leadership time is reserved. Under the previous order, the pore. Under the previous order, the

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tem- pore. Under the previous order, the time until 3 p.m. will be equally di- vided between the managers or their designees.

The Senator from Wyoming, Mr. ENZI, Mr. President, this week the Senate is debating a fiscal year 2018 budget resolution focused on growing America’s economy through tax poli- cies that put more money in the hands of hard-working Americans. Tax re- form is long overdue and is needed to jump start our Nation’s economic growth. It is crucial that Congress ap- prove this fiscal framework in order to eliminate the dated and stifling tax policies that are holding back not only investment and productivity but Ameri- can families. It is time for more jobs, fairer taxes, and bigger paychecks.

The tax reform framework recently announced by the President and con- gressional leaders represents the begin- ning of a process aimed at boosting America’s economic growth and put- ting more money in the pockets of ev- eryday Americans. That tax framework has to be defined by the Finance Com- mittee. This sets up a process so that can be done as easily as possible.

It is crucial that we allow U.S. com- panies—large and small, especially small—to better compete both at home and overseas, which will make the United States more attractive for in- vestment and to do business. This will improve our competitiveness, it will help keep good paying jobs here at home, and it will bring back jobs that have been lost.

Lowering taxes on small businesses will also help unleash the ingenuity of America’s job creators. We are the most ingenious and most inventive in the world.

Unfortunately, as many hard-work- ing families personally understand, our economy has experienced 8 years of stagnant growth. This economic down- turn and slow growth has resulted in a lost decade that has cost the Nation millions of jobs.

Family income is not rising as fast as it should, which has real consequences for our future. When family incomes fail to grow, it becomes harder for parents to pay for their children’s edu- cation and for their own needs. Slug- gish family income growth also means less money for retirement or healthcare and makes it harder to save for a down payment on a home.

It is no surprise that incomes are less than 70,000 pages of instructions in total. This is why, every tax season, Americans are forced to wade through more than 4 million words. That is more than 263 billion is more than the gross do- mestic product of 154 nations.

$263 billion is more than the gross do-

The budget puts in motion a process to cut taxes for American families and job creators by $1.5 trillion over 10 years. We need to keep more money in the pockets of hard-working families, tax reform done right will spur investment and reinventor- ize productivity here at home.

America’s tax system is incredibly complicated. This budget will provide Congress with the opportunity to make more Tax Code simplifications and make it fairer for all Americans. We especially want to make sure families, small businesses, and workers are not penalized for their achievements. The Tax Code is an im- portant part of tax reform efforts. America’s current code is made up of more than 4 million words. That is seven times the length of Leo Tolstoy’s “War and Peace,” and it is more than two times the complete works of William Shake- speare and the King James Bible.

The National Taxpayers Union re- cently released some figures that cal- culate the burden of tax compliance for families and small businesses. The Na- tional Taxpayers Union learned that the total annual time burden of tax compliance is more than 6 billion hours. Let me repeat that. The total time burden for tax compliance is more than 6 billion hours. That is a lot of family time. That costs families and small businesses nearly $34 billion a year on tax software and other out-of- pocket expenses, as well as—this is the important part—$229 billion in time and labor to comply with the Tax Code. The Tax Code’s combined burden of $263 billion is more than the gross do- mestic product of 154 nations.

To understand just how complex and outdated the U.S. Tax Code has be- come, it is important to put it in the historical context of how it has grown over the years. In 1913, the 1040 Income Tax Form consisted of three pages, with one page of instructions. More than 100 years later, that same form consists of 2 pages with 106 pages of basic instructions and, depending on taxpayer circumstances, 13 separate schedules, each with numerous pages of instructions. In fact, there are more than 70,000 pages of instructions in total. This is why, every tax season, Americans are forced to wade through an ever-changing labyrinth of forms and regulations when they file their re- turns.

Each year, hard-working families navigate a minefield of tax definitions and tax tests in order to fully reap the benefits of tax credits. Is it any wonder that many who are eligible may not even claim these credits because of this

as our current code does. We need to act.

Under Chairman HATCH’s leadership, the Finance Committee has made progress developing commonsense tax reform goals. With further instructions from this budget, the committee will be able to complete its work and report legislation that promotes economic growth, helps keep more money in the pockets of hard-working men and women, and closes special interest loopholes while preserving core middle-class incentives.

Our tax reform goals center on a few things: bringing more jobs and invest- ments to our country and then keeping them here, making the Tax Code fairer so it doesn’t benefit just wealthy elites, and lowering rates so hard- working families are able to keep more of their paychecks.

The main goal is this: We want to take more money out of Washington’s pockets and put more money in the pockets of hard-working men and women throughout our country. These are goals shared by the President, by his team, and by Senate colleagues. They are certainly shared by our Re- publican colleagues. I would think that would be shared by all of us, on both sides of the aisle, and our Democratic friends did share them until just re- cently. I hope they will continue to support these commonsense goals rather than just blindly oppose this effort to fight corporate offshoring and to eliminate loopholes for the wealthy, simply because they don’t like the cur- rent occupant of the White House.

There is no need for our Democratic friends to continue inventing reasons to oppose tax reform or to make more claims designed to distort reality. I hope they will decide to change course and work together in a serious way to accomplish what should be bipartisan goals—goals they once vocally sup- ported, seemingly until President Trump came along.

Let’s deliver relief to American workers and families with an economy that reaches for its true potential once more, and the next step to get there is to pass the comprehensive budget before us with its tools to move our coun- try forward.

I wish, once again, to thank Chair- man Enzi and the members of the Sen- ate Budget Committee for their fine work on this budget.

RESERVATION OF LEADER TIME

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tem- pore. Under the previous order, the leadership time is reserved.

CONCLUSION OF MORNING BUSINESS

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tem- pore. Morning business is closed.

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION ON THE BUDGET, FISCAL YEAR 2018

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tem- pore. Under the previous order, the Senate will resume consideration of H. Con. Res. 71, which the clerk will report.

The legislative clerk read as follows: A concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 71) establishing the congressional budget for the United States government for fiscal year 2018 and setting forth the appropriate budg- etary levels for fiscal years 2019 through 2027.

Pending:

Enzi amendment No. 1116, in the nature of a substitute.

The Acting President pro tempore. Under the previous order, the Committee on Appropriations will conduct business.

The Sergeant at Arms is directed to give notice that when the Senate adjourns today, it will stand adjourned until 10 a.m. on the 22nd day of December, 2017.
complex web of tax forms? For example, there are many definitions of "child" in the Tax Code, meaning a family with children may qualify for some child benefits but not others and may fail to receive the full benefits they are entitled to.

To promote fair treatment, our budget is focused on providing the tools needed to simplify the Tax Code. Let me repeat that. These are the tools that are needed to simplify the Tax Code. The Finance Committee still has to plug in details and eliminations and a final version, and that would allow Americans to keep more of what they earn. That is another part of the process, but this part of the process is necessary in order to make sure we get to that part of the process. Hard-working families deserve an economy that provides higher wages and more and better jobs. Pro-growth tax reform can boost small businesses, and it can free Americans to make their own decisions about how to spend their hard-earned money.

I want to repeat some of those numbers. I am an accountant. Usually, numbers put people to sleep, but I think these are ones people will understand.

The National Taxpayers Union did some figuring on the burden of tax compliance by families and small businesses. This National Taxpayers Union has learned that the total annual time burden of tax compliance is more than 6 billion hours, which costs families and small businesses nearly $34 billion a year on tax software and other out-of-pocket expenses as well as—and this is the important part—$229 billion in time and labor to comply with the Tax Code. The Tax Code's combined burden of $263 billion is more than the gross domestic product of 154 countries.

We need to pass this budget so the process can be simplified and expedited, and we can get to that yet this year so people, when they are filing their taxes next year, can take advantage of what is being done. I think we will have bipartisan support in making these important changes. The process is set up so there can be that bipartisan support since it goes through the Finance Committee, and we have been promised there will be a markup, which will allow everybody to make amendments to the Tax Code and the tax bill. Then it will come to the floor, where everybody will have a chance to make amendments to the bill.

This sets the budget and sets up the opportunity to have some tax reform this year so people can take advantage of it next year. I ask my colleagues to support this budget and work with us on getting tax reform that will make a difference for all hard-working Americans.

I yield the floor.

The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. ENZI. Mr. 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. ENZI. Mr. President, I want to explain why I took us out of the quorum call. If I leave us in a quorum call, all time will be charged to my side. If I take us out of a quorum call, when you get up here to speak, though it will get divided equally. That is fair, and that is what we are trying to do.

I yield the floor.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. If no one yields time, the time will be divided equally.

RECOGNITION OF THE MINORITY LEADER

THE PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. COTTON). The Democratic leader is recognized.

HEALTHCARE

Mr. SCHUMER. Mr. President, yesterday the chairman and the ranking member of the HELP Committee came to a bipartisan agreement on a package to stabilize our healthcare law and to lower premiums. It was the product of months of discussions. Like all good negotiations, both sides gave some and both sides got some. The product is something that neither side is completely happy with but that both sides can move forward with. That is what a good, fair compromise looks like. It took work, and, at a time when bipartisanship is desperately sought after, this was not even just a flicker but a nice flame of bipartisanship burning brightly.

Then, a few minutes ago, President Trump tweeted: I am supportive of Lamar as a person, and also of the process, but I can never support bailing out insurance companies who have made a fortune with ObamaCare.

There are to be vehemently strong upset about this tweet and how wrong it is. First, frankly, the President doesn't know what he is talking about in the compromise. It doesn't involve insurance companies. It helps people who are sick and who need healthcare. It keeps their premiums low. It allows them to go to a doctor or get a medicine that they need.

Senators Alexander and Murray made sure that, in the provisions they were writing, the money would not go to the insurance companies but rather would go to millions of Americans who need help because they couldn't afford healthcare on their own.

The President ought to know what he is talking about when he tweets about bills because on this one, he had no understanding of what is about. This helps millions of people. This keeps premiums down. This allows Americans—working class, middle class, many of whom are in rural areas in red States—it allows them to go to the doctor, go to the hospital, get medicine. Nothing bothers Americans more than when they can't get healthcare they desperately need for themselves or a loved one.

So, first, the President ought to know what the bill is about before he tweets. Clearly from this tweet, he doesn't.

Second, this President keeps zigging and zagging, so it is impossible to govern. Thursday the President called me in the gym and said: Let's work on a bipartisan solution on healthcare. It was his initiative. He first talked about, let's repeal and replace; I told him that is off the table. But I then said that Senator Alexander and Senator Murray will be working on a compromise—and I outlined the basic compromise they were coming up with, that each side got something—and the President suggested that he call Senator Alexander and I call Senator Murray and encourage them. I called Senator Murray; he called Senator Alexander. And he called Senator Alexander, from what Senator Alexander told me, several times to encourage him.

Yesterday, he called the Murray-Alexander deal a "very good solution." Now, this morning, he says he can't support it. He can't support bailing out insurance companies that have made a fortune with ObamaCare. He is wrong on the facts, as I mentioned, doesn't know what the bill is. We should have a President who actually knows the facts of bills he talks about.

Second, he is totally inconsistent. He is for it one day, against it the next day.

Mr. President, you cannot govern a country, you cannot keep America great if you don't know what is in the bills and don't have a consistent policy about them.

But he keeps zigging and zagging. Our only hope is that maybe tomorrow he will be for this again.

Finally, a word in general: We all know there are extremes in America. The hard right has a lot of power here. If you listen to this, you might say "jump," the President says "how high;" his Presidency will be a failure. Yet that is what has happened repeatedly.

The hard right doesn't represent America on healthcare. Eighty percent of the people did not like the TrumpCare bill that the hard right supported—80 percent. The majority of Americans, by a substantial margin, want to see ObamaCare strengthened, not repealed. The President, right doesn't; they want to get rid of it.

If the President simply is responding to them, it is not leadership. He did the same thing on DACA. Leader Pelosi and I met with him. It was clear what we sought—approval of the Dream Act. He agreed, provided there was border security, explicitly no wall. The next day, the rightwing attacked him. Laura Ingraham or one of those radio commentators said he should be impeached. I think Breitbart News called him Amnesty Trump. He totally reversed himself.

That is not leadership, Mr. President. That is blatant fear.
We all understand political forces. They push us all around. When you are President, you have an obligation to lead. And this Presidency has been so unsuccessful in accomplishing things—he can blame MITCH MCCONNELL, which the President has done, or the Republicans. He can blame the Democrats. But really the reason that we are not getting anything done and his Presidency has been so bare of accomplishment is that this President is embracing a hard-right, extreme position on tax cuts. It seems to me that Americans want his Presidency will continue to fail, continue to be a failure, if he continues to do that.

So I would say to my colleagues on both sides of the aisle, going back to the agreement, the agreement is fair, and it is down the middle. As I said, each side gave. Let's move forward. Let's get a large percentage, a large number of Democrats and Republicans to sponsor this legislation. Let Leader MCCONNELL do the same, use the good sense and the courage to put it on the floor. I would bet my bottom dollar it will pass. Let Speaker RYAN do the same, and we will have shown that we can get something done in a bipartisan way.

LAMAR ALEXANDER is not obstructing. PATTY MURRAY is not obstructing. The President is obstructing at the moment. We should overcome that obstruction and work together. That is what the American people want.

I hope he reassesses his position. He has rethought it several times already. I hope he actually reads and learns what is in the bill. And I hope we can get this done—not for any party's sake or any individual's sake but for the American people's sake, the millions and millions of Americans who can't afford high premiums, who desperately need healthcare and medicine, and who are praying for us to do something to help them.

Mr. President, this is the budget, yesterday the Republican majority voted to start debate on a budget resolution that would increase the deficit by $1.5 trillion—so much for the deficit hawks. It would slash Medicare and Medicaid by $1.5 trillion—so much for the many people who don't want to cut it, who promised not to cut it, including the President. It blows a huge hole in the deficit—as I said, deficit hawks. Finally, it favors the very wealthy.

My friends, once head of the Club for Growth. I salute him. He states his position. He believes tax cuts on the very wealthy and on big corporations will create jobs. We can have that debate. It is called trickle-down economics. But he is honest about it. Some of the others—our Secretary of the Treasury, our advisers to the President, many in this Chamber—are saying this is a middle-class tax cut. When 80 percent of the benefits go to the top 1 percent, when they remove the estate tax, when the Senate doesn't apply to someone whose estate is less than to $1 million, it is a tax cut for the wealthy. Some people believe that is a good way to exercise policy. The American people don't. But let's debate it that way. Our Republican colleagues, just like on healthcare, are ashamed of this bill. They can't debate it on what they really believe, and so they put up these chimneys. If you let it up: Oh, no, we won't have a deficit; there will be huge growth. I think the Secretary of the Treasury said that it will decrease the deficit by a trillion dollars. That was laughable. Oh, it will go to the middle class. When they lower the top rate, raise the bottom rate, get rid of the estate tax, and allow passthroughs which will mainly go to very wealthy individuals to reduce their tax rate to 15 percent—

So today we begin the process of shining light on this awful proposal, of telling the truth. That is what the amendment process will be today. We have written a bill that this bill votes on a Democratic amendment to strike the trillion dollars of cuts in Medicaid. If our colleagues don't want to cut Medicaid, they should vote for this. If our colleagues are OK with a trillion dollars of cuts, let them vote against the amendment, but believe me, the American people will know exactly how each Member of this Chamber feels when it comes to dramatically cutting Medicaid.

We will also propose an amendment to strike the cuts to Medicare. Now, in the healthcare bill, in one of the reiterations, we debated cutting Medicaid. We haven't debated cutting Medicare, but now, if some $773 billion of cuts are in the exact budget our Republican colleagues wish us to vote for. And it will shine a light on what really is in this bill, not what is said.

How many of you on the Republican side have written that this bill cuts Medicare and Medicaid, this budget proposal? Are you going to start mentioning it today, or are you going to try to hide it? Because it does. By the way, the idea that this doesn't count because it is in a budget that we are not getting anything done and they threaten you with primaries, it is just not true. It is not rules—and it says that Medicare is in this bill, not what is said.

How many of you on the Republican side have written that this bill cuts Medicare and Medicaid, this budget proposal? Are you going to start mentioning it today, or are you going to try to hide it? Because it does. By the way, the idea that this doesn't count because it is in a budget that we are not getting anything done and they threaten you with primaries, it is just not true. It is not rules—and it says that Medicare is in this bill, not what is said.

So many of you on the Republican side have written that this bill cuts Medicare and Medicaid, this budget proposal? Are you going to start mentioning it today, or are you going to try to hide it? Because it does. By the way, the idea that this doesn't count because it is in a budget that we are not getting anything done and they threaten you with primaries, it is just not true. It is not rules—and it says that Medicare is in this bill, not what is said.

Now, I say to some of my colleagues that we want to work with you on a good tax reform bill, one that is revenue neutral, one that doesn't favor the wealthy. We believe small businesses should get tax breaks. We believe money from overseas should come back and be used to create jobs. There are lots of things we can do on common ground without blowing a hole in the deficit, without cutting Medicare and Medicaid, without favoring the rich. Defeat this bill, we will work with you, just as we have on healthcare. We said: If you defeat that bill, we will try to come up with a compromise, and we have—one that the President is flip-flopping on, zigzagging on, saying yes one day and no the next. But we have come up with a compromise, and that same thing can happen on taxes.

Today is a beginning of a turning point in the tax debate, the day that what is really in this Republican bill will come to light, and the American people, as they learn about it, will not like it.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Pennsylvania.

Mr. TOOMEY. Mr. President, I yield myself as much time as I may consume.

I want to say some words about our Budget resolution, which I hope we will be passing this week, and how important it is that we do, in fact, pass this. I want to clarify a few issues because the tax reform legislation continues to be a work in progress, and many elements have been mischaracterized, while others have been made up out of thin air.

Let me start with the budget resolution and start by thanking Chairman ENZI for the very hard work he has done and the very great work he has
done in bringing together the Republican conference around a budget resolution that I think is very likely to pass.

Let’s be candid about what this is about. The budget resolution is about giving us the tools to pass tax reform later this year. That is what this budget resolution is about. It is a misnomer, really, when you think about it. The most important substantive item in the budget resolution, by far, is the provision it will give us to pass tax reform with a simple majority vote in the Senate, so that a minority of the body is not able to block tax reform by filibuster. That is what this is about. That is what we are endeavoring to accomplish here.

Why is it important? The main reason it is so important is because for so long we—our entire country—have been laboring with such feeble economic growth. For the last 60 years, prior to the Obama administration, annual economic growth in America was well over 3.4 percent. During the entire 8-year administration of President Obama, we never once had a single year where we reached even 3 percent. The Congressional Budget Office believes that we are now stuck inside the 2 percent economic growth, and that is what we just have to accept. We have to settle for the fact that we are no longer a booming economy. We are not capable of being a booming economy.

There are a lot of problems with this. I think it is completely unacceptable to believe that, somehow, because a calendar year turned on a page or because Obama was elected President some years ago, it is not possible for America to have the robust economic growth that used to be ordinary. It is not true that we are somehow consigned to feeble growth, and it matters if our economy is growing at 2 percent. It takes only two more years to double the standard of living for the average family. If we just managed to get the growth to 3 percent, and that is less than the historical average, then we can double our standard of living in just over 20 years. It is a big difference in the standard of living of the people who I represent. That is what this is about.

If we get this budget resolution passed this week, the tax reform that many of us are working very hard on has two big goals, certainly for me. I have made no secret of my desire to pass tax reform in a fiscally responsible way. That is one of the reasons why I have been working very closely with my colleagues on the Finance Committee and outside the Finance Committee, and I think these goals are widely shared.

The first is that it absolutely has to provide tax relief for hard-working Americans—middle income, lower income, people of modest means, many of whom live paycheck to paycheck. There has to be a direct tax benefit for those Pennsylvanians, those Arkansans, and those people all across America.

How are we going to do that? It is very clear. There is no question. There will be a reduction in the tax rates that are applied to income for hard-working Americans. There is going to be an increase in the standard deduction that they can take, which means a bigger chunk of their income that happens not to be taxed at all. So absolutely going to be a feature of this tax reform. We are going to increase the child tax credit, so that people who have the cost of raising a family with kids are going to get a credit toward that cost.

The combined effect of these things are absolutely going to lower the tax rates for hard-working Americans, for lower income and middle-income families. If it didn’t accomplish that, it wouldn’t even get out of the Finance Committee, much less pass a vote on this floor. That is No. 1. There are still dials to be turned and rates to be set—exactly where the various brackets begin and end. These details are still a work in progress, but that goal is going to be achieved.

But the other item is really important too, and that is the process by which all of these very same families get an indirect pay raise. They get a pay raise. It will happen over time, and what they will get is a dividend. That happens by creating incentives to maximize economic growth and to get away from this sub-2 percent, barely growing economy we have been tolerating and to get back to something closer to normal. And that is what is normal for American economy that is growing at least 3 percent.

What happens if we have stronger economic growth? I mentioned before that we increase the standard of living much more quickly. People get to see their kids have a better life and a better standard of living than they had. They can see that trend is going to continue. It happens because new businesses start to get launched again. It happens when new businesses expand. Both new businesses and expanding businesses hire more workers. When you hire more workers, especially at a time when most economists think we are at something close to what they consider full employment, it puts direct, immediate, and upward pressure on wages, which is what we have been waiting for.

So not only will a working family discover they owe less money to Uncle Sam. If they are very likely to quickly be in a position where they are getting a pay raise because their employer has to pay them more to keep them because we are going to create more demand for workers. How do we do that? One of the ways we are going to do that, I hope—and this is, again, a work in progress; it is underway—is that we ought to make our business tax regime, our big business Tax Code competitive. Anyone who looks at this honestly knows that our Tax Code is not competitive. We are no longer competitive. Businesses lose out to competition from overseas because other countries have much more competitive tax codes.

It is entirely possible, and I think you could make the case, that the American Tax Code is the worst in the world. It is that bad, and when it is that bad, that means our workers and our businesses are much less able to compete. So the other thing, really, when you think about it, is the procedural tools it will give us to pass tax reform with a simple majority resolution is about. It is a misnomer, really, when you think about that.

It also means that we ought to allow our businesses to expense capital when they put it to work. What does that mean? That means that when a company says we are going to buy a new piece of equipment, a new piece of machinery, a new vehicle, or a new backhoe—whatever it might be—you allow the company to recognize that expense when the expense occurs for tax purposes. That might just seem like common sense. Why wouldn’t we do that? We don’t do that today. For a large category of new equipment that businesses go out and purchase, even though they have to buy it in the year in which they put it into service and they have to come up with the cash, they have to pay tax on that. It is effective more expensive to buy that equipment. They have to pay tax on money they don’t have. That means they buy less equipment.

What difference does this make? It makes a lot of difference. Again, there is a direct effect and an indirect effect. A direct effect is that by allowing businesses to fully expense the capital they put to work, we are going to encourage them to buy more items. That means more work, more production for the kind of machinery and equipment that these businesses are likely to buy. But it gets better than that because when businesses deploy that capital—when they buy a new piece of equipment, a new piece of machinery, when they upgrade their technology, or whatever they are doing with this capital expenditure—they are making their workforce more productive. They are making their employees able to produce more in a given hour in a given day, and when workers are more productive, that is when a business can afford to pay them more, and in fact, has to pay them more. That is how raises come. They come from productivity growth. Productivity growth comes when capital gets put to work. We are going to encourage more of that, and that is going to result in higher wages and higher income for the people we all represent.

The third point I want to make about this tax reform is that it is very important that we fix a broken part of our code that deals with overseas subsidiaries of American firms and foreign firms that operate in the United States. That part of our Tax Code is a disaster. We have all read about the corporate inversions, for instance,
where an American-based company seeks to be acquired by a foreign company for the sole purpose of lowering its tax burden. That happens. It happens because our Tax Code drives it.

We have all heard about the $2 to $3 trillion that American-based companies have earned in overseas subsidiaries. They will not bring the money home because if they were to do so, they would have to pay another huge tax on top of what they already paid in the jurisdiction where whatever part of their subsidiary operates in. Why would we tolerate a system like that? We have an opportunity to fix that. If we fix that, then huge sums of money will come flooding back into the United States. That is going to get invested here. That is going to mean more businesses, new expansion, and more hiring. That is going to be tremendously constructive for our economy, and, going forward, we will eliminate this perverse incentive to have multinational companies headquartered anywhere but in the United States, which is the case today.

In short, this is our opportunity to begin the growth we have been waiting for. Ever since the great recession, we have not had the kind of economic growth that used to be normal for America. A completely archaic, terribly unfair, ridiculously complex Tax Code is part of the reason why.

You might ask: How did we used to have such strong growth with this Tax Code? The fact is that most of the rest of the world has been about the business of improving their tax code while we have not. This is our moment and our opportunity to begin to catch up. We can do it in a big way, as long as we pass this budget and give ourselves the tools to do so.

This budget resolution creates the opportunity to do tax reform. Some of my colleagues on the other side of the aisle have criticized the fact that we are setting up a process and using the budget resolution so that the subsequent tax reform can be passed with a simple majority vote in the Senate. They have criticized that. They suggested, in varying degrees, that somehow that leaves them out of the process. Let me be very clear. That is categorically untrue. As to the tax reform bill, we are working on the ideas for this week. We actually get to drafting the specifics, it is going to happen in the Finance Committee in the Senate. It is going to happen in the Ways and Means Committee in the House. It is going to be public. The documents are going to be disclosed before the markup begins, and it is going to be open to amendments.

My Democratic colleagues on the Finance Committee are going to be able to offer whatever amendments they like. They can work with us on shaping this, and I hope they will join us in voting for it. It is much better if we could end up passing this with a big bipartisan vote. A tax bill that absolutely does lower the direct tax burden on lower income and middle-income families and encourages more economic growth ought to be something that could be broadly supported. They will have every opportunity to weigh in. They will have every opportunity to amend. They will have every opportunity to do anything about this procedure that in any way excludes Democratic participation.

What it does do, though, is that it says that we will not be held hostage by a majority that would thwart this. If we can persuade at least 50 Senators and a Vice President who is so inclined in the Chair, we will have the ability to pass tax reform. I think it would be malpractice for us not to create the opportunity to do tax reform with a simple majority since we have that vehicle available to us. I believe we are going to pass it today.

Another point I would like to address is the discussion that somehow we are going to blow a hole in the deficit with this. It couldn’t be further from the truth, in my view. The budget resolution allows the Finance Committee to report back a tax reform package that will, by a very particular and very precisely defined process, be deemed to increase the deficit over the next 10 years. But when you start to unpack that, you realize that, in all likelihood, if we do this tax reform right, we are going to reduce the size of the deficit over this 10-year period. Why do I say that? First of all, the $1.5 trillion in foregone revenue contemplated by the budget resolution is very misleading because it pretends that the current policy we have of a number of temporary tax relief measures is going to go away. It pretends we are not going to continue those or extend them. In all likelihood, Congress will extend them. They will probably be extended. That is worth $1.5 trillion in the budget.

What are we really talking about is $1 trillion of less revenue over the next 10 years. You have to keep in mind, that is on a base of about $4 trillion. It is something on the order of recalling 2.5 percent of projected Federal revenue.

I think the quid pro quo to ask is, How much extra economic growth will it take to fully offset $1 trillion worth of foregone revenue? Well, that math is pretty easy because the joint tax plan and the Senate Finance Committee have quantified this many times. The answer is something like approximately four-tenths of 1 percent. Four-tenths of 1 percent of extra economic growth, in response to the tremendously pro-growth incentives that we want to put into this Tax Code, will fully offset that.

The Congressional Budget Office is projecting, on average, for the next 10 years, our economy is going to continue at this feeble 1.9 percent—1.9 percent is their number. If getting these reforms right, if lowering the tax burden on working families, if allowing business to expand, making our inter-national and business Tax Codes competitive, if we do that right, I have absolutely no doubt we can generate much more than an additional four-tenths of 1 percent of growth.

When we get the specifics, we will have the opportunity to see if we will have many analyses that we will be able to look at to address this question of just how much economic growth we will have. In my view, it is extremely likely that we will significantly surpass this. And getting to four-tenths of 1 percent of growth.

Finally, the minority leader made reference to this being a big tax cut for the wealthy. I will remind my colleagues, we can have differences of opinions. We can have a debate here, and we will, but let’s remember, this tax reform bill is not written yet.

The two big goals I mentioned I think are universally shared on our side that will allow tax reform—middle-income working families and pro-growth policies. We haven’t written the details yet. We haven’t established exactly what the brackets will be, exactly what the rates will be, where they will kick in, how much they will apply. There are a lot of important details that are going to be worked out in committee, which is exactly what my colleagues on the other side of the aisle insisted we should be doing, and that is what we should be doing. It also means, since that product is not yet finished, it is not possible for anyone to pull out a number and say X percent of this bill is going to go to this category of people. That is not knowable because the bill is not finished yet.

I am thrilled about this opportunity that we are going to create this week to pass the tax reform later this year that will allow us to achieve the growth we have been waiting for, and that means allowing my constituents, Pennsylvanians, and people all across America to achieve the standard of living they deserve, that they are working hard to achieve, and that they will be able to enjoy.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Maine.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, I listened with interest to the comments of the Senator from Pennsylvania, and as always he was articulate and thoughtful and made a strong case.

I would like to speak to the issue we are going to be addressing over the next few days, the next few weeks, and probably the next few months, not necessarily to be unalterably opposed but to talk about how we can get where we all want to be, which is lower taxes, higher growth, and a stronger U.S. economy.

I think it is important to emphasize at the beginning, just so we all know, what we are talking about the next couple days isn’t the budget. As the Senator from Pennsylvania noted, it is really a vehicle for a massive tax cut.

My problem with the tax cut is not necessarily that we are going to have
mentioned, but the question is: How is it structured? Who gets the benefits? How to pay for it?

As the Senator pointed out, we still don't know what the plan is. We have an outline; we have principles; we have bullet points; we have lists, but we don't have a plan. Therefore, it is difficult to analyze.

We do have some particulars that have been released. You don’t need to be an economist to understand that the rate that the lowest taxpayers is being increased and the rate for the highest taxpayers is being decreased, that the overall effect will be loaded toward those at the upper income level.

The only analysis we have from the tax policy foundation, an outside nonpartisan group, is that under the plan, as it has been described by the White House and by Members of Congress, about 80 percent of the benefits of this proposal go to the top 1 percent of wage earners in this country. Eighty percent of the benefits go to the top 1 percent.

It may be that as the details of the plan are more well known and more thoroughly described, we will find it is slightly different than that. One of the things that bothers me about this whole budget resolution is that we are going to be voting on it, explicitly waives a long-term budget rule that before you can vote on issues such as this, there must be a Congressional Budget Office score, which is due 28 hours prior to the vote. It waives that provision. That is not a good sign. That doesn’t reassure me that we are going to have a clear idea of what we are voting on.

When you combine the cuts proposed to Medicare and Medicaid, which go into paying for these massive tax cuts, it looks to me like the biggest losers in this whole process will be seniors.

When you look at what we know about the structure of the tax cuts and the fact that there is a one-half trillion-dollar cut in Medicare projected over 10 years and a $1.5 trillion cut in Medicaid, seniors are going to take the most serious hit. Why do I say that? Well, for example. If the NASA budget is about $18 billion a year, defense and non-defense. We will be paying almost as much in interest as the entire discretionary budget. How are we going to manage that situation? The only way it can be managed is to start talking about Social Security and Medicare.

So this is a long-distance, slow-motion diminution of the value of those programs that are so important to so many Americans, particularly senior Americans.

The final point I wish to touch on is the deficit and debt. I have to say, I am sort of puzzled by this whole process because as I have been here over the past 5 years and as I have lived my life over the past 25 years, the majority party in the Senate has been focused on the deficit and the dangers of the debt to our country, to our economy, and how bad it was that we were mortgaging our children’s future, and all of a sudden it is no big deal. All of a sudden it is OK to know that the cost of the debt go up and fewer dollars are there to meet them, somebody is going to get hurt. These are real cuts to real people.

The other thing I want to touch on is the deficit and debt. I have to say, I am sort of puzzled by this whole process because as I have been here over the past 5 years and as I have lived my life over the past 25 years, the majority party in the Senate has been focused on the deficit and the dangers of the debt to our country, to our economy, and how bad it was that we were mortgaging our children’s future, and all of a sudden it is no big deal. All of a sudden it is OK to know that the cost of the debt go up and fewer dollars are there to meet them, somebody is going to get hurt. These are real cuts to real people.

The other thing I want to touch on is the deficit and debt. I have to say, I am sort of puzzled by this whole process because as I have been here over the past 5 years and as I have lived my life over the past 25 years, the majority party in the Senate has been focused on the deficit and the dangers of the debt to our country, to our economy, and how bad it was that we were mortgaging our children’s future, and all of a sudden it is no big deal. All of a sudden it is OK to know that the cost of the debt go up and fewer dollars are there to meet them, somebody is going to get hurt. These are real cuts to real people.

The other thing I want to touch on is the deficit and debt. I have to say, I am sort of puzzled by this whole process because as I have been here over the past 5 years and as I have lived my life over the past 25 years, the majority party in the Senate has been focused on the deficit and the dangers of the debt to our country, to our economy, and how bad it was that we were mortgaging our children’s future, and all of a sudden it is no big deal. All of a sudden it is OK to know that the cost of the debt go up and fewer dollars are there to meet them, somebody is going to get hurt. These are real cuts to real people.

The other thing I want to touch on is the deficit and debt. I have to say, I am sort of puzzled by this whole process because as I have been here over the past 5 years and as I have lived my life over the past 25 years, the majority party in the Senate has been focused on the deficit and the dangers of the debt to our country, to our economy, and how bad it was that we were mortgaging our children’s future, and all of a sudden it is no big deal. All of a sudden it is OK to know that the cost of the debt go up and fewer dollars are there to meet them, somebody is going to get hurt. These are real cuts to real people.

The other thing I want to touch on is the deficit and debt. I have to say, I am sort of puzzled by this whole process because as I have been here over the past 5 years and as I have lived my life over the past 25 years, the majority party in the Senate has been focused on the deficit and the dangers of the debt to our country, to our economy, and how bad it was that we were mortgaging our children’s future, and all of a sudden it is no big deal. All of a sudden it is OK to know that the cost of the debt go up and fewer dollars are there to meet them, somebody is going to get hurt. These are real cuts to real people.

The other thing I want to touch on is the deficit and debt. I have to say, I am sort of puzzled by this whole process because as I have been here over the past 5 years and as I have lived my life over the past 25 years, the majority party in the Senate has been focused on the deficit and the dangers of the debt to our country, to our economy, and how bad it was that we were mortgaging our children’s future, and all of a sudden it is no big deal. All of a sudden it is OK to know that the cost of the debt go up and fewer dollars are there to meet them, somebody is going to get hurt. These are real cuts to real people.

The other thing I want to touch on is the deficit and debt. I have to say, I am sort of puzzled by this whole process because as I have been here over the past 5 years and as I have lived my life over the past 25 years, the majority party in the Senate has been focused on the deficit and the dangers of the debt to our country, to our economy, and how bad it was that we were mortgaging our children’s future, and all of a sudden it is no big deal. All of a sudden it is OK to know that the cost of the debt go up and fewer dollars are there to meet them, somebody is going to get hurt. These are real cuts to real people.
I think we have an opportunity to do this right. I think there is more consensus here than perhaps people realize on the question of doing tax reform in a way that will benefit the entire country. I don’t think the Members on this side of the aisle are categorically opposed to tax cuts under any circumstances.

When I was the Governor of Maine, we cut taxes—I can’t remember, 10 or 15 times—overall by about 15 percent. I didn’t think it was the sales tax. We cut the property tax. So it can be done. That was done on a bipartisan basis with a legislature that went back and forth between Republican and Democratic control. They did? Then sort of bring a bipartisan Governor, but we made it work. It can be done, and it can be done on a bipartisan basis.

It certainly looks as though this is about to be railroaded. It is about to be shoved down our throats without adequate analysis and without fully understanding it. I deeply hope that is not the case. I hope we learned something from healthcare, that we can do good things when we work together. When we don’t, it rarely ends well.

So I understand that the votes are probably there to pass this budget, but the real question will come: What happens next? What does the plan look like? What? How? How realistic is it? What kind of assumptions is it based on? What kind of analysis do the Joint Taxation Committee and the Congressional Budget Office provide us on a non-partisan basis as to what it will really cost? Can we have a real debate. Then we can talk about what is best for America. I think, between the group of us who work here and down the hall, we can find a good solution. But if the solution is thrust upon us, if it is ill-conceived and skewed toward the wealthy, if it balances the budget on the backs of seniors, on Medicare, and Medicaid recipients, if it is based upon unrealistic assumptions about growth, then we are going to harm our country.

Eventually, if we keep going down the road we are traveling in terms of the national debt, the piper will have to be paid. It may not have to be paid by our generation, but it is going to have to be paid by these young people and by their peers all across America. I don’t think that is right. That is not the legacy I came here to leave to my children and grandchildren.

Thank you Mr. President. I look forward to working with my colleagues to find a path forward that is responsible and responsive to the needs of the American people.

I yield the Presiding Officer to my colleagues. The Presiding Officer (Mr. Sullivan). The Senator from Mississippi.

NOMINATIONS

Mr. WICKER. Mr. President, I will be brief, but I want to point out a matter of real concern, and it should be a matter of concern to all Americans.

When new Presidents are elected, they have always been given the opportunity to put their team in place in short order. Regrettably, this has not been allowed to happen for this new President in this Congress. Here are the facts.

Now 9 months in office, President Trump has only had 44 of his nominations confirmed. That is an unacceptable, unprecedented 39 percent. It is a grossly low statistic by historical standards. At this point in President Obama’s administration, 65 percent of his nominees had been confirmed. At this point in George W. Bush’s administration, 53 percent had been confirmed. Under Bill Clinton, 76 percent had been confirmed.

And under President George H.W. Bush, 70 percent had been confirmed. Yet, because of delaying tactics by our colleagues across the aisle, this President, who needs a team in place, as does every President, has only 39 percent of his nominees in office.

This has been done through an abuse of the process by our friends across the aisle—a distortion of the rules requiring cloture on noncontroversial nominees, requiring well-qualified nominees to be subjected to a 30-hour debating period for a motion to proceed and another 30-hour debating period, typically on the floor of the Senate, for the actual confirmation.

This is inconvenient to the administration, but it is injurious to the American people. With more than 1,000 executive nominations, we need these people in place. The American people need these people in place. These vacancies need to be filled to work for the American people, to provide hurricane relief, for instance. These people would have been part of the administration working on that, had we not had these delaying tactics. People in critical national security positions, people who are fighting against ISIS, are waiting for confirmation, and people would be a key part of the counterterrorism efforts have been waiting for months to get to work.

We had a spate of this in July, and I was one of several Senators who called on the leadership to just keep us in session in August to take care of some of these nominations. We demonstrated, by the action of the majority leader, that by canceling part of the August break, we could break logjams. As of the end of July, we only confirmed 56 Trump nominees. By keeping us in session for one extra week and shortening our work period back home, we confirmed 76 nominees in one week, as opposed to 56 the previous 6 months of this year. We can do that again.

I wish to commend the Presiding Officer and to my colleagues on this side of the aisle and on the other side of the aisle: I am among those calling on the majority leader to once again adopt an aggressive schedule that includes working all night, that includes working weekends, that includes canceling some breaks. We need, once again, to break this logjam.
The American people spoke in November and, through our democratic process, they elected Donald Trump as President of the United States. He deserves the same consideration from minority Members of the current Senate that previous Presidents, Democrat and Republican, have received from minority Members of the Senate.

Let’s free the process up. Let’s eliminate the distortion of the rules. Let’s have a more aggressive schedule, and let’s once again break this logjam.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oregon.

Mr. MERKLEY. Mr. President, our Nation was founded on a principle encapsulated in the first three and most important words of our Constitution: “We the People.” Our Founders wanted to have a nation that didn’t work for the benefit of the powerful and the privileged, but for decisions of the people, by the people, and for the people, as President Lincoln eloquently described our Nation. He did not describe a nation by and for the powerful, not a nation by and for the privileged, but by and for the people.

Tomorrow, a bill is coming to the floor that isn’t more of a “by and for the powerful” bill than we have seen on the floor of the Senate before. It is a bill completely contrary to the fundamental values embedded in our Constitution.

This bill is a budget bill, and at its heart, it says: We are going to do $5 trillion of tax cuts almost completely for the richest Americans, and we are going to do so by gutting programs that make America work for working Americans.

The President said: When it comes to tax reform, I want to help the middle class; I am not going to do anything for the rich and powerful.

Then why, I ask you, is this bill coming to the floor of the Senate completely for the rich and powerful?

President Trump, come before the American people and explain how you can make a promise that you are going to do tax reform for the middle class and then put a bill on the floor of the Senate that is all about benefits—raiding the National Treasury—for the rich and powerful. How do you explain this complete opposite?

What a complete pretense we have, to say that this bill is about helping American workers when it is all about the rich and powerful.

The Republican budget plan not only has $5-plus trillion, virtually all in tax giveaways, a raid on the National Treasury for the rich and powerful, but it proceeds to cut healthcare for older Americans, a cut of $1 trillion in Medicaid for working Americans. There will be a lot of damage done to ordinary Americans who just want peace of mind that when their loved one gets sick, the care they love one gets injured, they will get the care they need. It is peace of mind too much to ask of our national healthcare system? Are my colleagues so callous, so out of touch, so cruel that they want to fund tax cuts for the richest Americans by destroying healthcare and diminishing healthcare for our seniors?

It is not just our seniors, it is our citizens. In Oregon, it is the Oregon Health Plan. It serves the poorest among us, many of them working part-time jobs that have no healthcare plan, many of them working shifts that are determined at the last second. Some of the most stressful jobs in America are at the very bottom, and some of the most stressful work schedules are at the very bottom, and we are going to cut not just $1 trillion from Medicaid but half a trillion from Medicare.

Let’s look at the other programs that would be devastated by this Republican budget in order to fund that $5 trillion in tax cuts, almost all for the wealthiest Americans.

The Senate Budget Committee Democratic staff said that if those cuts in the Republican budget are extended evenly, distributed reductions, it would have the following impact: It would eliminate housing assistance for more than 1 million families. It would eliminate food stamps for nearly 700,000 seniors on fixed incomes. It would eliminate nutrition assistance by more than $100 billion—a 33-percent cut. In other words, to translate that, there would be a lot more hunger in an already hungry America. It would slash Pell grant funding by more than $100 million, eliminate Head Start services for 25,000 children in an average year, cut mandatory transportation funding by $200 billion, cut funding for the National Institutes of Health by $37 billion—all to give a massive tax giveaway to the richest Americans.

If the President is proceeding to say that this is a plan for the middle class, then we would expect virtually all the benefits to go to the middle class, but what do we actually have? Four out of five dollars of benefits go to the top 1 percent, and 40 percent of that goes to the top one-tenth of 1 percent. Why should there be one single penny going to the very richest Americans in a nation in which we should be striving for a foundation for every family to thrive?

We know that to thrive, our children have to have food to eat, we need to have healthcare programs that create peace of mind, and we need to make sure our seniors have a strong foundation in their retirement, but instead we see all those programs—including the opportunity for college and Pell grants—being raided for this massive giveaway to the richest Americans.

President Trump, come before the American people and explain how it is possible that you can claim you are doing a plan for middle-class America, and you are sending virtually the entire benefit to the top 1 percent of Americans.

This budget resolution’s associated tax plan is one of the most egregious examples of rigging the system of America for the powerful and privileged rather than a government of, by, and for the people.

I am here today to stand up and say: Not one penny to the top 1 percent. If you want a fair plan for America, it would not be not one penny to the top 1 percent. If you want a plan that strengthens the middle class, there would not be one penny to the top 1 percent. Not one penny for billionaires while we gut Medicaid. Not one penny for billionaires when middle-class families’ taxes will go up under this plan. Not one penny for billionaires while we destroy programs, safety nets, and opportunities for education, from Head Start to Pell grants to attend college.

We could do a great deal of good to invest in America. We could invest in transportation. We have an incredible number of bridges and roads that need repairs. We can put an incredible number of jobs in America—to build middle-class jobs and middle-class incomes through building infrastructure instead of a giveaway of the National Treasury to the top 1 percent. By investing more than $1 trillion, we can create millions of good-paying American jobs.

There are more than 56,000 bridges in America. One out of eleven is structurally deficient. Engineers estimate that we could easily spend $123 billion on repairing bridges and $420 billion on improving our highways. If we did that, we would get a return back to our economy, with lower vehicle maintenance, decreased delays, lower fuel consumption, improved safety, lower long-term maintenance costs, lower emissions—all benefits of investing in transportation, in addition to the fact that it will strengthen our economy.

We can think about the investment we need to make in our water infrastructure, the water supply systems and the wastewater treatment—that a problem in virtually every town across America. What about all those lead pipes that need to be replaced? Two thousand years ago, the Romans were poisoned by their own water because they lined their aqueducts with lead, and here we are, 20 centuries later, poisoning our citizens with lead pipes. Why aren’t we spending money to take care of that problem? It is not just a problem in Flint; it is a problem in hundreds of cities across this country. Why aren’t we spending money to take care of the problem in Flint? Why not invest in rural broadband? Why not create high-speed broadband in every rural town and village across this Nation, which would strengthen that economy, which would give people the ability to build their businesses in smalltown, rural America, instead of spending trillions of dollars in tax giveaways to the very richest Americans?

How about an investment in our students—not decreasing Pell grants but strengthening Pell grants to make it possible for more people to attend college without ending up with a debt the
size of a home mortgage? It is a real possibility to create debt-free college in our public universities. Why don’t we do that? That will strengthen the foundation for every family to thrive.

Good jobs, good education, good infrastructure—that is what the American Treasury of $4 trillion to $5 trillion for the very richest Americans—that is what is being proposed here. Has there ever been a train robbery as audacious as this theft of the National Treasury for the richest Americans? Has there ever been a train robbery as audacious and outrageous as this theft of the American Treasury for the richest 1 percent of Americans?

Here on the floor, we should be wrestling with how to create a foundation for every family in America to thrive, not considering a bill that wipes out healthcare, wipes out Pell grants, does damage to every conceivable thing that would make this Nation stronger in order to give the billionaires more zeroes in their accounts.

This bill is destructive, it is shameful, and it is contrary to the very principle of our Constitution of government by, and for the people. This bill is government of, by, and for the 1 percent, not the people.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Florida.

Mr. RUBIO. Mr. President, I am very happy the Senate is engaged in this debate on tax policy. It actually is long overdue. It has been some 30 years since this country has undertaken a massive reform of our Tax Code.

It is interesting. If we go back and think what life was like back in 1986, it was just a different planet, a different world, different economies. So, at a minimum, our code needs to be modernized. Everybody who has run for office—certainly every candidate for President from both parties for over two decades now—has run on the promise of bringing this code up to date.

Here is what is so interesting. If we go back and think what was in our last tax code, we had a framework. That framework is called a framework, and the framework basically says: These are some of the ideas we have. This is our starting point that we want to operate from. But we are going to go through the committee process, there are going to be votes, there is going to be an opportunity to change things, not to just take them down but to debate and potentially on the committee and use it to fund all these things the Federal Government are suddenly becoming the beneficiaries of, by the way, a competition that doesn’t exist.

The only thing that has been put out—called a framework, and the framework is based on the ideas we have. This is our starting point that we want to operate from. But we are going to go through the committee process, there are going to be votes, there is going to be an opportunity to change things, not just to take them down but to debate and potentially on the committee and use it to fund all these things the Federal Government are suddenly becoming the beneficiaries of, by the way, a competition that doesn’t exist.

The only thing that has been put out is the framework, and the framework is based on the ideas we have. This is our starting point that we want to operate from. But we are going to go through the committee process, there are going to be votes, there is going to be an opportunity to change things, not just to take them down but to debate and potentially on the committee and use it to fund all these things the Federal Government are suddenly becoming the beneficiaries of, by the way, a competition that doesn’t exist.

The second point I would make on tax reform is, among other things, an effort to generate sustained economic growth and to do so in a unique period in the history of the world. This is not 1986. Our economy is not the one that was a competition of the United States to get a little bit ahead of the French economy. It is the Olympics every single day. It is the Olympics every single day. Every country that possibly could out of the Federal Treasury are suddenly becoming deficit hawks.

Here is what is so interesting. If we were to turn around and say: Forget about tax reform. We are going to take $1.5 trillion over the next 10 years and we are going to use it for debt spending. We are going to borrow $1.5 trillion and use it to fund all these things the government is going to do—for example, one of our colleagues here has offered a deal, universal healthcare for everyone in America, paid for by the Federal Government. That would cost tens of trillions of dollars. Over a dozen Members of the Senate have signed on to it as a plan. There is no plan to pay for it. It is not $1.5 trillion over 10 years; it is like tens of trillions of dollars over the next number of years. So there is a lot of concern there. It kind of boils down to we are prepared to borrow money and spend it so long as the government gets to spend it, but if this is a competition of the United States to get a little bit ahead of the French economy, that is irresponsible. That is the framework.

The second point I would make on the debt is, I believe the debt is a significant threat to the future of the United States. The problem is, we can’t tax our way out of it, and we can’t simply grow our way out of it. We have to do a combination of things. The first thing is to create jobs. The second thing we have to do is bring some constraint to future spending—not slash Medicare, not get rid of Social Security.

My mother is on Social Security and Medicare. This may surprise many people watching, but there are a significant number of people in my home State of Florida on Social Security and on Medicare. As I said, my mother is one of them. I am an enormous supporter of these programs. I also look at those programs and I look at the number of people going into them and how long they are going to live, and the math tells you these programs are going to have some big problems in the years to come. There are not just going to take them down but threaten to trigger a debt crisis in America.

We have to deal with the spending side and create a more disciplined way of spending in the future years to bring peace of mind certainty that there are no longer recipients of our aid. They are no longer nations looking to work with the United States to get a little bit closer to the way we are. They are full-blown competitors in the global economy.

Every 4 years—every 2 years, actually, once in the winter and the next 2 years in the summer, we send our best athletes in different events to the Olympics to compete. In our economy, it is the Olympics every single day. What we have in education is, sometimes our team isn’t just made up of Americans. Our team is partnered with the Japanese team to create a company or the Mexican team to create a manufacturing chain. So that competition exists.

The fundamental thing to understand is, America today is in a competition—by the way, a competition that doesn’t
We have to understand that the vast majority of American businesses don’t pay taxes the way the big companies do. They pay the small businesses through pass-throughs. A lot of them—you know them—aren’t sophisticated operations. They aren’t wildly successful, but they don’t have an army of lawyers to deal with a complicated tax code and accountants who know every trick in the book. To them, the Tax Code hurts them, especially since they are paying on their personal rates.

That is why the personal side is related to the business side. These are things we need to deal with so we can be competitive, so we can have more taxpayers—not more taxes, more taxpayers. More people making more money not just improves their quality of life, it generates more revenue to pay for the bridges, the roads, and the national security of the United States of America. So tax reform, as much as we need to protect America in this endeavor, and it is not the only thing we need to do, but it is an important thing we need to do if we are going to let America compete and win in the 21st century global economy.

The lack of preparedness of the 21st century that is different from 1986. From that, I rely heavily on my own personal experience, not just today but growing up. In 1986, I was in ninth grade. My mom worked at Kmart, and my dad was a firefighter and a teacher who were raising a child—they are going to spend approximately $230,000 to raise that child in the 21st century from 0 to 18. By the way, my oldest is now 17½. I have been told by plenty of my colleagues that it doesn’t end at 18. In many cases, it begins to accelerate in some form or fashion—but, nevertheless, $230,000.

Let me tell you something else. That does not even include college. That doesn’t even include going to college, which is another thing we are going through right now, which, by the way, is completely and totally out of control in terms of what they are charging. It is more than that. There are people out there spending $10,000 to $12,000 or more on SAT prep courses. The life of me, I don’t understand how these schools can expect someone who comes from a single-parent home in a poor neighborhood to keep pace with people who are having these sorts of resources available to them, but that is another topic for another day. That is a cost that is involved in all of this.

How about childcare? In 38 out of 50 States, childcare is more expensive than the median price of a one-bedroom apartment. In Miami, you take home $900 a week, and childcare is $250 or $350 a week. That is one-third of your paycheck just for childcare. These expenses are reducing the ability of families to afford to have children and to raise them. These costs keep going up.

One of the things we have offered as a partial solution—it is not going to solve every problem—is to increase the child tax credit and to do so in a way that actually helps people. What it would do is it would reduce families’ tax bills on a per-child basis, increasing the flexibility that family has at a time, for example, when childcare costs
have risen more than ever before and are already higher than they have ever been. We have to understand, the family is the most important unit in all of society. It is the most important institution in society. It is the first government and first school. It is the core institution that underlies everything else we do as a nation. There is no more important job than any of us will ever do than the job of a parent.

If you look our Tax Code, it says: If you invest money in a piece of equipment or a business, the Tax Code will help you with that, but if you invest it in the future of an American taxpayer, if you invest in it in someone whom we are going to need to build the sort of economy and future we want for our Nation, the Tax Code does not really take it into account. That makes no sense to me.

I have two charts to outline how important this tax credit is to tax reform. Again, I am operating off the framework because there is no bill out yet, but based on the framework, the amount of tax relief a working- or middle-class family can get almost entirely depends—almost entirely—on what we do with a child tax credit.

Here is the first chart. This chart shows the average tax cut for American families if the child tax credit is doubled from its current size—not just doubled, but we make it refundable against payroll tax liability, which is the tax every American pays. For Social Security and Medicare, it is the first chunk that comes off your paycheck every single pay period, no matter how much money you make. If we make the child tax credit double, and we apply it toward your liability on payroll tax, this chart—which is what I propose, and it is what Senator Lee and I have been advocating and we have been working with her office on—shows you what the impact of that would be. That is the blue line. You can see from the blue line that the chart begins with someone working on how much money you make, and it begins to drop as the amount of—obviously, the more money you make, the larger the credit will be up to its limit because you can’t get a credit if you are not making any money at all, even if it applies to payroll tax. You start to see that it also grows with the number of children because it is per child. It doesn’t just phase off at two children. That is the blue chart.

What is the red chart? The red chart is if we do nothing or basically just do a gimmicky thing about it. Then you start to see that without the child tax credit being made refundable and without the credit being applied toward the payroll refundable, and without the tax credit being per child and sufficiently increased, this framework would be a tax increase. People would actually pay more, and the more children you have, the bigger your tax increase will be.

Suffice it to say, we have to do it. This red line cannot be what we wind up at. I don’t think that is the intent of the people who drew up the framework, but that is where we wind up if we don’t do it. I pulled that chart out to show you how important it is that we do it as part of this framework. It has to happen. It has to. It will not just pass without something to do. This is a pro-job, pro-family initiative. I actually think it is pro-growth. It is hard for economists to measure it that way, but it would be.

There are not any people who can’t start a business because they can’t afford to leave the security of a certain type of employment. The tax credit frees that up for them to be able to do it.

Let me get to the second chart. This shows you basically the same dynamic but now based on how much people are making, what kind of jobs they do. We arbitrarily picked out some of the jobs where many of us know people who are in these fields: a home health aide, a flight attendant at Macy’s, an office clerk—we all see office clerks every day—a truckdriver, an individual with a vocation to be a nurse, firefighters. Obviously, I have three fire-fighters in my own family. Again, of the $1,000 amount, the first $1,000 was refundable, and you start to see that red line here and how pathetic it is for these folks in these professions. It does not really do much.

Now look at the blue line. That is what we propose. What we propose shows you that at least $2,000 child tax credit being applied to their payroll taxes. Now you start to see the figures get better here. You start to see the home health aide getting about $1,000 in relief, the retail salesperson getting a little bit under $1,000, the truckdriver and the office clerk getting down to $1,400, the nurse getting down to about $1,200, the firefighter getting down to about $1,200.

A lot of people will tell you that $1,200 does not go far to change the world, but it will help. I didn’t say this was the solution to every problem. Another solution is to get these salaries up higher. That is the other part of it. Another solution is to get the cost of some of these things lower, like get a grip on the cost of obtaining college credits. Another solution is to provide more childcare options for people. Yet there is no way that this does not help. It helps. It helps the people whom we are trying to get closer to the 140,000, closer to the goal that we all have for this Nation, which is being a place of equal opportunity. We pride ourselves on equal opportunity, but I am telling you that we are lacking equal opportunity if, of two children who grow up in two different homes, one has access to quality pre-K education, then to quality schooling, and then to the right support for that schooling, and one does not. It starts by the time you are a junior and senior. It hurts you. It absolutely hurts you in your way forward in life.

This is not the solution to all of our problems—that would be misleading—but it is a big step in that direction. It would show in tax policy that we are supporting the most important institution in society, which is the family, and the most important function that any of us will ever have, which is being a parent. We are investing in America’s future.

The children being raised—the two, three, four children—do you know who those are? Those are the people who are going to fund Social Security and Medicare when I retire and when many of you retire. Those are the people who are going to be starting the businesses. Those are the people who are going to be the backbone of our economy not in 50 years but in the next 10, 15, 20 years. This is the future of America—literally and figuratively the future of our Nation—in which we would be investing. We would be allowing their parents to make that investment on their behalf, who are the right people to be making the investment.

This has to be a part of whatever else happens. I think this has strong bipartisan support, and I know the White House supports it. I am optimistic that it will happen. The only thing that would keep it from happening is if tax reform is not the framework, but this has to happen. There is no choice but to do it. We have to, and it is the right thing to do.

I am pleased that we have come this far on it, and I look forward to the work to get it into law, and I hope it is not just a gimmick, it cannot just be that we increase the child tax credit by a little bit. If we do not do it right and sufficiently and structure it in an appropriate way, we will be raising taxes on working families. That cannot happen. I know no one here wants to see that happen.

We will have a lot of debate about everything else, but this is the one that I hope will have strong bipartisan support as we move forward on tax reform, and I am excited to be able to work on it.

I yield the floor.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Washington.

Mrs. MURRAY. Mr. President, I want to start by making it very clear that this is not the way our budget process should work. In fact, to even call this a budget process gives it more credit than it deserves. With Republicans in the White House and both Chambers of Congress, the budget process has now descended into chaos and dysfunction. I talked about this in the Budget Committee, but I am going to keep talking about it because it is important.

First of all, look at the date. We are debating a budget for fiscal year 2018 months too late and more than 2 weeks into the fiscal year for which we are supposed to be budgeting.

Secondly and far more importantly, we are not really here to talk about a budget. We are not really here to have a debate about our values and our priorities or where we should be directing...
hoping we can return to a budget process that will allow a true debate about our values and our priorities as a nation.

We should be here talking about the path to another bipartisan budget deal that prioritizes our domestic and defense priorities. We should be having conversations about ways to strengthen Medicare and Medicaid, not to cut them. We should be talking a lot about how we tackle our debt and debt challenges fairly and responsibly.

On that point, I note that I find it especially interesting that so many Republicans have spent years pretending to care about the deficit when it has come to making cuts to middle-class priorities, but the minute that it has come to handing tax breaks to the rich, all of that has gone out the window. One Republican even admitted to the New York Times that deficit concerns are nothing but a “tactic that works” when Democrats are in charge.

With a budget that would add trillions of dollars to the debt—a budget that is on the floor today—we will see where people actually stand on that issue.

Finally, we should be talking about ways to help our workers. We should be talking about ways to grow our economy from the middle out, like making sure we have access to high-quality childcare and pre-K for every working family, making college more affordable, and investing in retirement security for our workers and our families. We should be talking about how we are going to support our veterans, protect our economy.

As I said this to my Republican colleagues: Let’s skip this first part. Let’s skip this partisanship and dysfunction and acrimony and bitterness, and let’s move, right now, to the bipartisan work and negotiations that we all know absolutely will actually work and expect. I know it will not be easy, but I am confident that we can get it done.

All we are asking is that President Trump keep the promises he made on the campaign trail to put workers and the middle class first. It should not be that difficult, and the choice could not be clearer. Should we give President Trump and his Cabinet of millionaires and billionaires more tax breaks, or should we move, right now, to provide relief from sequester funding caps for defense and non-defense priorities?

The President and Congress need to act immediately to undo the crisis that has been created by the President’s Executive order on DACA, which will put thousands of Dreamers at risk of deportation and have an adverse impact on our economy.

This budget addresses none of these challenges. In fact, it so weights tax cuts to the rich and deficits that I will not have the resources with which to deal with any one of these issues. Instead, a week after the President took steps that will cause millions to lose their private health insurance, this budget will pave the way for trillions of dollars in cuts to healthcare offered under Medicare and Medicaid.

Next week, the President is going to declare the opioid crisis as a national emergency, which is what we all have recognized over several years, but declarations mean nothing without there being the resources to help. This is an emergency, and we need to provide those resources now, but given this budget resolution before us, those resources will not be there being the resources to help.

States are already taking steps to reduce healthcare coverage for kids under the Children’s Health Insurance Program and services through community health centers because we have not been able to act and authorize these critical initiatives.

We face international crises in Iran, Iraq, and North Korea, which are inflamed, unfortunately, every time the President tweets or comments about those issues.

Before December 8, the President and Congress need to come to an agreement to provide relief from sequester funding caps for defense and non-defense priorities.

The President and Congress need to act immediately to undo the crisis that has been created by the President’s Executive order on DACA, which will put thousands of Dreamers at risk of deportation and have an adverse impact on our economy.

This budget addresses none of these challenges. In fact, it so weights tax cuts to the rich and deficits that we will not have the resources with which to deal with any one of these issues. Instead, a week after the President took steps that will cause millions to lose their private health insurance, this budget will pave the way for trillions of dollars in cuts to healthcare offered under Medicare and Medicaid.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, I rise in strong opposition to the budget resolution for fiscal year 2018.

Let me say that consideration of this budget resolution seems surreal, not only because of the timing—coming, as it does, 3 weeks into the fiscal year—but also because of the real challenges the United States faces today.

We have important work to do. At this moment, three States and two U.S. territories are struggling to recover after experiencing significant natural disasters. The resources we are providing are simply not sufficient.

In addition, sadly and tragically, Las Vegas just experienced the worst mass shooting in American history, breaking the record that was set only last year in the tragic mass shooting in Orlando, but there is no serious bipartisan and comprehensive effort to address gun violence.

Despite President Trump’s reckless efforts to sabotage the Affordable Care Act, Congress needs to act to stabilize private insurance exchanges. I think that we were all pleased, as I was, to see Senator ALEXANDER and Senator MURRAY take strong steps to do that path to another bipartisan budget deal that prioritizes our domestic and defense priorities. We should be having conversations about ways to strengthen Medicare and Medicaid, not to cut them. We should be talking a lot about how we tackle our debt and debt challenges fairly and responsibly.

On that point, I note that I find it especially interesting that so many Republicans have spent years pretending to care about the deficit when it has come to making cuts to middle-class priorities, but the minute that it has come to handing tax breaks to the rich, all of that has gone out the window. One Republican even admitted to the New York Times that deficit concerns are nothing but a “tactic that works” when Democrats are in charge.

With a budget that would add trillions of dollars to the debt—a budget that is on the floor today—we will see where people actually stand on that issue.

Finally, we should be talking about ways to help our workers. We should be talking about ways to grow our economy from the middle out, like making sure we have access to high-quality childcare and pre-K for every working family, making college more affordable, and investing in retirement security for our workers and our families. We should be talking about how we are going to support our veterans, protect our economy.

As I said this to my Republican colleagues: Let’s skip this first part. Let’s skip this partisanship and dysfunction and acrimony and bitterness, and let’s move, right now, to the bipartisan work and negotiations that we all know absolutely will actually work and expect. I know it will not be easy, but I am confident that we can get it done.

All we are asking is that President Trump keep the promises he made on the campaign trail to put workers and the middle class first. It should not be that difficult, and the choice could not be clearer. Should we give President Trump and his Cabinet of millionaires and billionaires more tax breaks, or should we move, right now, to provide relief from sequester funding caps for defense and non-defense priorities?

The President and Congress need to act immediately to undo the crisis that has been created by the President’s Executive order on DACA, which will put thousands of Dreamers at risk of deportation and have an adverse impact on our economy.

This budget addresses none of these challenges. In fact, it so weights tax cuts to the rich and deficits that we will not have the resources with which to deal with any one of these issues. Instead, a week after the President took steps that will cause millions to lose their private health insurance, this budget will pave the way for trillions of dollars in cuts to healthcare offered under Medicare and Medicaid.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, I rise in strong opposition to the budget resolution for fiscal year 2018.

Let me say that consideration of this budget resolution seems surreal, not only because of the timing—coming, as it does, 3 weeks into the fiscal year—but also because of the real challenges the United States faces today.

We have important work to do. At this moment, three States and two U.S. territories are struggling to recover after experiencing significant natural disasters. The resources we are providing are simply not sufficient.

In addition, sadly and tragically, Las Vegas just experienced the worst mass shooting in American history, breaking the record that was set only last year in the tragic mass shooting in Orlando, but there is no serious bipartisan and comprehensive effort to address gun violence.

Despite President Trump’s reckless efforts to sabotage the Affordable Care Act, Congress needs to act to stabilize private insurance exchanges. I think that we were all pleased, as I was, to see Senator ALEXANDER and Senator MURRAY take strong steps to do that
prospering the most in this country. It starts with the promise of a balanced budget, but it will end with greater deficits. It will start this time when, after a long and difficult recovery from the economic crash of the Bush administration, the economy is finally moving forward with stock market highs, low unemployment, and low interest rates.

Nothing about our current economic situation demands massive, deficit-busting tax cuts, particularly to the wealthiest Americans. Indeed, it is instructive to look back to the 2001 and 2003 Bush tax cuts. These tax plans were also paid for with trillions of dollars of debt because the Nation was newly at war. These plans overwhelmingly favored the top 1 percent of Americans. We were told then that the tax benefits would trickle down to the working class and pay for themselves. I opposed these tax plans because I didn’t believe that would occur; and, it didn’t occur. Despite the substantial benefits for those at the top, overall economic growth from 2001 to 2007 was weaker than average. Median household income fell 2.7 percent while prices and poverty continued to rise. With weak regulation and oversight, this fiscal policy ushered us into the great recession. Now the GOP is poised to do the same thing yet again.

Just for contrast, in the early 1990s, under President Clinton, Democrats took tough votes to raise revenue and rein in spending. Despite predictions to the contrary, the economy took off in one of the biggest economic booms in history, and at the same time we turned budget deficits into the first surplus in a generation.

There are lessons in that experience. There are no shortcuts to restoring fiscal order. Tax cuts do not pay for themselves, and you can’t balance the budget while cutting revenue. So how does the GOP promise to do so? By pairing $5.8 trillion in cuts from basic services, including Medicare and Medicaid, with massive deficits and rosy revenue assumptions. With these in place, the GOP says that it can balance the budget and cut taxes by $1.5 trillion.

I know there is room for compromise and that there are Members of good will on both sides who are actively working to address many of the real challenges I mentioned earlier, but tax cuts for the rich shouldn’t be on our to-do list, let alone at the top of the list, as it is today.

One of the things we should be standing up for is our men and women in uniform by providing the revenue we need to support them. But when it comes to providing that revenue, this resolution takes a knee and gives revenue away to millionaires and billionaires.

This is a truly rigged process. Its only purpose is to fast-track tax cuts for the rich and cut funding to healthcare and other key initiatives that most Americans count on. For that reason, I will oppose this budget resolution, and I urge my colleagues to do the same.

With that, I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mrs. Ernst). The Senator from Wyoming.

Mr. BARRASSO. Madam President, last week, the Trump administration took a very important step, the step to end the war on coal and the war on American energy. The Environmental Protection Agency has said that it has begun the formal process to roll back the Obama administration’s so-called Clean Power Plan. This plan was a cornerstone of the Democratic efforts to destroy the reliable forms of energy that the American public continues to use today.

My goal is to make energy as clean as we can as fast as we can without raising costs on American families. The Trump administration wants exactly the same thing. What it announced last week will help provide greater energy security, more jobs, and a stronger economy. This is exactly what President Trump promised he would do. It is exactly what the American people voted for last November.

Americans said that they were tired of Washington’s out-of-control regulators. President Trump took action right away. He issued an Executive order in March, telling the administration to go back and review some of President Obama’s worst energy regulations. One of those was the Clean Power Plan, which tried to regulate powerplants in a way that wasn’t even allowed under the Clean Air Act.

President Trump’s Executive order was the first step in correcting this bureaucratic overreach. Last week’s announcement by the Environmental Protection Agency was the next step. With this move, they are saying that Washington will no longer trample on the law. It tells the rest of Washington that there are limits. So I applaud President Trump and Scott Pruitt, the Administrator of the EPA.

The Agency was created because America needed to do a better job of making sure we had clean air, clean land, and clean water. There is a right way to do this job. For a long time, the Administration failed its job, overreaching and striking a balance and need to strike the right balance. We need to do that again so we can protect our environment while allowing our economy to grow. We can have reasonable regulations that protect America’s while also respect the law.

My home State of Wyoming is one of the most pristine, beautiful places in the world, and it is one of the most energy-rich places in the world. Wyoming has struck this balance successfully, and so have many other States. We are addressing threats to our environment through the cooperation of States, towns, Indian Tribes, and Washington.
The Environmental Protection Agency did not get the balance right with its Clean Power Plan. It overstepped its bounds to fulfill a political agenda. In 2008, when Barack Obama was running for President, he said that under his presidency nobody would be able to build a coal-fired power plant, they can." But he went on to say, "It’s just that it will bankrupt them.”

Bankrupt them. Once he got into office, Washington did exactly what he promised and to bankrupt as many coal companies as possible. The Obama administration pushed out unnecessary, unlawful regulations on coal producers, powerplants, and their customers.

Look at the difference between the two Presidents. President Obama promised to bankrupt American energy producers, and then he misused his power in order to do it. President Trump decided that this rule could do American energy security and economic growth, and he is following the law to do that.

The law never gave the Environmental Protection Agency the authority to regulate those powerplants. The Agency went ahead and did it anyway. That is why States sued the Federal Government to block this destructive bureaucratic overreach. States knew—people knew that the Environmental Protection Agency had written a dangerous regulation that would shut down American powerplants and would raise energy costs for American families. Their rule would have thrown thousands of people out of work in Wyoming and other States. It would have led to as much as $33 billion in compliance costs in the year 2030. That is what the Agency estimated—$33 billion in compliance costs.

Last year, the Supreme Court decided that this rule could not make a difference. It would not change the Tax Code, it has lots of different effects, some of which are not apparent. There are a lot of tradeoffs, we are in the best interest of the taxpayers of this country. Once again, on the first principle of an open, fair process, the budget resolution presented by the committee fails.

The second principle, which I would argue that all of us should agree upon, is that we don’t want to finance the tax changes through debt, that it would be wrong for us to do debt financing of tax relief because that only adds to our national debt and deficit. It affects our economic growth. It really presents, I think, a moral issue: Do we really want our children and grandchildren to pay for what we spend today? The budget resolution Committee fails on this second guiding principle.

By its own instructions, it allows for a $1.5 trillion increase in the national debt by the tax changes that are presented. There is no pretense here. It says that we will allow for a $1.5 trillion increase in the deficit.

To make matters worse, there is a provision that was put in the budget resolution that allows the budget chairman to bring the bill to the floor under what we call a budget reconciliation. In other words, we will be allowed to vote on a bill that may increase the deficit well beyond $1.5 trillion without having the objective scoring by those who are responsible to let the deficit. Instead, we will get a partisan evaluation by the chairman of the committee rather than one that is produced by the professionals who are charged with reviewing what we do. To make matters even more problematic on the deficit, the guiding principle we have here on what the committees are looking at is what was...
presented by the so-called Big 6; that is, the Republican fiscal leadership of the Senate, the Republican fiscal leadership of the House, along with the fiscal advisers to the President. They have come in with an outline that doesn’t add up to $1.5 trillion. If you add those up, we know the deficit will add up to a much greater deficit number than $1.5 trillion. So we are starting with deficits well in excess of $1.5 trillion with a process where we may be asked to vote without knowing the impact of the deficit, but we do know it will add to the deficit. That fails the test that we all felt that we shouldn’t be taking action on the floor on tax reform to increase the deficit.

The third guiding principle should be that we want to be fair. We want to be fair to the taxpayers of this country. The truth is that middle-income taxpayers are already overburdened. We know that. We know that it is tough. It is tough to make ends meet. So we certainly don’t want a tax bill that will increase the burdens to middle-income taxpayers. I would think that we all would agree on that particular point. When you look at the budget resolution that has been presented by the committee on that floor, it eliminates the estate tax—hundreds of billions of dollars of costs financed by middle-income taxpayers to the 0.2 percent of the wealthiest individuals in this country. It fails in eliminating any alternative minimum tax, which is a way that we, at least, capture a minimum tax from very, very high-income taxpayers. That is eliminated both on the individual side and the corporate side. There are tax cuts, breaks, and reduction of rates for the wealthiest taxpayers in this country. How is that all offset? Well, some of it is not offset, but to the extent that we know that it is offset, the budget resolution would allow for cuts in Medicaid. Let me repeat that. We are going to cut Medicare by almost $500 billion in order to give tax cuts to the wealthiest people in this country and we call that a fair tax bill? We are going to cut the Medicaid Program by a trillion dollars? We just went through that debate on the floor of the Senate on the changes in the healthcare system where we had significant cuts to the Medicaid system, and we saw the public reaction and rightly so because, when you cut Medicaid, you are cutting the lifeline that from many families in this country—hard-working families who may have a child who was born with a difficult medical condition but they know they at least have the protection under our system. Those are the families who are at risk. Why are we doing it? To give tax cuts to 0.2 percent of Americans by eliminating the estate tax? The budget resolution that has come out of the Budget Committee falls on the third test of fairness. So whether it is falling on price or increasing the cost of doing business or not being fair to middle-income families, this budget resolution should be rejected.

Now, I saw where, as to the Big 6—I referred to them before—we have their outline. It is a broad outline. I acknowledge that. It is heavy on promises on tax cuts, and it is very light on how they are going to finance it. So unless you add up to $1.5 trillion, you are not going to be able to blank as to who are going to be targets for losing important provisions in our Tax Code, but in a couple of cases, we don’t have to guess because the outline specifically calls for it. One is the deduction for local and state income taxes that we pay. To me, this is a direct attack on federalism. It is the same taxpayer who pays State and local taxes who pays Federal taxes, and now we are going to tell those taxpayers that they are going to have to pay taxes on taxes. That makes absolutely no sense. It is a direct attack on federalism. The work that our States and local governments do to provide services to taxpayers in this country should have the exact same respect as what we do at the Federal level of government.

We can only surmise that this might not be the last attack on federalism, that there could well be an attack on the way State and local governments finance their capital programs that has been on lists before and there are big gaps as to how they are going to even reach a $1.5 trillion deficit target. That would concern us because State and local governments have already been hit by restrictions at the national level as to how they can borrow money.

Another area that we don’t really have to guess about is the impact it is going to have on the real estate market. We know that the trigger to the 2009 recession started in the housing markets. Yet in this proposal that is likely to be done, if you eliminate State and local taxes, you are eliminating the deductibility of the property tax. But the deductibility of property taxes, you are affecting the value of homes here in America. The largest, single asset for many families could be very well jeopardized.

Then there is talk—the outline says we are going to take a look at all of the standard deductions; it doesn’t give a lot of protection out there—of whether we will be looking at mortgage interest deductions and compromising that. But these deductions be as valuable as they are under the current Tax Code? That is one of the reasons I said a process is important because, if you reduce the value of a deduction, you reduce its worth and you reduce the value of real estate.

I have been working for many years to improve retirement security. I am very proud to have worked with Senator PORTMAN on these issues. We have done a lot of good things to make it easier for people to save for their retirement, but we don’t know exactly how the proposal under this budget resolution will affect retirement security, but we do know that there have been discussions about the “Rothization” of a 401(k). What does that mean? It means that today if you contribute to a 401(k) plan, you don’t have to pay current taxes on your contributions. You pay the taxes when you take your contributions. If “Rothization” is mandated, it would mean that you would no longer have the ability to defer taxes on the contributions you make, as you can today on a 401(k). If that is mandated, it will affect people’s ability to save for their retirement and very much affect retirement security in this country. Here is the rub. It doesn’t raise any revenue. It is just the timing of revenue. By collecting the revenue today, we lose it tomorrow. It actually builds in a larger deficit in the out years. It is actually contrary to good budgeting from the point of view of preserving us from going further into debt.

We don’t know if that is going to come out of the committee, but it certainly could come out of the committee in order to meet the instructions that have been recommended by the Budget Committee. I could use the same arguments about how we could jeopardize the new market tax credits, which are very important for economic development; the historic tax credits, on which I have worked with many ways which affect growth and which affect economic growth; the work opportunity tax credit, which affects hiring people who have challenges in the workforce; and the low-income housing tax credit, which gives us affordable housing. Affordable credits could lose value or could be eliminated under the outline we have before us.

So I hope we adopt some amendments. I hope we take a different course, but there will be amendments, and I hope, that will be offered to eliminate the use of reconciliation for a tax plan so we can truly have a bipartisan tax bill that can stand the test of time—this demand that we only score before we vote on it so we know what we are doing, that we will not deficit-finance tax changes, and that we don’t jeopardize the State and local tax deduction or the mortgage interest deduction or the retirement security savings that we have today or the various tax credits. I hope we will all clarify that together. I hope that we can get some of that done during the amendment process. I think that we make this clear. There is a better way. There is a better way. Let’s give up use of this partisan process and start from the beginning on a bipartisan process that recognizes that we need tax reform, we need to do this, but let’s do this in a bipartisan manner, let’s know what we are doing, let’s be fair to middle-income taxpayers, and let’s do it in a way that will not increase the size of the deficit and will stand the test of time and where we can’t afford to add to the deficit.
I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Colorado.

Mr. GARDNER. Madam President, I have had a little bit of time to listen to some of the speeches that have been given today, and I just want to talk about a few of those today.

My great colleague from Maryland, with whom I have enjoyed the privilege of serving on the Foreign Relations Committee, talked about an open process and at the same time talked about being able to offer amendments. The definition of an open process is being able to offer amendments and that is what we are going through. We are going through later this week something called a vote-arama, where we will be having amendments.

We talked about the permanent tax changes.

Mr. CARDIN. Will my colleague yield for a question?

Mr. GARDNER. I am pleased to yield.

Mr. CARDIN. Do you believe an open process is starting at maybe 2 o’clock tomorrow morning when no one is listening and that having 1 minute of time to debate an amendment is an open process?

Mr. GARDNER. If the Senator would like to work with us on fixing the budget process, I hope he will. I hope we can change the budget process. It is fundamentally broken. We haven’t changed it since 1974, the year I was born—maybe a few years after that. We ought to change this process so it works for the American people. We ought to do something to make this process work for the American people.

We have heard people come and talk about Medicare and Medicaid. These are very critically important social safety nets for this country. People in my community, my parents, our families, and people we have lived with and known all our lives rely on Medicare and Medicaid, but there is this big myth out there that Washington has this ability to increase funds but yet rename it as a cut. You have a group of people in Washington, DC, who are saying that Washington, DC, Kabuki dance, where they say a decrease in the rate of increase is a cut. That is like saying that my son, who is 6 years old, is supposed to grow 4 inches next year, and the doctor says: Your son, who has grown 4 inches in the last year, based on the charts. If my son grows only 2 inches that year, did he shrink? No. He still grew. But in Washington, DC, they would say: No, he is shorter than he was. This is absurd.

Let’s be honest with the American people. Medicare increases in funding. We are trying to be more responsible with the dollars we have because the United States is in debt, and the way we are going to fix that is to be responsible with the dollars we have and to grow our economy.

A couple of weeks ago, I saw a map of the United States. It showed distressed communities in this country. It showed that the haves have more and the have-nots have less. It is time we do something about that in this country. It is time we fix the fact there are counties in our country that are suffering. There are communities in our country that haven’t seen a new net job for nearly two decades. We can do better than that.

It has been 30 years since Congress last passed major tax reform. It was 1986. I was 12 years old. For those who are wondering what the No. 1 movie at the time we did tax reform, was an Atari 7800. That is what I wanted the last time this body passed tax reform.

Fast forward to today. 30 years later. The last time we did tax reform was 30 years ago. We now live in a world of Wi-Fi, self-driving cars, and Smartphones, but we still have an Atari-era tax code. It is clunky. It is outdated. It is bloated to more pages than any of us would care to read. I wish I had come up with this, but I didn’t. I will repeat it: The Tax Code is longer than the Bible, and unlike the Bible, there is no good news in it. It feeds the suspicion that our government is on the wrong track.

This bill is a Tax Code if you are wealthy. If you are average, you will be stuck with the bill.

We can do better. That is the opportunity we have now. We must seize it in a way that helps hard-working American families and businesses to create jobs on Main Street, to change this unfair system that we have.

When I go across the State of Colorado, throughout the four corners of our great State, there are people I meet who have been very successful. If you go to Denver, CO, right now, you will think the new State bird is the construction crane. Dozens of construction cranes are on the horizon, showing people throughout the State, if you are in the game, and you are going to have a significant impact on the Tax Code if you are wealthy. If you are average, you will be stuck with the bill.

We can do better. That is the opportunity we have now. We must seize it in a way that helps hard-working American families and businesses to create jobs on Main Street, to change this unfair system that we have.

As a country, we spend 6 billion dollars on a 1986-era tax code, just to jump through all the hoops and tangles of rules just to file their taxes that are too high to begin with.

If you are fortunate enough to have some incredible land in Colorado underneath your farm or ranch—maybe a construction crane. Dozens of construction cranes are on the horizon, showing people throughout the State, if you are in the game, and you are going to have a significant impact on the Tax Code if you are wealthy. If you are average, you will be stuck with the bill.

If you are fortunate enough to have some incredible land in Colorado under the state of New Zealand. That $263 billion is more than the GDP of New Zealand. We spend as much money preparing and filing our taxes in this country as the entire economic output of the nation of New Zealand. We are growing our economy.

It starts by reducing the number of brackets, simplifying the Tax Code, and reducing our rates. For many American families, this will leave them with more money and the capacity to invest in Washington, DC, is driving local development decisions, all because of the estate tax. It is suffocating our way of life in rural America, and it must end.

Reforming business taxes will bring tax relief to American families, hard-working families. The corporate tax rate is the highest in the world, and employees are paying the price for uncompetitive corporate tax rates. We
have the highest corporate tax rate in the industrialized world. President Obama said that in his 2011 State of the Union Speech.

If you just look at what we can do by decreasing tax burdens on American business, actually reducing the average American household income by between $4,000 and $9,000 a year. This is an average increase to American households across the country. This isn’t to the millionaires or billionaires. This is to hard-working American families who are just trying to get ahead in life. So this puts $4,000, at a minimum, in their pockets as a result of lower tax rates. That is not just a one-time increase either. We are not talking about a one-time hit. It is not just for the top earners. The Tax Foundation says that workers across the income distribution will feel the effects year after year.

Go home and ask your constituents whether they would like to have more money in their own pockets or whether they would like to have that in the hands of Washington or Wall Street. Do you know what? I am pretty sure they are going to say: I can spend it better than any bureaucrat or Member of Congress. So if I keep it, I will make smart choices for my family. That is what we have to focus on.

The Council of Economic Advisers put out a report explaining how reducing the corporate tax rate from 35 percent to 20 percent would result in the average American household income going up by $4,000 to $9,000. It is worth walking through what they said. Before 1990, when corporate profits went up by 1 percent, worker wages actually went up by more than 1 percent. Since 1990, that relationship between corporate profits and workers has changed. Over the last 8 years, from 1 percent increase in corporate profits increased workers’ wages only by 0.3 percent, a 0.7 percent decrease. Part of the reason for that is our uncompetitive corporate tax rates.

We will go to our numbers to illustrate what has happened. During the same time, from 1990 until this decade, foreign countries, foreign nations figured out that lowering the corporate tax rate leads to more money in their workers’ pockets. While our tax rate has stayed stubbornly high, the high tax rates in other countries have plummeted. The United States has decided that we are going to keep the highest tax rates while other economically developed countries are dropping theirs, resulting in higher wages for their workers. Today, U.S. corporate tax rates are far higher than those of any other country I have talked about today.

Look at this. If you look at where the United States is right now, we are right here top of the chart, 35 percent. That is the U.S. Federal tax rate, the 2017 average statutory corporate tax rate. Look at OECD countries: 10 percent lower than our statutory rate. Asia is at 20 percent, which is 15 percent lower than our statutory rate. Europe is at 18 percent, and some countries in Europe are going lower because they have realized that when they lower the tax rates, they have a better job of attracting businesses, growing their economy, and creating more work. It would be tempting for some to assume that corporations we are going to have the cream off the top. You will hear plenty of rhetoric about lowering corporate tax rates being a giveaway. Here is the sad truth. I hope the people take the time to learn this lesson. It is the employees who bear the burden of corporate taxes. Studies show that workers pay between 45 percent and 75 percent of corporate taxes in the form of lower wages. How do you fix that? Lowering the corporate tax rate from 35 percent to 20 percent will alleviate that burden and result in higher income to that average American family, allowing them to keep as much as $9,000—a kind of wage increase of $9,000, an effective increase of $9,000, as low as that they didn’t have to pay. This is an average increase, according to the Council of Economic Advisers. Once those effects are fully felt, those effects are going to continue year after year across all income distributions. Workers are getting a much-needed relief here.

The family will be able to spend that $4,000 to $9,000 the way they want to. It could be the difference between having a rainy day fund and living paycheck to paycheck. It could be the downpayment on a new home or a route to a better education or a way they can do what they want to with their free time, if they have some or are able to get some because of innovations we are able to create and the jobs we are able to make better so people are able to see increased. It is about them putting more money into their families instead of their government.

None of that is going to happen, though, with the Atari Tax Code. None of that is going to happen unless we can give families and businesses the relief they need. That is what we have the opportunity to do here today.

This week, when we approve the budget, we set the stage for the budget reform, the budget bill, to move forward on tax reform and tax relief, allowing the American people to keep more money in their own pockets. We can provide meaningful relief with a simpler code, less hassle, less squandering of money to avoid the unfair death tax, and more businesses hiring more workers and paying higher wages.

That is why this budget is so important. That is why I have long held it is approved this week and we set the stage for a brighter future in the coming months and years, as we fight for every chance for the American people to keep the dollars they work so hard to get.

Thank you.

Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that it be in order to call up the following amendments and that the Senate vote in relation to the amendments following disposition of the Sanders amendment No. 1119, Nelson No. 1150, Heller No. 1146, Sanders No. 1120, and Collins No. 1151; further, that there be 2 minutes of debate, equally divided in the unification of all votes in the series at 3 p.m., with an exception of 10 minutes prior to the vote in relation to the Heller amendment, and that no second-degree amendments be in order prior to the vote.

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

The Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. MARKEY. Madam President, I would like to begin by quoting David Stockman. David Stockman was the head of the Office of Management and Budget in the Reagan administration. He wrote a famous book after his tenure running the Office of Management and Budget. It is called “The Triumph of Politics: Why the Reagan Revolution Failed.” Let me read you a quote from David Stockman’s book. This is what he says:

The hard part of the supply-side tax cut is dropping the top rate—the rest of it is a sec- ond order effect. The Reagan economic argument was that, in order to make this palatable as a political matter, you had to bring down all of the brackets. But, I mean, the plan was always a Trojan horse to bring down the top rate.

I quote from David Stockman in his book “The Triumph of Politics.” He wrote about how President Reagan sold massive, deficit-busting tax cuts for the wealthy by making knowingly erroneous arguments, by making faulty economic arguments.

As we stand here on the Senate floor today, debating the Trump budget of 2017, we focus on what Mark Twain once said: History does not repeat itself, but it does rhyme. This looks very much like what Reagan tried to pull off in the early 1980s, to no avail, and his book is very clear as to why they were unsuccessful. The Reagan-era promises of economic growth and budget surpluses turned out to be massive debt and deficits. There is some kind of nostalgia, political nostalgia, for a Reagan era that never existed and, instead, a painting of a past that just has to be replicated today. Let’s look at what David Stockman once said: History does not repeat itself, but it does rhyme. This looks very much like what Reagan tried to pull off in the early 1980s, to no avail, and his book is very clear as to why they were unsuccessful. The Reagan-era promises of economic growth and budget surpluses turned out to be massive debt and deficits. There is some kind of nostalgia, political nostalgia, for a Reagan era that never existed and, instead, a painting of a past that just has to be replicated today. Let’s look at what David Stockman once said: History does not repeat itself, but it does rhyme. The Republicans are back again with a new budget, but they are using the same old bag of tricks and gimmicks from more than 30 years ago.

This is their plan, which is very simple, and it is identical: No. 1, claim unspecified funding cuts to many domestic programs many, many years in the future; No. 2, assume unrealistic growth from your policies that will magically balance the deficit; and finally, No. 3, load up on questionable economic assumptions to provide massive tax breaks for the wealthy and big corporations in our country.
The budget we are debating today hits all of these points. It claims to balance the deficit, while in reality it is a blatant attack on the middle class for the benefit of these super rich.

First, let's start with the budgetary tricks to domino programs. Back in the 1980s, David Stockman called these "magic asterisks," meaning that the Reagan administration would count the savings from these future cuts, but in reality, they would be someone else's problem to figure out later. It doesn't specify what it will do to families.

Today, we are dealing with a budget containing more than $1 trillion in completely unspecified and unallocated funding cuts over the next decade—the magic asterisks, programs to be cut but not specified. Please vote for this budget, but do not take any responsibility, my Republican colleagues, for actually telling the American people what programs are going to get cut—the magic asterisks.

Second, we have the same unrealistic economic growth assumptions that Stockman referred to in the 1980s as a rosy scenario. That is what he called it.

Today, we are being told that tax cuts for the wealthy will magically grow the economy to the tune of an additional $1.2 trillion and will somehow pay for themselves. History taught us that tax cuts do not pay for themselves. It was not true under Reagan, and David Stockman, his budgetary expert, tells us this. It was not true under Bush, and it will certainly not be true under Donald Trump as well.

The Republicans forget recent history and continue to use these fairy tale economic assumptions for the same reasons they did in the 1980s. The tax cuts for the wealthy do not look completely irresponsible to the rest of the American people. Can we sell the American people once again on magic asterisks, on unspecified cuts, on a budget that is balanced sometime in the future but is not the responsibility of these Members of the Republican conference at this time out on the floor of the Senate? Can we pull it off again? Can we fool the American people again? Can we hide our real agenda, which is to give a huge tax break to the wealthiest people in America?

In the same way that David Stockman referred to the Trojan horse to get the tax break for the wealthy, so too have they built another budget as a Trojan horse to get the tax breaks without any of those specific cuts in programs that they know will be like touching political kryptonite. They are not going to lay out which programs are going to get cut at some point in the future.

That is why these tax cuts are irresponsible. The framework that Republican leadership has presented is devoid of details for what it will do to families. It doesn't specify what it will do for small businesses, and it is completely silent on how it will assist workers, who have been struggling for years to keep up with the rising costs of living.

What the Republican tax framework is crystal clear on is how it will benefit the wealthiest Americans and corporations. The tax cuts were released by the Trump administration will send 80 percent of the benefits directly to the top 1 percent of the wealthiest individuals in this country—Ronald Reagan redux, David Stockman redux. And 80 percent of the tax breaks will be for the 1 percent. It was called, "But, I mean, [the plan] was always a Trojan horse to bring down the top rate."

What we have now is a Republican Party genetically hard-wired in order to do the same thing that failed as an economic policy in the early 1980s. It was such a catastrophe and it was so bad that Republicans actually had to get together with Democrats in order to fix it after it went into effect.

The reason all of it will provide tax cuts for shareholders and CEOs. It allows the richest 1 percent of all Americans to concentrate wealth to an even greater degree than they already can, while many middle-class families watch their tax bills go up. They want to take away the State and local tax deduction. We are going to see millions of Americans with an actual tax increase. They are the middle class. There is almost nothing in this bill that helps the middle three quintiles. From 20 percent to 80 percent, there is almost nothing in this bill that helps them.

They know it. They know what they are doing. They know that 80 percent of this is going to the upper 1 percentile. They know almost nothing goes to the middle three quintiles, and they also know they are going to take away the tax break for State and local deductions from those people as well. It is not a tax plan. It is a tax scam.

Despite their talk about how these tax giveaways for the rich will pay for themselves, the Republican tax plan will create a $2.4 trillion hole in the deficit. We know what Republicans and the Trump administration will do with those deficits. They will be used to go where the 1980s plan did not ultimately go, and that is to gut Medicare, to gut Medicaid, and to gut Social Security.

They give them credit. In this bill, at least on Medicare and Medicaid, they actually do talk about these specific cuts. They actually talk about it. There is a $70 billion cut in Medicare. You can hear that, grandma or grandpa. They are going to cut Medicare by $70 billion in this bill. I tell you one thing. Both grandma and grandpa may be old, but they are not stupid. They know what you are doing. They are going to figure this out.

They are going to cut Medicaid by $1 trillion, as well, for those tax breaks for the upper 1-percenters. There is your plan. It is pretty simple to understand. Grandma and grandpa are going to understand it. The American people are going to understand it. It is all toward the Trojan horse to get the tax break for the upper 1 percentile.

The recent report from the Demo- crats and the staff of the Senate Budget Committee found that the budget would also slash $5 trillion from critical programs like education and transportation. It is unspecified at this particular point in time because they know it would create a political night- mare if they say it. It was called, "It hits the wealthy politically if they specify at this time where those cuts would come from.

Over the last 8 years, our friends on the other side of the aisle explained to us that the Federal deficits were the greatest threats facing our country. We couldn't invest in clean energy. We couldn't finance infrastructure. We couldn't do anything about healthcare or the people who need it in our country. They couldn't do anything about it. David Stockman was convincing President Reagan that deficits were of no concern and should not get in the way of tax cuts for the wealthy. We have seen this movie before, and now, once again, it sounds like the present rhymes with the past.

We come back to the central erroneous premise of the Republican Party, which they continue to try to sell to the American people—that it is possible, simultaneously, to have massive tax breaks for the wealthiest 1 percent, to increase defense spending simultaneously and massively, and to balance the budget at the same time. It is not possible. The American people know it. They have seen it in the past. They are tired of running the same movie past the American people, but it is all—in the immortal words of David Stockman—toward the goal of creating a Trojan horse to bring down the rates for the wealthiest people in America. That is the choice the American people are going to have to make.

This budget is a moral disgrace to be considered on the floor of the Congress—Medicare and Medicaid, a sacrifice for a tax break for the wealthiest people in our country. This is a shameful day in the history of this institution.

I yield back the remainder of my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Mexico.

Mr. UDALL. Thank you, Madam President, for the recognition.

Madam President, today I wish to talk a little bit about something very obscure that is buried in this budget bill, but it is something that is very, very important to me. First, before I talk about the specific policy issues, I just want to talk about a personal exploration I had. This is with regard to
the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge and this special area up here called the 1002 area.

I had the opportunity in the 1980s to take a raft trip down across this Arctic Coastal Plain and down to the sea, and part of that trip was a raft that Alaska Senators at the time used to say: If you are going to make policy in Alaska, you ought to see that part of Alaska. So I took the opportunity to see it. I took a raft trip down a river called the Hula Hula River, which flows out of the Brooks Range, a high mountain range, into the Beaufort Sea.

I can say that from my personal experience, this is one of the wildest, most magnificent places on the Earth. I would like to talk a little bit about the creatures and critters we saw there. We saw the beginning of the caribou migration, which occurs over in Canada to this area in Alaska, where they calve on the 1002 area. It is one of the biggest migrations in the world of a mammal. We saw grizzly bears. One grizzly bear actually came into our camp, and we had to retreat and watch whatever it was going to do until it moved along. We saw musk oxen. We saw polar bears. We saw what a magnificent, incredible area this was and what a rich, rich ecosystem it was.

I was reminded of my Uncle Mo, Congressman Morris Udall, who was the author in 1980 of legislative protections for this area. He required congressional action to drill in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge and this 1002 area. He did that because he realized how significant and how magnificent it was.

One of the things we have to realize is what we are protecting here. People travel all over the world to go to the Serengeti and see the migration of the animals on the Serengeti plains. This same caribou migration is very much like the Serengeti. In fact, it is our Serengeti, when you have animals migrate from Canada all the way into Alaska and back. This is our Serengeti. It is a special place. It is a real treasure, and I don’t have any doubt in my mind that we should save it.

The Arctic National Wildlife Refuge represents one of the world’s wildest and more biodiverse places. Its Coastal Plain or the 1002 area is the biological heart of the refuge. There is no other place like it on the planet. Congress showed remarkable restraint and foresight when it put the Refuge under Federal protection, and I am proud my Uncle Mo Udall was instrumental in passing legislation that doubled the size of the Refuge. Under that law, only Congress can open up the 1002 area for drilling today.

Today I rise in strong opposition to the Republican proposal to drill for oil in this remarkable place. I will fight their plan tooth and nail. The only reason they are doing this is to pay for tax cuts for big corporations and tax cuts for the richest Americans.

The Arctic National Wildlife Refuge’s coastal plain is an environmental time machine. It is a rare place on this Earth, where almost everything has been preserved as it was over 10,000 years ago. Oil and gas development would change its delicate ecosystem forever. We could never get it back. TILLIS). The Senator from Maryland.

Mr. VAN HOLLEN. Mr. President, I wish to start by commending the Senator from New Mexico for his leadership on many issues but today for being on the floor to protect this vital, beautiful American treasure, the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge. I thank the Senator.

I wish to speak about the budget as well. I hope everyone across the country will really pay attention to the debate we are having in the Senate over the next couple of days and over the coming weeks and months.

There is no doubt that when we look at the budget that is going to come to the floor of this Senate, it is stacked overwhelmingly in favor of the wealthiest Americans and powerful special interests, and the benefits that will go to the folks at the very top are paid for, in one way or another, by everyone and everything else.

I wish to be very clear. I think we need to reform our Tax Code. We need
to simplify our Tax Code. We need to reduce the tax burden on middle-class families throughout the country. We should do that in a transparent, accountable, and bipartisan fashion, but make no mistake, unfortunately, what we have received so far from the Trump administration has been cooked up behind closed doors, and the more we look at it, the worse it gets, from the perspective of making sure the American public is protected in this process. At the end of the day, it is a tax to prevent the growth of dynasties in America. Teddy Roosevelt would be crawling in his grave as a Republican to hear about this Republican proposal because he thought America should be a place where we don’t have an aristocracy, we don’t have oligarchy. We don’t just let people sit around and pass on billions of dollars—sure, we don’t just let people pass on billions of dollars—because, over time, what happens is that growing wealth inequality in the United States, instead of making sure people can sort of make it on their own in the country, which is what we thought America was all about.

Just to illustrate the point, if you are a couple and you have an estate of lower than $11 million—if your estate as a couple is below $11 million—you don’t pay a penny in Federal estate tax, not one penny. If you are an individual who has an estate below $5.6 million, you don’t pay a penny in estate taxes. That is why only 5,000 households—the very wealthiest households in the country—are the only ones that pay it. In fact, when we look at this chart, we can see these two little red dots out of all of these squares are the only households that are impacted.

This Republican plan would give a $240 billion tax cut to these wealthiest households in the United States of America. One day, Donald Trump’s estate will benefit mightily from this, according to Bloomberg, and I think that is a trust-fund generation of how that whole theory failed, how it ran aground. We saw that in 2001 and in 2002 when we cut taxes in the United States. What went up? What went soaring up were the incomes of the top 1 percent. The other thing that went up were national deficits and national debt. Everyone else was left behind. So, yes, the yachts went up, but all the other boats kind of ran aground.

If we look at this chart, we will see it has been part of a pattern over a long period of time, where the incomes of the top 1 percent—that is this red line—have risen steadily. They bounce up and down, usually with respect to some fluctuations in the financial markets, but right after the 2001–2002 tax cuts, we saw aftertax incomes of the top 1 percent shoot up. Did it really help the economy? It didn’t help the economy overcome the financial crisis. So we saw some of those incomes come down during the financial crisis.

So at the part at the pattern, our tax policies and other policies have resulted in this huge and dramatic increase in the incomes of the top 1 percent, and everybody else has been kind of static. That is an average. Many of those American households are much worse off today than they were even 20 years ago, in terms of real income.

So a lot of people are on a treadmill, with millions falling behind. Why in the world would we then adopt a tax plan that actually increases this inequality without improving the economy is just another windfall tax break to the top 1 percent.

Let’s just take a look first at the estate tax. It is a great example of how this Republican bill—this Trump bill—is stacked overwhelmingly in favor of the very wealthiest in the United States of America. Our Republican colleagues like to call this a death tax. There are 2.6 million deaths in the United States every year. Only about 5,000 American households pay estate tax. This isn’t a death tax; this is a tax to prevent the growth of dynasties in America. Teddy Roosevelt
paid for by cutting Medicare and Medicaid. Then, at the end of all of that, this budget is actually designed to increase the national debt by $1.5 trillion. It is written right into this budget bill.

I served for many years on the House Budget Committee. I was the ranking Democrat. The chairman of that committee for many years was Paul Ryan, now Speaker of the House. Every year, Congressman Ryan—now Speaker Ryan—would come up with what he called the Polarizing Prosperity Budget. I've seen this page document, and it repeatedly referred to "the crushing burden of debt." It was mentioned 12 times in that one budget document.

I happen to believe that we need to be serious about reducing our long-term deficits and debt, and our Republican colleagues used to say they cared about that too. But this budget actually calls for a $1.5 trillion increase in our national debt. What happened to the fiscal conservatives? What happened to the budget hawks on the other side of the aisle?

It turns out that when it comes to cutting Medicare and Medicaid, a lot of our Republican colleagues have been all in it. When it comes to tax cuts—tax cuts for the very wealthy—somehow deficits and debt don't matter anymore because this budget actually calls for a $1.5 trillion increase in the national debt. I will get to regular order. Let's have a full bipartisan discussion. The only time there has been successful tax reform is when it has been done in a bipartisan, transparent way. Yet what this bill is doing is setting up a vehicle to try and jam something through on a partisan basis, something that will help the most powerful and the most wealthy in this country at the expense of everyone else. Let's not go in that direction.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Vermont.

Mr. SANDERS. Mr. President, let me thank Senator Van Hollen for his very perceptive and comprehensive analysis of this budget proposal, which is designed to give huge tax breaks to people who don't need it and make terrible cuts to millions of families in this country who are struggling to keep their heads above water. I thank him very much for his remarks.

For months, my Republican colleagues in the Senate have tried and failed to slash Medicaid by hundreds of billions of dollars. Even though the American people have stood up and said "Don't do it; Medicaid is just too important," they keep coming back and trying to cut Medicaid by $1 trillion over the next decade. Meanwhile, as Senator Van Hollen just pointed out, these cuts are designed to provide a $1.9 trillion tax break to the top 1 percent.

There may be some people who think it is a good idea to cut healthcare for working families and give tax breaks to billionaires. There may be some people, but a lot of people who think that makes any sense at all. So the amendment I am offering today, along with Senators Casey and Stabenow—which I believe will be voted on at 3 p.m.—is very simple and straightforward. It would simply prevent Medicaid from being cut by $1 trillion by the Republicans in this bill, and it would be fully paid for by stopping the Republican effort to give the wealthiest people in America another tax break.

Plain and simple, this budget resolution is nothing more than a massive transfer of wealth from working families to the very rich, with huge tax breaks for billionaires and terrible cut-backs on programs that working families desperately need.

At a time when so many of our people can't afford the prescription drugs they desperately need, cutting Medicaid by over $1 trillion would throw at least 15 million more people off of the health insurance, maybe put away a few bucks to send their kids to college, it would be highly immoral and bad economic policy to take from these working families, to take from America's senior citizens, to try to cut Medicaid by $1 trillion over the next decade. What every person should think about is Medicaid may also cover social workers to help parents of children with special health needs make sense of all the bureaucratic red tape and get the services they need for their kids. Medicaid provides quality care. Ninety-two percent of children enrolled in Medicaid have had a primary care visit in the past year, which is higher than families with private insurance. If Medicaid is cut, children with special needs could be left to fend for themselves. What a terrible thing that is to do to families who are struggling today, to tell them that you are going to remove the support they get for their child who has a disability.

It is not just the children who will suffer if this bill is passed. It is our parents. It is the senior citizens of this country. What every person should think about is Medicaid is their lifeline to the healthcare they need. I'm afraid the implication is that Medicaid now pays for over two-thirds of all nursing home care. Let's think about this for a moment. What happens if there is a $1 trillion dollar cut over 10 years to Medicaid? What happens to our parents and our grandparents and people with disabilities in America who have their nursing home coverage paid for by Medicaid today? I may be wrong, but I don't recall that there has been one hearing to hear from nursing home care advocates. There have been protests from senior citizen groups, to hear from doctors, to hear from nurses, to hear from nursing homes as to what the implications are of a $1 trillion cut in Medicaid in what it means to the families in this country who have loved ones in nursing homes. There may have been a hearing. I don't believe there has been. My Republican colleagues are going forward with this disastrous cut without even knowing what the implications are, not having heard from one group about what this legislation would mean.

Tragically, all of us know that our country is in the midst of an opioid crisis.
epidemic, which has hit my State of Vermont very hard, and it is hitting virtually the entire country. This is quite unbelievable, but each and every day, more than 90 people die in our country from an opioid overdose; nearly 4,000 people every day begin abusing prescription painkillers, and it is almost unthinkable but true—almost 600 people start using heroin every single day. How horrible is that?

Today, Medicaid covers one out of every three Americans who are hooked on opioids or on heroin. If we cut Medicaid by $1 trillion, there is no question—none whatsoever—that there will be a massive reduction in care available to people who have opioid or heroin addiction.

I find it hard to understand why my Republican colleagues would come up with legislation that would do so much harm to the working families of this country with a $1 trillion cut in Medicaid—and some of my colleagues in a few moments will talk about a proposed $470 billion cut to Medicare and what that would mean—all to give incredible tax breaks to billionaires like the Walton family, like the Koch brothers, like the Trump family. I would hope my Republican colleagues understand that what they are proposing is way out of touch with where the American people are.

According to a recent Quinnipiac poll, 60 percent of Americans oppose cutting Medicaid. A recent Wall Street Journal/NBC poll finds that only 12 percent of the American people believe the wealthy should receive a tax cut. Twelve percent believe the wealthy should receive a tax cut, while 62 percent believe the wealthy should pay more in taxes. In other words, what this legislation does is exactly the opposite of what the American people want.

On the other hand, we must be honest about it and acknowledge that we have an extremely corrupt campaign finance system. As a result of Citizens United—that former Supreme Court decision—our campaign finance system has become even worse than it used to be. You have an example of where the American people say overwhelmingly: Don’t cut Medicaid. Don’t cut Medicare. Don’t give tax breaks to the rich. In fact, ask the wealthy to start paying their fair share of taxes. That is what the American people are saying in poll after poll.

There is another group—and we have to be honest about that—who do believe that billionaires should get more tax breaks, and there is a group that believes we should cut Medicare and Medicaid. Unfortunately, those are the people who make hundreds of millions of dollars in campaign contributions to the Republican Party. Those are people like the Koch brothers and a few of their billionaire friends—a small group of people, half a dozen, 10 people—who will contribute $3 to $400 million to elect the people who represent the wealthy and the powerful, just in this 2-year election cycle—$3 to $400 million.

What this debate is about is not what the American people want. The American people want something else. It is really about what the billionaire class wants. The billionaire class, despite the fact that their wealth has increased phenomenally, despite the fact that the top one-tenth of 1 percent now owns almost as much wealth as the bottom 90 percent, that is not good enough. The Koch brothers are only worth $90 billion. How are you going to get by on $90 billion? How do you take care of the kids? How do you put gas in the car? Only $90 billion. They need more.

If this legislation goes through and if the estate tax is passed—and I know people think I am not telling the truth because it is so unbelievable that anyone would propose this, but I am telling the truth—the Walton family, the wealthiest family in America, worth well over $100 billion, could get up to a $50 billion tax break. The Koch brothers, the second wealthiest family, could get up to $50 billion, their family, their heirs would all get a $30 billion tax break. So from their perspective, putting a few hundred million dollars to help elect some Republicans is pocket change if your family is going to get a $30 billion tax break.

Let me just say, the legislation brought forth is really quite preposterous. It is based on a trickle-down economic theory of giving tax breaks to billionaires and corporations and seeing all kinds of new jobs being created. It is a theory that is fraudulent, doesn’t work, hasn’t worked, but it is legislation—legislation we are dealing with here—that does work very well for the billionaire class of America.

I have the radical idea—I know it is a radical idea—that maybe, just maybe the U.S. Senate should pay attention to the needs of the middle class, the working class, and lower income people in this country, the vast majority people, and not just a handful of billionaires.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Senator Warren and Senator BERNSTEIN be added as cosponsors to my amendment to restore the $1 trillion in cuts to Medicaid, amendment No. 1119. The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. SANDERS. With that, I yield the floor to my colleague from Pennsylvania Senator CASEY.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Pennsylvania.

Mr. CASEY. Mr. President, I thank my colleague from Vermont for his leadership on this amendment and his words today. I will have more to say about the amendment in a moment.

Mr. President, as Senator Sander mentioned, his amendment that we are working together on, amendment No. 1119, will do the following, and it is right in the text of the purpose section of the amendment to provide additional resources to restore the $1 trillion in cuts to Medicaid paid for by reducing the Republican tax breaks for the wealthy. That is the quick summary of what we are working on.

I think it is also important to put this amendment in the context of discussions we are having in the Senate and, I am sure, throughout the country—that is, the tax proposal put forth by the administration as well as the Republican leadership, the so-called unified tax proposal. This is a Republican proposal that comes before the country. I think it is essential to read both the tax proposal along with the budget we are debating on the floor together.

There are a lot of ways to describe what the tax proposal is all about. I will describe it very bluntly, in my own words. This tax proposal is, for sure, a giveaway to the wealthy. The superrich are among the winners here. The middle class does not do well at all at the end of the day.

Why do I say that? Because there have been a number of analyses done of the proposal. Even the proposal, as it stands now, will be analyzed and analyzed. We will see what you can do when the bill is actually introduced, but in terms of what is on paper now, you have, for example, the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities stating that by the year 2027—at the end of the 10 years—80 percent of the tax cut goes to the top 1 percent.

There is another analysis that is even more pointed in terms of the year. You don’t have to wait until 2027 to figure out what is happening to the top 1 percent. Here is what the Tax Policy Center says with regard to the tax benefit that accrues to the top 1 percent and also what would accrue to the top 0.1 percent. The top 1 percent is roughly those making above $730,000. The top 0.1 percent, of course, is even higher. Here is what the Tax Policy Center said in September based upon the proposals so far. Table 2 in the report says the following: Starting in 2018—the assumption here is that the tax proposal as currently crafted would happen this year. If it were to pass this year, in 2018—the 2018 tax year—the top 1 percent would get a tax cut of $146,470. That is the first year of the tax cut for the top 1 percent, $146,000. How about the top 0.1 percent, a very small number of extraordinarily wealthy Americans? They get $747,580—roughly, $747,000 in a tax cut. That is just in one year. We could provide more examples year after year, but you get the picture that a lot of the tax cuts, if there are any, will be shifted among the top 1 percent and the 0.1 percent.

When they do that, when they have a proposal that points in that direction
in terms of the tax bill, what happens in the budget bill that is related to that?

It is very simple. The budget bill will cut Medicaid, as Senator Sanders referred to, by over $1 trillion. The exact number is $1 trillion over the 10 years. Let's call it a $1 trillion cut to Medicaid over 10 years. That is, basically, what it is. With regard to Medicare, the cut is $473 billion in the budget.

Now, the difference between the two bills—that is the difference—is that the budget proposal is a bill. So we know the exact details there. The tax proposal has some specificity, and some areas are not as specific, but the benefits to the wealthy are rather specific.

The Republican plan is to use the proposed $1.5 trillion in cuts to those two programs—when you add the $1 trillion cut to Medicaid to the $473 billion cut to Medicare—that you get $1.5 trillion tax cut to corporations. I think it is obscene to cut those programs and then use those dollars for a corporate tax cut. Notice that nothing about that is connected to the middle class. Nothing about that is focused on folks who are trying to get into the middle class. It is really a corporate tax cut that is paid for by cuts to Medicare and Medicaid.

I will limit my remarks today to Medicaid because that is what this amendment is about. This amendment seeks to restore at least the Medicaid cut of $1 trillion. So that is what we are focused on.

What is Medicaid? There are a lot of ways to describe it, but Medicaid covers 40 percent of all of the children in the country. If you are in Medicaid and you have the opportunity to take your child to the doctor and get checkups and preventative care—meaning about the child's health—then you are focused on folks who are trying to get into the middle class. It is really a corporate tax cut that is paid for by cuts to Medicare and Medicaid.

I will limit my remarks today to Medicaid because that is what this amendment is about. This amendment seeks to restore at least the Medicaid cut of $1 trillion. So that is what we are focused on.

What is Medicaid? There are a lot of ways to describe it, but Medicaid covers 40 percent of all of the children in the country. If you are in Medicaid and you have the opportunity to take your child to the doctor and get checkups and preventative care—meaning about the child's health—then you are focused on folks who are trying to get into the middle class. It is really a corporate tax cut that is paid for by cuts to Medicare and Medicaid.

I will limit my remarks today to Medicaid because that is what this amendment is about. This amendment seeks to restore at least the Medicaid cut of $1 trillion. So that is what we are focused on.

What is Medicaid? There are a lot of ways to describe it, but Medicaid covers 40 percent of all of the children in the country. If you are in Medicaid and you have the opportunity to take your child to the doctor and get checkups and preventative care—meaning about the child's health—then you are focused on folks who are trying to get into the middle class. It is really a corporate tax cut that is paid for by cuts to Medicare and Medicaid.

I will limit my remarks today to Medicaid because that is what this amendment is about. This amendment seeks to restore at least the Medicaid cut of $1 trillion. So that is what we are focused on.

What is Medicaid? There are a lot of ways to describe it, but Medicaid covers 40 percent of all of the children in the country. If you are in Medicaid and you have the opportunity to take your child to the doctor and get checkups and preventative care—meaning about the child's health—then you are focused on folks who are trying to get into the middle class. It is really a corporate tax cut that is paid for by cuts to Medicare and Medicaid.

I will limit my remarks today to Medicaid because that is what this amendment is about. This amendment seeks to restore at least the Medicaid cut of $1 trillion. So that is what we are focused on.
October 18, 2017

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

S6515

were able to do so on a bipartisan basis.

In taking that to heart, Chairman HATCH, who is the chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, has previously stated his intention to have an open amendment process in the Senate Finance Committee. Typically, what happens is that there is some base bill—sometimes referred to as the chairman’s mark—that is the starting place for legislation in our committees. What one comes up with is what people think represents the closest thing to a consensus of those who are interested, actually, in pro-growth tax reform and what that would look like, and then open it up to Democrats and Republicans alike to offer their amendments to change it. If they have a majority vote in the committee, it will pass and change the bill. If they have a vote and it loses, then the bill will stay as it is.

I am, frankly, a little bit surprised to hear from some of our colleagues that they think it is not a good idea to allow the committee process and want us to come out here on the floor and come up with a bill that all 100 Senators can agree to. That is a terrible way to operate. It is, basically, a recipe for failure.

What we need to do is to return to what we call regular order around here. All that means is this: Let’s go through the traditional process of legislating, moving bills through the committee, and letting everybody participate. Then the majority party can bring a bill to the floor with there being the same opportunity to offer amendments and to have votes. If you get a majority vote, you win, and your amendment is adopted. If you lose the vote, then it is not, and it does not change the content of the bill.

I really wonder whether we ought to go back to that old cartoon that talks about how a bill becomes a law. I remember when I was growing up, “I am just a bill!” on the floor of the lingo goes. Some people have seen that on the internet. Even some of the pages here, who are much younger than I am, are shaking their heads, indicating they recall that. That is how a bill becomes a law. Our colleagues across the aisle act like this is a revelation, that this is somehow unprecedented and is a terrible way to do business.

Consistent with what the President has requested and what we would like on a bipartisan basis, let’s give that a try. That is what we talked about over at the White House, and I think we owe it to the American people. Honestly, I think that if we were able to come up with a bipartisan tax reform bill, the country would be astonished—it would be shocked—that we were actually working together in the best interest of the American people, rather than relying on the same old, tired talking points and being part of some sequestered in our own little bubble—and let’s get this right—some demilitarized zone at each other, politically. I think the American people are tired of that. Frankly, some of us who have been here a while are frustrated by the lack of productivity and by resorting to those same old tired talking points, living in these bunkers and not getting as much done as we need to for the American people.

There has been a lot of talk about there being a lack of large-scale changes in our Tax Code. They have not been made since 1986, and that is because it is hard. It is hard to get a consensus on a bipartisan basis, but it is long overdue, and the American people are demanding some changes.

The first step in the process of passing pro-growth tax reform that will leave you with more of what you earn in your pocket and will actually raise the living standards of hard-working families is for us to pass a budget resolution this week to give the Congress the tools we need to get the job done. Now, it may very well be—well, I can hope, anyway—that we won’t need to resort to the technical tools we get from a budget resolution, the reconciliation process. We can actually do this on a bipartisan basis, but if we can’t, then this budget resolution will provide a roadmap for tax reform and provide a pathway to get our Federal spending under control, not by cutting into essential programs but by reducing the rate of growth in some of our programs.

I don’t know anybody who believes that the current Tax Code is working. One of the flaws in our Tax Code is that it favors production overseas as opposed to here in the US. It keeps overseas trillions of dollars that could be brought back here and used productively growing businesses, creating jobs, and increasing wages. Keeping your corporate headquarters in Dallas or Denver instead of Delhi or Dubai shouldn’t be a disadvantage, although that is what happens under our current Tax Code.

Of course, we know that for every provision in the Tax Code, there is some interest that is going to fight like the dickens to keep that provision in the Tax Code. We have already heard some of the lazy arguments and the scaremongering that are always based on unjustifiable assumptions. In this case, there are some people who say: Well, if we let people actually keep more of what they earn, it won’t change their behavior at all. They say: If we let businesses keep more of what a business earns, that less money is left in their own business and create new jobs. I think that defies common sense, and it defies experience. That is why we see, on the business side, countries like Ireland, which used to have one of the highest tax rates in the world, or the United Kingdom, cutting their business tax rate—because they realize that brings businesses to their country, it creates jobs, and it helps grow the economy and make a lot of other important things possible.

Two recent studies illustrate why the naysayers are off base. One is by the White House Council of Economic Advisers and shows a clear linkage between corporate tax rates and real wages. It shows that reducing the corporate rate—this may not seem obvious on its face, but this study says that reducing the business rate for corporations from 35 percent to 20 percent will result in a $4,000 increase in income for the average household. The second study comes from another expert at Boston University and concludes that lowering the corporate rate from 35 to 20 percent will mean a rise in income of $3,500 per household.

This used to be a bipartisan acknowledgment. I remember that in 2011 President Obama gave a speech to a joint session of Congress where he acknowledged that when we reduced our corporate tax rates from 35 percent to 20 percent, our business rates to bring that money back here onshore and to keep our businesses from moving to other countries.

I mentioned several times on the floor recently that I was shocked when I read an article a couple weeks ago that said that IBM—one of the largest corporations in the world—has more employees in India than it does in the United States. I am confused by a number of factors—access to a workforce, a well-trained workforce, the cost of doing business—but it has to be influenced by our highest tax rate in the world.

These authors say the new plan that has been proposed by Republicans will raise the growth of the economy between 3 percent and 5 percent and real wages between 4 percent and 7 percent. If you cut corporate rates from the highest in the world to 20 percent, it will raise the wages of workers from 4 percent to 7 percent. Both of these studies suggest that tax reform will benefit working Americans.

I have to tell you that the President made this point over and over again at the meeting we had this morning. He said: I am not interested in giving tax breaks to the wealthy. I want more middle-class, hard-working families to see the benefit of that. He said: People who are wealthy are doing just fine. They don’t need any help in the Tax Code.

But the people who do need help are hard-working families who are seeing stagnant wages or seeing their standard of living decrease because of their high tax rates. Who in good faith could stand in the way of this happening? Who would stop us from giving workers a raise?

Well, we are ready to hear all the preaching. I know it is coming, but that shouldn’t deter us from doing our designated task. We shouldn’t allow petty ignorance to go unchallenged, and I am speaking of deficit-of-class warfare that pits different taxpayers against each other—we should not tolerate that.

Let me conclude because I know my colleagues want to speak. The American people are anxious, and they are frustrated. They are upset with what they see happening in Washington—or I should say not happening.
Mr. President, I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from South Carolina.

Mr. SCOTT. Thank you, Mr. President.

Mr. President, so often when you hear folks speak in Washington, it sounds as if we are only speaking to ourselves because most people around the country simply cannot understand what we are talking about when it comes to tax reform. We talk about re-patriation and going from a global system to a territorial system to prevent inversions and the number of cohorts on the individual side and pass-throughs and corporate cuts. We talk about static scores versus dynamic scores. Too often, too many of us speak in a language that no one truly appreciates or understands.

From my perspective, tax reform is really about two very simple pillars. The first pillar is, how do we increase the take-home pay of the average person in this country, and how do we make sure that the jobs of the future are created here in the good old U.S. of A?

Mr. President, I was privileged to grow up in a home with a strong, powerful, optimistic mother. She raised two boys on her own. I will tell you when you think about the challenges of single moms today, I think about the one who raised me. I think back to the times when she was working 16 hours each day 3 days a week and 8 hours a day a couple days a week. She was a nurse’s aide. She wasn’t an LPN or an RN. She wasn’t even a CNA. She was simply a nurse’s aide, which means for several hours each day of her shift she changed bedpans, she rolled patients over.

So when I think about the average single mom, with a couple of kids in the household, whose average income today is less than $36,000 a year, I think to myself, how are we going to make sure that single mother takes home more of her hard-earned money? Tax reform is the fastest way for us here in Washington to actually translate our activities to that household. See, if we take less out of her paycheck, she gets to take home more of her money.

Some have joked about the fact that I said hashtag “keep yo money.” Why do I say that? Well, it is the way we speak at home. No. 1, and No. 2, it simplifies and crystallizes whom we are talking about. We are simply talking about single moms like mine. We are talking about folks who work hard every day, who are strapped, challenged, with very little margin in their schedules and even less in their paychecks.

The average American—I heard that somewhere around 50 percent of Americans do not have $500 in their savings account. When we are talking about tax reform, it’s all about increasing the margin for a family.

The second major pillar of tax reform is simply making sure that the jobs of the future are created here at home. Well, simple question: How do we do that? The answer is even simpler. When you look around the globe, you find very carefully and critically and simply that there are countries that have a tax rate on their business production of around 12.5 percent. The competition for corporate money is fierce from the OECD, high-income countries; there are about 39 of them—the average tax rate is 22 percent. Our corporate tax rate is 35 percent. It doesn’t take a genius to figure out that the difference between 35 and 22 is 13 percent, but more importantly, there are fewer jobs created here at home.

That is a problem we should solve. We solve that problem by making sure our corporate tax rate is competitive with our global competitors—common sense, some would suggest. I would suggest they are right. But not only that—whether you are on the left or the right, economists on both sides and our current President Trump and our former President Obama agreed on one thing—and we should all stop and celebrate when we have agreement on both sides—they both say that the corporate tax must come down because a part of who pays the corporate tax are the workers. Some have said that 25 percent of the corporate taxes are paid by corporate workers, and others have said it is 80 percent.

Here is what we know: Our workers in this country take home less of their money because our corporate tax rate is too high. We can do something about that.

So when we talk about tax reform, when we talk about the importance of inversions being eliminated, satisfying the need to grow our economy, let’s keep it simple. Let’s talk about moms and dads like my single mom, income under $36,000. Can we make sure she takes more of her money home so she can take care of her two kids? The answer is yes, and we should do that ASAP.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Cor- toyl). The Senator from North Dakota.

Mr. HOEVEN. Mr. President, I am pleased to follow the distinguished Senator from South Carolina and appreciate very much his remarks and how he does such a good job of really explaining why this tax relief is so very important.

I rise today to talk about the need for tax relief, tax reform. I think back to the current President Trump and our current Tax Code is now both outdated, very complex, and again, as my esteemed colleague from South Carolina said, it is past time to provide tax relief for our Nation’s families, farmers, ranchers, and small businesses. That is what passing this legislation is all about—providing much needed tax relief for working citizens. As I said, it is past time to modernize our outdated American Tax Code and bring it into the 21st century. We need to do so to ensure that American businesses can compete on the global stage; it is a global economy, and we must compete. And it is very much focused on our efforts to bring tax relief to middle-class families, who have been struggling to get ahead and stay ahead over the last decade.

As I said, the Senate this week is taking the first step—a very important step—toward enacting pro-growth tax reform by passing a budget resolution that provides the path toward improving our economic growth and putting money back into the pockets of hard-working American people. Voting for this budget will enable us to move forward to enact that tax relief, again, not only for our families, but for farmers, ranchers, and small businesses across this country. Small business is the absolute backbone of our economy, and that is where the vast majority of jobs are created.

It is very important to understand and realize that this is not just about tax relief—it’s also about after taxes, hard-working Americans keep more of their money in their pocket, again, as so eloquently detailed by the Senator from South Carolina—but it is also about growing our economy. This is also pro-growth. This is about stimulating economic growth, meaning more jobs and, as the businesses that create those jobs invest the capital, create those jobs as they compete for labor, that also moves wages and income higher. So think about it. For that hard-working American family, not only about reducing his or her tax burden, it is about increasing their wages and income. That is the rising tide that lifts all boats, so it is both. It is both about improving wages and income, as well as reducing the tax burden.

The recently released tax blueprint proposes sweeping tax reform, tax relief that will benefit working families and small businesses across the country while promoting job creation, economic growth, and global competitiveness.

This country was built on hard work by individuals and families who strive each and every day to make ends meet, provide for their loved ones, and plan for retirement—this past decade has seen too many families struggling to get by. The current Tax Code is complex; it is riddled with loopholes. That not only does nothing to help our hard-working families keep more of their income, it makes it difficult to even fill out their tax returns.

Tax relief will help individuals and families in my State of North Dakota...
and across the country to get ahead by generating new jobs through economic growth, as I said, while also lowering their overall tax burden so that they keep more of their paycheck. For example, by doubling the standard deduction, we will eliminate a tax on the first $12,000 earned by an individual and $24,000 earned by a married couple, effectively establishing a 0-percent tax rate up to $24,000. This means that the nearly 81 percent of North Dakotans who claim the standard deduction against the estate tax. The death tax can re-

As an example, by doubling the standard deduction, we will eliminate the death tax and increase the take-home pay, and that is true across the country.

Our tax framework aims to generate greater opportunities for small business owners and farmers, helping them to become more competitive. Remember, we all compete in a global economy now, so how do we help our farmers, our ranchers, our small businesses become more competitive?

Small business represents nearly 96 percent of all employers in my State, and while we have fostered a business-friendly environment in North Dakota, the Federal Tax Code continues to place undue burdens on our small businesses that operate across North Dakota and the other 49 States. That includes our farmers and ranchers, who can pay a marginal tax rate as high as almost 45 percent, which is nearly twice the rate of the rest of the industrialized world.

The tax framework we have proposed will restore economic opportunity and, as I said, enact a pro-growth tax code for our country.

Last week, I hosted tax reform sessions and roundtables across North Dakota to hear directly from our small businesses and also from ag leaders, our farm leaders, on their priorities. I want to talk about some of those priorities for just a moment. Agriculture is No. 1 in North Dakota. We are a huge energy State, as well, but agriculture is and always will be No. 1 in our State. So when we talk about tax relief, we need to talk about tax relief for our farmers and our ranchers.

The right tax reform will help our farmers continue to provide the highest quality, lowest cost food supply in the world, which benefits every American every single day. So that in-"
because the first question I asked, right off the bat, was: What does tax reform mean to you? Well, they didn’t say “Tax breaks for the wealthy” because that is not what they believe and that is not what I believe.

We have a series of supported businesses. She employs six people as a highly technical, small manufacturer. She said that what tax relief means to her and her small business is that after she trains people—it takes a year and a half to train—a lot of them will come through to a bigger company because they are searching for a higher wage. She said: What I am going to be able to do is reward the good workers in my business and raise their wages so they will stay.

I almost closed my book and left. I said: Well, do I need to hear anything more? These are the impacts, I think, tax reform will have on small businesses.

I had another person there who employs 36 people in a communications company. What does tax reform mean to you? She said: Well, I have two locations. I have 36 people evenly split between the two locations. But in communications you really have to modernize your infrastructure, your software, and still keep the 36 people who work for me. And she said: I am looking next year to hire another six, and this gives me the certainty to be able to do that.

Well, I almost closed my book up and left then. What does that mean? That means more investments. Somebody is selling that software. Somebody is creating that software—hopefully, in this country—and somebody is going to be the beneficiary of that increased investment in a small business.

I heard about raising wages. I heard about what economic growth will do to a small business in a small State. I heard Senator Hoeven say 96 percent of business in North Dakota is small business, and 95 percent of business in West Virginia is small business.

So these efforts will be about transforming our economy. For too long, we have been living with a stagnant economy, with too few opportunities, and with that people just can’t get ahead. Rural America has really felt this, and many of the communities in my State and around the country have felt these effects of this stagnation, this lack of confidence, this feeling that you can’t get ahead. You are not ready to spend the money.

No. 1, you don’t have it because you are paying too high taxes. No. 2, you don’t want to spend it because you don’t have the confidence that the economy is going to move. That is what this is about today. We have a chance to transform this and create opportunities, reform our Tax Code, and deliver pro-growth legislative solutions. We haven’t done this for decades. It is way past time to make a real difference and make a system that is more transparent, a system that is simple.

Something I don’t think we talk about enough is simplification. How welcome that would be to probably everybody seated in the Gallery here today, and millions across the country, when they look at the time and effort and money they spend to prepare a complicated tax return, when they count the single dollars freed from a lot of that burden.

Most of all, we want a system that is fair and the kind of system that rewards hard-working families and puts more money in the pockets of those who earn it. You think, what would you do with it. I think everybody could come up with something they could do. They might want to save for retirement. They might want to go on vacation. They might need to do repairs for the house. You want to buy a new pair of shoes for your child or a new car. There are all kinds of ways that people are holding back because they don’t have the confidence. If they have that money in their pocket, then things will be there in the day, and they are going to invest. They will invest in their lives, their families, their homes, their businesses. Before we can move forward, we must pass this budget. This budget resolution before us today reins in Federal spending and provides new prospects for our businesses and our families. It paves the way for a tax code overhaul and creates a pathway to greater prosperity. I heard the Senator from Texas saying we would love to have a bipartisan tax reform measure in front of us. When we all see what the results of this are going to be, we should be able to join together, but we need this budget resolution to make sure that what we have talked about for more than several months and a year is going to come to fruition.

A vote for this budget is a vote to provide tax relief for hard-working, middle-income Americans. It is a vote to lower taxes on families with children. It is a vote to incentivize companies to invest domestically and create jobs in this country. That is what they tell us they want to do. I believe they know an investment in this country with their capital and their people is a sound investment for their company’s future than any investment outside of this country.

It is very hard to think that any of my Senate colleagues, Republican or Democratic, would not want to support these goals. So passing this resolution creates a once-in-a-generation opportunity to reform our Tax Code in a way that will move our economy forward. Our country will move forward.

I urge my colleagues to vote for the budget that will begin the process of delivering tax reform that will help so many people in my State of West Virginia and across this country. We can’t let this opportunity slip by. I am going to do my best to make sure it doesn’t. Thank you.

I yield back.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Wyoming.

AMENDMENTS NO. 1114, 1119, 1130, 1146, 1120, AND 1151 TO AMENDMENT NO. 1116

Mr. ENZI. Mr. President, I call up the following amendments en bloc and ask unanimous consent that they be reported by number and that the rollcall votes in relation to the amendments be ordered listed: Hatch No. 1144, Sanders No. 1119, Nelson No. 1150, Heller No. 1146, Sanders No. 1120, and Collins No. 1151.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Without objection, it is so ordered.

The clerk will report the amendments en bloc by number.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Wyoming [Mr. ENZI], for other purposes, moves to place amendments numbered 1114, 1119, 1150, 1120, and 1151 en bloc to amendment No. 1116.

The amendments are as follows:

AMENDMENT NO. 114

(Purpose: To establish a deficit-neutral reserve fund relating to protecting Medicare and Medicaid)

At the end of title III, add the following:

SEC. 3. DEFICIT-NEUTRAL Reserve Fund RELATING TO PROTECTING MEDI-
CAIRE AND MEDICAID.

The Chairman of the Committee on the Budget of the Senate may revise the allocations of a committee or committees, aggregate, and other appropriate levels in this resolution, and make adjustments to the pay-as-you-go ledger, for one or more bills, joint resolutions, amendments, amendments between the Houses, motions, or conference reports relating to protecting the Medicaid program under title XIX of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396 et seq.), which may include strengthening and improving Medicaid for the most vulnerable populations, and extending the life of the Federal Hospital Insurance Trust Fund by the amounts provided in such legislation for those purposes, provided that such legislation would not increase the deficit over either the period of the total of fiscal years 2018 through 2022 or the period of the total of fiscal years 2018 through 2027.

AMENDMENT NO. 119

(Purpose: To provide additional resources to restore the $1,000,000,000,000 in cuts to Med-
icaid paid for by reducing the tax breaks for the wealthy)

On page 3, line 12, increase the amount by $20,557,000,000.

On page 3, line 13, increase the amount by $36,830,000,000.

On page 4, line 1, increase the amount by $55,806,000,000.

On page 4, line 2, increase the amount by $77,864,000,000.

On page 4, line 3, increase the amount by $95,078,000,000.

On page 4, line 4, increase the amount by $109,014,000,000.

On page 4, line 5, increase the amount by $157,071,000,000.

On page 4, line 6, increase the amount by $193,849,000,000.
SEC. 2. DEFICIT-NEUTRAL RESERVE FUND RELATING TO THE PROVISION OF TAX RELIEF FOR FAMILIES WITH CHILDREN.

The Chairman of the Committee on the Budget of the Senate may revise the allocations of a committee or committees, aggregates, and other appropriate levels in this resolution, and make adjustments to the pay-as-you-go ledger, for one or more bills, joint resolutions, amendments, amendments between the Houses, motions, or conference reports relating to changes in Federal tax laws, which may include lowering taxes on families with children, by the amounts provided in such legislation for those purposes, provided that such legislation would not increase the deficit over the period of the total of fiscal years 2018 through 2027.

SEC. 4. POINT OF ORDER AGAINST ANY LEGISLATION THAT PROVIDES A TAX CUT FOR THE TOP 1 PERCENT OF THE WEALTHIEST INDIVIDUALS.

(a) POINT OF ORDER.—It shall not be in order in the Senate to consider any bill, joint resolution, motion, amendment,
amendment between the Houses, or conference report that provides a tax cut to the top 1 percent of individuals.

(b) WAIVER AND APPEAL.—Subsection (a) may be amended in the Senate only by an affirmatory vote of three-fifths of the Members, duly chosen and sworn. An affirmatory vote of three-fifths of the Members of the Senate sitting in the Senate only will be required to sustain an appeal of the ruling of the Chair on a point of order raised under subsection (a).

SEC. 3. DEFICIT-NEUTRAL RESERVE FUND RELATING TO THE PROVISION OF TAX RELIEF FOR SMALL BUSINESSES.

The Chairman of the Committee on the Budget of the Senate may revise the allocations of a committee or committees, aggregates, and other appropriate levels in this resolution, and make adjustments to the pay-as-you-go ledger, for one or more bills, joint resolutions, or amendments, agreements between the Houses, motions, or conference reports relating to changes in Federal tax laws, so that all such bills, joint resolutions, or amendments may include the provision of tax relief for small businesses, along with provisions to prevent upper-income taxpayers from sheltering income from taxation at the appropriate rate, by the amounts provided in such legislation for those purposes, provided that such legislation would not increase the deficit over the period of the total of fiscal years 2018 through 2027.

Mr. ENZI. Mr. President, I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Carolina.

Mr. TILLIS. Mr. President, while Senator Enzi is on the floor, I want to thank him for his leadership in the Budget Committee and taking us through this very important vote today.

I want to talk a little bit in terms of what may be people can understand what is going on here and what will be going on over the next few days.

What we are doing right now is passing a budget. Our budget is no different than your household budget, when you sit down and you figure out, over some period of time, how much money you have and how much money you need to spend, where maybe you need to spend more and maybe you need to spend less. That is all we are doing with this budget.

This budget is not the tax reform bill. That will come after we pass a budget, but if we don’t pass this budget, there is no possible way we can actually pass tax reform. That is why I support this budget. That is why I will work to defeat any amendments that will prevent this budget from being passed.

Then we can start having an honest discussion about what we need to do around tax reform.

I know the Senator from South Carolina did a great job, as he always does on the floor, talking about why he supports tax reform. He is somebody we should really listen to. He is somebody who came up through truly humble means. You have people come on this floor and they talk about how the people who are supporting tax reform are just doing this for the billionaires and the rich.

I would encourage you to go out to the Internet and take a look at Senator Scott’s story and tell me if that is somebody predisposed to helping the rich. He is here to help the little guy. He is here to get the economy going so people can go. He is here to actually do what we have been promising for 20 years and haven’t done—almost 30 years. Over that span of time, America has lost traction as the greatest economy that has ever existed. This tax reform measure, after we pass the budget, is to really get to a point to where States like West Virginia—you heard Senator Capito is only supporting this for businesses. How could anybody sincerely come to this floor and say Senator Capito is only supporting this for the wealthy corporations? They just don’t exist in any large number in West Virginia.

In my State, 80 percent of the jobs that are created are small businesses as well. So how anybody could suggest that there is no going to the floor just talking about tax breaks for the rich and for corporations really need to go back and look at our States. Look at who is struggling and whom we are here trying to help. We get to the tax reform bill after we pass the budget. That is why I am going to support the budget.

Now, to some of my colleagues on this side of the aisle, the Founding Fathers did strive to create a more perfect Union, but they created an imperfect democratic process. This is the sausage factory we call democracy. It is not intended to be perfect, nor does it ever produce anything that is perfect legislation—something that is done and you never look at it. Those who come to this floor and say: Unless I can have that perfect, I am not willing to support the good, they really need to go back and rethink why they are here. We are here to start fulfilling promises. You don’t do it by coming onto this floor and saying: I really want to do tax reform but only if it is my perfect solution. You start by making progress. Then you build on that progress. You start getting the economy to grow, and you use those resources to better fund the most challenged people we have in this Nation, use those resources to grow the economy and give younger people an America and dream the way I did back in the 1980s. That is why we have to pass this budget. That is why we have to set aside our personal preferences for something far better than probably what everyone else will ever come out of this Chamber but the way we end up over the next few days.

I worry about all those little businesses. I worry about all those challenged people. This budget lays the groundwork for us to actually put meaningful policy in place for the first time in about 30 years that is sincerely attempting to fulfill the promises the American people made in this Chamber every single day.

I hope all of our Members will come down here and accept the fact that perfect doesn’t happen, but some good can happen. Good begins by passing this budget. It continues by passing tax reform that will help the most challenged among us.

I yield the floor.
The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oregon.

AMENDMENT NO. 1128

Mr. WYDEN. Mr. President, some of our Republican colleagues said in the past days, the budget debate is all about getting the tax reform. The fact is, there is a chance to get ahead. The fact is, the Tax Code on the books is a tale of two systems. There is a strict mandatory system for a cop or a nurse. Their taxes come right out of every paycheck. It is mandatory. There are no special Cayman Island deals for them.

Then there is another set of rules for the highfliers, the most fortunate. They can, with good lawyers and good accountants, decide what they want to pay and when they want to pay it. That is the rotting source of unfairness that is at the heart of the American Tax Code. That is why so many hard-working Americans think they are getting a rotten deal every April 15. That is the brand Ronald Reagan was interested in going after, but somehow we can’t get that same kind of spirit from Republicans at this point on this tax bill.

The Trump tax cut doubles down on the rotten unfairness in the Tax Code. It is a multitrillion-dollar handout to those who are the most powerful, and it is very generous to those at the top of the top, which is why this amendment with Senator SANDERS is so important. The Trump tax plan, at this point tonight, just failed to close the most egregious loopholes, but it enshrines them for good.

The amendment that Senator SANDERS and I are putting forward is pretty simple. It says that in this tax bill we are going to put the focus on the middle class. We are not just going to focus on people at the top. That is why the amendment creates a point of order against the plan that gives a tax handout to the top of the top of the income spectrum.

If you are a middle-class family, according to what is offered now, the Republican plan gives with one hand and taketh away with another. The standard deduction might be doubled, but you are going to lose personal exemptions, and if you come from a State with a significant State and local tax structure, you are going to find it very hard to get ahead.

That is what we want to change. We will not want a scheme that hides the true multitrillion-dollar cost of the tax giveaways to those at the top. We want relief to go to those at the middle. I close by saying the Sanders-Wyden amendment is based on a simple principle, and that is that we want to expand the winners’ circle for working Americans—those without lobbyists, those without clout—to have a chance to get ahead. They have been left out of the economic winners’ circle for too long. We want to put a focus on those people who have felt the panic of seeing the costs of rent, college, and medicine go up and up and up. Tax reform should be about helping them. That is what the Sanders-Wyden amendment proposes. I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Utah.

AMENDMENT NO. 1144

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, I rise to speak in support of my amendment No. 1144. This legislation is designed to do two things. It is important for us to consider this. First, it would protect Medicaid for our Nation’s most vulnerable citizens. Second, it would protect the health care of low-income children, pregnant women, the elderly, and those with disabilities. Those are important vulnerable citizens, as far as I am concerned. In addition, it would strengthen Medicare in order to help protect health benefits for current and future beneficiaries. Make no mistake, Our Nation faces a growing entitlement crisis, and Medicare and Medicaid are at the heart of it.

Under ObamaCare, Medicaid enrollment has increased by about 28 percent due to the expansion of the program in 32 States. Between 2014 and 2015 alone, expansion States received about $79 billion in Federal funds. The problem is that even before ObamaCare, Medicaid was plagued by quality issues, and States’ hands were tied whenever they tried to advance innovative solutions to improve patient care.

Of course, even before ObamaCare, Medicaid spending on both the Federal and State level was growing at an astronomical rate. Contrary to popular myth, ObamaCare did not fix this. It made things worse. As chairman of the committee with jurisdiction over Medicaid, I have been working with a number of my Republican colleagues as well as State officials, stakeholders, and the American public to find solutions that will improve the quality and ensure the longevity of the Medicaid Program. That work will continue into the future.

Medicare is a separate problem entirely. Everyone knows that when it comes to Medicare, we are on a collision course with fiscal economic catastrophe facing us.

Over the long term, Medicaid faces more than $33 trillion—that is with a “T”—in unfunded liabilities according to the independent actuaries at the Centers for Medicare & Medicaid Services.

In the nearer term, the Medicare trustees project that Medicare Part A, which deals with inpatient hospital payments, will be officially bankrupt in 2029, resulting in Medicare benefit cuts for seniors relying on the program.

Even a number of prominent Democrats who recently served as Medicare trustees have recommended swift legislative action to “minimize the impact on beneficiaries, providers, and taxpayers.”

To put it simply, we need to address the fiscal challenges facing these programs if we are going to preserve them for future generations.

Despite the claims of a number of my Democratic colleagues on the other side of the aisle, we can’t even make a dent in these problems by focusing solely on the tax side of the equation.

I know many like to claim that every wrong would be righted and every problem could be solved if we simply raised taxes on rich people. Anyone who has spent more than 5 minutes looking at the fiscal condition of our Federal health programs will tell you that is preposterous. The money just simply is not there. The Republican budget acknowledges this reality.

My colleagues have argued that the budget would cut Medicare spending, but that isn’t true. In fact, under the budget, Medicare spending would increase every year, though at a slightly slower rate, in order to introduce some level of fiscal sanity into the process.

All told, the budget would slow Medicare’s rate of growth by about 1 percent compared to the CBO baseline. Meanwhile, the reconciliation resolution does not propose any specific programmatic changes to either Medicare or Medicaid, even though my friends on the other side of the aisle like to argue otherwise.

Let me be clear on another point. Despite a number of claims to the contrary, the budget resolution does not rely on savings from Medicaid in order to provide tax relief.

My colleagues, the ranking member of the Budget Committee and the senator from Florida, have proposed amendments to dramatically increase taxes to the tune of about $1 trillion for Medicaid and half a trillion dollars for Medicare over the next decade in order to double and triple down on this particular set of problems, the failed policies that have made these programs unsustainable in the first place.

These are not serious proposals. They are poison pills designed only to give the other side a round of partisan talking points that are really ridiculous.

A vote for my amendment is a vote for a stronger, more fiscally sound...
safety net that preserves Medicaid for our most vulnerable citizens, keeps our promises to Medicare’s current beneficiaries, and strengthens the program for those who will need it in the future.

I urge all of my colleagues to vote in favor of my amendment. It is a good amendment. It is the right thing to do. It makes us better prepared for the future. It seems to me that every one of us would be proud to vote for it and to solve these problems that the amendment will solve.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Michigan.

Ms. STABENOW. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent for two minutes to speak, please.

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

Ms. STABENOW. Mr. President, first, let me say that the people of Michigan and our country deserve a better deal than what is in this budget. There are a number of concerns I have, but I want to mention three big ones, and I am proud to join with colleagues on amendments that would address them in votes that will be coming up.

The fact that this budget would take $273 billion out of Medicare. I offered an amendment in committee to make sure that would include privatizing Medicare, but that was voted down. That is certainly something of my own.

There is $1 trillion in Medicaid cuts as well. In Michigan, three out of five seniors in nursing homes are there with the help of Medicaid health insurance. This is children, families, and senior citizens. There will be an amendment offered that Senator NELSON, Senator SANDERS, and I offered to take out this cut from Medicare. There will be one offered for Medicaid, with Senator SANDERS, Senator CASEY, and me, to strike that.

Second, 90 percent of the tax cuts built into the assumptions of the budget go to the top 1 percent. What does that mean? Well, it is $1.5 trillion that goes to folks making $700,000 or more. That is at least a $200 billion tax cut per person. We commonly call this trickle-down economics. So far it has never worked. People in my State are still waiting for it to trickle down.

We have an amendment, as well, to remove this provision and put to the tax cuts into the pockets of middle-class taxpayers.

Finally, this plan overall increases the deficit. Even though it cuts Medicare and Medicaid, it also increases and explodes the deficit by $2.4 trillion. We also will be addressing that as well.

Overall, unfortunately, in terms of the big tax cuts, this budget proposal is paid for by our senior citizens and single parents who are affected and middle-class families. I urge a “no” vote.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Maine.

Ms. COLLINS. Mr. President, there has been a great deal of discussion about what the appropriate tax rate should be for large corporations. That is important because we want them to create jobs right here in America and not overseas.

Let us not forget the true engine of our economic growth and that is our small businesses. We need to provide true tax relief to our small businesses, the job creators in our economy.

I rise to discuss my amendment, which is No. 1151, which would create a deficit neutral reserve fund to support small business tax relief while preventing wealthy taxpayers from shielding income from taxation at the appropriate rate.

It would send the message that through tax reform, we can help our small businesses thrive and be the engine of job creation and economic growth in communities all across our great country.

Small businesses make an out-sized contribution to our economy. According to the Small Business Administration, small businesses employ nearly half of all workers and generate two out of three net new jobs each year. Nationwide, they generate nearly half of our private, nonfarm GDP and one-third of our Nation’s export value.

The State of Maine is truly a small business State, with nearly 305,000 of our residents employed by our more than 141,000 small businesses. That is nearly 60 percent of our workforce.

Most small businesses are organized as so-called pass-through entities, which means that their profits are taxed on to their owners and reported on individual income tax returns.

Under current law, this income is taxed at individual rates, which can reach nearly 40 percent at the Federal level and can be significantly higher than the corporate tax rates that larger firms face.

Given the administrative costs and these high tax rates, small businesses are forced to devote more resources to compliance and tax payments and fewer resources to creating good jobs and investing in their local communities.

It is no wonder that a recent survey by the National Federation of Independent Business found that concerns about Federal taxes on small businesses ranked third on the list of the top 10 concerns.

With tax reform, we have the opportunity to fix this problem. Of course, we should aim to do so in a way that prevents people from abusing rates intended for small business pass-through income.

My amendment would allow for changes to Federal tax laws and to provide relief to small businesses, while not allowing wealthy individuals to shelter their income from taxation at the appropriate rate.

I urge my colleagues to support it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All time has expired.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority time is yielded back.

The Senator from Vermont.

Mr. SANDERS. Mr. President, the amendment from the Senator from Vermont speaks about “strengthening and improving” Medicaid and Medicare. We don’t strengthen and improve Medicaid by cutting it by $1 trillion, and we don’t strengthen and improve Medicare by cutting it by $469 billion. That is Orwellian language.

We should vote down this amendment and adopt the Sanders amendment which says: Let us give no tax breaks to billionaires while we cut Medicaid.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. TOOMEY). The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

There appears to be a sufficient second.

The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. CORNYN. The following Senator is necessarily absent: the Senator from Missouri (Mr. BLUNT).

Mr. DURBIN. I announce that the Senator from New Jersey (Mr. MENENDEZ) is necessarily absent.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Are there any other Senators in the Chamber desiring to vote?

The result was announced—yeas 89, nays 9, as follows:

(Roll Call Vote No. 220 Leg.)

AYES—89

Alexander—Feinstein
Fischer—Paul

Allen—Paul

Barrasso—Peters
Franken—Reid

Bennet—Risch
Gardner—Round

Boozman— Rounds
Grassley—Rounds

Brown—Rounds
Hagel—Rounds

Busby—Rounds
Cantwell—Rubio

Capito—Rubio
Capito—Rubio

Carper—Schatz
Carper—Schatz

Casey—Schumer
Casidy—Schumer

Cochran—Scott
Cochran—Scott

Collins—Shelby
Collins—Shelby

Crapo—Stabenow
Crapo—Stabenow

Cortez Masto—Tester
Lankford—Tester

Cotton—Tester
Leahy—Tester

Crus—Tester
Cruz—Tester

Daines—Tester
McCaskill—Tester

Donnelly—Tester
McConnell—Tester

Duckworth—Tester
Moran—Tester

Durbin—Tester
Murkowski—Tester

Enzi—Tester
Nelson—Tester

Ernst—Tester
Young—Tester

Feinstein—Tester
Feinstein—Tester

BINN—Tester

NOT VOTING—2

Burr—Menendez

Booker—Menendez

Hilbert—Menendez

Harris—Menendez

NOT VOTING—2

Binn—Menendez

The amendment (No. 1144) was agreed to.
The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Wyoming.

Mr. ENZI. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the votes following this first vote—the one we just finished—be 10 minutes in length, all of the votes. I ask for a request for 5 minutes in length. We doubt that we can do it in 10, but the unanimous consent request is for 10 minutes in length.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Without objection, it is so ordered.

AMENDMENT NO. 119

Under the previous order, there will be 2 minutes of debate equally divided prior to a vote in relation to amendment No. 1119, offered by the Senator from Wyoming, Mr. ENZI, for the Senator from Vermont, Mr. SANDERS.

The Senator from Vermont.

Mr. SANDERS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Senator CANTWELL be added as a cosponsor to amendment No. 1119 and that Senator STABENOW be added as a cosponsor to amendment No. 1120.

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

Mr. SANDERS. Mr. President, this amendment says no to the cutting of $1 trillion from Medicaid and forcing 15 million Americans off the health insurance that they currently have, while at the same time providing a $1.9 trillion tax break to the top 1 percent. This is not what the American people want; it is what the billionaire class wants. I make the radical suggestion that we should listen to the American people and not just wealthy campaign contributors.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Wyoming.

Mr. ENZI. Mr. President, I urge my colleagues to oppose this amendment. This amendment would increase mandatory spending and taxes each by more than $1 trillion. I understand my colleagues are concerned about Medicaid, I want to assure them that this budget is focused on preserving Medicaid for those who need it most, but in order to preserve Medicaid, we must also be honest about its fiscal trajectory. The status quo for Medicaid is simply unsustainable. Not only are Medicaid outcomes lackluster, the program is on a path toward bankrupting our States. The budget before us puts Medicaid on a more sustainable path.

Critics argue that this budget pays for tax relief through cuts to Medicaid. I want to clarify that. This budget does not rely on savings from Medicaid to achieve tax reform. In fact, the economic growth attributed to reforming the Tax Code will help improve Medicaid’s fiscal health.

I urge my colleagues to oppose this amendment, 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 amendment.

The clerk will call the roll.

The amendment (No. 1119) was rejected.

AMENDMENT NO. 1150

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, there will now be 2 minutes of debate equally divided prior to a vote in relation to amendment No. 1150, offered by the Senator from Wyoming, Mr. ENZI, for the Senator from Florida, Mr. NELSON.

The Senator from Florida.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, before Medicare, one-half of senior citizens in this country did not have any healthcare, health insurance. Medicare changed that. So why in the world would we want to cut $473 billion from Medicare? It does not make sense.

My amendment simply restores that cut and replaces it with eliminating a number of tax loopholes. It is a simple amendment. Save Medicare.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Wyoming.

Mr. ENZI. Mr. President, I urge my colleagues to oppose this amendment. It sounds like something simple. It is aimed at ending the budget resolution. This budget does not cut Medicare, and it does not provide tax breaks for the wealthy. It does not protect special inter-

rest tax loopholes. Also, anything that we do here has to be completed in other committees in order to ever happen.

This budget does slow Medicare’s projected annual rate of growth by approximately 1 percent in comparison to the CBO’s baseline. The CBO estimates that Medicare’s hospital insurance trust fund will become exhausted prior to the end of the budget window of 2025, at which point it will no longer be able to pay full benefits to seniors. This budget resolution protects Medicare by extending the life of the trust fund. It also establishes a path toward pro-growth tax reform, which will generate additional economic growth in Medi-

I urge my colleagues to oppose this amendment, 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 amendment.

The clerk will call the roll.

The amendment (No. 1150) was rejected.

AMENDMENT NO. 1156

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, there will now be 10
minutes of debate, equally divided, prior to a vote in relation to amendment No. 1146, offered by the Senator from Wyoming, Mr. ENZI, for the Senator from Nevada, Mr. HELLER.

The Senator from Nevada.

Mr. HELLER. Mr. President, I rise to speak in support of Heller amendment No. 1146. Amendment No. 1146 provides tax relief for families with children.

This week we are setting in motion one of the top legislative priorities in the Senate; that is, to bring tax relief to American families.

For decades, Nevadans have been waiting for an affordable and fair tax code that they can understand, and I have long said that the Tax Code is too costly and too complex. We need to simplify our code in a way that creates jobs and allows Nevadans to keep more of their hard-earned tax dollars. With this budget, we are taking an enormous first step in passing meaningful tax relief to Nevadans and middle-class families across the Nation.

Under our leadership and thanks to the work of the chairman of the Budget Committee, we will finally be in a place where we can provide real, meaningful tax relief for all of America. As a member of the Senate Finance Committee, I have been working with my colleagues to craft a tax bill that accomplishes three major goals. The first is to create more jobs; No. 2 is to increase wages; and, finally, No. 3 is to boost American competitiveness.

So the question is, What does tax reform mean to an average Nevada who works long and hard trying to provide a better life for themselves and for their children? It means you can keep more of your hard-earned paycheck, and it will be easier for you to file your taxes, less paperwork, more money. Lower rates, fewer deductions, fewer deductions—means more jobs; they mean higher wages, and they mean growth in our communities, all of which will benefit you.

As the son of a school cook and an auto mechanic, I understand the importance of hard work and the value of it—that it goes into every dollar and every paycheck, and I am working to see that we have more of it in your back pocket. That is why my amendment is absolutely critical, because it delivers this desperately needed relief and lets the middle-class families keep more of their hard-earned paychecks, helping them make ends meet and invest in their families.

For too long, American families have been struggling with stagnant wages and incomes, as well as slow economic growth made worse by the policies of the Obama administration. In inflation-adjusted terms, nationwide median incomes stayed below what it was in 2007 all the way up to 2015. Last year, it was only $890 more than it was in 2007. In my home State of Nevada, the situation is even worse. Median household income still hasn’t fully recovered and is $7,000 lower today than it was in 2007.

Tax relief for families with children, through an enhanced child tax credit, for example, will help begin to address the financial insecurities facing American families and will help families confront the rising cost of raising children. Expansion of the child tax credit will help hard-working, middle-class families in many ways, allowing them to keep more of their hard-earned income to use for the needs of their families and for their children.

I urge everyone in this Chamber to support children, I urge them to support middle class, and I urge them to support my amendment.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Vermont.

Mr. SANDERS, Mr. President, if we support children and we have the highest rate of childhood poverty of any major country on Earth, we will vote against this budget resolution, but I have no problems with Senator HELLER’s amendment.

What I do want to do is spend a moment on the amendment that will come up next, and that is that it would establish a 60-vote budget point of order to prevent the top 1 percent of Americans—people who are doing phenomenally well—from receiving any future tax cuts. It is not a radical idea to suggest that at a time of massive income and wealth inequality, when the people on top are doing unbelievably well, at a time when the middle class is shrinking, now is not the time to provide hundreds of billions of dollars in tax breaks to the very wealthiest families in this country.

The United Republican proposal with the repeal of the estate tax, the Walton family—wealthiest family in America—would get up to a $50 billion tax break. Does anybody think that is vaguely sane? The Koch brothers, who have enough money to spend hundreds of millions of dollars electing right-wing candidates, will get a $30 billion tax break.

I think the American people have been waiting for, in all after poll, saying not only do they not want to give tax breaks to billionaires but they correctly believe the wealthiest people in this country should start paying their fair share of taxes.

Today the United States has more income and wealth inequality than at any time since the 1920s. Today the top one-tenth of 1 percent owns almost as much wealth as the bottom 90 percent. Twenty people in America own as much wealth as the bottom half of our country.

According to a recent study by the Federal Reserve, the top 1 percent now owns 39 percent of the Nation’s wealth while the bottom 60 percent owns just 3 percent. Since the Wall Street crash a decade ago, 52 percent of all new income has gone to the top 1 percent. If there was ever a time in American history not to be cutting Medicaid and Medicare and giving huge tax breaks to the top 1 percent, this is that moment.

I ask support for this amendment.

I think Senator Wyden wanted to say a word.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oregon.

Mr. WYDEN. Mr. President, very briefly, I strongly support this amendment, colleagues.

The point of this is, this is an amendment that does what the President says he wants to do, which is not give relief to the people at the top, but the reality is, when you look at their proposal, it really does drive much of the wealth in America to those at the very top of the income.

The Sanders amendment is to ensure that people at the top don’t get relief. We get it to working families and the vulnerable. I urge colleagues to strongly support this amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Wyoming.

Mr. ENZI. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays. The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

There appears to be a sufficient second.

The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant bill clerk called the roll.

Mr. CORNYN. The following Senator is necessarily absent: the Senator from Missouri (Mr. BLUNT).

Mr. DURBIN. I announce that the Senator from New Jersey (Mr. MENENDEZ) is necessarily absent.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Are there any other Senators in the Chamber desiring to vote?

The result was announced—yeas 98, nays 0, as follows: (Roll Call Vote No. 223 Leg.)

YEAS—98

Alexander

Baldwin

Barrasso

Bennington

Booker

Baucus

Brown

Burr

Capito

Cardin

Carter

Cassidy

Cochran

Collins

Conrad

Corker

Corzine

Cotula

Crapo

Daines

Donnelly

Duckworth

Durbin

Enzi

Feinstein

Fischer

Finken

NOT VOTING—2

Bunten

Menendez

The amendment (No. 1146) was agreed to.

AMENDMENT NO. 1120

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, there will now be 2
The yeas and nays resulted—yeas 46, nays 52, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 224 Leg.]

YEAS—46

Baldwin  Gillibrand  Peters
Bennet  Harris  Reed
Blumenthal  Heinrich  Schatz
Brown  Hirono  Schumer
Cantwell  King  Shaheen
Cardin  King  Shaheen
Carper  Klobuchar  Tester
Cassidy  Leahy  Udall
Coons  Manchin  Van Hollen
Cortez Masto  Markley  Warfen
Donnelly  Menendez  Whitehouse
Durbin  Murphy  Wyden
Franken  Nelson

NAYS—52

Alexander  Gardner  Perdue
Barrasso  Graham  Portman
Boozman  Grassley  Risch
Burr  Hatch  Rounds
Capito  Heitkamp  Rubio
Cochran  Hoeven  Sasse
Collins  Inhofe  Scott
Corker  Johnson  Shelby
Cornyn  Kennedy  Strange
Crapo  Lankford  Sullivan
Crus  Lee  Thune
Daines  McCain  Tillis
Enzi  McConnell  Toomey
Ernst  Moran  Wicker
Fischer  McCaskill  Young
Fiaske  Paul

NOT VOTING—2

Blunt  Menendez

The PRESIDING OFFICER. On this vote, the yeas are 46, the nays are 52.

Three-fifths of the Senators duly chosen and sworn not having voted in the affirmative, the motion is rejected.

The point of order is sustained and the amendment falls.

AMENDMENT NO. 1151

Under the previous order, there will now be 2 minutes of debate equally divided prior to a vote on amendment No. 1151, offered by the Senator from Wyoming, Mr. ENZI, for the Senator from Maine, Ms. COLLINS.

The Senator from Maine. Ms. COLLINS. Mr. President, there has been a great deal of discussion about what the appropriate tax rate should be for large corporations—so-called C corps. That certainly is important because we want to make sure that those large businesses are creating jobs here in the United States and not overseas in order to take advantage of lower tax rates.

Of course there are wealthy individuals who try to reduce or eliminate their death tax liability. After all, who wants to be taxed a second or third time on money they have earned during their lifetime that they could be passing down to their children or grandchildren?

There are also a lot of small business owners and owners of family farms and ranches who have to spend tens of thousands of dollars a year trying to avoid the death tax in order to preserve their small businesses for another generation. Many of the farmers and ranchers in my State know that without careful and costly planning, the
Federal Government will come around after their death demanding a staggering 40 percent of their estate and that their children won’t have the money to pay without risking the farm or ranch.

How does that work? Well, farming and ranching is a cash-poor business. Farmers and ranchers may own valuable land, but they are only earning cash on the crops they grow or the livestock they raise on that land. Thus, while their overall farm or ranch may have value, the amount of money they have coming in is relatively small and subject to the swings in the market from year to year.

Frequently, when farmers and ranchers die, the vast portion of their estate is made up of their land, while actual cash or liquid assets are a very small part of it. If they don’t take measures to avoid having their family hit by the death tax, the family will have no choice but to sell off the land to pay the tax, which means losing income-generating property or the family’s farm or ranch overall.

Family-owned businesses across the country face the same situation, where the value of the estate is tied up in the business.

The threat of the death tax is a constant burden hanging over the heads of farmers and ranchers in my State who want nothing more than to be able to pass on the property they face losing due to income-generating property or the family’s farm or ranch overall.

Family-owned businesses across the country face the same situation, where the value of the estate is tied up in the business.

That brings me to a larger point—the need to simplify our current Tax Code, which is one of the five principles guiding Republicans’ tax reform efforts.

Our Tax Code is long, and it is complicated. It is almost twice as long as it was in 1985 and nearly six times as long as it was in 1955. The instructions for the basic 1040 form alone are more than 100 pages long, and it is no surprise. The Tax Code is full of deductions, exemptions, special forms, and schedules, not to mention professional help they need. I think it is fair to say that a big reason some small businesses fail to get off the ground is because they lack the professional help they need. It is almost not fair to single him out, because dozens of metro police officers did the same thing, and firefighters, paramedics, and ambulance drivers provide the American people with the relief that they have been waiting for and that they deserve.

Mr. President, I yield the floor. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. HELLER. Mr. President, I rise today still in shock, still in mourning over the events of October 1, when 58 people—some of them Nevadans, many of them visitors to our State—were brutally gunned down by a madman on the Las Vegas Strip.

In addition to those horrible deaths, almost 500 people were injured. Many of them face long-term recovery and an even longer and more painful road to emotional recovery. I know I speak for all of my Senate colleagues in viewing for them and wishing them the quickest recovery possible.

This madman’s actions devastated our city, but I rise today to tell you that the sense of devastation is being replaced by a renewed sense of community, a renewed sense of family, of unity, of faith, and a renewed sense of strength. I have had the honor of experiencing it firsthand in the eyes and the voices of those who survived and those who chose to stay in harm’s way to help each other when they could have fled to safety. I have heard and seen this renewed sense of community and strength in the faces of our first responders, none of whom have ever encountered anything as horrific as the carnage of October 1 but who plunged into danger to save lives. Because? Because what is that but hope?

I had the privilege of meeting a Las Vegas police officer, Sergeant Jonathan Riddle, who was stationed a block from the shooting scene doing traffic work. When he first heard the popping noises, like most of the concertgoers, he thought it was fireworks, but the second volley told him otherwise, and his training kicked in. He grabbed his rifle and he sprinted toward the chaos. Keep in mind, this police officer knew, from his training, that high-caliber bullets were being fired and that his protective vest would not stop them. He also knew his rifle was useless because the shots were coming from the Mandalay Bay, and he couldn’t shoot at the hotel for fear of hitting an innocent bystander. So he ran away, for all intents and purposes, defenseless. He knew it, but he ran away. He ran toward the violence. He ran toward it with one purpose, to help in any way he could.

It is almost not fair to single him out, because dozens of metro police officers did the same thing, and firefighters, paramedics, and ambulance drivers

The single most important thing we can do for Americans struggling with how to plan their estate is to pass comprehensive tax reform. By reforming our Tax Code, we can provide the American people with more and better paying jobs, fairer taxes, and bigger paychecks. Most importantly, we can do this for the long term.

I hope Democrats will rethink their opposition and join us as we work to
also. It was not just professional first responders who emerged as true heroes on October 1. Taylor Winston, a marine, was just trying to enjoy the concert that night, but when the bullets started raining down, he was driven by his training and his duty to safety, to act on his instinct for his fellow human beings. He helped several people over a fence where they took cover, but he realized the danger wasn’t over. Looking around, he spotted a pickup truck with a long bed and drove toward the picket fence. A deranged man with a rifle brought chaos, and blood, they saved one life after another after another. Their tears and sobs, thanked him for the support they received.

The employees of Mandalay Bay and other MGM resort properties were understandably stricken and horrified by the shooting, but they too asked how they could help. He mobilized—donating blood, offering help to the families of the victims, organizing memorials, and otherwise coming together as a family, motivated by compassion and selflessness and providing comfort and solace.

True leaders have emerged in the wake of this tragedy. My friend Sheriff Joe Lombardo, head of the Las Vegas Metropolitan Police Department, has been steadfast in his efforts. He will always be remembered as a rock-solid presence when our city most needed one.

Let me say this for the world to hear. Our great city will not cow in fear because of this horrible act. We will mourn, we will heal, we will comfort each other, and we will pray, but make no mistake about it, Las Vegas is open for business. Las Vegas will not simply resume where we left off. We will face this tragedy, and maybe come away with a greater appreciation of what our city, our people are all about. From the blood and the horror, the terror, the carnage of October 1, Las Vegas has risen.

We have never shied away from our image as a city of entertainment. Our hospitality defines us, but the world has now seen a side much more profound—something we have always known, our family, a community of people who will stand by each other during the darkest moments, a community of people bound by faith who will stand in the face of danger to protect a neighbor, a friend, a family member, or someone they have never met.

Everyone around the world has heard of Las Vegas. The very name conjures images almost immediately. Its skyline cannot be mistaken for any other. Yet prior to October 1, almost no one knew the true Las Vegas, the Las Vegas we are seeing now, a city that responds to cowardly violence with love and compassion for each other, a city that cares about the color of their skin or how they choose to worship.

Unfortunately, my maiden speech on the floor of this body will instead talk about mass murder. Today I want to recognize the courage of heroes and first responders and honor the wounded and those murdered. I want to recognize the fundamental dignity of every American in this age of violence, racism, and ignorance, the dignity of Americans not to be slaughtered by other Americans just for walking outside and attending a conference.

With over 43 million visitors per year, Las Vegas prides itself on warmly welcoming people from all around the world to revel in what we have to offer. Hospitality, in every sense of the word, defines who we are. When travelers come to Las Vegas, they plan to enjoy themselves in the company of loved ones and friends and become a part of our Nevada family.

On October 1, a man attacked that family by smashing two windows in his
32nd floor hotel suite and unleashing a barrage of bullets onto 22,000 people attending the Route 91 Harvest music festival. In 10 minutes, 58 innocent people were massacred, and more than 500 people were injured.

The first responders confused the rapid gunfire for fireworks. The grim realization that repetitive bursts were not fireworks but bullets, came as those in the crowd began to collapse, one after another, and blood began to stain the ground. This was a concert on the world-famous Strip, but it looked more like a battlefield. These were innocent people.

The human cost of this atrocious act of terrorism is incalculable. Children lost parents. Parents lost children. Friends lost friends. Those who survived the ordeal must not only heal from physical wounds but cope with the mental scars that will haunt them forever.

We will never forget the stories I heard walking through our hospitals and meeting with our first responders and those recovering from their wounds. Entire emergency room and hallway floors were stained with blood. A recovery room in one of our hospitals was turned into a morgue. A 9-1-1 call whistled all through the night sky and bodies began to roll in.

I will never forget the stories I heard from our community who helped. Even in the middle of the attack, there were helpers who plugged strangers’ bullet wounds with their fingers. There were helpers like Jonathan. Despite receiving a gunshot wound to the neck, Jonathan saved the lives of 30 people by leading them out of the venue and aiding them in taking cover. He did this even after losing sight of his own family.

Jonathan later said: “I decided I’m not going to be somebody else.”

There were helpers like Taylor, an Iraq war veteran, who turned a parked utility van into an ambulance. After climbing a fence as he fled the gunfire, he came across the vehicle, and he knew what he had to do. Before first responders arrived, Taylor drove roughly 30 people to area hospitals.

There were other helpers, like Tami, also an Iraq war veteran, who stayed behind to help victims on the ground. Tami used her ER nursing experience to triage those who were immobile because of their injuries. Despite her best efforts, Tami couldn’t save one young woman and had the heartbreaking task of telling a mother that her daughter was dead.

Tami said: “I’ll never forget that girl’s face. I had to tell the mom that her daughter had gone.”

In the toughest of circumstances, the promptness, efficiency, and professionalism of Southern Nevada’s first responders saved many lives and ensured that this tragedy did not escalate into a further loss of life.

Andrew, an ambulance dispatcher, calmly and purposefully directed his team despite it being his first day in his new role.

There were doctors across our valley who did not need a call to rush to our hospitals to help. There were nurses who stayed long past their shifts to help care for and comfort the wounded, and our police officers and firefighters ran toward the bullets to help. These first responders, doctors, and nurses knew some of the people they were helping.

The Las Vegas Metropolitan Police Department, Clark County Fire Department, American Medical Response, MedicWest Ambulance, Community Ambulance, University Medical Center, Sunrise Hospital and Medical Center, The Valley Health System, and Dignity Health deserve our deepest thanks for their valor and their unmatched bravery.

I also honor and thank the Red Cross and the Department of Veterans Affairs for their dedication to our hospitals, and the volunteer mental health counselors who came from all over the country to help provide comfort and support. I will never forget their dedication as our community grappled with this senseless tragedy.

In the days that followed, our community’s compassionate response showed the world who we are as Las Vegas. So many unnamed heroes in our community stood for hours in line to donate blood. They came to the family reunion center and gave food and water and clothing—whatever they could—to help families and those who were wounded. Artists and volunteers created beautiful memorials and prayerful spaces for honor and grief. Local businesses, as well as airlines like Allegiant and Southwest and medical providers like The Valley Health System, MedicWest, and American Medical Response, made sure that the resources of the slain as well as the wounded were provided help, support, and relief from medical bills and travel costs. In less than a week, dedicated volunteers built a beautiful remembrance wall and planted a healing garden for all of us to express our grief, reflect, and to remember.

Our city also received an outpouring of support and solidarity from countless fellow Americans. State governments, and foreign embassies. I was personally touched by the outpouring of support from my colleagues in this Chamber, and I thank them for it.

The people of Las Vegas came together to heal and protect their community, but they needed a call on their own. It has been difficult for all of us to understand the events of the past 2 weeks, but one thing is clear: We cannot stand by and do nothing.

As a lifelong Las Vegan, I have never seen such a profound community response. In the midst of such horror, I am so proud of my community, and I continue to be amazed at the strength and spirit that will help move us forward. But they need our help. The time has come for the people in this room— all of us—to do our part to keep our communities safe.

Over the past few weeks, I have heard my colleagues saying things like “no law could have stopped that” or “you can’t legislate away evil.” While that may be true, we are not helpless. When something bad happens, we can always take steps to understand what happened and work together to find a way to stop a future tragedy. Listen, we cannot stop every shooting, but we can do something to prevent these senseless mass murders.

Just over a year ago, 49 people were murdered at a nightclub in Orlando—then, the deadliest shooting in modern history. My hometown of Las Vegas has now broken that record with 58 men and women being murdered by 1 man with multiple guns that were rigged for combat. This is a horrific distinction to bear.

Will we stand by and wait for the next community to break that record?

In our communities every day, Americans make conscious decisions to protect their health and safety. They lock their doors. They set their alarms. They go to their doctors for annual check-ups. They wear seatbelts. After the worst attack on American soil on September 11, 2001, we reshaped the way we protect our country and our way of life.

Now, in the wake of the worst mass shooting in modern American history, I am calling on my colleagues to work with me to take reasonable, concrete steps to reduce the likelihood of another senseless shooting massacre on American soil.
Do not get me wrong. The people of Las Vegas are grateful to have the thoughts and prayers of nearly every Member of Congress, but thoughts and prayers alone are not enough. Now it is time for action—meaningful action—to prevent such tragedies.

Let me be very clear. This is not about taking away guns. I grew up in a family of gun owners and hunters. My father was a member of Ducks Unlimited. I have family members who are avid hunters and an uncle who was a member of the Nevada Bighorns Unlimited. My husband is a retired Secret Service agent. We are proud gun owners. I believe that Americans have the right to own guns.

But with the right to own a gun comes a shared responsibility to ensure that weapons do not fall into the hands of dangerous people. The right to own a gun must be balanced by the right of every American to be able to go to a concert in public without having the fear that he will be shot and killed at a church, in a movie theater, in a classroom, in a nightclub, on a baseball field, or at a concert. The right to own a gun is important and equally important is the right not to be killed by someone who has no business owning a gun.

The Second Amendment calls for gun ownership in defense of the security of America, not to terrorize its citizens. Congress has the responsibility to keep weapons that are designed for our military out of the hands of mass murderers. When we took office, each of us swore an oath to protect and defend the U.S. Constitution. That means that we as Members of this body are aware, as Members of this body are aware, that weapons do not fall into the hands of dangerous people. The right to own a gun simply do not need to be in our communities.

As Members of this body are aware, the mass shooting in my hometown was made all the more tragic because of what is referred to as a bump stock—a tool that is designed to turn a semiautomatic rifle into an even deadlier weapon in order to kill as many people as possible and rain gunfire down on 22,000 concertgoers. This Chamber should speak in a unified voice that these tools do not belong in our country. This has nothing to do with infringing on the Second Amendment rights of law-abiding gun owners. You do not need a bump stock to hunt deer. Unless a simple step is taken, if we do nothing now, there will be more massacres. We will see more fathers without daughters, mothers without sons, and more sisters without brothers.

The time has come to ask ourselves: Who will really be at fault the next time something like this happens? Will it be the deranged killer who used a loophole to get his hands on a deadly weapon or the people who failed to close that loophole when they had the chance?

My colleagues are right in that we cannot legislate away mental illness, and we cannot legislate away evil, but we can legislate to prevent murder. We can take smart, sensible steps to keep Americans safe. We can work together with gun owners and citizens against gun violence to make Americans safer. To my colleagues who are undecided, I invite you to come to the hospitals with me. I come from the people who came to Las Vegas for a night of fun and country music and who will have to live with emotional and physical scars for the rest of their lives.

One is a mother. She was with her sister, her daughter, her granddaughter, her niece. I asked them what they had been doing on October 1st at the concert. She told me she had taken the kids to the concert, and they had run out of the arena. She was only able to find one plane. They were on the road for 10 minutes when they heard gunshots.

Another is a father. His 12-year-old daughter was one of the 58 people who died. He was one of many people who were shot and killed. He had been a Secret Service agent. The心里 that he never expected to find himself talking about guns in his maiden speech, but the issue of gun violence found him. I am devastated to say that the issue of gun violence found me too. It found the city of Las Vegas as well as finding everyone else. It found the family of Las Vegas as well as finding everyone else.

The people of Las Vegas responded to the worst tragedy our city has ever seen with unprecedented bravery, selflessness, and compassion. We are Vegas Strong.

It is long past time for Congress to follow their example and the example of so many other communities in our country touched by this violence and, finally, to summon the strength to get something done and reduce gun violence in America.

Let’s not ignore the lives of those murdered or those wounded. Let’s actually come together and agree that we must do something to honor all of the fathers, mothers, sons, daughters, brothers, and friends we have already lost to senseless gun violence.

It is time for us to move beyond resolutions. We must now have a new resolve to protect the basic freedom and safety of all Americans.

Work with me. Reach out to my office so that we can find common ground and finally offer the American people something more than just our thoughts and prayers. Let’s get something done in honor of the loved ones who are still with us, the family members and friends we would do anything to protect, the people in our lives we could not bear to lose.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. TILLIS). The Senator from Oregon.

Mr. MERKLEY. Mr. President, I want to recognize the articulate, thoughtful, and passionate comments that have just been delivered by the Senator from Nevada. She has already served so effectively on committees and effectively on legislation, and now she brings her voice here to this Senate Chamber, which has been the birthplace of the history of our country, so many important conversations and dialogues have taken place, wrestling with the challenges we have and looking for the path to build the future we desire. So I welcome her. Of course, she has been here for quite some time now, but I welcome her now, being a part of the dialogue in this Chamber, which is an honor and something that is granted to only a few people in our Nation to come and to voice the concerns of our fellow Americans, of our home State and Nation, to see our colleagues join in the effort to make our Nation and this world a better place.
The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Michigan.

Ms. STABENOW. Mr. President, I know we are in the middle of a discussion and certainly a debate right now about a budget resolution, and, obviously, I think it is equally important in discussions like this how concerned I am about the priorities in the budget resolution. I think the people of Michigan and the country deserve a better deal.

But while we are doing that, the clock is ticking on some very, very important programs where we actually have bipartisan support in committee.

I want to thank Chairman HATCH and the Finance Committee, working with me and working with our ranking member, Senator Wyden, for moving forward last week on a 5-year reauthorization of the Children’s Health Insurance Program, or what we call CHIP. The problem is this. Even though we passed it with only one negative vote and we had a strong bipartisan vote coming to the floor, my concern is that we have gone on to tax cuts. We are going on to a bill that includes Medicaid cuts and Medicare cuts and other debates. Yet we have this bipartisan effort that we want to get done because the funding ended September 30. It has been 18 days and counting. We will be counting these days because it has been 18 since the Children’s Health Insurance Program was stopped being funded.

I am very concerned about this. I assumed that once we had agreement, we would be able to move something very quickly. It is deeply concerning to me that we are now in a situation where it is 18 days. Tomorrow it will be 19 days, and then we go into the weekend, and yet we are not seeing the Children’s Health Insurance Program funded.

There are 9 million children in our country. These are low-income working families who are able to get the confidence of knowing that health insurance will be there for them. CHIP has been an extremely successful program. In Michigan we call it MIChild, and we have about 100,000 children who are able to get health services because of MIChild. This means moms and dads go to bed at night and don’t have to say a little prayer—please, God, don’t let the kids get sick—because they know they are going to be able to take them to the doctor.

This has traditionally been a bipartisan bill. As I have said, we have had great support on both sides of the aisle, but it is now out of committee, and we need to move it, and we need to make space on the calendar to be able to get this done.

We also have something else that ended on September 30, and that is funding for our community health centers. The problem is, the funding ran out on September 30. The Federal funding ended on September 30. We are talking about 25 million families, children, 300,000 veterans, 7.5 million children all across the country. In many parts of rural Michigan, that is the primary medical care that they are getting, and that contributes to the sense of urgency that their healthcare, as well as in urban settings.

Again, we have an agreement. We have talked about, now that the Children’s Health Insurance Program is out of committee, having it on the floor and then having an amendment for health centers, moving that together, which is something we have done in the past. We have strong bipartisan support to do it, but it has been put to the side in favor of what is a very divisive process on a budget resolution and tax cuts and other issues.

So I am imploring the leadership in the Senate to focus on something on which we all agree—at least the majority of us agree—and that is making sure the Children’s Health Insurance Program and community health centers get funded as quickly as possible. This is something done through the majority of States because it locally driven: it meets all the tests that people talk about, and both of these programs are extremely effective.

In 2016 alone, Michigan’s community health centers diagnosed coronary heart disease in 21,000 people. There were 21,000 people who, if they hadn’t gotten that diagnosis, probably would have ended up in the emergency room—if they had been able to get to an emergency room before something fatal happened. Because we have community health centers from the Upper Peninsula of Michigan to our urban areas, people were able to get the diagnosis and the help they needed. Nearly 34,000 Michigan residents learned that they had cancer and could treat that, and asthma and children could get the treatment they need. Nearly 140,000 people were diagnosed with diabetes and could begin to manage so that it didn’t become something incredibly serious and life-threatening.

Health centers play a very important role. If we aren’t treating these kinds of things, they can be deadly if undiagnosed or untreated, so it is very important.

I am worried that there is not the sense of urgency there needs to be here to continue the Children’s Health Insurance Program and the community health centers. I know that my Democratic colleagues feel that we are ready and willing to, at any moment, stop the debate on a divisive budget resolution, focus on something that has bipartisan leadership and bipartisan support, and let’s get that done.

In Michigan, our 100,000 children who are able to see the doctor through MIChild get primary medical care and dental and vision care that they need to be successful—to be successful in school, to be able to see the blackboard, to be able to read, to be able to hear, because they are getting the basic healthcare they need.

Children shouldn’t have to strain to see the blackboard and get bad grades because they can’t get a simple eye exam and that can help them lose their lives. It is not necessary. This is something that is preventable, and we have a bipartisan program, the Children’s Health Insurance Program, created with bipartisan leadership years ago, that has been continued and needs to be continued.

Mr. President, I understand the debate on the floor about the budget. I understand the debate on tax reform. I want to see tax reform that simplifies the tax code and puts money in the pockets of hard-working families and small businesses and creates jobs. I mean, that is what I want to see happen. I also want to make sure, as we are debating right now how the country moves forward economically and as we talk about what are the best ways to have tax fairness in America, I want to see tax reform that simplifies the tax code and puts money in the pockets of hard-working families and small businesses.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Washington.

Ms. CANTWELL. Mr. President, I come to the floor this evening to talk about an amendment No. 111, which would raise a point of order against any provision that would strike State and local tax deductions.

As we talk tonight about how our country moves forward economically and as we talk about what are the best ways to have tax fairness in America, I guarantee you, my constituents want to make sure they continue to be able to deduct their sales tax, their mortgage deductions, and there are important policies that other States have for tax deductions.

The State of Washington has been a leader—and I would match our State,
as it relates to our tax code and efficiency, with just about any other State. For a long time, Washington and Oregon have had the most unique tax codes in the United States of America. Yet our economies have grown faster than the national average every year since World War II. So we are doing something right. So the fact that we don’t have an income tax in Washington State and the fact that Washingtonians, for many years, have been able to deduct their sales tax from managed Federal tax obligations for income is something we are not interested in losing. What we are interested in is a fair debate about our Tax Code, an open process, and important discussion points of order if anybody tries to strip from us these very important tools.

State and local tax deductions have been an important way in which our taxpayers make sure they are treated fairly. For us in Washington, as I said, many of our citizens use these itemized deductions because of the fact that we don’t have an income tax and we are able to deduct our sales tax from our Federal tax obligations. In fact, 30 percent of Washington resident taxpayers—1.1 million—itemize their taxes because—this is our average State and local tax deduction of $7,402. These deductions put an average of $600 back into the pockets of Washingtonians each year. So any attempt by legislation to try to erode that—particularly at a moment when they get their itemization on our property taxes as well—is something critically important to our State.

If legislation continues to move forward that repeals these deductions—I know our colleagues think they are doing good work by trying to simplify the Tax Code. In fact, they are saying: We are going to increase the standard deduction as a way to simplify the Tax Code. But for our Washington residents, that is not the same thing. Many other States that are in the same boat that don’t have an income tax—you literally are going to penalize them and the efficiency of their tax code, which is so important.

For example, 40 percent of tax filers who make between $50,000 and $75,000 claim this deduction, and 53 percent of taxpayers who make between $75,000 and $100,000 claim this deduction. So when my colleagues talk about doubling the amount of home ownership deduction we now have, that would be a benefit to many of our citizens, and I would hope that some of my colleagues would like to say: There are these big States in the East, and here is how they operate. Here is what they do in collecting various forms of revenue. Well, this Western State operates with a great deal of efficiency. Our residents have come to expect these sales tax deductions and these mortgage deductions, and they want to keep them. They do not want to hear that there is a sleight of hand at the eleventh hour, not by a broad debate but a tactic that would jam them into a reconciliation bill because of instructions and thereby have these thousands of dollars of tax increases foisted on them.

I hope my colleagues will join me in the most important part of order that we will be offering in this amendment. Let’s have this discussion in broad daylight and not penalize innovative States that have different tax codes but have grown faster than the national average and continue to do so. Let’s make sure that we have tax fairness for all residents of our country. I thank the Presiding Officer.

I yield the floor.

Mr. DURBIN. Mr. President, for more than 30 years, we have seen political battles over the Arctic Refuge—with some wanting to open the area for oil and gas leasing and many others believing that this pristine and ecologically important area should be granted the highest protections available under the law. This week the fate of the Arctic Wildlife Refuge is again being taken up by the Senate, this time as part of the budget process.

There is no question that this is a divisive issue, one that deserves to be debated in the Senate, not taken up as part of the budget process with little to no debate, but Republicans are insisting on ramming an attempt to open the Arctic Refuge to drilling through using a tactic that would be in order at the 11th hour, not by a broad debate but a tactic that would jam them into a reconciliation bill because of instructions and thereby have these thousands of dollars of tax increases foisted on them.

The President’s budget estimated that leasing in the Arctic Refuge will generate $3.6 billion in revenues, but the President’s budget estimate just don’t add up. In order to meet that number, oil companies would need to bid an average of $2.400 per acre on every single acre of the 1.5 million acre coastal plain, more than 10 times the average lease sale bid on Alaska’s North Slope.

We know this number is significantly inflated. If we look at other lease sales between 2010 and 2015, the industry bid...
on less than 5 percent of the leases in Alaska's National Petroleum Reserve. On top of that, oil supplies are currently at historic highs, so high that we lifted a 40-year ban on oil exports last year, and gas prices remained at long-term lows.

Today the United States is the world’s largest producer of oil and natural gas. We are importing less oil than we have at any point in almost three decades. In addition to the high oil supplies, increased reliance on natural gas has shown little interest in drilling in the Arctic Refuge in September 2015, after spending approximately $7 billion to drill and explore the region, Shell gave up on drilling in the Arctic region’s Chukchi Sea due to the poor results and the high costs. Energy analysts predict very little interest in drilling in the Refuge for the foreseeable future.

So before we move ahead with leasing this area for oil and mineral exploration, we need to take a careful look at what we are losing. The Arctic Refuge is one of America’s last pristine, untouched wilderness places, and I think we should preserve it for future generations.

The Refuge is home to more than 200 wildlife species, including polar bears, musk ox, and caribou. The porcupine caribou herd travels to the coastal plain each summer to give birth to their young. The Refuge is the most important land denning site for a significant population of polar bears. Birds from all 50 States and 6 continents migrate to the Refuge for nesting and staging. Alaskan Native people still rely on the wildlife for basic sustenance and as a basis of their cultures.

In 2003, I had the opportunity to travel to the Arctic Wildlife Refuge and see firsthand the pristine wilderness. While I was there, I also had an opportunity to view areas that had been drilled for oil and gas. As you looked to the west, you could see a stark difference in the landscape. The State lands that had been drilled for oil and gas and the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge that had not been drilled. It was easy to tell the two apart because the scars that were left on that State land that had been drilled were still there many years later. They didn’t gingerly step in and drill and leave. They cut scars across that land that will be there forever.

There is no question that the impact drilling on the Arctic would be devastating and irreversible, and although oil and gas resources can be develop safely, we all know that leaks and spills happen. The resulting environmental damage can change the landscape forever.

The Arctic Refuge represents our Nation’s finest example of intact, naturally functioning Arctic and subarctic ecosystems. Nowhere else in North America do we see such a broad spectrum of diverse habitats occurring within a single region. We must protect it for future generations. We have a responsibility to protect this area for our children and grandchildren. Any attempt to move forward a budget reconciliation containing leases in the Arctic is a move in the wrong direction.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. PERDUE). The Senator from Colorado.

Mr. GARDNER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the following leader remarks on October 19, be in order to call up the following amendments; that the time until 11:45 a.m. be for debate on the amendments, equally divided between the managers or their designees; that at 11:45 a.m., the Senate vote in relation to the Warner amendment, with no second-degree amendments in order prior to the vote.

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

MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. GARDNER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate be in 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.

AT 11:45 a.m., the Senate vote in relation to the Warner amendment, with no second-degree amendments in order prior to the vote.

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

VOTE EXPLANATION

Mr. MENENDEZ. Mr. President, I was unavailable for rollcall vote No. 220, on Hatch amendment No. 1144. Had I been present, I would have voted yea.

Mr. President, I was unavailable for rollcall vote No. 221, on Sanders amendment No. 1119. Had I been present, I would have voted yea.

Mr. President, I was unavailable for rollcall vote No. 222, on Nelson amendment No. 1150. Had I been present, I would have voted yea.

Mr. President, I was unavailable for rollcall vote No. 223, on Heller amendment No. 1146. Had I been present, I would have voted yea.

Mr. President, I was unavailable for rollcall vote No. 224, on Sanders amendment No. 1120. Had I been present, I would have voted yea.

TRIBUTE TO HERSHEL “WOODY” WILLIAMS

Mr. MANCHIN. Mr. President, I would like to take a moment to celebrate the christening of the USNS Hershel “Woody” Williams, T-ESB 4. This expeditionary sea base ship, the second of its kind, is named in honor of Medal of Honor recipient and West Virginia icon, Chief Warrant Officer Hershel “Woody” Williams, retired.

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

ADDITIONAL STATEMENTS

REMEMBERING DON CARANO

Mr. HELLER. Mr. President, today I wish to memorialize Don Carano, one of northern Nevada’s most influential figures, a great business leader, and a man I am privileged to have called a friend. Don recently passed away peacefully at the age of 85.\n
Mr. President, I wish to memorialize Don Carano, one of northern Nevada’s most influential figures, a great business leader, and a man I am privileged to have called a friend. Don recently passed away peacefully at the age of 85.