed to his fingers. Just that small amount absorbing through his skin caused him to have an overdose. This is a big guy, 6 foot 2, 220 pounds, great shape, and he fell to the ground unconscious.

Luckily, he was able to get immediate medical assistance at the police station, but it took four doses of Narcan to revive Officer Green. He said at the time he would have died had he been alone. Think if he had gone home to his family and he had hugged one of his kids and his kids had been exposed to that fentanyl.

So this is a great danger, obviously, to our communities generally and to individuals but also to our first responders who are, unfortunately, finding out that these dangerous poisons are more and more of a danger.

Children are also being exposed. This fall, a 12-year-old Columbus boy died as a result of fentanyl exposure. He was at a sleepover for a birthday party when he came into contact with the deadly poison someone had left lying around. He was unconscious by the time paramedics arrived, and he died in the hospital 2 days later.

These synthetic forms of heroin have created a new challenge for law enforcement as they increasingly account for more and more of our overdose deaths. Combating this threat requires solutions from across the Federal Government, along with local, State, and private sector initiatives. We talked earlier about an organization in Ohio that is dealing with this threat that is coming into our communities, and the private sector and nonprofits have a huge role to play but so does the Federal Government, and so does the Department of Homeland Security. Again, Kirstjen Nielsen understands that need. The Department of Homeland Security plays a critical role in countering the significant threat because it comes through the U.S. mail system, and it is Customs and Border Protection officers who are meant to screen those packages that come in through the mail.

Unlike heroin, which enters the U.S. over land, typically from Mexico, manufacturers, mostly in China, ship fentanyl through the U.S. mail directly into our communities. The Federal Government is responsible here. We are supposed to combat the spread of illegal drugs coming through the mail system, but in the case of fentanyl coming from labs in China, the U.S. Postal Service is oftentimes used as a conduit without any check. Drugs should not

be as easy to send as a postcard, and the U.S. mail service should not be able to be exploited as a drug trafficking service.

This is why we have introduced in the Congress legislation called the STOP Act. It is bipartisan. It is sensible. If enacted, it would give Customs and Border Protection officers, along with their law enforcement partners, the tools they need to identify suspicious packages by requiring the U.S. Postal Service to provide advanced electronic data on all of the packages and mail entering the United States. Already information as to what is in the package, where it is from, where it is going, the name of the center is required if you send it through one of the private carrier systems—UPS, FedEx, DHL, and others. Unfortunately, the Postal Service is not required to do that and, as a result, traffickers do what one would think they would do, they choose our U.S. Postal Service to send this poison into our communities, to a post office box, maybe to an abandoned warehouse address.

This fentanyl is being spread throughout our communities. We need to hold the Postal Service to that same standard.

At a recent hearing, Acting Customs and Border Protection Commissioner Kevin McAleenen voiced his support for reforms like those in the STOP Act and said advanced electronic data would enhance their detection and prevention efforts. I have seen this firsthand. I have visited the sites in Ohio where Customs and Border Protection is asked to screen these packages. When they are with these private carriers, they can find packages, take them offline, and carefully—because it requires a lot of care, given the poisonous nature of the packages—deal with it.

President Trump's opioid commission recently issued its recommendations. They endorsed the STOP Act and called for it to be enacted and implemented into the Commission's final report just a month ago.

At her confirmation hearing last month, Ms. Nielsen voiced her support for the STOP Act. I was pleased to have her commitment to getting this bill into law and implemented by CBP—Customs and Border Protection—so we can keep more of these deadly poisons off our streets.

There is no one solution to the opioid epidemic, but the STOP Act will give law enforcement the tools they need to help stop this synthetic form of heroin from entering our communities in the first place, while also raising the cost of this synthetic heroin. The end result will be saving countless lives.

So to get back to Ms. Nielsen, again, she is eminently qualified for this post and able to address so many of the tough issues we face as a country, including the evolving threats like the fentanyl issue and the terrorism issues we have talked about today. We need her at the Department of Homeland Security. We need her now. She is the

leader we need for this critical and sprawling Department at a time when our homeland security posture has never been more critical, more important.

I hope my colleagues will come together, on a bipartisan basis, and vote Ms. Nielsen out this week as the next Secretary of the Department of Homeland Security.

Thank you. I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. MORAN). The Senator from Alaska.

Mr. SULLIVAN. Mr. President, I wish to first compliment my colleague from Ohio, Senator PORTMAN, on his leadership on so many different fronts in the U.S. Senate. His leadership is nowhere more important than what he has been doing on the opioid epidemic that is raging through Ohio, Alaska, and almost every State in the country. The STOP Act he just talked about is legislation I have cosponsored, and he is leading on it. It is one of the many things we need to do to really get a handle on this.

This should be a bipartisan issue. The opioid epidemic is ravaging through States, families, and communities. There has been no better leader in the Senate than Senator PORTMAN on these issues so I just want to thank him for that.

Mr. PORTMAN. I thank the Senator.

TAX CUTS AND JOBS BILL

Mr. SULLIVAN. Mr. President, I also want to express appreciation to a number of my colleagues and, again, Senator Portman is certainly one of them. We had an important night the other night with regard to the critical passage of the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act. I think it is going to be very important legislation to help grow our economy and, finally, get money in the hands of middle-class families and small businesses so we can finally start growing this economy nationally and, back home in Alaska, get my State out of a deep recession that it is in.

There are a lot of Senators who played critical roles. Senators HATCH, PORTMAN, TOOMEY, SCOTT, and so many others, but, in particular, I want to thank the majority leader. There is a provision in the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act which I think is going to be critical for America and certainly critical for my State, which is to help unlock more of the vast energy resources we have in Alaska, particularly on the coastal plain of the North Slope—what we call the 1002 area of Alaska. That pass is part of this bill. It is something in Alaska we have been working through in a bipartisan manner. Over 70 percent of Alaskans want to get this done. We have been working on it in Alaska for over 40 years to get this done.

I really want to commend and thank the majority leader, MITCH MCCONNELL. Over a year ago, he and I sat down to talk about doing this. Every step of the way, his commitment to me and to the people of Alaska to make this happen for my State as well as for our great country—he was there for us.

So I want to thank the majority leader for that firm commitment to helping on an issue that has been critical to Alaskans for decades. We have never realized it. We have a lot more work to do before we get there, both on the tax bill and the 1002 area provision in it, but we are closer. We are closer, in large measure, because of the leadership of the majority leader, and I thank him.

Mr. President, I have been coming to the floor—many of us have been, actually—for the last several weeks to talk about a really important issue for the country; that is, getting administration officials in the Trump administration confirmed by this body. There has been a resistance, a desire to not want to move very qualified people, unfortunately, by my colleagues on the other side. It is just not helping the country.

With each new administration, our great Nation sees a peaceful transition of power. It is a remarkable pillar of American democracy. This doesn't include just the transition with regard to the President and Vice President but also the team of officials in the Federal Government at senior levels who are required to run this country. Good people, whether it is a Democratic or a Republican administration—Republican administration is not always easy to serve—and what we have been trying to do is help this administration find, get nominated by the President, and confirm high-quality American people in these jobs to serve their country.

As a Senator from Alaska, I have had particular focus on Alaskans to serve in positions of the Federal Government, and I will say that the Trump administration has been very receptive to a number of these highly qualified Alaskans who want to serve their country, but, unfortunately, what we are seeing on the other side is just obstruction. They don't want to move people. They never explain it.

I have come to the floor and given this speech several times, and I have asked for the minority leader to come to the floor to explain why they are delaying all of these very well-qualified Americans who want to serve their government. Come to the floor and explain it. Tell the American people why Assistant Secretaries across Federal agencies who have been waiting months to be confirmed by this body, who have been voted out of committee, with big bipartisan numbers, sit and wait and wait. What good is that doing for the country? Come to the floor and explain it. I have been asking them to come to the floor and explain it, and they never take me up on the offer.

So, unfortunately, we know the numbers. At this point, 8 years ago in the Obama Presidency, almost 70 percent—almost 70 percent—of the nominees by President Obama, who won his election, were confirmed by the Senate.

Now, I wasn't in the Senate then, but I know my colleagues on this side of the aisle, if they didn't like someone,

they could vote against them; they could put a hold on them for a while and get their questions answered. So that is the way it worked. That is normal. Those numbers are about normal. At the same time now, under the Trump administration's Presidency, the Senate has only confirmed 40 percent—40 percent. Now, is that helping the country? No. It is not helping the country. Do they ever come to the floor and explain why they are resisting? No. So it is a frustration, and it is not helping the country. We need good people in government.

If this trend continues, with the number of people we need to confirm for the remaining Presidential-appointed positions, it will take us more than 11 years. Let me repeat that—more than 11 years. We all know a Presidential term lasts 4 years.

This is unprecedented. It is unprecedented; go take a look. Yet the other side doesn't want to explain why they are so focused on obstruction. It is certainly not helping the people. The vast majority of these nominees are really well qualified.

NOMINATION OF JOSEPH BALASH

I want to talk about someone I know really well who is part of this partisan logjam. He is an Alaskan. His name is Joe Balash. I am a little biased here; he was my former chief of staff in the Senate. But Joe is also the former commissioner of the Department of Natural Resources in Alaska; he was the deputy commissioner. What is the position he has been nominated for? To be the next Assistant Secretary of the Interior for Lands and Minerals—essentially, the Federal official who would be working with Secretary Zinke at the Department of the Interior to oversee Federal lands-minerals, mining, oil, gas, onshore, offshore—for the country. It is a really big job in Alaska; 66 percent of our lands are Federal. But this is a huge job for the country and a really important job, as we are trying to take advantage of this new energy renaissance in our Nation, which is great for the Nation, great for jobs, great for foreign policy, great for energy security.

Joe Balash comes super well qualified. The DNR commissioner in Alaska manages one of the largest portfolios of land, oil, gas, water, minerals, and timber of anyplace in the world—in the world.

Nobody doubts that Joe is very well qualified for this position. As a matter of fact, on September 19, Joe's nomination was voted out of the Energy and Natural Resources Committee by voice vote, which means unanimously, with the exception of one Senator who said that he wanted to vote no. Every other Senator—it was very bipartisan.

We might not fully agree with all the policies he wants. I was talking earlier about opening the coastal region of the Arctic Slope, the North Slope, in Alaska, which we voted on last week in the Senate. Certainly, Joe Balash is supportive of that as an Alaskan. If someone doesn't like that, they should just

come down here and vote against him, but he has been put on hold. I have been trying for weeks to figure out why. Who has a hold on him?

I want to compliment the Democratic whip from Illinois, Senator DURBIN. I reached out to him several weeks ago. He mentioned to me that he had a hold on him. He said that there were certain things he wanted to get from the Secretary of Interior in some meetings. So I worked with Senator DURBIN and Secretary Zinke, and after those meetings it looked as if it was all good. The Senator from Illinois said to me: We are ready to move forward with him. So I appreciated that; it was very constructive.

As I mentioned, I am not opposed to holds. Sometimes it is important to put holds on administration officials. I did it in the Obama administration. I have done it even for some Trump administration nominees. But what is going on here, after working with the Democratic whip, seemingly clearing out everything—and he thought we were, too—getting ready to move Joe Balash. No, all of a sudden, there is a "secret hold"—a secret hold on Joe Balash. He is very qualified for the job, but somebody has a secret hold.

My colleagues on the other side talk a lot about transparency, but this has been months now. Working with the Democratic whip—again, in good faith, and he worked hard and I am complimenting him as much as I can on this. Then someone else decides: No, I am going to keep holding. But I am not going to come down here and say who it is or why or how long they want or what else they want out of the administration or maybe it is a question for Mr. Balash.

My point is, if Senators want to vote down or oppose a nominee, they should make their opposition known and transparent.

We are going to have a vote here in a couple of minutes. After the vote, I am going to come back to the floor. I could do it right now, but I am trying to be respectful to my colleagues on the other side of the aisle, even the secret holder, whoever he or she is. But I am going to come down and make a unanimous request to move Joe Balash forward. We have been waiting for months.

Maybe they don't want to show who the secret holder is, but I really hope my colleagues will come down and will not object. We are going to do this in a little bit, and I am going to essentially try to free Joe Balash, I am hopeful that we can agree on that and move this very well-qualified candidate forward. Maybe there is going to be an objection. We will see. I am going to ask for this in about half an hour. But if there is an objection, I certainly hope the secret holder is going to come to the Senate floor, speak to the American people, and say: Here is why I am secretly holding this guy, even though he is very well qualified, even though

unleashing the American energy renaissance for the country is great for everybody.

I am hopeful that whoever it is can show a little transparency. Hopefully, they will agree, but if they don't, come on down. Tell us who you are; tell us what the problem is.

We need to put good people in government, whether Democrat or Republican. Keeping people out of the government is not helping the American people. That is what is happening here, and, unfortunately, the other side is getting away with it. The media will not write about it, but it is a big problem, and people should be concerned.

Finally, in a couple of minutes, we are going to be voting on Kirstjen Nielsen for a really important job: the Secretary of Homeland Security. It goes without saying how important this job is. Every day, every minute of the day, that Department is trying to protect the American people, and we don't have a Secretary there right now.

I believe she is very well qualified. A number of people have spoken about her qualifications. I had a very good meeting with her on a whole host of issues. I certainly hope my colleagues will vote to move her nomination forward. If they don't like her, if they want to vote against her, great; vote against her. But we need good people in government, and there is no more important position right now in America than the Secretary of Homeland Security.

I encourage my colleagues to please vote to move her nomination and confirmation forward—but no more secret holds. If you have a problem, let us know what it is.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Wisconsin.

Mr. JOHNSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I be allowed to finish my remarks before the vote begins.

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

Mr. JOHNSON. Mr. President, I am pleased to speak today in support of Kirstjen Nielsen in her nomination to be the sixth Secretary of the Department of Homeland Security.

The challenges facing the next Secretary of the Department of Homeland Security are daunting. Our national debt exceeds \$20 trillion, and there is, unfortunately, no serious effort to reduce the 30-year projected deficits, which exceed more than \$100 trillion.

In the last few months, we have experienced unprecedented destruction from natural disasters, stressing the budgets of both HHS and FEMA. Our borders are not secure, allowing illegal immigration to persist, illicit drugs to flow unabated, and making us vulnerable to external forces. Meanwhile, our enemies are emboldened

The threat of Islamist terrorism has evolved, metastasized, and spread throughout the world, even reaching our homeland. We see increased stress

from cyber attacks, hacking, and social media-inspired acts of terrorism. We face perhaps the greatest danger from enemies within. In the past 5 years, 262 Americans have been killed and over 1,000 injured from acts of evil committed here at home. These are some of the challenges awaiting the next Secretary of Homeland Security.

The Secretary oversees a department that is composed of 22 separate agencies, each with a diverse mission. It employs 240,000 people, with a budget of \$66 billion. It faces challenges with unity of effort and habitually low morale.

President Trump nominated Ms. Nielsen to lead DHS, and she is ready to answer this call of duty. She has been working in and around the Department since its creation. Ms. Nielsen brings valuable, practical experience to DHS. She is an expert in risk management, with a focus on cyber security, emergency management, and critical infrastructure.

In the aftermath of 9/11, Ms. Nielsen served as the Director of the Office of Legislative Policy at TSA. She then moved to the White House Homeland Security Council as Special Assistant to the President for Homeland Security and Senior Director for Prevention, Preparedness, and Response.

Before rejoining DHS earlier this year, Ms. Nielsen founded a risk and security management consulting firm.

Ms. Nielsen served as DHS Chief of Staff under then-Secretary Kelly, witnessing firsthand how the right leadership and support can quickly and dramatically improve agency morale.

General Kelly calls Ms. Nielsen a superstar. In a letter supporting her swift confirmation, he wrote: "What truly sets Kirstjen apart is her integrity, sense of service to our nation, and dedication to the men and women who risk their lives serving our great country every day."

Former Secretaries Tom Ridge and Michael Chertoff have also voiced their support, as have more than 40 former senior homeland security and intelligence officials from both parties. Secretaries Ridge and Chertoff wrote of Ms. Nielsen:

Ms. Nielsen is a homeland security leader for our times. More than any previous Secretary, she understands the 21st Century challenges of the borderless cyber domain and has worked in both the public and private sectors to address this deeply interconnected and consequential risk to America's national security and economic stability.

Kirstjen Nielsen offers our nation the credentials required of the Secretary of Homeland Security in today's environment: expertise in homeland security policy and operations; national and international perspective; and public and private sector experi-

I do want to thank my colleagues on the Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs for their support and cooperation in moving this nomination quickly through committee and to the floor vote that we are about to undertake. To my colleagues, I just want to say that we are fortunate to have a nominee with such experience and dedication to the mission of the Department of Homeland Security, and I urge all of you to support her confirmation.

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

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

CLOTURE MOTION

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Pursuant to rule XXII, the Chair lays before the Senate the pending cloture motion, which the clerk will state.

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.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. By unanimous consent, the mandatory quorum call has been waived.

The question is, Is it the sense of the Senate that debate on the nomination of Kirstjen Nielsen, of Virginia, to be Secretary of Homeland Security, shall be brought to a close?

The yeas and nays are mandatory under the rule.

The clerk will call the roll.

The senior assistant legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. CORNYN. The following Senators are necessarily absent: the Senator from Tennessee (Mr. CORKER), the Senator from South Carolina (Mr. GRAHAM), the Senator from Utah (Mr. HATCH), and the Senator from Utah (Mr. LEE).

Mr. DURBIN. I announce that the Senator from Minnesota (Ms. KLOBUCHAR), the Senator from Oregon (Mr. MERKLEY), the Senator from Vermont (Mr. SANDERS), and the Senator from Oregon (Mr. WYDEN) are necessarily absent.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. LANKFORD). Are there any other Senators in the Chamber desiring to vote?

The yeas and nays resulted—yeas 59, nays 33, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 304 Ex.]

YEAS-59

Alexander	Cassidy	Cruz
Barrasso	Cochran	Daines
Blunt	Collins	Donnelly
Boozman	Coons	Enzi
Burr	Cornyn	Ernst
Capito	Cotton	Fischer
Carper	Crapo	Flake

NAYS-33

Baldwin	Feinstein	Murphy
Bennet	Franken	Murray
Blumenthal	Gillibrand	Peters
Booker	Harris	Schatz
Brown	Hassan	Schumer
Cantwell	Heinrich	Shaheen
Cardin	Hirono	Stabenow
Casey	Kaine	Udall
Cortez Masto	Leahy	Van Hollen
Duckworth	Markey	Warren
Durbin	Menendez	Whitehouse

NOT VOTING-8

Corker	Klobuchar	Sanders
Graham	Lee	Wyden
Hatch	Merkley	

The PRESIDING OFFICER. On this vote, the yeas are 59, the nays are 33.

The motion is agreed to.

The Senator from Alaska.

NOMINATION OF JOSEPH BALASH

Mr. SULLIVAN. Mr. President, I came to the floor a half hour ago talking about a very well-qualified candidate for the Assistant Secretary of Interior for Lands and Minerals, Joe Balash, whom I happen to know very well. He was my former chief of staff, and he is the former Commissioner of Natural Resources in Alaska. He is very well qualified. His nomination came out of our committee with only one vote against him.

This nomination has been waiting on the floor for several weeks now, but I just had a constructive conversation with Members on the other side of the aisle. What we intend to do is revisit Mr. Balash's nomination in the next 24 hours, and, hopefully, we will free Joe Balash to go serve the people of America and the people of Alaska. I know he will do a very good job.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority leader.

LEGISLATIVE SESSION

MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to legislative session for a period of morning business, with Senators permitted to speak therein for up to 10 minutes each.

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

HONORING NEVADA'S WORLD WAR II FILIPINO VETERANS

Mr. HELLER. Mr. President, today I wish to honor several Nevada heroes who recently received the Congressional Gold Medal for their service in the Philippines during World War II:

Sergeant Regalado Baldonado, Private Aurelio Dela Cruz, Corporal Benito Anton, and Private First Class Leonardo Palao and the many other Filipino and Filipino-American veterans across our Nation.

I would also like to acknowledge Maximino Vasquez, a recognized World War II Filipino veteran and Nevada resident who is on his way to receiving the Congressional Gold Medal as well. My appreciation for all of their service and sacrifice is immeasurable.

During World War II, more than 260,000 Filipino soldiers from the U.S. Commonwealth of the Philippines answered President Roosevelt's call to fight under the American flag. These individuals fought bravely, some making the ultimate sacrifice in defense of democracy and freedom. More than half a century later, our Nation made a commitment to honoring them for their service.

As a member of the Senate Veterans' Affairs Committee, I believe it is our solemn responsibility to recognize those who put their lives on the line. That is why I was proud to work with my colleague Senator Hirono to pass into law the Filipino Veterans of World War II Congressional Gold Medal Act, Public Law 114–265, to recognize the dedication and heroism of these individuals

On October 25, 2017, Congress paused to recognize Filipino World War II veterans with the Congressional Gold Medal, the Nation's highest civilian honor, and I could not be more proud and humbled that Nevada is home to Filipino veterans who served and are most deserving of this medal. Today I would like to again recognize and honor Filipino veterans who are living Nevada: Regalado Baldonado, Aurelio Dela Cruz, Benito Anton, Leonardo Palao, and Maximino Vasquez. To these heroes, your place in history will not be forgotten. There are also many other Filipino veterans from Nevada who have passed on, but our gratitude extends to their family members who will ensure their legacy lives

While the awarding of this Congressional Gold Medal is a proud moment for the Filipino community and America, many Filipino veterans have yet to receive recognition for their service. There is no doubt to me that Filipino soldiers served honorably in the Commonwealth Army of the Philippines, Recognized Guerilla Forces, and New Philippine Scouts alongside U.S. troops during World War II. However, some have still not been verified by the U.S. for their service because they don't have the documentation the U.S. requires. This is an injustice that I will continue fighting so that every Filipino veteran is afforded respect for and acknowledgement of their contributions to our country.

I am honored to acknowledge all Filipino and Filipino-American veterans for their dedication to our country and am proud this Congressional Gold Medal will serve as a constant reminder of the importance of the Filipino and Filipino-American community in our Nation's history.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

At 3:02 p.m., a message from the House of Representatives, delivered by Mr. Novotny, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House has passed the following bill, in which it requests the concurrence of the Senate:

H.R. 1699. An act to amend the Truth in Lending Act to modify the definitions of a mortgage originator and a high-cost mortgage, to amend the Secure and Fair Enforcement for Mortgage Licensing Act of 2008 to modify the definition of a loan originator, and for other purposes.

MEASURES REFERRED

The following bill was read the first and the second times by unanimous consent, and referred as indicated:

H.R. 1699. An act to amend the Truth in Lending Act to modify the definitions of a mortgage originator and a high-cost mortgage, to amend the Secure and Fair Enforcement for Mortgage Licensing Act of 2008 to modify the definition of a loan originator, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

SUBMISSION OF CONCURRENT AND SENATE RESOLUTIONS ON DECEMBER 1, 2017

The following concurrent resolutions and Senate resolutions were read, and referred (or acted upon), as indicated:

By Mrs. McCASKILL (for herself and Mr. Blunt):

S. Res. 347. A resolution commemorating the 62nd anniversary of the dedication of Whiteman Air Force Base; considered and agreed to.

INTRODUCTION OF BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS

The following bills and joint resolutions were introduced, read the first and second times by unanimous consent, and referred as indicated:

By Mr. HEINRICH (for himself, Mr. HELLER, Mr. UDALL, Mr. RISCH, Mr. BENNET, Mr. CRAPO, Mr. WYDEN, Mr. GARDNER, Mr. DAINES, and Mr. TESTER):

S. 2185. A bill to reauthorize the Federal Land Transaction Facilitation Act, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

By Mr. COONS (for himself, Ms. BALD-WIN, Mr. MARKEY, Mr. CASEY, Mr. MURPHY, and Mr. MERKLEY):

S. 2186. A bill to modernize laws and policies, and eliminate discrimination, with respect to people living with HIV/AIDS, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MENENDEZ:

S. 2187. A bill to establish a regulatory framework for the comprehensive protection of personal data for individuals under the aegis of the Federal Trade Commission, to amend the Children's Online Privacy Protection Act of 1998 to improve provisions relating to collection, use, and disclosure of personal information of children, and for other

purposes; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

By Mr. MENENDEZ:

S. 2188. A bill to amend the Fair Credit Reporting Act to provide protections for consumers after a data breach at a consumer reporting agency, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs

By Mr. MARKEY (for himself and Ms. WARREN):

S. 2189. A bill to require the Secretary of the Treasury to mint coins in commemoration of the 400th anniversary of the landing of the Mayflower and settlement of Plymouth Colony, the signing of the Mayflower Compact near Provincetown, and the role of the indigenous Wampanoag Tribes in the realization of the settlement; to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

By Ms. HEITKAMP:

S. 2190. A bill to amend the Agricultural Act of 2014 to remove a limitation on funding for emergency assistance for livestock, honey bees, and farm-raised fish, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry.

By Mr. NELSON:

S. 2191. A bill to promote investments in renewable energy and consumer loans for residential solar energy systems; to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

SUBMISSION OF CONCURRENT AND SENATE RESOLUTIONS

The following concurrent resolutions and Senate resolutions were read, and referred (or acted upon), as indicated:

By Mr. INHOFE (for himself and Mr. ENZI):

S. Res. 348. A resolution reaffirming the strategic partnership between the United States of America and the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia and encouraging inclusive governance in the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

ADDITIONAL COSPONSORS

S. 115

At the request of Mr. Heller, the name of the Senator from Texas (Mr. CORNYN) was added as a cosponsor of S. 115, a bill to amend title 38, United States Code, to authorize the Secretary of Veterans Affairs to provide for an operation on a live donor for purposes of conducting a transplant procedure for a veteran, and for other purposes.

S. 856

At the request of Mrs. McCaskill, the name of the Senator from Montana (Mr. Tester) was added as a cosponsor of S. 856, a bill to amend the Higher Education Act of 1965 and the Jeanne Clery Disclosure of Campus Security Policy and Campus Crime Statistics Act to combat campus sexual assault, and for other purposes.

S. 1295

At the request of Mr. Casey, the name of the Senator from New Hampshire (Mrs. Shaheen) was added as a cosponsor of S. 1295, a bill to amend the Higher Education Act of 1965 to provide students with disabilities and their families with access to critical information needed to select the right college and succeed once enrolled.

S 100

At the request of Mr. Gardner, the name of the Senator from Indiana (Mr. Young) was added as a cosponsor of S. 1901, a bill to require global economic and political pressure to support diplomatic denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula, including through the imposition of sanctions with respect to the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and any enablers of the activities of that Government, and to reauthorize the North Korean Human Rights Act of 2004, and for other purposes.

S. 2070

At the request of Mr. GRASSLEY, the name of the Senator from Maryland (Mr. VAN HOLLEN) was added as a cosponsor of S. 2070, a bill to amend the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994, to reauthorize the Missing Alzheimer's Disease Patient Alert Program, and to promote initiatives that will reduce the risk of injury and death relating to the wandering characteristics of some children with autism.

S. 2114

At the request of Mr. ISAKSON, the names of the Senator from Massachusetts (Ms. WARREN) and the Senator from Wisconsin (Ms. BALDWIN) were added as cosponsors of S. 2114, a bill to award a Congressional Gold Medal to the 5307th Composite Unit (Provisional), commonly known as "Merrill's Marauders", in recognition of their bravery and outstanding service in the jungles of Burma during World War II.

SUBMITTED RESOLUTIONS

SENATE RESOLUTION 348—REAFFIRMING THE STRATEGIC
PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
AND THE FEDERAL DEMOCRATIC
REPUBLIC OF ETHIOPIA AND ENCOURAGING INCLUSIVE GOVERNANCE IN THE FEDERAL DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF ETHIOPIA

Mr. INHOFE (for himself and Mr. ENZI) submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations:

S. RES. 348

Whereas the first pillar of the 2012 United States Strategy toward Sub-Saharan Africa is to strengthen democratic institutions;

Whereas the third pillar of the 2012 United States Strategy toward Sub-Saharan Africa is to advance peace and security:

Whereas Ethiopia is one of the top troop contributing countries to the United Nations' peacekeeping missions, providing over 8,000 soldiers to United Nations missions around the world;

Whereas Ethiopia has contributed over 4,000 troops to the African Union Mission to Somalia (AMISOM);

Whereas the Government of Ethiopia, in collaboration with the United States Government, trained the National Army for Somalia, supported the fight against Al-Shabaab militants, and deployed its troops in support of regional protection force in South Sudan;

Whereas the close cooperation and strategic partnership between the United States of America and the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia has been built on over a century of close cooperation and support;

Whereas the Government of Ethiopia continues to play a crucial role in Africa and specifically in East Africa, and the partnership in counterterrorism activities with the United States is vital for regional peace and stability;

Whereas the United States has welcomed Ethiopia's participation in the Global Coalition to Counter ISIS;

Whereas the United States held a Strategic Dialogue with Ethiopia in Addis Ababa on July 27, 2015, during the visit by President Barack Obama to strengthen the bilateral relationship;

Whereas respect for democracy, inclusive governance, human rights, and civil liberties have been core pillars of United States foreign policy:

Whereas the Government of Ethiopia expressed its commitment to the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights by taking necessary measures to implement the National Human Rights Action Plan adopted by the House of Peoples Representative of the FDRE:

Whereas the Ethiopian Human Rights Commission (EHRC) conducted an independent and thorough investigation into the deaths and injuries caused during the protests in Ethiopia in 2016 and submitted its report with recommendations to the House of Peoples Representative of the FDRE; and

Whereas, on August 9, 2017, the Government of Ethiopia lifted a State of Emergency that had been imposed on October 9, 2016, to bring about peace and stability following violent protests that resulted in the destruction of government and personal property and the deaths of civilian and security officials: Now, therefore, be it

cials: Now, therefore, be it Resolved, That the Senate-

(1) reaffirms the commitment of the United States Government to support the Government of Ethiopia—

(A) to provide training and resources to counter terrorism and violent extremism and address security concerns in the Horn of Africa:

(B) to bolster trade and investment in the private sector between the United States and Ethiopia;

(C) to continue the support to strengthen higher education and promote health through the exiting mechanisms;

(D) to continue the humanitarian assistance with the United States Agency for International Development to the people affected by the drought; and

(E) calls on the Secretary of State to engage with the Government of Ethiopia in strengthening the bilateral Working Group on Democracy, Governance and Human Rights, and provide support in the implementation of the National Human Rights Action Plan:

(2) condemns the violence that resulted in the death of over 500 Ethiopians;

(3) calls on the Government of Ethiopia—

- (A) to hold accountable all personnel responsible for the death and destruction that took place as a result of violent protests in the Oromia and Amhara regions and publicly release information in a written report;
- (B) to respect the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and guarantee freedom of the press and mass media in keeping with Articles 30 and 29 of the Ethiopian constitution; and
- (C) to engage in open and transparent consultations relative to its development strategy, especially those strategies that could result in people's displacement from land, offering those displaced from their land the

right to seek remedy or redress in courts and providing a transparent means to access justice for those displaced;

(4) calls on the Administrator of the United States Agency for International Development to continue to lead efforts to work with the Government of Ethiopia to improved democracy and governance; and

(5) calls on the United States Agency for International Development to assist the Government and people of Ethiopia in capacity building in all areas.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE AUTHORITIES ACT, FISCAL YEAR 2017, IMPROVEMENTS ACT

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, I ask that the Chair lay before the Senate the message to accompany S. 371.

The Presiding Officer laid before the Senate the following message from the House of Representatives:

Resolved, That the bill from the Senate (S. 371) entitled "An Act to make technical changes and other improvements to the Department of State Authorities Act, Fiscal Year 2017.", do pass with an amendment.

Mr. McCONNELL. I move to concur in the House amendment, and I ask unanimous consent that the motion be agreed to and the motion to reconsider be considered made and laid upon the table.

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

ORDERS FOR TUESDAY, DECEMBER 5, 2017

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate completes its business today, it adjourn until 10 a.m., Tuesday, December 5; further, that following the prayer and pledge, the morning hour be deemed expired, the Journal of proceedings be approved to date, the time for the two leaders be reserved for their use later in the day, and morning business be closed; finally, that following leader remarks, the Senate proceed to executive session and resume consideration of the Nielsen nomination; further, that at 12:30 p.m., the Senate stand in recess subject to the call of the Chair; finally, that all time during recess, adjournment, morning business, and leader remarks count postcloture on the Nielsen nomination.

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

TAKING OF OFFICIAL SENATE PHOTOGRAPH

Mr. McCONNELL. For the information of all Senators, the official Senate photograph will be taken tomorrow immediately following the conference lunches.

ORDER FOR ADJOURNMENT

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, if there is no further business to come before the Senate, I ask unanimous consent that it stand adjourned, following the remarks of Senator Brown. The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The Senator from Ohio.

S. 2155

Mr. BROWN. Mr. President, I thank the majority leader for recognizing me.

Last week, the Senate gave tax handouts to millionaires, billionaires, and multinational corporations that ship jobs overseas, and the middle class got almost nothing. This week, it is the banks' turn, and just like last week, working people get ignored again.

The bill the Senate Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs Committee will take up tomorrow, S. 2155, puts taxpayers at risk of another bank bailout and puts homeowners at risk of the same traps that led to the foreclosure crisis, all while, again, doing virtually nothing for hard-working Americans.

While Congress has been preoccupied doing the bidding of special interest lobbyists, American families started getting notices in the mail that their Children's Health Insurance Program, or CHIP, health insurance will be yanked away. There are 209,000 children in my State, the sons and daughters of low-income workers making 8, 10, or \$12 an hour and who don't have insurance. Having started bipartisan and having always been enacted and renewed in a bipartisan manner over the last 20 years, the CHIP program will be yanked away. Virginia will be next, then Ohio, and then other States where parents will go to their mailbox and open up a letter from the government saying: Sorry, your children's health insurance is gone.

The Senate is doing nothing to stop it. Instead this body, made up of Senators who have insurance paid for by taxpayers, devotes its energy to helping banks of all sizes that are making record profits. In the third quarter of this year, the five largest U.S. banks—raked in a combined \$21 billion in profits. In the third quarter only, the five banks have \$21 billion in profits. In fact, profits at the five biggest banks are even higher than they were before the crisis. Meanwhile working Americans haven't gotten a raise in 16 years.

I sat at my high school reunion in Mansfield, OH, about a year ago, with a woman who has been a teller at a large bank for 30 years. Her income, after 30 years at this bank, is \$30,000 a year. She is working for one of those largest five banks. Yet those banks, as I said, have \$21 billion in profits in the third quarter.

Forty-four million Americans are saddled with student loan debt. Communities are littered with abandoned homes and hollowed-out factories. Yet this bill has no help for Americans burdened with student loan debt, no help for homeowners still underwater, and no help for workers who haven't had a raise in years.

Congress, especially the Banking Committee, have a collective amnesia about the financial crisis. It is like it didn't even happen 10 years ago. They have a collective amnesia about the housing crisis and the devastation it brought to families across the country. We know how many people lost jobs 10 years ago because of Wall Street's overreach. We know how many people lost their savings. We know how many people lost their savings. We know how many people lost their homes. Families in Ohio don't have the luxury of this collective amnesia. Families don't have the luxury in my neighborhood of forgetting what happened 10 years ago because so many of them are still digging out.

passed the Dodd-Frank Wall Street reform legislation to protect those families and make sure a crisis like we saw 9 years doesn't happen again. Stress tests were put in place to ensure that banks could weather the next downturn without putting the economy at risk. According to the President's designee to be Chair of the Federal Reserve and according to so many others who understand these issues and understand banking, stress tests are one of the most effective tools we have to prevent taxpayers from being asked once again to bail out the banks.

This bill weakens stress tests for all large banks, which together took \$239 billion—that is \$239,000 million—in taxpayer bailouts last time. They are banks like JPMorgan Chase and other Wall Street megabanks that are designated as global systemically important banks-we call them G-SIBs around here-which means their collapse could cause harm that ripples throughout the world. It is not just the damage it does to Main Street in Oklahoma City, Tulsa, Cleveland, or Toledo, but it would do damage to the economy all over the world. Without rigorous, annual stress tests, taxpayers could once again be on the hook if those toobig-to-fail banks collapse and we don't have the right tools in place to see it

So I ask my fellow Senators: Are you willing to go back to your homes, are you willing to go back to your States and tell taxpayers you work for that you are willing to gamble another \$240 billion of their money on a bill like this? For some other large banks, those stress tests could be even easier under this bill. Make no mistake, these aren't small banks we are talking about, and I am not talking about the largest 10 banks. I am talking about the banks in more detail affected by this bill. Together these banks-about 30 of themhold \$4 trillion in combined assets. That is \$4,000 billion in combined assets. That is more than one-quarter of all assets across the entire banking industry. Would you trust your family's health to a doctor who only passed a dumbed-down version of their board exams? Why would we trust the health of our economy to banks that only passed diluted weakened stress tests?

This bill doesn't stop at stress tests. It allows these same large banks to borrow more money than they can afford by weakening capital requirements. It exempts dozens of the largest banks from making plans called living wills. These are plans that make sure that if a bank fails, taxpayers will not be paying the bills once again.

It weakens oversight of foreign megabanks operating in the United States, the same banks that have repeatedly violated U.S. laws. Let's run through a few of their rap sheets. Santander, I believe, is a Spanish bank. It illegally repossessed cars from members of our military. It repossessed cars from our servicemen and servicewomen who were serving our country overseas. Are we giving them a break? Are we going to deregulate them?

Deutsche Bank manipulated the benchmark interest rates used to set borrowers' mortgages. Barclays manipulated electric energy prices in the western United States. Credit Suisse illegally did business with Iran. UBS sold toxic mortgage-backed securities. So are we going to give these banks a break? They have repeatedly violated U.S. law. Are these the banks we want to help?

The bill also puts American homeowners at risk of the same sorts of mortgage abuses that brought us to foreclosure crisis. My wife and I live in Cleveland, OH, in ZIP Code 44105. In the first half of 2007, my ZIP Code had more foreclosures than any ZIP Code in the United States of America. It is pretty hard for most of us to imagine here what it might be like to be kicked out of our homes. I ask my colleagues to try for a minute to put yourselves in the shoes of one of these families. Pope Francis exhorted his parish priests to go out and smell like the flock-go out and listen to people, see the kinds of lives, ask them questions about the kinds of lives they live.

So what happens when a family is thrown out of its house? Before you are thrown out, you give up the family pet to try to save money even though that dog may have been your son's or daughter's. My son and my grandson and granddaughter just got a little stray that their father picked up when he was out jogging and picked a little dog. It has only been a week and a half, and they love this beautiful little dog. So families give up the pet to try to save money. When that is not enough, you sit the kids down and you have to tell them you are moving. They will have to change schools. Mom will not be around as much because mom has gotten a second job.

These are the impossible decisions and painful conversations millions of Americans were forced to have in 2007, 2008, and 2009 because of the big banks' greed and, in some cases, their illegal activity. Trillions of dollars of housing wealth were destroyed. African-American and Hispanic families lost more than half of their accumulated wealth—wealth they still have not fully recovered.

We can't go back there. These stakes are too high. That is why some of the provisions in this bill are so troubling.

Let me run through a few of them. This bill permits mortgages for homes up to \$400,000 in some areas to be offered without an appraisal to verify the home is worth what you are paying. Without an appraisal, you know what would happen. You could end up in an underwater mortgage on day one. It no longer requires banks to set up accounts that help you budget for your property tax and homeowner's insurance. Instead of manageable payments built into your monthly mortgage, you could end up with an unexpected tax bill at the end of the year. You could end up with an unexpected insurance bill at the end of the year. If you can't pay, then, the foreclosure proceedings start.

It allows some banks to sell you an adjustable rate mortgage without the bank assuming any responsibility for whether you can afford your payments once the initial rate expires. People don't always know what it means with an adjustable rate mortgage. It might be in the small print. We know forced arbitration is in the small print, too. We know how that works out. Say you are a customer in Youngstown, and you could take out a mortgage at 4 percent. Say your payment is \$400 a month. After 3 years, your interest rate jumps to 9 percent, so your monthly payment is all of a sudden almost \$700. Your bank knows you can't afford that. The bank knew it when it sold you the mortgage or it should have known. That is the bank's job. That is the law today. It is not the law under this bill.

Under this bill, when your mortgage suddenly spikes, when you have to start having these tough conversations around the dinner table with your partner, with your children, the bank that sold you the mortgage is protected. It gets off scot-free. Today, you could go to a judge and fight to stay in your home. You might not be able to under this bill. What is fair about that?

This bill blocks some homeowners from going to court to stop banks that foreclosed on them. Sound familiar?

Not that long ago Vice President Pence came to the Senate floor to sit in the chair that the Senator from Oklahoma is sitting in, and he came to the floor late at night to stop customers like those 140 million cheated by Equifax and several million cheated by Wells Fargo from having their day in court. When the Vice President shows up in this body to break a tie, Wall Street wins every single time.

Now, this bill blocks homeowners from having their day in court. It is the context under which we will consider this bill. American families and American taxpayers, who stand to lose the most, get almost nothing—no help with student debt and no help with underwater mortgages. But we are hearing consumers being told: Don't worry. Trust us. Trust us.

The Trump administration regulators will make sure everything is just

fine. Trust us. Trust people like Vice President Pence, who cast the tiebreaking vote to strip consumers from their day in court. Trust Treasury Secretary Mnuchin, whose former bank made a fortune kicking families, including veterans, including people in the Army and the Marines and seniors, out of their homes and has now merged into a new bank that gets relief under this bill.

Trust Secretary Mnuchin's colleague at that same foreclosure machine, Joseph Otting, now leading the Office of the Comptroller of the Currency, the financial watchdog in charge of overseeing the national banks. Think about that. Trust him.

Trust Mick Mulvaney, installed as the new part-time head of the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau, despite what the law says, whose first action on the job was to stop payments to veterans, to seniors, to consumers, and to stop payments to people who had been cheated by banks. These payments were on their way. The banks had been found guilty of cheating their customers, and Mick Mulvaney's first action as head of the consumer bureau was to stop those payments.

Trust Randy Quarles, the new head of Supervision at the Federal Reserve Board, who was a Treasury official in the years leading up to the crisis and who said on the eve of the financial crisis: "Fundamentally, the economy is strong, the financial sector is healthy, and our future looks bright." He was in the Treasury Department in a highly placed job in the Bush administration. As the economy started to implode, that was his observation of the state of housing and that was his observation of the state of the economy. He is now head of bank supervision at the Federal Reserve

Is this track record what taxpayers and homeowners are supposed to trust? Is this the track record that gives Senators the confidence to take a gamble with taxpayer dollars? Are these guys going to protect us from another crisis or prevent another bailout?

I don't know about my colleagues, but I will tell you that when I am home in Ohio and when my friend from Delaware is at home in Wilmington, we meet a lot of people who feel invisible. Entire communities feel invisible. They feel used, they feel abused, and they feel some other things I can't say on the Senate floor by banks, by mega corporations, by Wall Street and, yes, by Washington and by this U.S. Senate. Too often, they are right. They are being used and abused by banks and by mega corporations and by Wall Street and by people in this body.

We have a chance to show these people that we see them, we hear them, we work for them, and that we will do our jobs and fight for them. We do that by blocking this bill.

As I conclude, I want to say something about some people who are affected by this bill that makes sense. Regional community banks provide

critical services to customers and homeowners and small businesses. I respect my colleagues' desire to support them. I do support efforts to help community and regional banks fill important needs. I don't support efforts to roll back accountability measures on the largest banks, with nothing to help hard-working Americans who have the most to lose.

It is this simple: If we want to help the middle class, let's help the middle class.

We sat here the last couple of weeks-both in the Finance Committee and on the floor-on the tax bill. I heard ad nauseam my colleagues say that this tax bill is for the middle class. Well, it really wasn't for the middle class. If you want to cut taxes for the middle class, you cut taxes for the middle class. Same here. If we want to help the middle class, let's help the middle class, whether it is the Tax Code or banking laws. You don't grow our economy by handing out more money to the people at the top, whether it is Wall Street banks or whether it is large corporations that outsource jobs. You don't give handouts to the wealthiest people with sort of a bank shot. Get rid of the middleman. If you want to help the middle class, darn it, help the middle class. Don't filter it through the largest banks and the largest corporations, hoping something will trickle down. We grow our economy by putting money directly into the pockets of middle-class families.

Let's cut the corporate middleman. Let's throw out the Wall Street lobby-ists. Let's provide relief for student loan debt and mortgages and community banks. Let's help workers who haven't seen a raise in over a decade. Let's show the people of this country that we actually do, in fact, work for them.

I yield the floor.

Mr. COONS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to speak for up to 10 minutes.

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

The Senator from Delaware is recognized.

REPUBLICAN TAX BILL

Mr. COONS. Mr. President, when we were last here together, it was roughly 2 a.m. Saturday morning as this Chamber took up and passed by a very narrow margin—I believe 51 to 49—one of the biggest, broadest, most comprehensive pieces of financial legislation likely in our lifetime. The last time this Congress took up and passed comprehensive tax reform, I was 21 years old. It has been a long time since a bill of this scope and reach and impact has been considered, debated, and passed in this Chamber. I wanted to give some reflections this evening on what happened very early Saturday morning and what it means.

First, it did not have to be this way. That bill passed on a straight partyline vote. Not one Democrat voted for it, and all but one Republican Senator voted for it. I joined more than a dozen of my colleagues in a press conference I think 2 weeks ago, saying that we wanted to work across the aisle and that we were trying yet getting no opportunity to do so.

Weeks and weeks ago, a group of us put out a letter to our colleagues saying that we wanted to work together on tax reform that would make our country more competitive and that would deal with some of the longunaddressed issues in our Tax Code and yet be fiscally responsible. And right up until Saturday, I was working with a group of Republicans and Democrats to try to find a way to move forward on tax reform that would not blow up our deficit and debt, give real tax relief to middle-class Americans, and significantly reduce the corporate tax rate. Alas, we came up short.

I wanted to give just a few moments of reflection on how I see the tax bill that ultimately moved through this Chamber last week.

First, on the process, the idea that you do your best work at something like 2 in the morning—adopting a nearly 500-page piece of legislation without anyone having had the chance to really read it and understand it—I think defies common sense.

Second, I think that the idea that the best legislating is done by only one party has been proven to be incorrect, whether it is big pieces of legislation done by only Democrats or big pieces done by only Republicans. Part of the point of this Chamber—and the balance and the separation of powers that our Founders crafted into the Constitution—was the idea that when we listen to each other and compromise, we produce better legislation, better laws, better justice.

Last, I would like to talk for a moment about the values that underlie not just this process but the outcome of this bill, because in speeches and comments and debates here on the floor and in materials put out over the last 2 weeks, there has been a lot of talk about financial matters, about percentages, about numbers, and about the Joint Committee on Taxation or the Congressional Budget Office. There has been a lot of jargon and a lot of insider talk that has frankly left a cloud that has made it difficult for most Americans to understand what was at stake and what was at work in the steady progress toward that partisan passage of the tax bill so early on Saturday morning.

Let's talk for a moment, if we could, about the human values implicated by this bill. Let's talk less about fiscal jargon and financial details and more about where it will land.

I am sure it comes as no surprise to you that ultimately I voted against the bill. I was willing to do bipartisan tax reform that would allow President Trump to meet his expressed goal of delivering a Christmas gift to the

American people—in particular, to the American middle class—but I wasn't willing to sign off on a bill that would add \$1 trillion to our national debt and that laid the groundwork we are already hearing for calls to slash Medicare and Medicaid. Once this Christmas package is opened, the middle class will realize that its real impact is the steady increase of the tax burden on them and the steady decrease, over the years ahead, of critical, vital Federal programs like Medicare and Medicaid that have made such a difference to so many in need for so long.

For reasons that elude me, most of this country was not actively engaged in this tax debate. I had about 230 calls from Delaware on last Friday—200 opposed and 20 in favor, so 10 to 1 against. But I didn't hear from folks who might have understood and might have spoken up about the long-term, grinding impact this tax bill will have on those in real need in our country.

I wanted to take a moment here on the floor to reflect on something that happened late last week in the Budget Committee as they were marking up the bill. As several dozen clergymen, men and women of different faiths, gathered together outside in a moment of civil disobedience, a few of them—friends of mine—were arrested—arrested in a cry they had hoped would be heard to express their concern about the impact of this tax bill on the poor and needy in our Nation.

I stand tonight as a Senator. I stand tonight as someone who represents Delaware. I stand tonight as someone who was elected not to serve one particular faith tradition but who is deeply informed by my faith tradition and the Gospel that I read. In the Gospel According to Luke, Jesus said: "He has anointed me to proclaim good news to the poor."

I just wanted to stand here for a moment and say that while the Gospel is good news to the poor, this tax bill surely is not. Some of the best known, simple passages in the New Testament of the Christian Bible say you cannot serve both God and wealth. Jesus's call in Matthew 25: Inasmuch as you did this to the least of these, you did it unto me.

This preference for the poor, this focus on the least among us, is not new to the New Testament; it is deeply rooted in the Torah and in the Judeo-Christian values that underlie all of Christianity. In Proverbs, the Torah teaches that those who oppress the poor insult their Maker. Deuteronomy Chapter 15 teaches that you should open your hand to the poor and needy neighbor in your land.

Lastly, it seems to me that while the Bible, the New Testament, and the Torah teach these things about God's deep preference that we be kind to one another, that we care for one another, that we support those in need around us, that doesn't inevitably lead to one party's position or another. It doesn't inevitably lead to one clear economic

theory or policy or another. But it does say that before we took dramatic action that will reset the ground for a generation, that I believe will inevitably lead to a loss of security and stability and opportunity for those in need in our country, we should have reflected. We should have listened to each other. We should have respected the greatest traditions of this country that say that we are most American when we open the doors of opportunity to all, when we create chances for those who are struggling amongst us to have a brighter future. And as I searched through what I understood of this 500-page bill thrust upon us late on a Friday night and marked up and voted on early on a Saturday morning, I found none of that. I found an incredibly expensive bill that even some titans of industry have said will add little to the growth of this economy and much to the burden of debt of this country.

I know people of good faith on both sides have differing views about the impact of this bill, but I, for one, felt called tonight to come to this floor and say that I think we have made not just a mistake of fiscal policy, but I think that in moving this bill forward, we have failed in our most fundamental call to hear each other, to work together, and to be mindful that we do not cause harm to those in our society who look to us to make the future brighter, to open the doors of oppor-

tunity wider, and to listen to some of the most ancient and profound voices in the traditions that lay the foundation of this free society; that we legislate worst when we legislate against the least of our brethren.

Thank you.
I yield the floor.

ADJOURNMENT UNTIL 10 A.M. TOMORROW

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senate stands adjourned until 10 a.m. to-morrow.

Thereupon, the Senate, at 6:42 p.m., adjourned until Tuesday, December 5, 2017, at 10 a.m.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

ANDREW AMADOR

HON. ED PERLMUTTER

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, December 4, 2017

Mr. PERLMUTTER. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to recognize and applaud Commerce City Councilman Andrew Amador for his years of service to the City of Commerce City, Colorado. Since 2013 Councilman Amador has been active within the City, serving on the Council and also numerous boards and commissions

Councilman Amador has been a tireless advocate for Commerce City during his tenure as a Councilman. He has served on the Board of Adjustments, Education Commission and the Adams 14 Foundation among many others. Additionally, he along with members of the Commerce City Council identified more than \$1 billion in capital improvements ranging from parks to roads that would be necessary over the next 25 years to meet the needs of a growing community. The work that Councilman Amador and other members of the Council put into this project was tremendous. The adoption of a five-year plan, which is a sustainable way to implement needed investments and provide budget certainty and predictability was thoughtful and will help improve the City of Commerce City for years to come. I admire the dedication and tireless efforts that Councilman Amador has put into his City during his tenure as a Councilman.

I extend my deepest thanks to Andrew Amador for his service to the community. Thank you for your continuous dedication to serving the constituents of Commerce City, Colorado.

TRIBUTE TO BARBARA AND ARLIN BELL

HON. DAVID YOUNG

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, December 4, 2017

Mr. YOUNG of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to recognize and congratulate Barbara and Arlin Bell of Council Bluffs, Iowa on the very special occasion of their 60th wedding anniversary. They celebrated their anniversary on September 15, 2017.

Barbara and Arlin's lifelong commitment to each other and their family truly embodies lowa values. As they reflect on their 60th anniversary, may their commitment grow even stronger, as they continue to love, cherish, and honor one another for many years to come.

Mr. Speaker, I commend this great couple on their 60th year together and I wish them many more. I ask that my colleagues in the United States House of Representatives join me in congratulating them on this momentous occasion and in wishing them nothing but the best.

RENE BULLOCK

HON. ED PERLMUTTER

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 4, 2017

Mr. PERLMUTTER. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to recognize and applaud Commerce City Councilman and Mayor Pro Tem Rene Bullock for his years of service to the City of Commerce City, Colorado. Since 1998 Councilman Bullock has been active within the City, serving on the Council and also numerous boards and commissions.

Councilman Bullock has been a tireless advocate for Commerce City during his tenure as a Councilman and Mayor Pro Tem. He has served on the Youth Commission, Housing Authority, Friends of the Front Range Wildlife Refuges and the Sand Creek Regional Greenway Steering Committee among many others. Additionally, he along with members of the Commerce City Council identified more than \$1 billion in capital improvements ranging from parks to roads that would be necessary over the next 25 years to meet the needs of a growing community. The work that Councilman Bullock and other members of the Council put into this project was tremendous. The adoption of a five-year plan, which is a sustainable way to implement needed investments and provide budget certainty and predictability was thoughtful and will help improve the City of Commerce City for years to come. I admire the dedication and tireless efforts that Councilman Bullock has put into his City during his tenure as a Councilman and Mayor Pro

I extend my deepest thanks to Rene Bullock for his service to the community. Thank you for your continuous dedication to serving the constituents of Commerce City, Colorado.

TRIBUTE TO MARILYN AND CLARK BATTEN

HON. DAVID YOUNG

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 4, 2017

Mr. YOUNG of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to recognize and congratulate Marilyn and Clark Batten of Clarinda, Iowa on the very special occasion of their 50th wedding anniversary. They celebrated their anniversary on September 30, 2017.

Marilyn and Clark's lifelong commitment to each other and their family truly embodies lowa values. As they reflect on their 50th anniversary, may their commitment grow even stronger, as they continue to love, cherish, and honor one another for many years to come.

Mr. Speaker, I commend this great couple on their 50th year together, and I wish them many more. I ask that my colleagues in the United States House of Representatives join

me in congratulating them on this momentous occasion and in wishing them nothing but the best.

DR. PETER BERGERSON

HON. FRANCIS ROONEY

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES $Monday,\, December\,\,4,\,2017$

Mr. FRANCIS ROONEY of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to recognize and congratulate Dr. Peter Bergerson as he commemorates a half-century of service in the academic arts.

Dr. Bergerson received his Masters of Public Administration from Indiana State University and his Ph.D. in Political Science from Saint Louis University. He was selected as a James J. Malone Fellow, National Council on U.S./ Arab relations, for study and travel in Saudi Arabia and Bahrain and also received the National Endowment for the Humanities Grant to study the "Diffusion of Public Policy Among the American States."

Dr. Bergerson serves on the editorial board of the Journal of Public Administration and is well known for his keen political analysis. He is a highly-respected commentator on local, state, and national political trends and elections. His areas of expertise include the Second Amendment, ethics, and Florida campaigns and elections.

Dr. Bergerson has spent the last 15 years teaching a wide range of political science courses at Florida Gulf Coast University. Many of his former students have distinguished themselves as community leaders in electoral politics as well as law, policy, and a variety of non-profit organizations. It is fair to say that he has made an indelible impression that will continue to shape Florida policy for decades to come

Fondly known on campus as "Dr. B," his former students are quick to recall his quick wit, and passion for preparing young minds for a future in civic leadership. He is truly a credit to his profession and I again congratulate Dr. Bergerson for 50 years at the lectern.

JADIE CARSON

HON. ED PERLMUTTER

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 4, 2017

Mr. PERLMUTTER. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to recognize and applaud Commerce City Councilwoman Jadie Carson for her years of service to the City of Commerce City, Colorado. Since 2009 Councilwoman Carson has been active within the City, serving on the Council and also numerous boards and commissions.

Councilwoman Carson has been a tireless advocate for Commerce City during her tenure

• This "bullet" symbol identifies statements or insertions which are not spoken by a Member of the Senate on the floor. Matter set in this typeface indicates words inserted or appended, rather than spoken, by a Member of the House on the floor.

as a Councilwoman. She has served on the Parks and Recreation Advisory Board, Commerce City Youth Commission, the Commerce City Cultural Council and the Northern Community Coalition among many others. Additionally she along with members of the Commerce City Council identified more than \$1 billion in capital improvements ranging from parks to roads that would be necessary over the next 25 years to meet the needs of a growing community. The work that Councilwoman Carson and other members of the Council put into this project was tremendous. The adoption of a five-year plan, which is a sustainable way to implement needed investments and provide budget certainty and predictability was thoughtful and will help improve the City of Commerce City for years to come. I admire the dedication and tireless efforts that Councilwoman Carson has put into her City during her tenure as a Councilwoman.

I extend my deepest thanks to Jadie Carson for her service to the community. Thank you for your continuous dedication to serving the constituents of Commerce City, Colorado.

DAMON MARTIN TRIBUTE

HON, SCOTT R. TIPTON

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 4, 2017

Mr. TIPTON. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to honor Damon Martin, the Head Coach of the Adams State University Men's and Women's Cross Country teams in Alamosa, Colorado.

Mr. Martin's leadership has led to the cross country and track programs achieving success on a national level. For his work, he has been named National Coach of the year 34 times, a Joe Vigil Award recipient 9 times, and a Duane Vandenbusche Awardee 13 times.

In his 26 years in charge of the women's program and 19 years in charge of the men's program, Mr. Martin has coached 29 National Championship teams. But his achievements don't solely lie in awards and wins. His success is also evident in the performance of his athletes off the field. Under his management, 995 of his athletes have earned All-American honors.

Decades of hard work and dedication led to Mr. Martin being inducted into the University of Arkansas-Monticello Athletics Hall of Fame in 2004, the Arizona State University Hall of Fame and Arkansas State Track & Field Hall of Fame in 2007, and the Colorado Running Hall of Fame in 2015.

Mr. Speaker, Mr. Martin's professional contribution to Adams State University has made a lasting impact. I stand with the residents of Colorado and the students of Adams State University in thanking Mr. Martin for his service and congratulating him on his innumerable achievements. I am confident he will continue to be a valuable part of Adams State University and I look forward to seeing what he accomplishes in the years to come.

TRIBUTE TO MARY ANN AND JIM JILLSON

HON. DAVID YOUNG

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 4, 2017

Mr. YOUNG of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to recognize and congratulate Mary Ann and Jim Jillson of Clarinda, Iowa on the very special occasion of their 50th wedding anniversary. They celebrated their anniversary on September 29, 2017.

Mary Ann and Jim's lifelong commitment to each other and their family truly embodies lowa values. As they reflect on their 50th anniversary, may their commitment grow even stronger, as they continue to love, cherish, and honor one another for many years to come.

Mr. Speaker, I commend this great couple on their 50th year together and I wish them many more. I ask that my colleagues in the United States House of Representatives join me in congratulating them on this momentous occasion and in wishing them nothing but the hest

JASON MCELDOWNEY

HON. ED PERLMUTTER

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 4, 2017

Mr. PERLMUTTER. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to recognize and applaud Commerce City Councilman Jason McEldowney for his years of service to the City of Commerce City, Colorado. Since 2007 Councilman McEldowney has been active within the City, serving on the Council and also numerous boards and commissions.

Councilman McEldowney has been a tireless advocate for Commerce City during his tenure as a Councilman. He has served on the Water Commission, Education Commission and the SD27J Facilities Foundation among many others. Additionally, he along with members of the Commerce City Council identified more than \$1 billion in capital improvements ranging from parks to roads that would be necessary over the next 25 years to meet the needs of a growing community. The work that Councilman McEldowney and other members of the Council put into this project was tremendous. The adoption of a five-year plan, which is a sustainable way to implement needed investments and provide budget certainty and predictability was thoughtful and will help improve the City of Commerce City for years to come. I admire the dedication and tireless efforts that Councilman McEldowney has put into his City during his tenure as a Councilman.

I extend my deepest thanks to Jason McEldowney for his service to the community. Thank you for your continuous dedication to serving the constituents of Commerce City, Colorado.

LT. MICHAEL GENE PENN, NAVAL AVIATOR, POW

HON. TED POE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 4, 2017

Mr. POE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, this week I was honored to meet one of Texas' finest, Navy Lieutenant Michael Gene Penn, who served during the Vietnam war. He, like many in my district, lost his home and many priceless possessions during the disastrous flooding caused by Hurricane Harvey.

Last month my office was contacted by Lt. Penn's brother-in-law, Ralph Massengill, asking if I could help replace the treasured medals and ribbons that were lost during Hurricane Harvey. In his heartfelt email, he expressed his desire to present the awards and medals to Lt. Penn in a shadow-box as a Christmas gift. He felt this would be the perfect gift, as Lt. Penn hopes to be back in his home by Christmas. I was honored to help fulfill his request.

Lt. Penn was born in Dallas, Texas on March 13, 1946. He attended the University of Texas at Arlington and graduated in August of 1969, all while working as a full-time police officer for the City of Fort Worth, Texas.

As a young boy, he would watch the fighter jets take off and land. He decided then that he wanted to be a pilot in the Navy. His dream was to land a jet on an aircraft carrier. And that he did.

Lt. Penn volunteered to serve in the Navy at a time when many people in our country were protesting our government and military; when the anti-war sentiment was high. The Vietnam war, also known as the second Indochina war, started on November 1, 1955 because of a conflict that pitted the Northern communist government of North Vietnam and its allies, against the government of South Vietnam and its principal ally, the United States. Of course, that didn't deter him from enlisting. With his wife and family's full support, he went to the Ft. Worth Naval Air Station and told them that he wanted to fly jets. The only obstacle in his way was he had to finish college.

Śo, after graduating college, he entered the Navy Jet Flight Training Program in August of 1969. He received his Wings a year and a half later. His first duty station as a Designated Naval Aviator was at the Naval Air Station in Lemoore, California, where he was assigned to Attack Squadron 56.

On April 10, 1972, he departed the United States on his first cruise via aircraft carrier, the USS Midway. Most cruises are six to nine months, but with the ongoing war, President Nixon extended his to 11 months. His squadron brought a total of 13 jets on their mission to Vietnam. Only one of the original 13 returned. He went through two iets, as did a couple of other pilots. Lt. Penn's first aircraft was hit by anti-aircraft fire, which gave him limited control of the jet, forcing him to land on to the USS Midway's barricade. His second aircraft was hit by a surface to air missile. Back in the day these aircrafts cost three million dollars apiece, and it was then that Lt. Penn became known as the six-million-dollar

Lt. Penn (nicknamed Pick) flew a total of 75 combat missions over Northern Vietnam.

Mr. Speaker, imagine 75 takeoffs and landings from an aircraft carrier.

On his 75th mission, a SAM (surface-to-air) missile hit his A-7 Corsair II aircraft. He was shot down over Haiphong. He was forced to eiect from the aircraft, suffering several broken bones. After being ejected, he deployed his parachute, which quickly became impaled by bullets from enemy fire. Seconds after he hit the ground, he found himself surrounded by the enemy. It was then, when a villager, about 10 feet away, began running at full speed with a knife in his hand towards Lt. Penn, in an attempt to kill him. Although Lt. Penn tried to dodge the attack, the villager cut the side of his neck open. A North Vietnamese Army soldier subdued the farmer and took Lt. Penn captive, using Penn's own bootlaces to restrain his hands behind his back before taking him to the infamous Hanoi Hilton.

He was a prisoner of war (POW) at the brutal Hanoi Hilton for eight months. He lived in a 9x4 concrete cell. His meals consisted mostly of bread and water. The solitary lightbulb above him stayed on 24 hours a day. Twice he was given rice, which had roaches in it. In the beginning, the captives would pick the roaches out of their food, but after starving for so long, they eventually ate everything they were given.

After spending eight months in captivity, the war was over. He returned home on March 29, 1973, as part of the last group that was brought back during "Operation Homecoming". 591 American POWs returned home during the operation. This was a direct result of an agreed ceasefire following the Paris Peace Accord, ending U.S. involvement in the Vietnam war. For Lt. Penn. it wasn't easy returning home. His son was six months old when he left, and was 1.5 years old when he returned. He didn't know who he was. It didn't take him long, thankfully. As he was getting to know his son, he was trying to acclimate to normal life. For the first three months he couldn't sleep. Since he, like many other POW's, slept on the floor in his concrete cell, it was some time before he was comfortable in his own bed.

- Lt. Michael Gene Penn honorably served the United States Navy for 11 years. Nine years on active duty and two in the Navy Reserves. Lt. Penn's military service was remarkable. When he came into my office, I presented him replacement medals for:
- 1. The Distinguished Flying Cross (the second highest award next to the Congressional Medal of Honor) for his extraordinary achievement while participating in a heavy combat aerial flight in Southeast Asia,
- 2. The Bronze Star with a combat V (for valor) for his heroic achievements and meritorious service in a combat zone,
- 3. Two Purple Hearts for having been injured twice while serving our nation,
- 4. The Air Medal, for an act of heroism and meritorious achievement while participating in aerial flight,
- 5. The Navy and Marine Corps Commendation Medal with gold star and combat V (valor) for his sustained acts of heroism and meritorious service,
- 6. The Combat Action Ribbon for his active participation in ground and surface combat,
- 7. A Presidential Unit Citation for Gallantry, Determination, and Esprit de corps in accomplishing a mission under extremely difficult and hazardous conditions.
- 8. The Prisoner of War Medal for his honorable service in the Armed Forces while being

held against his will during the Vietnam war for eight months,

- 9. The National Defense Service Medal for his military service during periods of national emergency or a period designated by the Secretary of Defense,
- 10. The Vietnam Service Medal for his service in the geographical theatre area of Vietnam from July 4, 1965 through March 28,
- 11. An Honorable Discharge Button for his impeccable and admirable service in the United States Navy.
- Lt. Penn resigned his commission from the Navy in 1978 and went to work for a commercial airline to fly 737s out of Houston, Texas. He quickly became the chief pilot, supervising over 700 other pilots. Today, he continues to serve the veteran community as a PTSD mentor and as a civilian inspirational speaker. He travels the world and tells his story of endurance and survival. His patriotic legacy of military service and giving back is one of the best examples of a remarkable generation in American history. Lt. Penn is a unique warrior that never renounced duty, honor or country. He was unbreakable. I asked him how he felt about his service, and he said, "It was an honor to serve under difficult circumstances. I'm glad to be back in one piece." Always a humble man, he said to remember that, "It's never a bad day as long as you have a door knob on your side of the door".

Mr. Speaker, Hurricane Harvey took a lot from Texans. It destroyed many of our businesses, some of our historic landmarks, and thousands of homes; and with it, it took many Texans' valuable and sentimental belongings. It has been an honor to meet Lt. Penn and a pleasure to replace the medals that recognize his commendable military service and personal accomplishments. Lt. Penn is of the rare breed, the remarkable breed of an American Patriot.

And that's just the way it is.

TRIBUTE TO HALL DAILY

HON. ADAM B. SCHIFF

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, December 4, 2017

Mr. SCHIFF. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to honor Hall Daily, who will soon retire from his position as Director of Government Relations at the California Institute of Technology (Caltech).

After completing his communications degree at Stanford University, Mr. Daily worked as a tennis teacher for nearly a decade before venturing into journalism. His 15 year career was ultimately successful, and he worked for established news organizations such as the San Jose Mercury News, The Associated Press and eventually the Pasadena Star-News, where he led a newsroom of more than 50 people.

Hall joined Caltech in 1987 as the Assistant Director of Public Relations. Shortly afterwards, he led an extensive, large-scale effort to win approval from the City of Pasadena for Caltech's 30-year campus development plan, which allowed the institute to grow and meet the needs of both Caltech and the greater Pasadena community. Also during his initial public relations role, Mr. Daily co-created the CASE gold-medal winning radio program, "Caltech Edition of Airtalk" on the local radio station KPCC, in which Jet Propulsion Laboratory (JPL) and Caltech scientists discussed research, forthcoming publications and current

Mr. Daily later became the Director of Government Relations at Caltech, where he has been indispensable in establishing, sustaining and managing strong relations with local, state and federal governments, higher education associations, community groups, Caltech's neighbors and the general public. He has represented Caltech on numerous organizations, including the California Council of Science and Technology, the AAU Council of Federal Relations and the Association of Independent California Colleges and Universities, where he has served as its Executive Committee Treasurer for the past 25 years. In addition, Hall has served on the boards of many local non-profit organizations, including Day One Pasadena, Leadership Pasadena, Pasadena Police Activities League, el Centro de Acción Social and the LA Cleantech Incubator. He is a co-founder of the working groups: Emergency Coordinators Roundtable, Pasadena: City of Learning and the Pasadena Water & Power large customers group, and also serves on Caltech's Buildings and Grounds Committee. the Institute and Alumni Relations Committee and the JPL Committee. In 2002, for his dedicated efforts in promoting the interests of Caltech as a global standard of academic merit by strengthening communication and goodwill between Caltech, its students and its alumni. Hall received the Honorary Member of the Caltech Alumni Association Award.

It has been my pleasure to work with Hall on numerous projects over the years, such as the West Coast Earthquake Early Warning System, a discovery for the ages by scientists working at the Laser Interferometer Gravitational-Wave Observatory (LIGO), and expanding our knowledge and exploration of space.

I ask all Members of Congress to join me in thanking Hall Daily for three decades of extraordinary service to Caltech and the greater Pasadena community, which has helped advance scientific research for the betterment of our nation and the world.

TRIBUTE TO LINDA PIPER

HON. DAVID YOUNG

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, December 4, 2017

Mr. YOUNG of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to recognize and congratulate Linda Piper of Council Bluffs, Iowa, on her recent retirement as the System Analyst for the City of Council Bluffs. Linda was hired as a switchboard operator by the City of Council Bluffs on September 15, 1970, and retired after exactly 47 years of service on September 15, 2017.

Linda has held several positions during her career with the City. She worked in the City Treasurer's office, serving as a data processing technician and data processing coordinator as the computer technology evolved at City Hall. When the city created an IT Department, Linda was promoted to Systems Analyst, the position she held at retirement. Council Bluffs Mayor Matt Walsh said, "Linda has been a great employee and a great individual. She will be missed by everyone in City Hall."

Mr. Speaker, Linda has made a difference by helping and serving others. It is with great honor that I recognize her today. I ask that my colleagues in the U.S. House of Representatives join me in congratulating her for this outstanding accomplishment, and in wishing her nothing but the best in her retirement.

SUPERINTENDENT KAMELA PATTON

HON. FRANCIS ROONEY

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, December 4, 2017

Mr. FRANCIS ROONEY of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to recognize and congratulate Collier County Superintendent Kamela Patton for being awarded the "2017 Superintendent of the Year" by the Consortium of Florida Education Foundation.

Throughout her seven-year tenure, Patton's Administration has hosted numerous financial aid nights to assist students and families navigate the complex student financial aid process. Beyond her dedication to provide career based support for students, Superintendent Patton demonstrated strong leadership during Hurricane Irma, which directly affected Collier County. The school district opened 28 schools to serve as shelters for thousands of people who were impacted by Hurricane Irma.

I applaud Superintendent Patton for her dedication to educate our youth. We are proud of her achievements as she is the first superintendent from Southwest Florida to be honored with the award, in its 11th year of launch. I thank her for her commitment to our community and her years of service.

TRIBUTE TO RENEÉ D. MARTINEZ

HON. ADAM B. SCHIFF

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, December 4, 2017

Mr. SCHIFF. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to honor Reneé D. Martinez, who is retiring as President of Los Angeles Community College.

A Los Angeles native, Ms. Martinez received her Associate of Arts degree from Mount Saint Mary's College and a bachelor's degree in child development from the California State University Los Angeles. Upon receiving her master's degree in child development from the University of San Francisco, she began her over forty-year career in education with the Los Angeles Unified School District, working as a teacher, consultant and director, while also teaching part-time at East Los Angeles College (ELAC). In 1975, she became a full-time faculty member of ELAC's Child Development Department, and later served as the Department Chair. Reneé went on to hold various other administrative and managerial positions at ELAC such as Vocational Dean, Evening Dean, and Director of Student Activities. In 2001, she assumed the role of Vice President of Workforce Education and Economic Development, where she fostered valuable connections with the business community for the purpose of assisting students in their employment and educational ef-

In 2012, Ms. Martinez was appointed Interim President of Los Angeles City College (LACC). The following year, she became the college's 16th President and was recognized as the first Latina to be President in LACC's ninety-year history. During her successful tenure, she was responsible for managing all college departments, faculty and staff and overseeing student support services, student achievement and the college budget. Reneé ably upheld the goals and values set forth by the Los Angeles Community College District by fostering a creative and inclusive learning and working environment for all students, staff and faculty members, and emphasizing the importance of assisting students in need.

An exemplary leader, Reneé D. Martinez has been an invaluable asset in the field of education and has left a legacy that will be preserved and enjoyed by generations to come. I ask all Members of Congress to join me in thanking Reneé D. Martinez for over four decades of distinguished service to the academic community of the greater Los Angeles region.

RECOGNIZING MICHAEL FISS

HON. JOHN KATKO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, December 4, 2017

Mr. KATKO. Mr. Speaker, today I rise to recognize Michael Fiss, a longtime Syracuse radio host who recently retired after 40 years on the airwayes.

Mike Fiss, known by our community as "Big Mike," started his radio career in 1979 at a local Syracuse radio station, WSYR-FM. Since that time, he has had the number onerated morning show on Y94FM for many years, and most recently hosted the morning show on Sunny 102 for the past 16 years.

Throughout his career, Fiss has been a supporter of local musicians and has worked to help the less fortunate in Central New York. Every November, Sunny 102 famously switches from its regular programming to all-Christmas music and "Big Mike's Christmastime in Syracuse" CDs have been sold locally to benefit charities in our area. Fiss' listeners have proyfully anticipated his annual live Christmas broadcast which highlights performances of our favorite holiday songs from local Syracuse artists.

For his tremendous efforts to make us laugh every morning, while continuously working to make our community a better place, I am proud to congratulate Michael Fiss on his illustrious career and much deserved retirement.

RECOGNIZING DR. STEPHEN R. HOLT

HON. BRADLEY SCOTT SCHNEIDER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, December 4, 2017

Mr. SCHNEIDER. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to recognize and thank Dr. Stephen R. Holt for his service to the veterans of the Tenth District as director of the Captain James A. Lovell Federal Health Care Center for the past three years.

Since 2014, Dr. Holt has led the only Federal Health Care Center in the country, operating as an integrated medical facility for both the Department of Veterans Affairs and Department of Defense, with the end goal of better serving our current and former service members.

Dr. Holt and the extraordinary team at the Lovell FHCC in North Chicago are responsible for the care of nearly 20,000 Veterans, 60,000 Active Duty and their dependents and 10,000 other Tricare beneficiaries within our communities. This includes overseeing the medical readiness of more than 40,000 naval recruits who pass through Naval Station Great Lakes annually.

Under his leadership, Lovell FHCC advanced from a three to a four-star rating by the Veterans Administration, and his integrity and dedication has fostered an enhanced atmosphere of caring and service between staff and patients.

Prior to his time at Lovell FHCC, Dr. Holt was responsible for oversight and delivery of quality medical care across 10 hospitals in the VA Southeast Network.

Dr. Holt is a Veteran of the Air Force, where he spent 21 years as a Medical Officer in field and central command locations, retiring at the rank of Colonel.

I thank Dr. Holt for his service to our nation and to the veterans and servicemembers in our community, and I offer him and his family best wishes for their future endeavors.

IN RECOGNITION OF GREENVILLE JUNIOR-SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL'S STATUS AS A 2017 BLUE RIBBON SCHOOL

HON. MIKE KELLY

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 4, 2017

Mr. KELLY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in recognition of Greenville Junior-Senior High School in Greenville, Pennsylvania which was recently honored by the Department of Education as a 2017 National Blue Ribbon School. This award, given to only 342 schools in America this year, is based on a school's overall academic performance as well as its progress in closing achievement gaps among its students.

In her message of congratulations, Secretary DeVos commended the "visionaries, innovators and leaders" who are "preparing every child for a bright future." I am proud to join her in congratulating the teachers and administrators of Greenville, as well as the families of these students for the love and support they provide. Most of all, I congratulate the students themselves for a job well done. They are truly a credit to Pennsylvania's Third District, and to our country. It is an honor to represent them in the People's House.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION

HON. STEVE SCALISE

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, $December\ 4$, 2017

Mr. SCALISE. Mr. Speaker, I was unavoidably detained. Had I been present, I would

have voted YEA on Roll Call No. 644; YEA on Roll Call No. 645; NAY on Roll Call No. 646; NAY on Roll Call No. 647; YEA on Roll Call No. 648; and YEA on Roll Call No. 649.

TRIBUTE TO BETHEL AND RONALD LAMB

HON. DAVID YOUNG

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 4, 2017

Mr. YOUNG of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to recognize and honor Bethel and Ronald Lamb of Council Bluffs, Iowa on the very special occasion of their 65th wedding anniversary. They celebrated their anniversary on September 28, 2017.

Bethel and Ronald's lifelong commitment to each other and their family truly embodies lowa values. As they reflect on their 65th anniversary, may their commitment grow even stronger, as they continue to love, cherish, and honor one another for many years to come.

Mr. Speaker, I commend this great couple on their 65th year together, and I wish them many more. I ask that my colleagues in the United States House of Representatives join me in congratulating them on this momentous occasion and in wishing them nothing but the best.

JIM AND PAULETTE STUART TRIBUTE

HON. SCOTT R. TIPTON

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 4, 2017

Mr. TIPTON. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to honor Ms. Paulette Stuart and Mr. Jim Stuart for their work in planning and hosting the National Medal of Honor Society Convention in Pueblo, Colorado.

In 1993, the 103rd Congress of the United States designated Pueblo, Colorado as the Home of Heroes, as it is the home of four recipients of the Congressional Medal of Honor. Since then Jim and Paulette have dedicated much of their time to the Congressional Medal of Honor Society. Both worked tirelessly hosting the National Medal of Honor Society Convention this year in Pueblo, Colorado from September 12 to 16, 2017. This was the second time the National Medal of Honor Society Convention was held in Pueblo, Colorado (September 2000) thanks to Jim and Paulette's efforts.

Jim was born, raised and educated in Pueblo, Colorado. He became an entrepreneur starting Sangray Corporation, which marketed and sold finished ceramic gift products. He retired after running the business for 30 years, and now serves on numerous commissions and non-profit boards. Paulette started her career in Pueblo with the Pueblo Chamber of Commerce where she served as Vice President of the Conventions and Visitors Council. Later, she retired from the Pueblo Chieftain newspaper as Promotions Manager, and now is an advertising and marketing consultant and community volunteer, donating her time with non-profits and civic organizations. For their

dedication and commitment to the Pueblo community, they have been inducted into the Pueblo Hall of Fame.

Mr. Speaker, Paulette and Jim Stuart continue to be advocates for the Medal Of Honor Society, the Pueblo Home of Heroes Association, and veterans across the nation. I'm proud to recognize these engaged civic leaders and valued members of the community for their work on behalf of our heroes and for promoting the City of Pueblo and its wonderful attributes.

IN RECOGNITION OF LAUREL JUNIOR-SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL'S STATUS AS A 2017 BLUE RIBBON SCHOOL

HON. MIKE KELLY

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 4, 2017

Mr. KELLY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in recognition of Laurel Junior-Senior High School in New Castle, Pennsylvania, which was recently honored by the Department of Education as a 2017 National Blue Ribbon School. This award, given to only 342 schools in America this year, is based on a school's overall academic performance as well as its progress in closing achievement gaps among its students.

In her message of congratulations, Secretary DeVos commended the "visionaries, innovators and leaders" who are "preparing every child for a bright future." I am proud to join her in congratulating the teachers and administrators of Laurel, as well as the families of these students for the love and support they provide. Most of all, I congratulate the students themselves for a job well done. They are truly a credit to Pennsylvania's Third District, and to our country. It is an honor to represent them in the People's House.

TRIBUTE TO VELVA AND ELDON COLE

HON. DAVID YOUNG

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 4, 2017

Mr. YOUNG of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to recognize and congratulate Velva and Eldon Cole of Winterset, Iowa, on the very special occasion of their 50th wedding anniversary. They were married at the Methodist Church in Macksburg, Iowa on October 1, 1967

Velva and Eldon's lifelong commitment to each other and their family truly embodies our lowa values. As they reflect on their 50th anniversary, may their commitment grow even stronger, as they continue to love, cherish, and honor one another for many years to come.

Mr. Speaker, I commend this great couple on their 50th year together and I wish them many more. I ask that my colleagues in the United States House of Representatives join me in congratulating them on this momentous occasion and in wishing them both nothing but the best.

CONGRATULATING GARY BEASLEY ON HIS RETIREMENT FROM NEIGHBORS OF WATERTOWN

HON. ELISE M. STEFANIK

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 4, 2017

Ms. STEFANIK. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to congratulate Gary Beasley on his retirement from Neighbors of Watertown.

Neighbors of Watertown is a not-for-profit organization that works to create affordable housing for low-income residents and renovate blighted properties so they can be put to productive use. Mr. Beasley has proudly served his community as CEO for the past 38 years. Through his dedicated leadership, Mr. Beasley has played an instrumental role in revitalizing the Watertown community.

On behalf of New York's 21st district, I would like to thank Mr. Beasley for his years of hard work and dedication to his community, and wish him all the best in the years ahead.

TRIBUTE TO CHIEF CARL HOLMES

HON. BILL PASCRELL, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 4, 2017

Mr. PASCRELL. Mr. Speaker, our nation's fire and emergency services lost an extraordinary leader on Thanksgiving Day. Retired Fire Chief Carl Holmes passed away unexpectedly in Dallas, Texas with his family by his side.

Chief Holmes was a ground breaker, a man of strong convictions who paved the way for African American firefighters to climb the leadership ladder in fire departments across the nation. A veteran of the Oklahoma City Fire Department, Chief Holmes began his career during a time when few opportunities were afforded in the fire service to African Americans. He achieved his ascent to leadership positions by training harder and working longer, a lesson he instilled in others who wanted to follow his path. In 1978, following 27 years of grit and determination, he became the city's first African American Assistant Fire Chief.

In 2016, Chief Holmes was awarded the Mason Lankford Fire Service Leadership Award at the 28th Annual National Fire and Emergency Services Dinner in Washington, DC. He was honored for an incredible career that spanned over 65 years . . . a career that left a profound impact on firefighters of different ethnicities and regions of the country, both career and volunteer. I had the honor of attending the dinner program and witnessing the presentation of the award to Chief Holmes. It was a special event that brought 1,500 national fire service leaders to their feet to pay tribute to a man of incredible courage and character. Chief Holmes was a leader who literally changed the complexion of the fire service as we know it today.

Chief Holmes was a very special person and the consummate fire service professional. He inspired people and demanded the best from them. But more importantly, he taught others about life and what is most important to us all: family and friends. He leaves behind a loving wife, Marvella, and daughter, Carla and

family. He also leaves behind countless fire service professionals who benefited from his teachings. It will be their responsibility to preserve Chief Holmes' legacy and carry forward his teachings.

On behalf of my fellow Co-Chairs of the Congressional Fire Services Caucus, I extend my sympathies to the Holmes family on the passing of a great fire service leader.

TRIBUTE TO RUTH AND JERRY POLAK

HON. DAVID YOUNG

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES $Monday\,,\, December\,\,4,\,2017$

Mr. YOUNG of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to recognize and congratulate Ruth and Jerry Polak of Council Bluffs, Iowa on the very special occasion of their 70th wedding anniversary. They were married on September 29, 1947 in Minnesota.

Ruth and Jerry's lifelong commitment to each other and their family truly embodies lowa values. As they reflect on their 70th anniversary, may their commitment grow even stronger, as they continue to love, cherish, and honor one another for many years to come.

Mr. Speaker, I commend this great couple on their 70th year together, and I wish them many more. I ask that my colleagues in the United States House of Representatives join me in congratulating them on this momentous occasion and in wishing them nothing but the best.

BOULDER CREST RETREAT FOR MILITARY AND VETERAN WELLNESS

HON. KYRSTEN SINEMA

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 4, 2017

Ms. SINEMA. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to recognize, welcome and congratulate Boulder Crest Retreat for Military and Veterans Wellness in Sonoita, Arizona.

I have known the team at Boulder Crest for several years. Their work and commitment to veteran and military families is exceptional.

Retired U.S. Navy bomb disposal expert, Master Chief Ken Falke and his wife, Julia, started Boulder Crest after visiting wounded Explosive Ordnance Disposal personnel at Walter Reed National Military Medical Center. They saw a need for a place outside of the hospital where personnel and families could relax and recover. Boulder Crest provides free, short-term retreats for military members, veterans, and their families.

Boulder Crest aims to solve the mental health issues and offers an opportunity to military members, veterans, and their families to recover and heal from combat-related stress and PTSD. During retreats, families stay in private accommodations and participate in recreational and healing activities focused on posttraumatic growth. The first location, in Virginia, has hosted over 3,000 personnel since 2013. As they open their new location in Arizona, I am excited they are expanding to our

state and will be able to help more military members, veterans, and families.

Boulder Crest's Arizona is located approximately 60 miles from Tucson in Sonoita, Arizona on 130 acres of land near Parker Canyon. On the property, there are three homes, a lodge where guests can gather, an archery range, nature trails, a playground, organic garden, bird sanctuary, and fishing pond. Families are able to heal in the comfort of nature.

This organization is able to offer life-changing opportunities thanks to selfless volunteers and generous donors. Each year, tens of thousands of Americans lose their lives to suicide in our country, including an estimated 20 veterans every day. These figures represent one life lost every 72 minutes. Boulder Crest offers military members, veterans, and families as chance to recover and prevents the loss of lives.

I would like to thank Ken and Julia Falke, their team, and all the individuals who make Boulder Crest possible. I am proud Arizona is able to assist in their mission.

HONORING THE SHIPPENSBURG UNIVERSITY FIELD HOCKEY TEAM

HON. LOU BARLETTA

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 4, 2017

Mr. BARLETTA. Mr. Speaker, I would like to recognize the Shippensburg University Field Hockey Team for winning the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) Division II National Championship title for the second year in a row.

The Shippensburg University Field Hockey Team serves as a beacon of success for Pennsylvania collegiate sports and illustrates the high quality of athletic talent that exists at Shippensburg University. The Shippensburg Raiders have built their program into an athletic powerhouse, winning three of the last five national championships. This year's win was especially impressive as they once again defeated the number-one seated team, the Long Island University Post-Pioneers, with a strong score of 4-1. Upon winning this coveted title for the second consecutive year, the Raiders made university sports history by being the first of the school's teams to successfully defend a national title.

These phenomenal athletes serve as an example for not only aspiring female field hockey players, but for all Pennsylvania youths. Their drive, commitment, and talent are a great source of pride for the university and the community at large. I am honored to represent the Shippensburg University Field Hockey Team and take great pride in their remarkable accomplishment and continued success.

Mr. Speaker, please join me in recognizing the Shippensburg University Field Hockey Team and congratulating these athletes on their well-deserved NCAA Division II National Championship Victory. TRIBUTE TO KJELLA AND DOUG PIPER

HON. DAVID YOUNG

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 4, 2017

Mr. YOUNG of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to recognize and congratulate Kjella and Doug Piper of Panora, Iowa, on the very special occasion of their 50th wedding anniversary. They celebrated their anniversary on September 2, 2017.

Kjella and Doug's lifelong commitment to each other and their family truly embodies our lowa values. As they reflect on their 50th anniversary, may their commitment grow even stronger, as they continue to love, cherish, and honor one another for many years to come.

Mr. Speaker, I commend this great couple on their 50th year together, and I wish them many more. I ask that my colleagues in the United States House of Representatives join me in congratulating them on this momentous occasion and in wishing them both nothing but the best.

RECOGNIZING MEREDITH ANDERSON, JACK JOHNSTONE AND JACKSON NOCK

HON. MIKE COFFMAN

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 4, 2017

Mr. COFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to recognize Meredith Anderson, Jack Johnstone, and Jackson Nock for their hard work and dedication to the people of Colorado's Sixth District as interns in my Washington, D.C. office for the autumn of the 115th Congress, First Session.

The work of these young professionals has been nothing short of exemplary. During their time in my office, Meredith, Jack and Jackson served as tour guides, interacted with constituents, conducted legislative research and learned a great deal about the United States Congress. I know they all have especially bright futures ahead of them and I look forward to seeing them build their prospective careers.

Meredith, Jack, and Jackson have made plans to continue their education and professional occupations in Washington, D.C. and throughout the United States. I am certain they will succeed in their new roles and wish them all the best in their future endeavors. Mr. Speaker, it is an honor to recognize Meredith Anderson, Jack Johnstone, and Jackson Nock for their service this autumn.

DOWN ON THE BORDER

HON. PETE SESSIONS

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 4, 2017

Mr. SESSIONS. Mr. Speaker, I include in the RECORD a poem, on behalf of Albert Carey Caswell, to honor the brave men and women of the U.S. Border Patrol. All across our Nation these servicemen and women risk their lives daily to protect us in a very demanding and dangerous job.

DOWN ON THE BORDER

(By Albert Caswell)

Down on the border

There are men and women of such high order Standing tall to provide law and order

Who live and die to hold that line as evil they quarter.

Because, keeping us safe is such a tall order. Protecting our borders

On the ground, on the water, or up in the air everywhere,

As a heroic bond they share,

Because, each day is a war.

Leaving home with one last hug and kiss goodbye,

not knowing if they'll be home for sure.

Down on the border

These are the men and women of law and order

Who serve and protect

Whose sworn duty is not to neglect

Only the best from them can we expect.

Down on the border

As all across the country such lawlessness they quarter

While, working in the harshest of conditions In the heat of the day or in the darkness of night making the toughest decisions,

With only seconds to decide.

Down on the border

Who lives or dies depends on you as to the challenge they rise

Standing tall in their most heroic hues oh high.

Down on the border,

and all across this country as these are the men and women of law and order try

To serve and protect us as upon them we rely.

Down on the border

Yea it's a tough and demanding job,

reminiscent of the wild . . . wild . . . west . . as each moment evolves

Demanding only the finest these problems to solve

Who selflessly give all to this job.

Down on the border

Today we lost another great man

Who for all of us took his most courageous stand

Trying to keep us all safe throughout this land

Families, now with children without Moms and Dads.

Parent's, who lost their most precious Sons and Daughters they'll ever have,

Brothers and Sisters on that thin blue line who have lost their best friends so sad. Down on the border

For they know all to well

That a country which can't protect its borders that in time will tell,

Will become a place where only lawlessness dwells.

Because, innocent people should not have to live through such hell.

Down on the border where all their hearts swell

On this day remember The Border Patrol, Who for all us give their hearts and souls, Until, their blood runs cold.

Say a prayer for all those to come home safe to their loved ones to hold,

These magnificent men and women who pave the way of hearts of gold.

Down on the border where its life and death every day so very cold,

In your hearts ever hold a place,

For these men and women who for us such danger must face,

Down on the border.

TRIBUTE TO TIM SINDT

HON. DAVID YOUNG

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, December 4, 2017

Mr. YOUNG of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to recognize and congratulate Tim Sindt, a member of the Ankeny High School cross country team, for winning the Class 4A state boys' cross country championship earlier this vear.

After finishing eighth in the 2016 championship, Tim committed himself to a strict training regimen and gives a lot of credit to his coaches for building confidence in him and his teammates leading up to the 2017 season. At this year's meet, Tim finished the 3.1 mile race in an astounding 15 minutes and 23.7 seconds, propelling him to the top of his sport in the state of Iowa.

Mr. Speaker, Tim's determination, hard work, and commitment helped contribute to his great success. I am honored to represent him in the United States Congress and I ask that my colleagues in the United States House of Representatives join me in congratulating Tim for winning this rigorous competition and in wishing him nothing but continued success.

SENATE COMMITTEE MEETINGS

Title IV of Senate Resolution 4, agreed to by the Senate of February 4, 1977, calls for establishment of a system for a computerized schedule of all meetings and hearings of Senate committees, subcommittees, joint committees, and committees of conference. This title requires all such committees to notify the Office of the Senate Daily Digest-designated by the Rules Committee-of the time, place and purpose of the meetings, when scheduled and any cancellations or changes in the meetings as they occur.

As an additional procedure along with the computerization of this information, the Office of the Senate Daily Digest will prepare this information for printing in the Extensions of Remarks section of the Congressional Record on Monday and Wednesday of each week.

Meetings scheduled for Tuesday, December 5, 2017 may be found in the Daily Digest of today's RECORD.

MEETINGS SCHEDULED

DECEMBER 6

9:30 a.m.

Special Committee on Aging

To hold hearings to examine America's aging workforce, focusing on opportunities and challenges.

SD-562

10 a.m.

Committee on Environment and Public

To hold hearings to examine the nomination of R. D. James, of Missouri, to be an Assistant Secretary of the Army, Department of Defense.

SD-406

Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs

To hold hearings to examine adapting to defend the Homeland against the evolving international terrorist threat.

SD-342

Committee on the Judiciary

To hold hearings to examine firearm accessory regulation and enforcing Federal and state reporting to the National Instant Criminal Background Check System (NICS).

SD_226

2:30 p.m.

Committee on Environment and Public

Subcommittee on Superfund, Waste Management, and Regulatory Oversight

To hold hearings to examine challenges facing Superfund and waste cleanup efforts following natural disasters.

SD-406

Committee on Foreign Relations

Subcommittee on Near East, South Asia, Central Asia, and Counterterrorism

To hold hearings to examine beyond ISIS, focusing on countering terrorism, radicalization, and promoting stability in North Africa.

SD-419

Committee on Indian Affairs

Business meeting to consider S. 1870, to amend the Victims of Crime Act of 1984 to secure urgent resources vital to Indian victims of crime; to be immediately followed by a hearing to examine S. 664, to approve the settlement of the water rights claims of the Navajo in Utah, to authorize construction of projects in connection therewith, and S. 1770, to approve the settlement of water rights claims of the Hualapai Tribe and certain allottees in the State of Arizona, to authorize construction of a water project relating to those water rights claims.

SD-628

DECEMBER 7

Time to be announced

Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions

Business meeting to consider the nominations of Mitchell Zais, of South Carolina, to be Deputy Secretary, and James Blew, of California, to be Assistant Secretary for Planning, Evaluation, and Policy Development, both of the Department of Education, Kate S. O'Scannlain, of Maryland, to be Solicitor, and Preston Rutledge, of the District of Columbia, to be an Assistant Secretary, both of the Department of Labor, and other pending nominations.

10 a.m.

Committee on Armed Services

To hold hearings to examine Department of Defense acquisition reform efforts. SD-G50

Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions

To hold hearings to examine implementation of the 21st Century Cures Act, focusing on progress and the path forward for medical innovation.

SD-430

Committee on the Judiciary

Business meeting to consider the nominations of Leonard Steven Grasz, of Nebraska, to be United States Circuit Judge for the Eighth Circuit, James C. Ho, of Texas, to be United States Circuit Judge for the Fifth Circuit, Don R. Willett, of Texas, to be a Circuit Judge, United States Court of Appeals for the

Fifth Circuit, Terry A. Doughty, to be United States District Judge for the Western District of Louisiana, Terry Fitzgerald Moorer, to be United States District Judge for the Southern District of Alabama, Mark Saalfield Norris, Sr., to be United States District Judge for the Western District of Tennessee, Claria Horn Boom, to be United States District Judge for the Eastern and Western Districts of Kentucky, John W. Broomes, to be United States District Judge for the District of Kansas, Rebecca Grady Jennings, to be United States District Judge for the Western District of Kentucky, and Robert Earl Wier, to be United States District Judge for the Eastern District of Kentucky.

D-226

2 p.m.

Select Committee on Intelligence

To receive a closed briefing on certain intelligence matters.

SH-219

DECEMBER 12

10 a.m.

Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions

To hold hearings to examine the cost of prescription drugs, focusing on an examination of the National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine report "Making Medicines Affordable: A National Imperative".

SD-430

DECEMBER 13

10 a.m.

Committee on Armed Services
Subcommittee on Emerging Threats and

Capabilities Capabilities

To receive a closed briefing on Department of Defense global counterterrorism operations.

SVC-217

Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions

To hold hearings to examine implementation of the 21st Century Cures Act, focusing on responding to mental health needs.

SD-430

2:30 p.m.

Committee on the Judiciary

Subcommittee on Antitrust, Competition Policy and Consumer Rights

To hold hearings to examine the consumer welfare standard in antitrust.

SD-226

Daily Digest

Senate

Chamber Action

Routine Proceedings, pages \$7809-\$7824

Measures Introduced: Seven bills and one resolution were introduced, as follows: S. 2185–2191, and S. Res. 348.

Pages \$7819-20

House Messages:

Department of State Authorities Act, Fiscal Year 2017, Improvements Act: Senate concurred in the House Amendment to S. 371, to make technical changes and other improvements to the Department of State Authorities Act, Fiscal Year 2017.

Page S7821

Nielsen Nomination—Agreement: Senate resumed consideration of the nomination of Kirstjen Nielsen, of Virginia, to be Secretary of Homeland Security.

Pages S7809-19

During consideration of this nomination today, Senate also took the following action:

By 59 yeas to 33 nays (Vote No. 304), Senate agreed to the motion to close further debate on the nomination.

Pages \$7818-19

A unanimous-consent agreement was reached providing for further consideration of the nomination,

post-cloture, at approximately 10 a.m., on Tuesday, December 5, 2017; and that all time during recess, adjournment, morning business, and Leader remarks count post-cloture on the nomination.

Page S7821

Messages from the House: Page \$7819
Measures Referred: Page \$7819

Additional Cosponsors: Page \$7820

Statements on Introduced Bills/Resolutions:

Pages S7819-21

Record Votes: One record vote was taken today. (Total—304)

Pages \$7818-19

Adjournment: Senate convened at 3 p.m. and adjourned at 6:42 p.m., until 10 a.m. on Tuesday, December 5, 2017. (For Senate's program, see the remarks of the Majority Leader in today's Record on page \$7824.)

Committee Meetings

(Committees not listed did not meet)

No committee meetings were held.

House of Representatives

Chamber Action

Public Bills and Resolutions Introduced: 16 public bills, H.R. 4530–4545; and 4 resolutions, H.J. Res. 123; H. Con. Res. 96; and H. Res. 643–644 were introduced.

Pages H9619–20

Additional Cosponsors: Pages H9620-21

Reports Filed: Reports were filed today as follows: H.R. 38, to amend title 18, United States Code, to provide a means by which nonresidents of a State whose residents may carry concealed firearms may also do so in the State, with an amendment (H. Rept. 115–433);

H.R. 2396, to amend the Gramm-Leach-Bliley Act to update the exception for certain annual notices provided by financial institutions, with an amendment (H. Rept. 115–434);

H.R. 3731, to provide overtime pay for employees of the United States Secret Service, and for other purposes (H. Rept. 115–435, Part 1); and

H.R. 2897, to authorize the Mayor of the District of Columbia and the Director of the National Park Service to enter into cooperative management agreements for the operation, maintenance, and management of units of the National Park System in the District of Columbia, and for other purposes (H. Rept. 115–436, Part 1).

Page H9619

D1277

Speaker: Read a letter from the Speaker wherein he appointed Representative Byrne to act as Speaker pro tempore for today.

Page H9601

Recess: The House recessed at 6:09 p.m. and reconvened at 6:30 p.m. **Page H9602**

Tax Cuts and Jobs Act—Motion to go to Conference: The House agreed to disagree to the Senate amendment and request a conference on H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to titles II and V of the concurrent resolution on the budget for fiscal year 2018, by a yea-and-nay vote of 222 yeas to 192 nays, Roll No. 653.

Pages H9602–13

Rejected the Neal motion to instruct conferees by a yea-and-nay vote of 186 yeas to 233 nays, Roll No. 654.

Pages H9603–13

Subsequently, the Chair appointed the following conferees: From the Committee on Ways and Means, for consideration of the House bill and the Senate amendment, and modifications committed to conference: Representatives Brady (TX), Nunes, Roskam, Black, Noem, Neal, Levin, and Doggett.

Page H9613

From the Committee on Energy and Commerce, for consideration of sec. 20003 of the Senate amendment, and modifications committed to conference: Representatives Walden, Shimkus, and Castor of (FL).

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From the Committee on Natural Resources, for consideration of secs. 20001 and 20002 of the Senate amendment, and modifications committed to conference: Representatives Bishop (UT), Young (AK), and Grijalva.

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Senate Message: Message received from the Senate by the Clerk and subsequently presented to the House today appears on page H9601.

Quorum Calls—Votes: Two yea-and-nay votes developed during the proceedings of today and appear on pages H9602–03 and H9612–13. There were no quorum calls.

Adjournment: The House met at 6 p.m. and adjourned at 9:51 p.m.

Committee Meetings

No hearings were held.

Joint Meetings

No joint committee meetings were held.

COMMITTEE MEETINGS FOR TUESDAY, DECEMBER 5, 2017

(Committee meetings are open unless otherwise indicated)

Senate

Committee on Appropriations: Subcommittee on Departments of Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education, and Related Agencies, to hold hearings to examine addressing the opioid crisis in America, focusing on prevention, treatment, and recovery, 10 a.m., SD–124.

Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs: business meeting to consider S. 2155, to promote economic growth, provide tailored regulatory relief, and enhance consumer protections, and the nomination of Jerome H. Powell, of Maryland, to be Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, 10 a.m., SD–538.

Committee on Energy and Natural Resources: to hold hearings to examine the nominations of Timothy R. Petty, of Indiana, to be an Assistant Secretary of the Interior, and Linda Capuano, of Texas, to be Administrator of the Energy Information Administration, Department of Energy, 10 a.m., SD–366.

Subcommittee on Energy, to hold hearings to examine S. 1336, to amend the Energy Policy Act of 2005 to reauthorize hydroelectric production incentives and hydroelectric efficiency improvement incentives, S. 1455, to amend the United States Energy Storage Competitiveness Act of 2007 to direct the Secretary of Energy to establish new goals for the Department of Energy relating to energy storage and to carry out certain demonstration projects relating to energy storage, S. 1563, to authorize the Office of Fossil Energy to develop advanced separation technologies for the extraction and recovery of rare earth elements and minerals from coal and coal byproducts, S. 1851, to require the Secretary of Energy to establish an energy storage research program, demonstration and deployment program, and technical assistance and grant program, S. 1876, to direct the Secretary of Energy to establish a program to advance energy storage deployment by reducing the cost of energy storage through research, development, and demonstration, S. 1981, to amend the Natural Gas Act to expedite approval of exports of small volumes of natural gas, and S. 2030, to deem the compliance date for amended energy conservation standards for ceiling light kits to be January 21, 2020, 2:30 p.m., SD-366.

Committee on Foreign Relations: business meeting to consider S. 1118, to reauthorize the North Korea Human Rights Act of 2004, S. 1901, to require global economic political pressure support diplomatic to denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula, including through the imposition of sanctions with respect to the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and any enablers of the activities of that Government, and to reauthorize the North Korean Human Rights Act of 2004, S. 447, to require reporting on acts of certain foreign countries on Holocaust era assets and related issues, S. Res. 150, recognizing threats to freedom

of the press and expression around the world and reaffirming freedom of the press as a priority in efforts of the United States Government to promote democracy and good governance, S. Res. 139, condemning the Government of Iran's state-sponsored persecution of its Baha'i minority and its continued violation of the International Covenants on Human Rights, and the nominations of Eric M. Ueland, of Oregon, to be an Under Secretary (Management), and James Randolph Evans, of Georgia, to be Ambassador to Luxembourg, both of the Department of State; to be immediately followed by a hearing in SD—419 to examine the President, Congress, and shared authority over the international accords, 2:30 p.m., S—116, Capitol.

Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions: to hold hearings to examine the nominations of Kenneth L.

Marcus, of Virginia, to be Assistant Secretary for Civil Rights, and Johnny Collett, of Kentucky, to be Assistant Secretary for Special Education and Rehabilitative Services, both of the Department of Education, and Scott A. Mugno, of Pennsylvania, to be an Assistant Secretary, and William Beach, of Kansas, to be Commissioner of Labor Statistics, both of the Department of Labor, 10 a.m., SD_430

Select Committee on Intelligence: to receive a closed briefing on certain intelligence matters, 3 p.m., SH-219.

House

Committee on Rules, Full Committee, hearing on H.R. 38, the "Concealed Carry Reciprocity Act of 2017"; and legislation on the Further Continuing Appropriations Act, 2018, 2 p.m., H–313 Capitol.

Next Meeting of the SENATE 10 a.m., Tuesday, December 5

Next Meeting of the HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES 10 a.m., Tuesday, December 5

Senate Chamber

Program for Tuesday: Senate will continue consideration of the nomination of Kirstjen Nielsen, of Virginia, to be Secretary of Homeland Security, post-cloture.

(Senate will recess at 12:30 p.m. subject to the call of the Chair. At 2:15 p.m., the official Senate photograph of the 115th Congress will be taken in the Senate chamber. Senators are asked to be on the floor at that time.)

House Chamber

Program for Tuesday: Consideration of measures under suspension of the Rules.

Extensions of Remarks, as inserted in this issue

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