

this year, North Korea made a major breakthrough with its first successful ICBM launching. If it had been launched on a standard trajectory, the missile could likely have traveled up to 5,000 miles. That would have been enough to have reached Alaska. On July 28 of this year, North Korea tested another ICBM. This missile demonstrated the potential ability to reach mainland U.S. targets with a nuclear-armed ICBM.

Yesterday was the big day. Yesterday, it finally happened. Yesterday, North Korea proved that it could reliably range the entire continental United States with a test of its latest developed and newest version of the ICBM. It is important to remember that all of this power is being wielded by the erratic despot Kim Jong Un. We don't have the luxury of time. He has stated that his goal—listen to this—is to attain a nuclear-capable ICBM that can annihilate the United States. Each and every day, he gets closer to this goal, and, yesterday, he proved that it could be done.

Secretary Mattis confirmed the technical advances that were displayed in yesterday's test. The missile had 53 minutes of time in flight, and Mattis confirmed that it had gone higher than any previous shot they had ever taken.

David Wright, an analyst with the Union of Concerned Scientists, wrote that yesterday's test indicates that North Korea can now hold the United States well within missile range. Wright wrote: "Such a missile would have been more than enough range to reach Washington, DC, and in fact any part of the continental United States."

When one talks about the real threats that are out there, we now know that even though people didn't believe it 20 years ago, 10 years ago, 5 years ago, it finally happened yesterday. They have the range that could reach the continental United States, and they have proved that they have a missile that can do that. The only argument they use is that this may not have had a payload, that maybe they couldn't have done that with a payload. Actually, it had that kind of a range. That doesn't give me much comfort. I really think that we are to the point at which we have to recognize that we are in the most threatened position we have been in as a nation, and now it is a lot easier to believe that because we witnessed it yesterday.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. LEE).
The Senator from Montana.

TAX REFORM

Mr. TESTER. Mr. President, I have long supported efforts to reform the Tax Code—tax reform that gives a break to working-class Americans and small businesses so that they can create more jobs and keep more of their hard-earned money in their pockets, tax reform that provides permanent, long-term certainty for job-creating

businesses and middle-class families so that they can plan for the future, and tax reform that doesn't burden future generations with loads of debt. Unfortunately, the bill that we are going to vote on this week is not tax reform.

The majority and the administration can call this proposal whatever they want, but from where I come from, which is north central Montana, we call it how we see it. This is a tax giveaway to the wealthy—a tax giveaway that will cut taxes for the wealthiest families while raising taxes on nearly 14 million middle-class Americans. This tax giveaway benefits wealthy out-of-staters at the expense of hard-working Montanans. In fact, folks making less than \$30,000 a year will see a tax hike in 2019, and folks making less than \$40,000 will see a tax hike in 2021. That pattern continues climbing until every individual will see a tax hike in 2025.

Why is this important?

We haven't done tax reform in 30 years, and 2025 will be here tomorrow. A tax break for the wealthiest will continue not only to add to our debt, but it will continue to take money out of the pockets of hard-working middle-class families. All the while, the large corporations will enjoy permanent tax giveaways.

It doesn't have to be like this, but the majority has chosen, once again, to write a bad bill in secret—no bipartisanship, no input from working families, no regard for how this bill is going to impact folks down the road. This tax giveaway to the wealthy reeks of the swamp, and it represents everything that folks hate about Washington, DC.

So why are we rushing this process?

During the Reagan tax cuts in the eighties, the House and the Senate combined to hold over 20 committee hearings before bringing a bill to the floor. Why was there no public input in this process today? Why aren't we waiting for final estimates from the Joint Tax Committee to let us know what the impacts will be? Why don't we know what the long-term impacts—past the first 10 years—are going to be? Why are we voting before we have analysis on what happens to those folks 12, 14, 16 years from now? Why are we voting on a bill before we have even had time to read it?

There is an appetite in this Senate for good tax reform—a tax bill that will cut taxes for middle-class families and small businesses and will not add to the debt, a bill that will actually drive our economy. I don't understand why folks in this body are rushing to pass this tax giveaway that is going to hurt the folks who need a tax cut the most. This is not the first time we have been down this road. Next year, nearly one-third of our national debt will be a direct result of the Bush tax cuts—over \$5.6 trillion. Yet here we are again, a decade later, and we are about to make the same mistake.

Most folks who serve in this body will say that they came here to provide

more opportunities for the next generation, that they came here to work on bills and pass bills that will help our kids and our grandkids succeed. I am here to tell you that actions speak louder than words. This bill saddles our kids and our grandkids with even more crushing debt by adding, at a minimum, \$1.4 trillion to the debt. Why? It is so that we can give tax giveaways to the wealthy and big corporations and so that some politicians can claim a political victory. If you vote for this bill, you are putting \$1.4 trillion on the credit card that our kids and our grandkids are going to be forced to pay. That is a fact. Where are the deficit hawks? Where have they flown? My, how times have changed.

We can do better than this. Our kids and our grandkids deserve better than this. Hard-working families in this country deserve better than this. We need to do the right thing and pull this bill from the floor and work together in a truly bipartisan way to pass real tax reform—get public input, get support from both sides of the aisle—and get a bill that Democrats, Republicans, and, as far as that goes, Independents can support.

The truth is apparent. The other side of the aisle doesn't want to be bothered by differences of opinion or public input, so we end up with a poorly written bill that doesn't do what it is advertised to do. Let's help businesses create more jobs and raise wages, and let's make sure that hard-working folks can keep more of their money in their pockets. That is the kind of tax reform that America deserves. Instead, we are stuck with a partisan gimmick that makes the rich richer while the rest of us pay the bills.

I am voting no on this bill, and I am voting no for Montana's kids and grandkids. I encourage my colleagues to take a look at this bill, by the way, that we don't even have yet. Take a look at it, what is there, and vote no to avoid, at a minimum, a trillion and a half dollars being added to our national debt.

When I go home, one of the things that folks ask of me is to work together—to work together and find bipartisan solutions. Don't just cast off those on the other side as being wrong. Listen to them. Try to find that middle ground. That hasn't happened here with this bill. Anything but that has happened. We have a bill that has been crafted by one party in secret and has been put in front of us, and they have said: Here. Take it or leave it. We don't even know the impacts of this bill, and they don't know the impacts of this bill. Once this passes, it will be too late. This is the most deliberative body in the world. We ought to do a little deliberating and get some public input and find bipartisan support and move forward with a bill that works for America.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oregon.

Mr. WYDEN. Mr. President, a number of Senators have been inquiring as to what will happen next with respect to the handling of the tax legislation. My sense is that, in a relatively short period of time, the Senate will be voting on the motion to proceed to this legislation. I just want to take a couple of minutes to talk about why I am going to oppose the motion to proceed.

The fact is, right now, on a topic that will involve \$10 trillion worth of tax policy changes—the biggest change in the Tax Code in 31 years when the U.S. Senate votes on the motion to proceed—we, essentially, will not know yet what the Senate will be debating. There are rumors; there are whispers, but the fact is, as the ranking Democrat on the Senate Finance Committee, which has authority over taxes, I haven't seen the text of the bill that we will actually be debating.

The bill seems to have changed practically every half hour. It has certainly been a moveable feast for the super lobbyists, but there are a couple things we already do know. We know, for example, it is not going to give a fair shake to working families. What we have talked about again and again in the Senate is that the Senate leadership is committed to a double standard with respect to the American economy: temporary breaks for the middle class—they vanish in a few years—and permanent breaks for those at the top.

We can do better than this. The middle class is responsible for 70 percent of the economic activity in our economy. They are the ones who buy the cars, who buy the houses. They send kids to childcare. Instead, many of them certainly fairly soon are going to be further in the hole than they already are.

So this is a piece of legislation, both on the substance, from the standpoint of what my colleagues have been talking about in terms of the double standard—I mean, we already have in our economy essentially two tax systems, one for the cops, the nurses, auto-workers, and timber workers. Their tax system is compulsory. Their taxes come right out of their paycheck. There are no Cayman Island deals for them. The people at the top pay what they want when they want to. The reality is, what it looks like we are going to get—as I say, I don't have the details—is going to make this work.

So a number of Senators have asked, for example, about the passthrough provisions, important to small business. We don't have the details on that. We have Members who care about how we are actually going to not rack up hundreds of billions of dollars' worth of debt in the years ahead. Some Senators have suggested that there be triggers. I happen to think they are gimmicks in all of the approaches I have heard. They just don't seem to add up. We don't have the details on that.

What we do know—and I know there are several other Senators who would like to speak—is, we have never had negotiations in the Senate Finance

Committee over the specifics of this legislation or any other. We have never had a legislative hearing. When Ronald Reagan and Democrats got together in 1986, they had more than 20 of these hearings.

I will just tell my colleagues in the Senate, Bill Bradley, the former Knick and basketball great who was on the Finance Committee—and I like to kid colleagues that he was another tall Democrat on the committee with a much better jump shot than I—he always would tell stories about how he would fly across the country to meet with Republicans to talk about the specifics of tax reform. Back then, Senators went to great lengths to talk to each other about the specifics of tax reform. In this instance, the majority hasn't been willing to even walk down the corridor of the Dirksen Senate Office Building to talk about the specifics of tax reform.

The Senate is better than this. I was part of the bipartisan group yesterday, and Senator DONNELLY, our colleague from Indiana, really set out what became an outpouring of good faith among something like 17 Senators who said we can find common ground here. I happen to know we can find common ground here because with two Senators, who happen to be very close to the distinguished majority leader, MITCH MCCONNELL, I wrote two full bipartisan Federal income tax reform bills—my former colleagues, Senator Gregg and Senator Coats.

We can do this. This is what the Senators said yesterday. We can find common ground. There is not a Senator here who doesn't agree that the Tax Code is a rotting economic carcass. It is a dysfunctional mess. Every single Senator understands it is broken. Since it has been 30 years since the last reform, there have been scores of changes to the Tax Code that really cause as much confusion as they do benefits. So I know we can do this. That is what Democratic Senators said yesterday. They said we want to work together in a group led by our colleagues Senator MANCHIN and Senator KAINE, who brought us together.

So we are going to vote, and I think it is going to be soon, on a motion to proceed. I would just tell Senators, as of right now, we don't yet know what the Senate is going to be debating, and on those crucial issues I just mentioned, we still don't have any information. Yesterday, the Joint Committee on Taxation told me they hoped to have what the Republicans said was the essence of why their bill works: a dynamic score of the tax legislation. We haven't seen that either.

I hope our colleagues will vote no on the motion to proceed because I don't think it is too much to say that as Senators, when we are talking about going to a bill that involves \$10 trillion worth of tax policy changes in the Senate, we ought to know what the Senate will actually be debating.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Georgia.

Mr. PERDUE. Thank you, Mr. President.

When President Trump took office, he said that job No. 1 this year was getting the economy growing again. As a business guy—I am going to speak very quickly because I think the majority leader is on the way down to the floor—he said the first thing we had to do to get the economy going were three things: No. 1, pull back on the onerous regulations. Well, so far this year 860 rules and regulations have been reversed. No. 2, he said we have to unleash our God-given energy potential. So far, Keystone Pipeline, the Clean Power Plan, and ANWR are underway.

Finally, we have to change the Tax Code, and that is what we are here debating this week. I am very optimistic that this plan will absolutely put people back to work, put money back in their pockets, and make our American economy and the people who participate in it competitive with the rest of the world.

With that, I notice that the majority leader is on the floor, and I yield back.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority leader.

TAX CUTS AND JOBS ACT—MOTION TO PROCEED

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, I move to proceed to Calendar No. 266, H.R. 1, and I ask for the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

There appears to be a sufficient second.

The question is on agreeing to the motion.

The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

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

[Rollcall Vote No. 284 Leg.]

YEAS—52

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

NAYS—48

Baldwin	Durbin	Manchin
Bennet	Feinstein	Markey
Blumenthal	Franken	McCaskill
Booker	Gillibrand	Menendez
Brown	Harris	Merkley
Cantwell	Hassan	Murphy
Cardin	Heinrich	Murray
Carper	Heitkamp	Nelson
Casey	Hirono	Peters
Coons	Kaine	Reed
Cortez Masto	King	Sanders
Donnelly	Klobuchar	Schatz
Duckworth	Leahy	Schumer