

an incredibly elegant mechanism to resolve those disputes. It was elegant on the outside of this Chamber—freedom to assemble, freedom of speech, freedom of religion, the right to vote—and it was elegant on the inside of this Chamber. And generations of people who occupied this place understood that the way it was meant to work was not that you always got your way all the time and that part of being here was not just to have disputes but to resolve disputes—and not even our disputes but disagreements that the country might have for a legitimate reason—and, on average, hoped that we would move the country forward.

I quite agree that recently—certainly in the time that I have been here—we have been using this place simply to have disputes, not to resolve them. That may be OK if we were in North Korea or in the Soviet Union—the old Soviet Union; it doesn't work in a democratic republic.

I want to finish a little bit of the history that my friend from Oklahoma talked about. After the Democrats invoked the nuclear option, which I have said before on this floor is the worst vote that I ever took as a Senator, the now majority leader pocketed that precedent when we changed the rules in the middle and used it—used the nuclear option to change the rules so that now a person gets a lifetime appointment on the Supreme Court not with 60 votes but with just 51 votes. My issue with that is that now your party can advance people to the Supreme Court without any reasonable expectation that my party should take responsibility for it, or vice versa.

Instead of having potential nominees come here and say: You should put me on the court because I can attract both Democratic and Republican votes because I have an open mind, I worry we are going to have people from both sides say: We are going to have a litmus test for Supreme Court nominees, which says we either have the most conservative jurist in the country or the most liberal jurist in the country, depending on who it is. We have infected the Supreme Court with the partisanship of this body.

My hope is, we can actually come together on a set of rule changes that would recognize not just that this place may need to move a little faster in the 21st century but that we ought to be pushing people together to work in a bipartisan way on behalf of the country.

Without passing on the merits of the proposal, I thank the Senator for coming to the floor to talk about—to put it in the vernacular—how busted this place is.

DACA

Mr. BENNET. Mr. President, I wish to talk about the Dreamers.

As I have from the time I was a school superintendent in Denver until now, I had the opportunity to spend

time last weekend or the week before with a group of Dreamers in Alamosa, a small town in Southern Colorado.

These meetings are usually occasions for people to lay out their dreams for the future in America, the only country they know and the only country they love. This meeting was different than other meetings I have had recently. Instead of the hope and self-confidence I am so used to hearing from young people, what I heard was fear, anxiety, and pain.

Everybody in the group I met the other day came to this country as undocumented immigrants when they were children, some just months old. None of them made the decision to come here. They grew up here, and they know no other country besides the United States of America.

In 2012, they joined 800,000 Dreamers who came forward across the country to share their information for temporary legal status under the DACA Program. Over the past 5 years, many of these Dreamers grew into young adults, finishing school, starting families, launching businesses. They went about their lives, trusting our government would keep its word and find a way for them to stay in the only country they know. Then, in September, President Trump rescinded DACA, throwing every one of their lives into chaos.

During our meeting in Alamosa, not a single person could share their story without breaking into tears. One young man, Julio Maldonado, told me about the iPhone repair business he opened on Main Street. Like so many immigrants, he poured himself into that enterprise as an entrepreneur. Thanks to his efforts, it is now not only turning a profit, it is providing a service to his community and supporting his family. Now all of that is in jeopardy.

As I said, Julio couldn't tell his story without starting to cry. When he turned to his business partner who was also there to help, his partner began crying too. Versions of that played out again and again in our meetings and in the meetings I have been having here in Washington, DC, as Dreamers take the risk to travel to Washington to share their stories—honest dream after honest dream being crushed by uncertainty, young people trembling in fear.

We hear a lot around this place about how we don't have to act until the last moment. We don't have to act until March 5. This is not true. There are so many children, young people, and young adults in my State who are losing their status as we sit here, unable to accomplish something everybody seems to say they want to accomplish. The President says he wants to accomplish it. The Speaker says he wants to accomplish it. Senators on both sides say they want to accomplish it. We have created this crisis that President Trump set off when he rescinded DACA.

This isn't just affecting Dreamers, although that ought to be enough for us

to do the job we are supposed to do. For years, farmers and ranchers have told us they need workers with clear legal status. Undocumented workers have told us they face exploitation without legal resources. Families have told us they fear being split apart and sent to places they hardly know, and, today, this week, those fears were confirmed again as we lost another father from Colorado. Just last week, we had a family torn apart in Colorado.

Melecio Andazola came to America in 1998 as an undocumented immigrant. Over the last 19 years, he has paid taxes in America, he has raised four children in America, he has followed the rules. Then, on Friday, he was deported.

Now it is unclear whether he will ever see his daughter walk across the stage for her college graduation next spring at Yale, in New Haven. It is unclear how he will be able to support his four kids. Because of the choices we have made in Washington, the lives of everyone in that family have been spun into chaos, like so many other families across the country.

For years, stories like this have demanded action. That is why the Senator from Illinois who is here today, Senator DURBIN, has led this charge for so many years, standing on the floor with photos of the Dreamers from his State and across the United States. It is the reason I was so honored to have the chance to work with him and six others of our colleagues back in 2013, the so-called Gang of 8, a group of four Democrats and four Republicans.

I was just talking with my friend from Oklahoma about how this place doesn't work. That was an instance where it worked. We came together to write a bipartisan proposal for immigration reform. Over the course of 8 months, in Washington, we worked through a process that I think would make every American proud for once—both sides sitting down to solve problems. The result was a great piece of legislation.

Our bill had more funding for border security, not just a wall but smart and effective border security. It had more funding for internal security. It had a pathway to citizenship for the 11 million undocumented people who are here, including all of the Dreamers. Part of that bill had the most progressive DREAM Act ever written. It got 68 votes on the floor of the Senate. Not everyone got what they wanted. As I just said to the Senator from Oklahoma in a different context, it is unreasonable to expect that here. Each side had to give, but the result was a great vote. It got almost 70 votes in the Senate, at a time when you can't pass anything through the Senate.

For the first time in a generation, we had a real opportunity to resolve our differences on immigration, but as is so often the case in Washington, politics got in the way. In the House, Republican leaders denied our bill a simple up-or-down vote, which would have

passed. They preferred to keep immigration alive as a political weapon to divide the American people and distract from the real challenges in our economy.

By the way, the Senator from Illinois will remember this. We heard a lot of stretching this week about how much economic growth this tax bill was going to create—0.6 percent here or 0.1 percent over there. The CBO estimate on the Gang of 8 immigration bill was that by bringing people out of the shadows and putting them in a position to contribute legally to the economy, that would have added 3 percentage points to our GDP, to our Nation's economy over the first 10 years, and five incremental points over the second 10 years. That would have been a useful thing to do for our economy.

As a result of what happened—or didn't happen—in the House, the rhetoric around immigration has just become more toxic, evermore divisive, evermore unrecognizable in America, a Nation that has inarguably been made great by immigrants.

As I said, there are a lot of economists who are awfully skeptical about the economic claims that have been made about this tax bill. If we look at what happened in 2001 and 2003, when they tried to do it before, we all know how that story is going to end. On the other hand, nearly every expert agrees that forcing out the Dreamers would hurt our economy.

The Cato Institute found that removing the Dreamers would stunt economic growth by \$280 billion. Another study found that comprehensive immigration reform would grow the economy by \$1.5 trillion over 10 years and support nearly 1 million new jobs.

Despite these facts, there has been a lot of talk around here about how immigrants detract from America or how they somehow leach off the system and lack our values. Those claims are then used to justify actions like canceling DACA. It would be hard for me to believe that anybody making a claim like that had ever sat down with a Dreamer.

Daniela Gomez Castro came to Colorado when she was just a year old. As a child, Daniela looked up to her grandmother—one of the few women doctors in her area—and dreamed of following her into medicine. She took classes in biology and excelled in our public schools, graduating from Smokely Hill High School in 2015.

To become a doctor, she knew college was the next step, so she enrolled at the University of Colorado Denver as a prehealth major, and in between classes, she worked as a nurse's assistant, restaurant hostess, and student mentor to help cover tuition. Everything was on track. Then, last year, she learned her legal status meant she couldn't get a medical license. After working so hard for so long, her dream is now frozen in place by forces in Washington totally beyond her control.

Today, America—especially places like rural Colorado—is desperate for

physicians. The Association of American Medical Colleges predicts that, by 2030, we will have a shortage of 100,000 doctors nationwide. As I say, we are feeling that shortage right now in rural Colorado. We don't have enough clinics and treatment centers, even as we face an epidemic of opioid addiction. Two of our counties don't have a single doctor, and a lot of our rural counties have no primary care doctor or nurse.

Given that, it doesn't seem to me to make any sense that we should send Daniela back to a place she doesn't remember and doesn't call her home, especially when we need her here. That obviously would be cruel, but my point is, it would also be incredibly shortsighted.

Apolinar Lopez Garcia also came here when he was just a year old. His family eventually made their way to Greeley, CO. He thrived in school and joined the Junior ROTC Program in Northridge High School, where he excelled as a cadet. He relished the ROTC sense of community, self-discipline, and duty, so much so that after graduating from high school, he wanted to enlist in the U.S. Marine Corps. He filled out the paperwork and waited, but when the reply came, Apolinar was crushed. Because of his legal status, the Marines couldn't accept him.

We should think about that. Of all the paths available to a bright, young person like Apolinar, he wanted to serve the country in uniform. You don't feel called to serve a place you don't consider home. You don't feel called to serve a place where you don't share the values, to defend a community that is not your own. Apolinar's choice flies in the face of every specious attack we have heard against immigrants in this debate. He doesn't detract from America.

Apolinar wants to defend America. Daniela wants to treat sick Americans. Julio wants to create jobs for Americans. They join 800,000 Dreamers who, for years, have invested in America by paying taxes, starting businesses, and serving their communities. For years, America has invested in them, by educating them, by training them, and instilling in them the confidence and love of country we hope for each new generation of Americans.

It is unimaginable now that we wouldn't find a way to resolve their status. We can't avoid this any longer. The Senate and the House are so good at putting off what they should have done last week or last month or last year. This is not one of those cases anymore.

On each day we do nothing, 112 people are deported. Over 12,000 people have been deported since September. Every one of them represents a family torn apart, a business shuttered, a payroll not made, an education interrupted, a dream shattered. In the end, our most basic job here—lost in this sometimes—is to look out for the next generation of Americans. Instead of looking after them, we have spent an entire year trampling over them.

Let's review the record.

With the Dreamers, we have ransomed their futures for political leverage. We are doing it right now. With our backtracking on climate change, we have made their futures more dangerous and costly. With our failure to reauthorize CHIP, we have jeopardized the healthcare of, among others, 90,000 kids in Colorado who may lose healthcare if we don't act. Now, with this tax bill, we have handed another \$1.4 trillion in debt to people whose futures we are not investing in because we say we cannot afford to do it—by rebuilding our roads, by improving our schools, by spurring innovation. Instead, we have taken another bet on trickle-down economics at a time when we already have a substantial budget deficit.

That is what brings us here at the end of the year, once again, with our not having done our work and passing something called a continuing resolution that no other government enterprise in America gets to do—a temporary budget that doesn't reflect the priorities of the American people. In that mix, the Dreamers find themselves caught up in a political discussion without any assurance that it will be resolved.

The good news is that I know there are Republican colleagues here, as well as Democrats, who want a solution for the Dreamers. They see in these young people all of the qualities we cherish as Americans—family, community, service, enterprise, and patriotism.

I would just say, as we get ready to leave here, that I think we shouldn't leave here today. I think we should commit to this issue with our Dreamers. This should be our No. 1 priority together—to figure out how to get this done so we don't have inadvertent casualties occur. After a while, something inadvertent has to be advertent because if you have knowledge of it and if you know what is going to happen, it leads you to believe that you should have acted. We need to stop the brinkmanship and the partisanship, and we need to work together to ensure that their futures will be here in the United States, where we need them, in the only country they know.

I thank my colleagues for their indulgence.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Illinois.

Mr. DURBIN. Mr. President, I thank my colleague from Colorado. We have been engaged in this battle of immigration reform for years. He is a worthy ally, thoughtful, and always thinking of a solution. I thank him for his continuing commitment to this cause.

In the midst of the Civil War, President Abraham Lincoln got so frustrated with General McClellan that he sent him a message. He couldn't get him to attack. He wouldn't do anything.

He asked: General McClellan, if you are not going to use your Army, can I use it? Can I borrow your Army?

So I would like to ask the leaders of the House and Senate: If you are not going to use your Congress, can I borrow it for a minute? Can we fill up this empty Chamber and actually have a real debate over a real bill to solve a real problem?

I think that might be a worthy thing for us to do. In fact, I think that is what we are paid to do; isn't it? Didn't we swear to uphold this Constitution? Didn't we take this historic job on with the goal of making America a better place?

On September 5, President Trump, along with Attorney General Sessions, eliminated the DACA Program. This was a program that gave to almost 800,000 young people—brought to the United States when they were little kids—a chance to go to school, to work, to have futures in this country. They had to go through criminal background checks, turn over all of their information, and pay their taxes—all of the above. Then, for 2 years, they could operate in America. They were not citizens, but they were legally in America. On September 5, President Trump and Attorney General Sessions said: It is over—as of March 5, 2018, no more.

Then the President said: I challenge you, Congress. Do something about it. Pass a law.

That was almost 4 months ago. What have we done in 4 months to address this problem that affects the lives of 800,000 DACA-protected young people? Nothing. We are not using this Congress. General McClellan was not using the Army. Isn't it time that we do something? Wouldn't the American people be so pleasantly surprised if we did something on a bipartisan basis that solved a problem in America?

I know my Republican colleagues are euphoric over their tax bill. Two out of three Americans are not. I am not. I will put it aside for a minute. They spent a lot of time. They passed it. So be it. They did it on a strictly partisan basis. They had a right under the Senate rules to do it that way, and they did it that way. This cannot be done on a strictly partisan basis. You cannot fix the immigration system unless you engage both political parties in the solution.

I am lucky. I care about this. I also found some Republican Senators who care just as much. JEFF FLAKE of Arizona announced his retirement. I am sorry to see him go because he is a good person of good values. He stepped up and cosponsored the Dream Act that we are talking about here. I didn't even have to call him on the phone. I thanked him, and he said: It is the right thing to do. LINDSEY GRAHAM, a Republican of South Carolina, was my cosponsor. CORY GARDNER of Colorado and LISA MURKOWSKI of Alaska stepped up and said: It is the right thing to do for these young people, to give them an opportunity to earn their way into legal status, to earn their way to citizenship.

I thank them for that. We need eight more. If we get 8 more, we will have 12

Republicans out of 52. With eight more, we are ready. We are ready to put 60 votes up when they call the roll. With 60 votes in the Senate, you can get things done.

What has happened? What opportunities have we had in the almost 4 months since the President eliminated this program? None—not one.

Senator MCCONNELL said to Senator FLAKE when his vote on the tax bill was in doubt: I promise you that we will bring this up in January—this coming January.

I can tell you that I read the promise very closely, and there are a lot of contingencies on there. I hope that Senator MCCONNELL is going to give us our chance early in January to find out if we can come up with a bipartisan solution to this problem.

If you think there aren't other Republicans who support this, 34 Republicans in the House of Representatives sent a letter to Speaker PAUL RYAN and wrote: Pass the Dreamer legislation this year—34 Republicans. So we are not alone. They are not the only ones.

Yesterday, 11 Governors—11 of them, Republicans and Democrats—sent a letter to Congress, calling on us to do this. The letter was signed by the Democratic Governors from Minnesota, Montana, Pennsylvania, and North Carolina and by the Republican Governors from Nevada, Massachusetts, Vermont, and Utah, and by Alaska's Independent Governor.

We are hearing from those in the business community. They want this done. They have seen these Dreamers. They have seen these young people. They believe in them, and they want us to do something to help them. We have heard it from the labor organizations, and we have heard it from the faith organizations.

Across the board, 76 percent of the American people support what we are trying to do here—76 percent. What issues get 76 percent? The flag? I will bet you it gets even more, but not many others get 76 percent approval, including 61 percent of the Trump voters. They think it is the right thing to do. Do you know why? Because many of these people have met the Dreamers. When you come to know them and hear their stories, you come to the conclusion—at least I do—that, for goodness' sake, these are extraordinary young people. Somehow or another, they have survived and have even flourished in a country that doesn't recognize them as legal. They went to our schools. They pledged allegiance to our flag. They sang the national anthem. That is the country they know.

Let me tell you about one before I turn the floor over to my colleague from Maryland. This young lady's name is Miriam Gonzalez. She is the 105th Dreamer whose story I have told on the floor.

When she was 6 years old, her family brought her to the United States from Mexico, and she grew up near Los An-

geles. She was a good student and a good athlete. In high school she played softball and golf. She was a member of the bible club, the chemistry club, and the reading club. She was an active volunteer in her community, including assistant teaching at the local elementary school. She was the valedictorian of her high school class. She was accepted at UCLA. She majored in anthropology and minored in classical civilization.

Let me give a postscript here. If you are undocumented and go to college in America, you get no Federal assistance—no Pell grant, no Federal loan. You have to earn the money. You have to work jobs to do it. She did. She held down the necessary jobs and commuted to school from her parents' home by taking public transportation for 2 hours each way on every schoolday.

She was involved in student groups, mentored students at Van Nuys High School, and encouraged them to go to college. She continued to excel academically. She made the dean's honor roll and was awarded a certificate for her research at UCLA. Today, she is assisting students in low-income neighborhoods and schools.

After graduation, she went to work with Teach For America. Do you know what that means? It means taking a job that pays hardly anything to teach in one of the most challenging schools in America. She did it. She taught seventh- and eighth-grade students in L.A. She teaches five classes for students who are having trouble with math and reading, and she gives one-on-one tutoring.

She is involved in the school's parents committee and tries to get the parents of these kids who need their helping hands to excel as well. She is a full-time graduate student at Loyola Marymount University, where she is pursuing a master's degree in education.

I am going to read her letter and then turn over the floor.

Every day for [my] first two months [as a teacher] my students would ask me if I would be returning the next day, week, and month, and I would reassure them that I was there to stay. Eventually, they began to trust me and believe that I was there to support them. . . . Now students believe that I am there for them and truly care about helping and preparing [them] to succeed academically. My students have made huge improvements academically, [and] I am particularly proud of how hard they all work. After hearing about the fate of DACA—

She is talking about President Trump abolishing DACA—

my students were worried that they would be losing me. I continue to reassure them that I am not going anywhere anytime soon and will fight to be able to see them finish middle school.

What is going to happen to her if we don't do what we are supposed to do—if we don't use this Senate and that House to solve this problem? What is going to happen to her and her students? Are we so busy? Do you notice it on the floor? Are we so busy that we

can't take up a piece of legislation here, debate it, and pass it today?

Before the end of the day, we are going to pass a measure to keep the government open and functioning for about 3 or 4 weeks. It is something that may pass the House. We will find out later this afternoon. I am troubled by it. It doesn't have one word in it to deal with this challenge, and we have known for 4 months that it was coming and that we had to do it.

I am going to be voting no on that, and it is not because of the merits of the continuing resolution. Until we address this issue and take the time to use the Senate and use the House to solve this problem, I am not going to be standing here and saying: I am going home for Christmas. I don't know what is going to happen to Miriam. I don't know what is going to happen to 800,000 others—get back to you later. The time is now for us to solve this problem.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Maryland.

Mr. CARDIN. Mr. President, I thank Senator DURBIN for his extraordinary leadership on this issue and so many others.

The Dreamers are part of this country. They are America's future. They are helping to build this great Nation, and they need our attention now.

The Republicans control the House, the Senate, and the White House. One of their principal responsibilities is to pass a budget. We are now 3 months into the fiscal year, and we don't have a budget, and we are talking about another continuing resolution. A couple of weeks ago, we were told on the floor to give it a couple of more weeks, and we would work out some of these issues. I agree with Senator DURBIN. The time to act is now. We should not be going into recess without dealing with the problems of our country. We need to deal with the budget problem, and we, certainly, need to deal with the problem of the Dreamers. Let me just talk a little bit about them.

They entered the United States before they were 16 years old—that is required—before 2007. Under President Obama's Executive order of 2012, they were entitled to a 2-year renewable work permit and the ability to remain in this country without being in fear of deportation. Each one has to go through a criminal background check. They need to be enrolled in school. They must either be high school graduates or in the U.S. military. In the United States today, we have 800,000 who are registered under the Dreamers. There are 10,000 in my State of Maryland, and they are contributing a half a billion dollars to Maryland's GDP, or gross domestic product. They are our next generation of teachers, doctor, engineers, and entrepreneurs. They are going to help build America, and they know no other country but the United States, which is their home.

In our values, what makes America the great Nation that it is is that we

are a welcoming country. We are a country in which people have come over the years to build this great Nation. That is America's strength.

Are we going to turn our back now on the values that built this country? Are we going to rip families apart? Is that what America stands for? I find that hard to imagine. Would we do this to our own economy and hurt ourselves, as we are growing with their help?

I have met with many Dreamers, not as many as Senator DURBIN. He probably has the record. But I met with several Dreamers in Maryland. We had one in our office yesterday who had tears in her eyes. She said: I have an expiration date on my back. She doesn't know what is going to happen when that date occurs.

How would you like to live under that fear in the United States of America? We are not talking about some communist country. We are talking about America, where people are living in fear.

I have had several roundtable discussions with Dreamers in Maryland. I have had them in College Park, Baltimore, and in other areas. Let me mention two Dreamers I met with. Adam was originally born in Canada. His family grew up in Pakistan. He came to the United States with his parents when he was very young. Becky was born in Peru and came here with her parents to the United States. I mention them collectively because they both attend the University of Maryland at College Park. Our State allows Dreamers to have in-state tuition so they can go to college and get the tools they need in order to succeed. They need work permits because they have to work. Otherwise, they never would have been able to get through school. They need a driver's license. Adam explained to me that he needed a driver's license to go to a magnet school so that he could advance his own education. That was all possible through President Obama's Executive order. Now all of that has been put into doubt because of President Trump's announcements that the program will end. It puts their lives on hold and in fear, and they wonder whether they need to go into the shadows in the United States of America.

President Trump's actions were wrong. We can correct that, and Congress must act. We must act now before we go home for the holidays.

I wish to talk about a similar group of people in our country—a large number in my State of Maryland—those under Temporary Protected Status, or TPS, because it is a similar situation. There are 437,000 people in America from El Salvador, Haiti, Honduras, Nicaragua, Somalia, Sudan, South Sudan, Syria, and Yemen. In Maryland, 22,500 people are here from El Salvador, Honduras, and Haiti—from those three countries alone—and 90 percent of the TPS people in this country are from El Salvador, Honduras and Haiti, the three principal countries. My own

State's recipients contribute \$1.2 billion of our gross domestic product. This is a very similar situation to the Dreamers. They get a 6- to 18-month extension. They have been here for decades because the underlying conditions in the countries from which they came still exist today. I have been to Central America. I can tell you that it is not safe for these people to be returned to those gang activities. They have the same similar situation. They know no other country but America. If they are required to go back to the country in which they were born, it will tear families apart. They have been disadvantaged by the President's actions where he is now threatening to end these programs.

We need to act. We need to act in order to protect this group of citizens. I want to acknowledge that my colleagues have introduced legislation on this. S. 2144 provides a pathway to citizenship for those with TPS status. It is sponsored by Senators Van Hollen, Feinstein, and others. We should take that bill up and pass it. Let's provide protections. Let's strengthen American values. Let's do our work. Let's do it now. Let's do it before we go on recess. It is the right thing to do.

Let me just conclude by quoting from Becky again, one of the Dreamers I met. She said the best present she ever got was on her 13th birthday, when President Obama executed the Executive order that gave her legal status and hope here in America.

Well, we can give her an even better present right now before we take the recess for the Christmas holidays. We can give her a present of Congress, acting to provide protection for the Dreamers and for those on TPS so they don't have to worry again and they know they have a home here in America.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Rhode Island.

Mr. WHITEHOUSE. Mr. President, I am delighted to join my colleagues here in support of these kids who are known as Dreamers or DACA kids, who came in under the statute or under President Obama's program and who have lived here for many years in this country, passed all the requirements, and met all the standards. These are good kids. There is absolutely no reason for them to be the target of the kind of anxiety and fear that they are being put through to score political points. It really doesn't make sense.

By definition, these kids came to the United States of America under the age of 16. You can't even enforce a contract against a minor in this country. They do not have the legal capacity in most places to buy a sofa. Yet we are holding them to account for decisions that their parents made when they were small children.

One of the Rhode Islanders who will be affected by this came to the United States when she was 8 years old. Think of the kind of decisions that your 8-

year-old kids make or that you were making when you were 8 years old. This is a very successful young lady who is now at the Brown medical school. She is going to make enormous contributions to our country. Tossing her out or putting her in peril makes no sense whatsoever, particularly when the problems started when she was brought to this country by her parents when she was 8 years old.

Another Rhode Islander who contacted me came to the country when she was 7 years old. She is now a teacher in a middle school in Central Falls, R.I. Central Falls is a community that is emerging from bankruptcy. It has got its feet back under it now. It has a wonderful, exciting young mayor. Spirits are up, and things are going well. But it is not easy to be a middle-school teacher anywhere, and to be a middle-school teacher in a small city that has just come out of bankruptcy is not easy. This is a valuable person to Rhode Island. Losing her adds no value to anyone.

Another person who contacted me came to the United States at 10 months old. At 10 months old, they barely even knew where they were. He came from Portugal at 10 months old. Now he has a college degree in computer science. He is ready to make his contribution to our country. He has done everything right and has played by the rules, and we are loading him up with all this anxiety and peril because of a decision his parents made when he was 10 months old.

You can't go out, as I said, and buy a sofa on the installment plan at 8 years old. Yet we are trying to penalize these kids. It makes no sense at all.

It doesn't even make economic sense. The studies I have seen show that disrupting the lives of these 800,000 Dreamer kids—90 percent of whom are in the workforce—would reduce the U.S. GDP by \$460 billion over the next decade. They are making a serious contribution here.

In Rhode Island, the delta is about \$200 million in annual State GDP between having the Dream Act pass and losing the DACA kids. We would stand to gain as much as \$150 million in annual GDP if the Dream Act passes, and ending DACA will result in an annual loss of \$60 million to our GDP. So just in my small State, there is \$200 million in economic result annually from solving this problem in a way that is humane and consistent with the way we treat children in virtually every other element of the law.

Sadly, a lot of this is twisted up in the continued fight over immigration, which the Senate really tried to solve. I am on the Judiciary Committee. Senator DURBIN was on the Judiciary Committee at the time. Under Chairman LEAHY's leadership, we went through hundreds of amendments and we took dozens of votes. Some 90 amendments were incorporated into the bill. It came out of the Judiciary Committee by a bipartisan vote of 13 to 5.

It came on to the Senate floor, where there were amendments. There actually was some regular order. Hundreds of amendments were considered, and the final bill passed on June 27 by 68 to 32.

Then our bipartisan Senate bill went over to the House, where the Speaker of the House refused even to bring it up—no hearing, no vote, nothing. They just froze it out. So there is a long history of why we are here today, but the price should not be paid by these kids, not when the original problem was something that was done when they were children—10 months old.

President Lincoln talked about "the better angels of our nature." Let's show these kids the better angels of our nature. Let's do something decent, something bipartisan, something that is right, and let's do it soon.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Washington.

Mrs. MURRAY. Mr. President, over the years there has been a lot of debate on the Senate floor, from healthcare to tax reform. There is no doubt that some days it feels impossible to get the majority of Republicans onboard with policies that truly help the families we represent. But there is one thing that unites not only a large bipartisan contingent in Congress but also the vast majority of American people, and that is finding a path forward for the estimated 800,000 young men and women whose lives are right now in limbo—800,000 people, including 17,000 men, women, boys, and girls from my home State of Washington who shared their information, paid a large fee, and upheld their end of the bargain, only to have President Trump rip the rug out from under them 3 months ago when he and Attorney General Jeff Sessions announced the end of the DACA Program.

This Congress may not be able to change the Trump administration's hateful rhetoric or shortsighted policies overnight, but we can and we should pass the Dream Act as soon as possible. That is why we need more Members of Congress on both sides of the aisle ready to roll up their sleeves and get this done. Because every single day that Republican leaders refuse to bring the Dream Act to the floor to a vote, another 122 young people lose their DACA status, they lose their ability to work legally, and they lose their protection from deportation. That means that every day, 122 of our neighbors, students, coworkers, and friends could be forced from the only country they know, despite the promise the Federal Government made to them when they signed up for DACA and despite their innumerable contributions to our schools, our hospitals, our universities, our stores, our farms, our churches, our offices, and so much more. That means small and large businesses are forced to lay off DACA recipients each day—vital employees in whom businesses have invested money to train and support, employees who

help our economy and the small businesses in my State grow.

My friends on the other side of the aisle are constantly claiming they want to help our small businesses grow. I listened to weeks of their speeches on this as they tried to justify the tax bill. But instead of a giveaway to the wealthiest 1 percent, one way my friends across the aisle could actually help small businesses is to bring the Dream Act up for a vote.

This morning, I had the great honor of sitting down with Dreamers who traveled all the way here from my State across the Nation to fight for action, young people who had no control over how they came to this country but who have made conscious choices to improve their own lives and make life better for their own community. They are passionate, they are frustrated, and their stories need to be heard.

Here is just one of them. Paul was brought here to this country at the age of 7 to be reunited with his father. Paul excelled in schools in Pasco, WA, not far from where my own dad grew up. Paul and his parents worried that despite Paul's success in K-12, going to college and starting a career might be impossible. But DACA provided him and his family with stability. Paul went to Gonzaga University in Spokane, WA, as a double major in political science and economics, and he now works in our State legislature.

Now, with DACA in question, it is not just Paul who isn't sure what comes next for him but also his younger brother, Jose. Jose, who was only 2 years old when he came here, grew up seeing what Paul, his older brother, was able to achieve. He saw that DACA allowed Paul to live without that constant fear. Jose was ready to follow in Paul's footsteps and enroll in the DACA Program so he could pursue his dream of an engineering degree at the University of Washington. Now, if Congress doesn't act, we will have one less engineer in this country.

Paul and Jose are great examples of Dreamers who have worked hard. They have aimed high, and they participate in our community and our economy, making our country a better place. This country should be rolling out the welcome mat to our Dreamers, not slamming the door shut on them. And that is why I am here today with my colleagues to echo their fear and frustration on the floor of the Senate and to call on Republican leaders to work with us. Stop letting so many promising young men and women fall off the rolls of this program each and every day. Stop kicking this can down the road. Come together to do what is right for these young people.

Ending the DACA Program is not what our country is all about. It doesn't do anything to fix our immigration system, prepare for our future, or grow our economy. Ending DACA won't heal the divisions we have seen in our communities or make them any easier to fix. And ending the DACA

Program certainly doesn't reflect a country of opportunity or promise—something the United States has always aspired to be.

I urge my colleagues here in the Senate and over in the House to think about the communities you represent. Think about the young men and women who are currently studying for finals or caring for our sick or teaching our children or responding to natural disasters or opening businesses in the communities you travel to and live in. Think about the young men and women who hope to serve in our military and defend your freedom some day. Think of the Dreamers who have grown up in our country and whose children are the future of our Nation. Think about how much good we could do for these young men and women if my Republican friends brought the same commitment and zeal to this task as they did to their tax bill. Finally, work with Democrats to find a real solution to end this unnecessary uncertainty.

I want to thank Paul and all the other advocates from my State whom I met with in my office this morning and the many thousands of others who are showing up in every way they can to make their voices heard and to call on us here in Congress to act. Dr. Martin Luther King once said that justice too long delayed is justice denied, and Dreamers are not asking for anything other than what we have promised to them.

This is an incredibly difficult and uncertain time for so many people, but Dreamers need to know that many of us in Congress and so many across the country have their backs. We will get this done. We have to get this done.

Thank you, Mr. President.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Massachusetts.

Ms. WARREN. Mr. President, just yesterday, the Republican-controlled Congress passed a massive tax giveaway that will shovel truckloads of money into pockets of giant corporations and the superrich, while it leaves working families behind. And that is just the latest in a laundry list of presents that have been doled out to folks at the top. For everyone else, it has been one broken promise after another.

One of those promises was to protect 800,000 Dreamers who were brought to the United States as kids. Trump broke this promise when he ended DACA, the program that allows Dreamers to live, work, and study in the United States without fear of being deported to countries they barely know. Because Trump broke his promise, it is up to Congress to stand up and protect Dreamers by passing a clean Dream Act—a bill that gives legal status and a path of citizenship to those young people.

I want to introduce you to one of those Dreamers—Elias Rosenfeld. Elias was 6 years old when his parents brought him and his sister to the United States. He doesn't have many

memories of his life in Venezuela, but he did hear stories from his parents and his grandfather about the everyday risks that they faced. One day, while his mother was driving, she pulled up to a stop light, and a man pulled a gun on her. Another day, his grandfather withdrew money from an ATM and then was robbed at gunpoint.

So when Elias's mother, who was an executive at a multimedia company, had an opportunity to transfer to an office in Miami, FL, she jumped at it. Elias's family came to the United States legally. They applied for and they received a visa that allows executives and managers from other countries to work in the United States and eventually apply for permanent resident status. Under that visa, the entire family would become permanent residents and would never have to worry about losing their status in the United States. "Permanent" is the key word here. Well, at least that had been their plan, only things didn't go the way they had been planned.

When Elias was 11, his mother died of cancer. He didn't know it at the time, but the day his mother died, Elias and his family lost their path to permanent resident status and became undocumented.

After his mother died, Elias clung to the belief that an education was his ticket to a better life. He challenged himself academically, taking 13 advanced placement courses and earning A's in almost every class. He also juggled a number of extracurricular activities, including speech and debate, student government, volunteering with children and the homeless, and starting his school's first traveling Model United Nations. His excellence earned him a place on the dean's list, as well as a long list of awards, including the Miami-Dade Homeless Trust Change Maker Award.

Elias so impressed the school's staff that his high school activities director called Elias a hero and said: "I've been teaching for 20 years and I have never seen a student like this young man." Scholarship committees also recognized Elias's accomplishments, and he won a coveted Myra Kraft Transitional Year Program scholarship, which provided him a full ride to Brandeis University in Waltham, MA. He is now a sophomore at Brandeis, where he continues to make his mark.

Before DACA came along, Elias lived in constant fear that ICE would break down his door and deport him and his sister. DACA changed his life. The fear subsided. He knew that ICE agents wouldn't break down his door or seize him on his way to school. Elias told me that DACA has been a source of optimism and a light of protection.

America is the only country Elias knows. It is the only country many Dreamers know. This is their home. Dreamers like Elias have had the courage to step forward. They have come out of the shadows to tell their stories. Now Congress could show some courage

and protect Dreamers by passing a clean Dream Act. We have waited too long already. Every day that we delay, more than 100 Dreamers lose protected status. They must return to the shadows. They must think about ICE agents breaking down their doors or seizing them if they go to school or to work. The time for Congress to act is now, right now, today. We should not leave here so that we can celebrate the holidays with our families while nearly 800,000 Dreamers fear being ripped apart from their brothers, their sisters, their mothers, their fathers, and deported to countries they barely know.

If we held a vote today on the Dream Act, it would pass. So my question to Senator MCCONNELL is this: What are you waiting for? Let us vote.

Thank you, Mr. President.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Virginia.

Mr. KAIN. Mr. President, I also rise to advocate the passage of a clean Dream Act now.

I had a youngster say to me—and I am going to tell the stories of a few of the youngsters—at an event in November, a Dreamer in Northern Virginia: "You may say I'm a dreamer, but I'm not the only one." It is a beautiful line, as we know, from the song "Imagine" by John Lennon. "You may say I'm a dreamer, but I'm not the only one."

There are 800,000 Dreamers in this country—more than 800,000. More than 13,000 of the Dreamers live in Virginia, and they are from all corners of the world. I have met with Dreamers in Virginia who were originally born in Sweden, Nigeria, Latin America, many countries in Asia. They are a rainbow but also a source of strength for our country, and we need to act on their behalf.

I also stand here in the Christmas spirit. We will all, so many of us, hear the retelling of the Christmas story. In the aftermath of the birth of the poor child in a manger, the story goes that he was taken by his parents to another country essentially as a refugee. There were threats of violence against the firstborn children of the land, and so he was spirited across a border into Egypt to be protected.

I know many of these Dreamers, and I know so many like them. I worked as a missionary in Honduras in 1980 and 1981, and I had the opportunity to work with youngsters in a country that was then and still is beset with violence and poverty and where so many parents have to make an agonizing choice. In some instances, they make the choice to try to find a better land for their children, just as Jesus and Mary did as they fled to Egypt at the Christmas season more than 2,000 years ago.

So I stand here in that moment, in that spirit, knowing that hundreds of thousands of Dreamers need our protection and, frankly, deserve it. Are we less compassionate than those societies of old that have found refuge for those who have come fleeing hardship? I

don't believe we are. I know the American public isn't, and I know the Virginia public isn't. The question is, Is Congress as compassionate as we need to be?

We tell the story of some of the Dreamers in Virginia, and I have made many speeches on this floor and told many of their stories.

Juan de la Rosa is a DACA recipient—one of our 13,500. He is a Richmonder. I first came to know Juan when I was the mayor of Richmond. He arrived at age 5. In a comment to me, he said: In one way or another, you have always been an active part of teaching me how being involved in the political process is the key toward positive change.

He started when he arrived here at 5 years old, and he excelled immediately. He went to Manchester High School in Chesterfield County and graduated in 2014. He was a drum major in the marching band, class representative, and a president of several honor societies.

After graduating at the top of his class at this very competitive suburban high school, he continued at Virginia Tech. At Virginia Tech, he started Tech DREAMers, which is a student organization there trying to create a more inclusive environment for the Dreamers on the campus. Through Tech DREAMers, he hosted dialogues around immigration reform and other issues—not just with Hokies but with students all around Virginia and around the country.

This past May, Juan de la Rosa graduated magna cum laude from Virginia Tech, and he continues to be active. He works in the admissions office as a Dreamer, traveling the country and telling students all over this country about the opportunity that was offered by this great university in the Commonwealth. He says: "All of this would not have been possible, had it not been for the opportunities afforded me because of DACA."

Juan, like so many other undocumented young people, is the very embodiment of the Virginia Tech motto. The motto of Virginia Tech University is "Ut Prosim," Latin for "That I May Serve." That is what Juan is doing. He wants Congress to pass a clean Dream Act now so there is a permanent solution for him and so many others.

Alejandro Zuniga is the internal president of DREAMers Empowered at Northern Virginia Community College. I sat down with him a few weeks ago at a roundtable I held with these Dreamers. He was from Bolivia. He lived there until he was 7. His parents brought him here. He was not fully aware of what it was to be undocumented until he was ready to go to college, and his parents explained it to him. His favorite thing as a kid growing up in the DC area was to go to the Air and Space Museum. Now he is at Northern Virginia Community College making honor grades, studying to be an aerospace engineer.

Monday, I sat down at the Richmond Public Library with a group of Dream-

ers from the Richmond area. A few stopped by my office on a day I wasn't there and asked for a meeting. We sat down together. Let me tell you about some of them and some of their parents.

Mateo is a Dreamer and sophomore at VCU. He went to the same high school my daughter went to. My daughter Annella graduated from the Governor's School in Petersburg in 2013. Mateo was a freshman, and he graduated in 2016. He is part of a group called UndocuRams, a student organization whose mission is to foster inclusion for Dreamers on the VCU campus.

Mateo's mom came with him to the meeting to show her support for her son. She is heartbroken seeing him work so hard and so afraid of what might happen to him and so afraid of what might happen to her. She prays that this system may find a just result for her child and for herself.

Finally, at the same meeting, I had Bertha. Bertha is both a Dreamer and a mom. She is a young mother. Her parents brought her here in 1998 from Mexico as a young child. She is an exceptional member of her community. She works in a local Catholic Church, volunteers with the PTA at her children's school, and coaches her children's and other children's soccer teams. Bertha told me she has learned the values of volunteering and helping others from being here in the United States. This is an interesting one. I hadn't heard this before. Bertha told me that where she came from in Mexico, there wasn't a great tradition of volunteer organizations. There was sort of the government, and there were churches. She said, coming to the United States, she has become aware of a whole sector of society that was not familiar to her: volunteer organizations—groups of people who get together to try to tutor other kids to be Big Brothers or Big Sisters.

She said what she has learned from the United States, more than anything else, is this amazing power of volunteerism and the network of social service groups that are run by volunteers. She said: I want to be just like that—and that is what she is doing.

Why would we want to lose a mother, a Dreamer like Bertha from our community? She has explained, as so many have—folks here on the Hill engaged in rallies have explained with tears in their eyes the fear they feel. They had a President, who, though he said some tough things about immigrants during the campaign, he always said about Dreamers: Dreamers will have nothing to worry about in me. These Dreamers are good kids. They were taken by complete surprise when, in September, the President announced he would terminate the DACA Program in 6 months. From that moment, it has been unremitting fear for these young people and for their families.

The only thing in the President's announcement that I think we could probably all agree to is—even though I

was a strong supporter of President Obama's Executive action; firmly believed it was within his legal power—a statutory fix is better than an Executive action because an Executive action depends upon the temperament of the particular President; whereas, a statutory fix provides people with some permanence, some confidence, and some security, and that is what we are called to do.

Again, in the spirit of the Christmas season—and because I am seeing this particular Presiding Officer—I am reminded of a beautiful phrase of Pope Francis whom the Presiding Officer and I have talked about before. In a letter he issued on Ash Wednesday in 2015, he called on us to be "islas de misericordia en el medio de un mar de indiferencia"—islands of mercy in the middle of a sea of indifference. That is a powerful phrase. Let's be islands of mercy in the middle of a sea of indifference. It was interesting. He didn't say: In the middle of a sea of hatred, in the middle of a sea of prejudice. He could have said all of those things. What he said was: "in a sea of indifference."

Surely, as we hear of the virtues and the dreams, the achievements and the accomplishments of these beautiful young people, we can call on our inner spirit to be merciful, rather than indifferent. That is my hope; that this body will do that by passing a clean Dream Act and accepting with open arms the wonderful gifts these young people bring to our communities.

I yield the floor.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

Ms. KLOBUCHAR. Mr. President, I rise, once again today, to express my strong support for taking action on the Dream Act. I thank all the Dreamers who, in recent weeks, traveled from all across the country to Washington to make their voices heard.

Last month, I met with 50 Minnesotans, who traveled here by bus to show their support for the Dream Act. They took time away from their jobs, from their education, and from their families because this issue is so critical to them and to their loved ones.

I want to get this bill passed, and while I remain hopeful we will reach an agreement soon, I know this has real consequences with each and every day, as over 100 Dreamers lose their status per day.

We have already seen the harmful effects of the administration's decision to end DACA, and the situation will continue to get worse until we take action. For the eligible DACA recipients with statuses set to expire over the upcoming weeks, the uncertainty is unbelievably difficult.

These are people who were told previously by our government that they could stay. They registered with our government, and now, with each and every day, more and more of them are losing their status. Just since I spoke about this issue on the Senate floor last week, an estimated 800 additional Dreamers have lost their DACA status. In March, the number of Dreamers with expiring protections will increase to 1,000 a day if we have not found a solution by that time.

This is an issue where we should be able to find bipartisan consensus. Americans want us to protect Dreamers. In fact, one recent poll found that 86 percent of Americans support action to allow Dreamers to stay in the United States. The Dream Act, which my colleague Senator DURBIN has led in the Senate for 16 years now, is based on a simple principle: Dreamers who are brought to the United States as children, and only know this country as their home, should be given the opportunity to contribute to our Nation and become citizens.

These young people were brought here through no fault of their own. On average, when they came over, they were only about 6½ years old. Imagine being told that you have to go back to a country you have not stepped foot in since you were 6, where you may not know anyone or even speak the language.

To receive DACA status, all Dreamers have already passed background checks, paid fees, and met educational requirements. They already did this so they could stay in the United States and contribute to our communities across the country.

Dreamers are already contributing. More than 97 percent of these Dreamers, of the DACA recipients, are now in school or in the workforce. In fact, 72 percent of them currently in school are pursuing a bachelor's degree or higher. The American Medical Association has urged us to take action on this issue, noting our current shortage of physicians in the United States—something the Presiding Officer is aware of—and estimating that passing the Dream Act could add 5,400 physicians to the U.S. healthcare system in the coming decades. According to the American Association of Medical Colleges, more than 100 students with DACA status applied to medical school last year, and about 70 Dreamers are currently enrolled in medical school.

In Minnesota, our large refugee and immigrant community has contributed so much to the cultural and economic vitality of our State. We are proud to have big communities of Somali, Liberian, and Oromo populations, as well as the second largest Hmong population. In fact, we have the biggest population of Somalis in the country, the biggest population of Liberians, the biggest population of Oromos, and we are also proud to be the home of more than 6,000 Dreamers.

Ending DACA in my State, where the unemployment rate is hovering in the

3-percent range, would cost Minnesota more than \$376 million in annual revenue, let alone the immeasurable impact to families who may be ripped apart.

REMEMBERING JOSEPH MEDINA

Ms. KLOBUCHAR. Mr. President, last week on the Senate floor, I talked about how I have always tried to find examples of Dreamers so that the citizens in my State can understand what we are talking about when we talk about the fact that someone could be brought over to our country and not even realize it and have this Dreamer status.

I talked about Joseph Medina. He was a decorated Army veteran. He served in World War II. He lived in Minnesota. I am sad to say that he passed away last July at the ripe old age of 103 years old. There was a story about Joe in today's edition of our largest newspaper in Minnesota, honoring his contributions to our Nation during World War II and through his nearly a century as a proud and hard-working Minnesotan.

Joe lost both of his parents before he was 1 year old. He was brought to the United States from Mexico by his aunt when he was just 5, and he didn't find out that he was undocumented during his whole time growing up. When did he find out? When he tried to join the Army in World War II.

So what he did then, because he wasn't a citizen—back then, it was pretty simple; what they would do is have people go to Canada, especially if they lived in Minnesota, and that is how they would become citizens. So they sent Joe Medina to Canada for 1 day. I remember his telling me this story—that this is what they did during World War II when they wanted people to sign up and serve. He stayed in a hotel for 1 night, and he came back, and with the help of our military, he became a citizen.

He then served under General MacArthur in the Pacific. Then he came home, got married, had a son, and that son served in the Vietnam war.

Joe came to Washington, DC, with his son for the first and last time to see the World War II Memorial at age 99. I stood there by his side as he looked at the Minnesota part of that Memorial and thought of the people he knew who were no longer with us and thought of his service and how much he loved serving our country in World War II.

At his side, along with his own son who had served in Vietnam, were two Dreamers—two high school students who were in high school in the suburban part of the Twin Cities, and they also wanted to join the military. If I remember right, they wanted to join the Air Force. Do you know what? The way the rules were a few years ago, they weren't allowed to do that. Joseph Medina couldn't understand that because the proudest part of his life was serving in our military, serving despite

the fact that he was born in another country but lived almost his entire life—98 years of his 103 years—in America.

So I join with all those in my State in remembering Joseph Medina and honoring his service to our country as we continue to work toward finding a solution for the Dreamers in the Senate.

I note that we should also take action here at the end of the year, and we should be staying to get a number of priorities done, including a long-term reauthorization of the Children's Health Insurance Program, dealing with the medical device tax, renewing funding for community health centers. There are so many things we need to do.

In closing, I just want to make clear that I stand with my colleagues on both sides of the aisle who have spoken out in support of the Dream Act. We need to pass this bill.

Thank you.

I yield the floor.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

A RECAP OF THE YEAR AND AN OUTLINE OF THE CHALLENGES OF THE YEAR AHEAD

Mr. RUBIO. Mr. President, as I try to do every year, if time permits—this will be my seventh year in the U.S. Senate; sometimes our work here finishes in a different fashion, but if possible, I try to come on the last day of the legislative year and give a speech to kind of recap the year behind us and outline the challenges of the year ahead.

For me, it was, obviously, an eventful year, a productive one, and I believe it has been one for this Chamber, as well, in what is a unique political environment in which politics today is practiced and covered in ways we have never seen before—almost like entertainment. Nevertheless, it was a year that we got a lot of good things done, and I wanted to highlight some of them in the hope that this gives us momentum into the new year.

This has been my first experience with a new President—obviously, not just a new President but a new administration that brought with it a set of individuals in different positions, so I think for all of us it was a transition in that regard. It also was the beginning of a second term, which, at one time, I didn't know I was even going to pursue.

In arriving here earlier this year and getting to work, we slowly but surely got going on a number of key priorities that we had been working on for a very long time. The first one that happened