

literally. It has had that kind of an impact. So shouldn't we use these two vehicles that have lifted millions of children and families out of poverty—the earned income tax credit and the child tax credit—and strengthen them? Shouldn't we make them more robust so that more children could be lifted out of poverty? The answer is yes.

We have an opportunity here. Senator BROWN and Senator BENNET introduced a bill that then became an amendment in the debate, which I and so many other Democratic Senators joined them on, to strengthen the child tax credit, as well as the earned income tax credit.

Here is the basic information about where we are with the child tax credit. The proposal by some Republican Senators to strengthen the child tax credit in the bill is also woefully deficient and woefully short of what families should expect from a big tax reform bill that is supposed to help folks with the child tax credit.

The Senate Republican plan increases the maximum child tax credit from \$1,000 to \$2,000 per child. It sounds pretty good so far—\$1,000 up to \$2,000. It sounds pretty good so far, but because the bill limits refundability, a mom working full time at minimum wage will only see an additional \$75 in the child tax credit, while a married couple earning \$500,000 would become newly eligible. So in the Republican bill, wealthy families earning up to \$500,000 of income are newly eligible for help, with the child tax credit, for the maximum credit of \$2,000 per child. The working mom who has a low income gets a child tax credit of \$75, which is not much help, but the family making \$500,000 would be getting a \$2,000 child tax credit. Anyone knows that is woefully short.

We can do better than that. We are a great country. We have the greatest economy in the world, we have the strongest military in the world, and we have a lot of good tax policies that have helped lift families out of poverty. Both parties have helped support those provisions over the years. This isn't just a Democratic priority; a lot of Republicans make this a priority as well.

This is the moment to do it. This is a big tax bill. We could make the child tax credit so generous and so substantial that you could turbocharge—use any word you want—you could turbocharge the effort to get young children out of poverty. But the Republicans won't do it because they are stingy on the child tax credit changes, just as they are stingy on the middle-class tax cut.

The source I cited earlier for the November 27 report, the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities—you can go to their website. It is easy. Just type in four letters—CBPP—and you can find these reports. What do they say about the child tax credit provisions? The Center on Budget and Policy Priorities says that 10 million children live in

families who would get \$6.25 or less per month in additional child tax credit help—less than 1 hour of work at the minimum wage. So for 10 million children, this brandnew proposal on the child tax credit adds up to \$6.25 or less per month. Even in a very low-income family, \$6.25 a month doesn't get you much in terms of help for your children.

We have a lot to do in a short time-frame to let the American people know what is in this bill. Whether it is very limited tax relief for a lot of middle-class families or whether it is the outrage that so many Americans' taxes will go up—over time, especially—or whether it is the giveaways to the richest among us, there are so many outrages and so many insults in one bill, it is difficult to catalog all of them.

I hope that if we have a vote on the Senate floor, this bill will be defeated. Guess what can happen then. We can get to a different chapter on tax reform, just like we started to get to on healthcare. After the healthcare bill was voted down in July, everyone said that somehow there would be no engagement on healthcare after that, that the two sides would go into their corners and there would be no discussion. Within hours, if not days, of that happening, Democrats and Republicans came together on healthcare. On that topic on which there is supposed to be very little, if any, consensus or cooperation or bipartisanship, they came together and then had hearings in early September. People forget this, but it happened. In the first 2 weeks of September, we listened to Governors from both parties, insurance commissioners, and healthcare policy experts. Guess what we got. We got a bipartisan bill to help stabilize the market, to make sure we were coming together to try to solve at least one substantial problem in our healthcare system—not to cure every problem but to come together in a bipartisan way to fix the problem.

We could undertake a similar process on tax reform. We could start in December or January—whenever the majority wants to start—have lots of hearings, examine these issues, and figure out whether there is a bipartisan way to make the child tax credit more generous.

We have a moment here. We have a big bill. We could lift a lot more children out of poverty. Isn't there a way to make the middle-class tax relief much more robust and substantial? Instead of giving a \$300 or \$400 tax cut, maybe we could say: Let's come together on a bipartisan bill and give a tax cut that is worth \$1,000—or maybe several thousand dollars—to the middle class and to middle-class families. We could do that. Democrats and Republicans could come together.

We could even come together on providing corporate relief. No one on our side doesn't believe that corporations should get a break, but when you reduce a corporate tax rate from 35 to

20—just do the math. It is \$100 billion per point, so that is \$1.5 trillion. That forecloses the option of making middle-class tax cuts even more generous. It limits the options to help families who are struggling to get into the middle class, who are going to work every day, sometimes working two jobs, making the minimum wage or higher than minimum wage, and they need a little bit of help with the child tax credit or other provisions.

We have an opportunity here to do tax reform the right way—not in the dark of night, not a one-party fiat or a one-party bill that gets rushed through and then we are supposed to accept this as good tax policy for the next 10, 20, 30 years. That is not the way to do tax reform. That is not the way it was done when Ronald Reagan was here, working with Democrats and Republicans. That is not the way we should do it.

We will have more to say later in the week.

At this time, I yield the floor.

ADJOURNMENT UNTIL TOMORROW

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senate stands adjourned until 12 noon tomorrow.

Thereupon, the Senate, at 7:18 p.m., adjourned until Wednesday, November 29, 2017, at 12 noon.

NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate on November 27, 2017:

IN THE ARMY

THE FOLLOWING NAMED OFFICER FOR APPOINTMENT IN THE UNITED STATES ARMY TO THE GRADE INDICATED WHILE ASSIGNED TO A POSITION OF IMPORTANCE AND RESPONSIBILITY UNDER TITLE 10, U.S.C., SECTION 601:

To be lieutenant general

MAJ. GEN. CHRISTOPHER G. CAVOLI

THE FOLLOWING NAMED OFFICER FOR APPOINTMENT IN THE UNITED STATES ARMY TO THE GRADE INDICATED WHILE ASSIGNED TO A POSITION OF IMPORTANCE AND RESPONSIBILITY UNDER TITLE 10, U.S.C., SECTION 601:

To be general

LT. GEN. STEPHEN J. TOWNSEND

THE FOLLOWING NAMED OFFICERS FOR APPOINTMENT TO THE GRADE INDICATED IN THE RESERVE OF THE ARMY UNDER TITLE 10, U.S.C., SECTION 12203:

To be colonel

NATHELE J. ANDERSON
BRIAN R. HORTON

THE FOLLOWING NAMED OFFICERS FOR APPOINTMENT TO THE GRADE INDICATED IN THE RESERVE OF THE ARMY UNDER TITLE 10, U.S.C., SECTION 12203:

To be colonel

THOMAS W. GREEN
KENNETH M. KOOP

THE FOLLOWING NAMED OFFICER FOR APPOINTMENT TO THE GRADE INDICATED IN THE UNITED STATES ARMY DENTAL CORPS UNDER TITLE 10, U.S.C., SECTIONS 624 AND 3064:

To be colonel

ADAM R. LIBERMAN

THE FOLLOWING NAMED OFFICER FOR APPOINTMENT TO THE GRADE INDICATED IN THE RESERVE OF THE ARMY UNDER TITLE 10, U.S.C., SECTION 12203:

To be colonel

MICHAEL E. STEELMAN

THE FOLLOWING NAMED OFFICER FOR APPOINTMENT TO THE GRADE INDICATED IN THE UNITED STATES ARMY UNDER TITLE 10, U.S.C., SECTION 624:

To be major

GERALD D. GANGARAM

THE FOLLOWING NAMED OFFICER FOR APPOINTMENT IN THE GRADE INDICATED IN THE REGULAR ARMY MEDICAL SERVICE CORPS UNDER TITLE 10, U.S.C., SECTIONS 531, 716, AND 3064: