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Senate

The Senate met at 3 p.m. and was called to order by the President pro tempore (Mr. GRASSLEY).

PRAYER

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

Let us pray.

Merciful God, enthroned far above all other powers, we need You to exercise Your might for our Nation during this challenging season. As we wrestle with the stalemate of this partial government shutdown, inspire our lawmakers to do what is best for our Nation and world. Remind them that Your power is far above any conceivable command, authority, or control. Help them to appreciate their accountability to You, as You guide them to contribute to unity and finding common ground. Be near to those who are the collateral damage of this impasse, supporting them with Your wisdom, power, mercy, and grace.

We pray in Your sovereign Name. Amen.

PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE

The President pro tempore led the Pledge of Allegiance, as follows:

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

RECOGNITION OF THE MAJORITY LEADER

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. HOEVEN). The majority leader is recognized.

MEASURES PLACED ON THE CALENDAR—S. 28, H.R. 21, AND H.J. RES. 1

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, I understand that there are three bills at the desk due for a second reading en bloc.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority leader is correct.

The clerk will report the bills by title for the second time en bloc.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (S. 28) to reauthorize the United States-Jordan Defense Cooperation Act of 2015, and for other purposes.

A bill (H.R. 21) making appropriations for the fiscal year ending September 30, 2019, and for other purposes.

A joint resolution (H.J. Res. 1) making further continuing appropriations for the Department of Homeland Security for fiscal year 2019, and for other purposes.

Mr. MCCONNELL. In order to place the bills on the calendar under the provisions of rule XIV, I object to further proceedings en bloc.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Objection having been heard, the bills will be placed on the calendar en bloc.

THE MIDDLE EAST

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, for years America's vital interests in the Middle East have been jeopardized by regional chaos. The security of our ally Israel continues to be challenged by the long reach of the Iranian regime and its affiliates. In Syria, the Assad regime has made its own nation a graveyard for hundreds of thousands of innocent civilians, and the resulting chaos continues to provide Iran and Russia opportunities to expand their malign influence throughout the region. That is why the Senate is going to vote later today to take up pressing legislation that tackles all of this head on.

The bill at hand would reaffirm the United States' commitment to Israel's security and authorize military assistance, cooperative missile defense, and loan guarantees. It would counter an aggressive and hostile attempt to delegitimize the State of Israel through economic boycotts. It would also reauthorize efforts to strengthen defense cooperation with our ally Jor-

dan, as its people and government grapple with the security and humanitarian ramifications of the Syrian crisis.

Importantly, the legislation also includes the Caesar Syria Civilian Protection Act. This provision would hold accountable individuals responsible for the senseless evils of the Assad regime and impose severe penalties on the entities that support them.

We will vote later today on whether or not Members of this body believe these issues should be addressed. It is my sincere hope that the Senate will approve these bipartisan proposals and send the strong message of support that our friends and partners in the Middle East deserve.

During the last Congress there was broad agreement on both sides of the aisle on the need for action. I expected today's action to be a big bipartisan vote, not some partisan showdown, but over the last few days something seems to have happened. The Democratic leader and several of his colleagues have stood up and said they want to block the Senate from even considering this legislation—never mind that it includes legislation cosponsored by the Senate Democrats last Congress and never mind that Senate Democrats mentioned the Syria crisis literally dozens of times last month here on the Senate floor.

BORDER SECURITY

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, in spite of all of that, some Democrats have now threatened to block us from even taking this legislation up later today. We would have to ask why. It is because we are 18 days into the partial government shutdown caused by Democrats' total unwillingness to negotiate with the White House over border security.

Democrat intransigence has made sure that a quarter of the Federal Government has been shut down for more

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



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than 2 weeks—2 weeks. Now they are threatening to shut the Senate down too. They have shut down the government for 2 weeks, and now they want to shut the Senate down. They are threatening to shut down efforts to protect our allies and strengthen our relationship with Israel—something they all recently claim to support.

Let's remember what we are talking about. In light of the urgent humanitarian and security crisis on our border, the President is requesting \$5.7 billion for physical barriers and border security. For some context, that is just about one-tenth of 1 percent of Federal spending—one-tenth of 1 percent—for physical barriers like fences and barriers that already exist, which Democrats have previously voted for with enthusiasm.

Back in 2006, then-Senators Hillary Clinton, Barack Obama, Joe Biden, and our colleague, the current Democratic leader, all voted for more than \$1 billion to construct about 700 miles of physical barriers.

Then-Senator Obama called it “badly needed funding for better fences and better security . . . that should help stem some of the tide of illegal immigration.” That is what Senator Barack Obama said.

Senator SCHUMER later described his vote proudly as “miles of border fence that create a significant barrier to illegal immigration.”

As recently as 2015, Secretary Clinton boasted: “I voted numerous times . . . to spend money to build a barrier to try to prevent illegal immigrants from coming in.” That is what Hillary Clinton said.

Obviously, that was then, and today the new Speaker of the House is trying to argue that a physical barrier is “immoral”—“immoral.”

Today, my friend the Democratic leader is proposing to add a Senate shutdown to the partial Federal Government shutdown and block even more of the people's business, all—all—to avoid more of what he already voted for. Maybe the Democratic Party was for secure borders before they were against it, maybe they are just making it up as they go along, or maybe they are dead set on opposing this particular President on any issue, for any reason, just for the sake of opposing him.

Walls and barriers are not immoral—how silly. Enforcing our laws wasn't immoral back in 2006 when then-Senator Clinton, then-Senator Obama, and our friend the Democratic leader were proud—proud—to vote for physical barriers. The only things that have changed between then and now are the political whims and, of course, the occupant of the White House.

This is no newfound, principled objection. It is just political spite—a partisan tantrum being prioritized over the public interest. For more than 2 weeks, they have indulged in that partisan tantrum rather than negotiate in good faith over border security funding—hardly something that should be a

partisan subject in the first place. They have put that partisan tantrum ahead of keeping a quarter of the government open. Now they are saying their partisan tantrum is more urgent than pressing legislation that concerns our alliance with Israel and the Syrian civil war.

I hope that isn't the case. I hope our Democratic colleagues don't pile on even more pointless obstruction. I hope they don't block the Senate from turning to this important legislation—legislation, by the way, they support. We will find out later today.

We all know what is necessary to move past the funding impasse: a negotiated solution that can pass the House, earn 60 votes in the Senate, and get the President's signature. That is what it takes to make a law.

As I have stated clearly, the Senate will not waste floor time on show votes, messaging votes, or any other proposals that fail to check those boxes regarding the funding bills.

The Democratic leader actually shared that opinion earlier. Here is a fairly recent quote from the Democratic leader. He said: “The President must publicly support and say he will sign an agreement before it gets a vote in either Chamber.” That is a fairly recent quote.

I am glad we seem to agree on that—no wasted floor time on appropriations bills that fail to clear the President's reasonable threshold.

For the sake of the humanitarian crisis on our border—as the President will describe in his address to the Nation this evening—for the sake of our national security, and for the sake of all the Americans who need all of their Federal Government reopened, I would urge our Democratic colleagues to get past these harmful political games and get serious about negotiating with the President.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.
The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The senior assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

S. 1

Mr. CORNYN. Mr. President, today the Senate will vote to begin consideration of legislation that will address some of the seemingly never-ending challenges the world—including the United States—is facing in the Middle East.

The decision made at the beginning of the 20th century by then First Lord of the Admiralty, Winston Churchill, to convert British ships from coal to oil for fuel changed world history by making access to Middle East oil reserves a national security imperative for all developed nations.

More recently, on 9/11 of 2001, when nearly 3,000 Americans lost their lives

in a terrorist attack directed from Afghanistan on New York's World Trade Center and the Pentagon, we learned a hard lesson: Although separated by an ocean, what happens in the region does not stay in the region.

Finally, with the proliferation of nuclear weapons and the nuclear aspirations of Iran—the No. 1 state sponsor of terrorism in the world—to attain them, the relative stability and security of the Middle East have a direct connection to our national security, as well as that of our allies, like Israel.

With the administration's recent announcement that the United States will begin withdrawing troops from Syria, this debate and these votes could not be more timely.

While I am comforted by National Security Advisor John Brennan's recent statement that the withdrawal from Syria will be conditions-based, the precise details of how and when it will be executed remain to be seen. One thing, however, is perfectly clear: We cannot allow the creation of a power vacuum in the Middle East to bolster our adversaries' influence in the region. That is precisely what this legislation addresses. The Strengthening America's Security in the Middle East Act incorporates four bipartisan, non-controversial bills that were nearly enacted last year, but the clock on the 115th Congress ran out on December 31. As we begin what I hope will be another productive year in the Senate, I am glad we will have a chance to vote on this legislation.

Our national interests demand that we fully support and ensure the security of Israel—our closest ally in the region. As the majority leader said last week, this bill affirms that the United States needs to do more than just talk the talk; we must also walk the walk to support Israel's security.

This legislation will help Israel maintain its qualitative military edge against ongoing threats by authorizing military assistance and allowing the transfer of equipment and defensive weapons. Importantly, it will also assist Israel in countering the emerging threat of unmanned aerial vehicles deployed by Iran, in particular.

In addition to supporting Israel, it will empower State and local governments in the United States to counter the anti-Israel boycott, divestment, and sanctions movement—better known as BDS—and its discriminatory economic warfare against the Jewish state.

In addition to nurturing our relationship with Israel, the bill also recognizes the importance of supporting Jordan—another key regional ally. It reauthorizes legislation to strengthen our defense cooperation and support Jordan's response to the overwhelming humanitarian crisis caused by the Syrian civil war. According to the United Nations, there are more than 740,000 refugees in Jordan. That equates to 89 refugees per 1,000 inhabitants, making them the second highest refugee host nation per capita in the world.

The impact of the crisis in Syria is immense and potentially destabilizing and requires our support to maintain the peace.

Finally, this bill takes critical steps to address the ongoing war and humanitarian crisis in Syria by providing aid to impacted communities and condemns the heinous human rights violations committed by the murderous Assad regime.

Until this horrendous conflict is resolved, new sanctions will be imposed on anyone who supports Syria either financially or militarily.

It is true that this bill will not solve all the problems in the Middle East. It will not, for example, provide justice to innocent civilians killed by the Assad regime. It will not rebuild the communities treated as collateral damage throughout this crisis. But it is a step to ensure our allies are prepared to fight for and defend our shared national security interests.

Senate Democrats have indicated, unfortunately, that they are likely to block this legislation from coming to the floor, as their discussions with the President on border security remain at an impasse. Leader MCCONNELL, though, has made it clear that the Senate will not waste time holding show votes on legislation that the President will not sign, so we continue to wait for Speaker PELOSI and Minority Leader SCHUMER to take serious, credible action to break that impasse. Until that time, there is a lot of work we can and should do, such as debating and voting on this legislation, which will protect our national security interests in the Middle East.

Twenty-five percent of our government has already been shut down because of this impasse. I urge our Democratic colleagues in the Senate not to shut down the work of the Senate too.

I want to thank the majority leader for scheduling this important debate and vote, and I look forward to voting yes when the time comes.

BORDER SECURITY

Mr. CORNYN. Mr. President, as I mentioned, this partial government shutdown continues, now on its 18th day. But 18 days in, not much has changed. The newly elected Democratic House refused to come to the negotiating table with a serious offer or to negotiate in good faith.

This entire debate has been surreal. I would say it has been a joke, but it is really not funny. It has now degenerated into a game of silly semantics, while losing sight of just how much is at stake for the people affected.

A secure and vibrant border is critical to the safety and livelihood of our entire country, and it, of course, plays a vital part in the daily life for many Texans, especially those who live and work in the border region. If you visit El Paso, for example, out West, you will see firsthand how interconnected the city is with its neighbor, Juarez.

Mexico is literally on the other side of the international bridge. Each day at that single port of entry, an average of 20,000 people cross the border on foot legally—going to work, going to school, visiting friends and family, or shopping. That is in addition to the 35,000 car crossings and the 2,500 cargo trucks that cross each day just at the El Paso port of entry.

I often compare the United States and Mexico to an old married couple who have occasional differences but who can't get divorced. We depend on one another, and we depend on a safe, secure, and efficient border to allow both countries to live in harmony.

Not everyone or everything attempting to cross the border is in our country's best interest. Transnational criminals, drug smugglers, and human traffickers try to take advantage of any opportunity, any gaps in our border, and they use it to infiltrate, threaten, and endanger our communities.

For too long, our frontline officers and agents haven't had the tools and resources they need to do their job. Whether it is outdated infrastructure, personnel shortages, or technology, the fact remains that we need additional border security funding to empower these hard-working officers and agents to complete their mission at both our ports of entry and between those ports of entry.

After talking to the experts—Border Patrol officials in Texas, as well as local stakeholders—I introduced legislation in the fall of 2017 to address a number of their concerns. That legislation, called the Building America's Trust Act, would have authorized approximately \$15 billion over 4 years for a long-term border security and interior enforcement strategy. Notably, the bill provided a great deal of discretion to the Department of Homeland Security's experts on the ground to determine what tactics were needed and where.

As my friend Manuel Padilla, former Chief of the Border Patrol's Rio Grande Valley Sector, once told me—he said: The answer to border security from the Border Patrol's perspective is finding the right balance of three things: personnel, technology, and infrastructure.

The landscape along the U.S.-Mexico border—particularly the 1,200 miles of common border between Mexico and Texas—the geography varies significantly, and there is no one-size-fits-all solution to border security. That is why it is important to listen and learn from law enforcement and key stakeholders how to adapt the right mix to each area. That way, we can ensure we are deploying the most effective and practical solutions to achieve operational control along the southern border.

Yes, we need physical infrastructure in places—a fence, a wall, a vehicle barrier, for example—because the hard-working agents and officers on the ground tell us that it works, and we

would benefit from more of it. But we also need personnel to enforce the laws along the border and ensure our ports of entry are operating efficiently. And, yes, we need technology, things like scanners to scan for drugs that are embedded in shipments that come across the border. We need drones, radar, and sensors to help maximize border security, as well as access to the Rio Grande for Border Patrol agents so they can police the border for illegal entry.

This shouldn't be a partisan debate, and historically, our differences on this topic have not been so polarizing. I think the nature of our political system today makes it easy to forget that not too long ago, border security was something supported by both political parties.

In 2006, the Senate passed the Secure Fence Act by a vote of 80 to 19. That is what I would call a bipartisan victory. Among those who voted for that bill include many current and former leaders of the Democratic Party, including Minority Leader CHUCK SCHUMER, then-Senator Barack Obama, and then-Senator Hillary Clinton. They didn't believe that fences and walls and physical barriers were immoral, as apparently the current Speaker of the House of Representatives does. Not only did that legislation call for more than 800 miles of fencing along the U.S.-Mexico border, it also authorized the other important components of border security that I talked about, things like technology and personnel. That was in the 2006.

In 2013, more recently, all 54 Democratic Senators voted for \$46 billion in border security—every single one—and now President Trump's request for \$5 billion is somehow a nonstarter.

The Border Security, Economic Opportunity, and Immigration Modernization Act provided funding for, yes, infrastructure, personnel, and technology. That is exactly the right mix that Chief Padilla mentioned, which I referred to a moment ago. These are really the same types of issues we are talking about today. These are not radical ideas. We need a sensible combination of physical barriers, technology, and personnel.

My Democratic colleagues supported border security during the Bush administration. They supported border security during the Obama administration. Now I urge them to come to the table with a serious proposal to help secure our border and end this standoff and to stop the foolishness and the political games.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

RESERVATION OF LEADER TIME

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the leadership time is reserved.

CONCLUSION OF MORNING
BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, morning business is closed.

STRENGTHENING AMERICA'S SE-
CURITY IN THE MIDDLE EAST
ACT OF 2019—Motion to Proceed

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate will resume consideration of the motion to proceed to S. 1, which the clerk will report.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (S. 1) to make improvements to certain defense and security assistance provisions and to authorize the appropriation of funds to Israel, to reauthorize the United States-Jordan Defense Cooperation Act of 2015, and to halt the wholesale slaughter of the Syrian people, and for other purposes.

Mr. CORNYN. Mr. President, I now suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

CERTIFICATE OF ELECTION

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair previously laid before the Senate the certificate of election from the State of Florida. The certificate was in the form suggested by the Senate and was printed in the RECORD.

(The certificate of election was printed in the RECORD of January 3, 2019.)

ADMINISTRATION OF OATH OF
OFFICE

The VICE PRESIDENT. If the Senator-elect will now present himself at the desk, the Chair will administer the oath of office.

The Senator-elect, Rick Scott, escorted by Mr. RUBIO, Mr. LeMieux, Mr. Martinez, and Mr. McGillicuddy III, advanced to the desk of the Vice President; the oath prescribed by law was administered to him by the Vice President; and he thereupon subscribed to the oath in the Official Oath Book.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Congratulations, Senator.

(Applause, Senators rising.)

STRENGTHENING AMERICA'S SE-
CURITY IN THE MIDDLE EAST
ACT OF 2019—Motion to Proceed
(Continued)

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. HOEVEN). The majority leader.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. YOUNG). Without objection, it is so ordered.

S. 1

Mr. RUBIO. Mr. President, a few moments ago we welcomed our new colleague, my colleague for the State of Florida, former Governor and now U.S. Senator RICK SCOTT, who will do a phenomenal job here on behalf of the State of Florida. I welcome him to the U.S. Senate, the world's greatest deliberative body—and, on occasion, perhaps the strangest as well.

In about 1 hour 15 minutes, the Senate is going to take up S. 1, which is a combination of four separate bills that enjoy widespread support in this Chamber from colleagues on both sides of the aisle, all of them sponsored and cosponsored by both sides of the aisle, and apparently we will fail to get a significant number of votes to get on this bill, nonetheless.

So it is perhaps one the few places on Earth where people vote against things they are for because of reasons unrelated to the issue at hand. I don't want to dig too deep into that. That will be a topic for conversation later on, and maybe I will be wrong. Maybe they will change their minds in the next 1 hour 15 minutes, and we will have the votes we need, but I don't think it makes a lot of sense to say: I am upset about the government shutdown—by the way, the Senate voted unanimously to fund the government by a voice vote. We didn't even have a rollcall vote. So this Chamber has already enacted in that regard. At this point, it is incumbent on the leaders of the Democratic Party in the Senate, combined with the White House, to come up with a deal to reopen the government. This government shutdown is not good for anybody. I have never seen anybody win one of these.

That said, I don't know why we would shut down the Senate, too, given the issues we face.

About 3 weeks ago, the President announced that the United States was withdrawing from our engagement in Syria. I—and I think the majority of the people in the Senate—believed that decision was a mistake and is a mistake.

While I was certainly encouraged by some of the comments by the head of the National Security Council, Ambassador John Bolton, on the pace and scale and scope of the withdrawal, nonetheless, there have been conflicting statements since then which put this all in question.

At the time he made this decision, we walked through all of the reasons why this was a mistake—not because we want to be in war in Syria forever. That is false. Of course, it has to come to an end, but it needs to come to an end in a way that is in the interest of the United States of America. It is not in the interest of the United States of

America to see ISIS reemerge the way they did after 2011, when the United States left Iraq.

When the United States left and pulled back its presence in Iraq, it allowed ISIS to reconstitute itself and reemerge. They were called something different then, but they were basically a spinoff of al-Qaida. They started out as an insurgency and grew very rapidly. They are larger today and they are more powerful today than when they reconstituted themselves almost a decade ago. I have no doubt that if this moves forward, ISIS will reconstitute itself, maybe not as a caliphate but as something equally dangerous, and that is an insurgency with the capability not just to create havoc, mayhem, murder, and destruction in Syria and potentially once again in Iraq but also to externally plot and attack us here on Homeland.

This raises all other types of possibilities, like the Iraqi troops along with irregular forces sponsored by Iran—the Shia militia that have been on the ground in Iraq—coming across the border and into Syria. We all have read and heard about the Turkish troops that want to come into the Kurdish areas.

If Assad is sitting there now with the United States pulling out and all of this is going on, he figures that at this point what does he need a political solution for, what does he need the U.N. or anybody for? The saddest part is that this diminishes the chances that Assad will ever have to face accountability for the crimes committed by his regime against innocent civilians—children, women, and others—not just for the gassing and use of chemical weapons but for widespread torture and murder. We will discuss that more as the week goes on.

We are also concerned about Iran's growing influence with the United States leaving, especially in southeast Iraq and on the border of Jordan and Israel, with Hezbollah and other Iranian proxies and Iran itself, or the IRGC and General Soleimani, who is a maven of murder in that area, basically doing whatever they want. They have more freedom of movement, and there is the direct threat that it poses to both Israel and to Jordan.

By the way, when the Turks come in or potentially Iraqi troops come in—when ISIS is reconstituted and starts killing people again—you are going to have new refugee flows. Maybe it will be mostly Kurds this time, maybe folks from the Syrian defense forces who had fought alongside us for a while and their families. Where will all of these new refugees go? Potentially, some will wind up in Jordan, further destabilizing or testing that country's ability to deal with all of this.

On that last point, both the Kurds and the Syrian defense forces have in excess of 700 ISIS fighters in custody, in prison. Are they going to let them all go? Because without us there supporting them, I don't know how they

are going to hold them, and none of the countries they came from want them back. So you can potentially face hundreds of ISIS fighters being released overnight. These are all the consequences—and more.

What are we going to do if in a few days, a few weeks, or months from now ISIS decides to deploy chemical weapons against the Kurds or others in these areas? That is the parade of horrors, and the possibilities are extraordinary. We could go on and on for a while.

That is why, among other reasons, it was a mistake, and when we came out and said it was a mistake, a lot of people said: What are you going to do about it? Don't just talk; act.

It is difficult in an issue like this. Congress can stop wars. Congress can defund them and deauthorize actions, but Congress cannot force the Commander in Chief to stay in a military engagement. We cannot force the President to deploy troops or keep them somewhere. We can keep him from doing it, but we can't force him to do it. Our options in this field are limited.

We wanted to do something. We felt so strongly about this. The response is S. 1, which is the item before us here today. S. 1, as I said, combines these four bills that enjoy widespread bipartisan support. You would think that in the midst of everything else that is going on, this would be a really good way to start the new Congress, in foreign policy, in an area that traditionally has not been partisan—or shouldn't have been—by combining these four bills into S. 1, which is what is before us today.

I want to briefly outline the four provisions combined in this bill. Two of them deal directly with our ally in Israel. First, it makes very clear that "it shall be the policy of the United States to provide assistance to the Government of Israel in order to support funding for cooperative programs to develop, produce, and procure missile, rocket, projectile, and other defense capabilities to help Israel meet its security needs and to help develop and enhance United States defense capabilities."

That last line is important because much of the technology that is being innovated and developed by Israel to defend Israel can also be used by the United States to protect us from rocket attacks there or when we are deployed abroad. The reason why this is so critical is that Hezbollah has a large presence in Syria and has their base of operations in Lebanon. Today, Hezbollah is better funded, better equipped, and has more armaments than at any time in its history.

We all recall the Hezbollah-Israel war from about over a decade and a half ago. The next Israel-Hezbollah war will be far deadlier and costly because Hezbollah no longer simply depends on Iran to provide them the weapons. They make them themselves.

Hezbollah no longer has a few rockets. It has enough to potentially overwhelm defenses. That means you could have the best missile defense system in the world, but if you fire enough of them, eventually some of them will get through, and when they get through in a small country like Israel—which at its narrowest point is only 9 miles wide—and it hits a population center and kills thousands of people, then, you know we are facing a catastrophe. Israel will respond to that sort of attack with overwhelming force. This could spiral quickly out of control.

How could we wind up at that point? We could wind up at that point because now that the United States is leaving Syria, the Israelis are going to say: We are not going to allow Iran and Hezbollah to build up its presence. We are going to step up our military attacks inside of Syria.

It is possible, when they step it up, that it is likely that Iran and Hezbollah will respond by hitting back. Then, Israel will hit back even harder. At that point of escalation, you could easily see the missiles start coming out of Lebanon into Israel, and Israel responding with overwhelming force, and then we have a much broader conflict, with thousands—if not hundreds of thousands—of people whose lives are on the line.

So making it clear to Hezbollah or to any enemy of Israel that the United States stands ready to equip them in the case of such a contingency is one of the best things we can do to prevent it from happening. If Israel's enemies believe there is any doubt that the United States will step forward and help Israel resupply in case of such conflict, you have increased the probability that they will miscalculate and take such action.

But if they know that we are committed to rearming Israel as often and as much as possible and necessary in order to help them defend themselves, then, the chances of them attacking are diminished. That is why this bill authorizes U.S. security assistance in foreign military financing to Israel at an amount no less than \$3.3 billion a year for the next 10 years.

By the way, this, in essence, is authorizing a memoranda of understanding signed between the Obama administration and Israel. We are authorizing that and putting it into law. We are also authorizing the President to transfer precision-guided munitions to reserve stocks as needed for legitimate self-defense by Israel. The world now knows—and Israel's enemies now know—that the United States has put aside reserve precision-guided munitions that are there if Israel needs them for us to quickly transport them to them in case they come under attack and run low on the munitions they need to defend themselves. That is the first thing this bill does.

Another thing it does, by the way, is the Combating BDS Act of 2019. For those not familiar with BDS, it is boy-

cott, divestment, and sanctions. It is, in essence, by and large, to punish Israel by convincing companies—international companies and others—to boycott doing business with Israel or Israeli entities, to divest of investments in Israel or Israeli entities, and convincing governments to sanction Israel.

This provision of the law does not outlaw boycott, divestments, and sanctions. If a United States company caves to this pressure and decides it is going to boycott or divest from Israel, they have the legal right to do so. This doesn't outlaw it. However, it does say if a State or local government decides that it is not going to do business or if the government is not going to issue contracts for goods or services with any company that is boycotting or divesting from Israel, they have a right to do that.

I have heard the argument that this is about free speech. First of all, it is not about free speech. It is about foreign policy. We will talk about that more as the week goes on, but there are court cases out there that talk about how this is not an effort to influence a domestic political debate or to speak or take action in the form of speech that influences a domestic political debate. This is about influencing the behavior of a foreign government's foreign policy. The courts give broad discretion to Congress and the President in the setting of our foreign policy.

Putting that aside for a moment, as I told already you, this doesn't in any way prevent anyone from participating in boycotting or divesting from Israel. All it says is that if you do, your clients, in the form of State or local governments, can boycott or divest from you in return. Free speech is a two-way street.

Beyond that, it makes it very clear in the law that nothing in this law should be construed to violate anyone's First Amendment rights.

These are the two provisions that help Israel and to prevent the sort of economic warfare that is being driven against them and to make clear to their adversaries that the United States stands ready to resupply and strengthen Israel's ability to defend itself—not just helping Israel defend itself if it comes under attack but, frankly, in the hopes of deterring an attack against Israel. We do that by authorizing and putting into law the memorandum of understanding that was signed by the Obama administration in September of 2016.

In addition, the third thing the bill does is to deal with Jordan. Jordan is a U.S. ally. It is, by the way, a nation that, along with Egypt, has been a linchpin of Israel's security in the region, and it is also a nation that has faced an onslaught of refugees fleeing the conflict in Syria. They face the threat from ISIS, as well. In S. 1, we reauthorize the United States-Jordan Defense Cooperation Act, which passed

in 2015. It is an act that, among other things, includes Jordan on the list of countries that are eligible for certain streamlined defense sales, because Jordan itself is facing many of the same challenges, particularly because of our pullout from Syria.

If you think the pullout from Syria—especially from southeastern Syria—is a good thing for Jordan, you are wrong. Once the United States leaves that area, the Iranian influence will grow, and potentially, the ISIS influence will grow. It will become harder—not easier—on Jordan. This is the least we can do to strengthen an important ally in this region.

The last piece is one sponsored by the soon-to-be chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, Senator RISCH—the Caesar Syria Civilian Protection Act. It does three principle things. It requires the Treasury to determine whether the Central Bank of Syria is a financial institution that launders money for the regime. I am not sure it will take them long to conclude that they are, but that opens the door for the second thing it does, and that is new sanctions on anyone who does business with or provides financing to the Syrian regime.

It also, by the way, requires the administration to brief us here in Congress as part of our oversight role on what our strategy is to facilitate the delivery of humanitarian products and humanitarian assistance inside Syria.

Hopefully, we will be on this bill, but as the week goes on, I sadly will have to come to the floor and point out the horrifying atrocities that have been committed and that, I believe 50 and 100 years from now, people will look back at as one of the most horrifying things that have happened in this century. The people who have done this should be held to account.

This law puts in place not just requiring the administration to tell us what they plan to do in the short term to help people to the extent possible, but it also puts in place the ability to hold those who have done this responsible and accountable for what they did and what they continue to do.

I sincerely hope that we can get on this because the American people in the face of all this noise that is out there are in desperate need of reassurance that our Republic still works and that, at a minimum, we can still agree on what we agree on and we don't use the pretext of a shutdown to shut down the Senate.

As I remind everyone again—and I know we have some new Members—this body unanimously passed a bill to fund the government. I have my views on this shutdown, and I don't understand the objection. It is \$5 billion for spending on border security. By the way, it is not \$5 billion on a wall. It is \$5 billion to fund the top 10 priorities of the border security plan, and included in those top 10 are those of strengthening existing walls and barriers and building some new ones, but it includes far more

than just a wall. I remind many of my colleagues who were here in 2013 that when we sponsored the Senate bill on immigration, we authorized four times as much in that bill for border security. Of course, the politics have changed, and so people's positions on the issue of border security have changed.

That said, I am not in favor of government shutdowns. I don't think they make sense. The people have nothing to do with this. They are not responsible for this. Border agents, TSA employees, and Federal employees from these Agencies all across the country are missing paydays now. Their mortgage companies and their credit card companies don't care that there is a shutdown. They want to get paid or they will ruin your credit. I hope we can find a resolution for them—but also for the country—without our abandoning the reality that we need to deal with border security.

Here is what I know, though. I don't believe shutting down the Senate and not allowing us to move forward on something as important as a Syria policy is the way to resolve the shutdown issue. You don't solve a shutdown with a shutdown. Shutting down the Senate and saying we are not doing anything here until we resolve this issue is not a constructive approach, and it is certainly not the way to start this new Congress.

At a time when, I think, the Senate serves as important a role as it has in two decades, this country needs a Senate that is capable of functioning and agreeing on the things we agree on—on passing bills that have broad support and not allowing them to fall victim to debates that are unrelated to the issues at hand. I remind all of my colleagues who, just 2 or 3 weeks ago, joined me and others in criticizing the decision to draw down from Syria; that there isn't a lot we can do in Congress to force the President to stay there, but there are some things we can do to reassure our allies in the region that at least in the U.S. Senate they have our support—that Israel and Jordan and the innocents who have been tortured and killed in Syria have our support. We have a bill before the Senate, S.1, that does that, and I don't know why we are not looking forward to at least debating it.

The vote we are taking in about 60 minutes or 59 minutes from now is not a vote to pass it. It is just a vote to begin debate on it. That is all it is. It is a vote to begin debate on it. To not even allow debate to begin on something we basically largely agree on may make a lot of sense in the hallways here, but it doesn't make a lot of sense to the men and women back home who are already watching the government shutdown with disdain and who then, on top of it, see that not even the Senate can function in the midst of all of this.

I hope, whether it is today or later this week, my colleagues across the

aisle will reconsider their objection to even beginning debate so we can get on this and get to work on behalf of the men and women of this country for whom we work and represent.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. JOHNSON). The Senator from New Mexico.

GOVERNMENT FUNDING

Mr. UDALL. Mr. President, I rise to call on the President to stop holding the government hostage and trying to force taxpayers to pay for his border wall—a wall that would be ineffective and wasteful and that is rejected by the American people.

President Trump said he is “proud”—that is his word that he used—to shut down the government. He is proud to force hundreds of thousands of people across this country to miss their hard-earned paychecks. He is proud to shutter critical services. He is proud to try and extort the American people into paying for a wall they don't support. This Trump shutdown is nothing to be proud of. It is a national disgrace, and it is time to end this recklessness.

I join with my Democratic colleagues today in calling on the Republican leaders to do their jobs and reopen the government right now. The American people don't support Trump's border wall, and they don't support this Trump shutdown. The funding bills that are being held up and used by the President as a bargaining chip have broad bipartisan support. The Democrats in both Chambers want to pass these appropriations bills now. Yet, as the Democrats stand ready to reopen the government, President Trump plans to address the Nation tonight to tell us again why he is proud to keep the government shut down.

We will likely hear more bizarre talk tonight about what we need at the border from a President who doesn't know the first thing about the border. Once again, we will likely hear blatant lies about immigrants, about our border, and about our border communities. The American people are tired of this President's assault on the truth. They are tired of having their lives and livelihoods caught up in this President's inability to rise to the office he holds. No address from the Oval Office will change that.

We need the Republican leadership in this Chamber to muster the political will to stand up to the President and get Federal employees back to work and critical services restored. We are now on day 18 of this shutdown—the second longest period that the government has been shuttered since 1980. We have already begun to see real-life consequences for families all across the Nation, and my home State of New Mexico is one of the States that is being hit the hardest by the President's temper tantrum, by his act of political extortion.

In New Mexico, roughly 5,800 Federal workers are either furloughed or are working without pay. These aren't just

numbers, these are real people. They are real people who are wondering how they will make their mortgages or rent payments or will feed their families. A Federal employee in Albuquerque wrote to my office to tell me how this shutdown is affecting her and her family.

She wrote to me to “go on the record that I am not one of the Federal employees the President is touting . . . as wanting to be out of work, without a paycheck, until he gets his wall.”

She had an important message for the Republican leadership of the Senate:

The Senate does not work for the President—it is supposed to represent the citizens of the United States . . . Federal employees do not want to stay out of work; we want to go back to work and get paid.

She ended:

This is not our fight—just his.

Economic anxiety is pervasive in all corners of the State. In fact, New Mexico was recently ranked as the most vulnerable to the impacts of the shutdown because of our significant Federal workforce and the importance of the Federal Government to our economy. As the ranking member of the Subcommittee on the Interior, Environment, and Related Agencies, I am acutely aware of how the lapse in appropriations is affecting the Agencies that are funded in our bill and the services they provide. These include the Department of the Interior, the Environmental Protection Agency, and the Indian Health Service.

As the ranking member of the Senate Indian Affairs Committee, I am especially cognizant of how this shutdown is hurting Native communities. For Tribes across Indian Country, the shutdown’s consequences are particularly dire after their going more than 2 weeks without Federal funds. Simply put, Tribes report that Federal programs that are critical to health and public safety are grinding to a halt and that lives are in danger.

In New Mexico, the shutdown has left the Mescalero Apache Tribe’s reservation—larger in size than the entire city of Houston, TX—with only one on-duty police officer, which would be unacceptable even under normal circumstances. Yet, due to a huge winter storm that left my State under heavy snowfall and subfreezing temperatures, that lone officer is responsible for not only responding to domestic violence and child welfare but also to snow-related accidents and emergencies across 720 square miles—all because fur-loughed road crews aren’t clearing the snow and ice from the reservation’s roads. One elder already died because he was unable to make it to dialysis. Sadly, Mescalero’s experiences are not uncommon.

The Yurok Tribe of California will soon have to close its courts, curtailing the Tribe’s efforts to rein in the opioid epidemic. Urban Indian Health Programs in Baltimore and Boston are days away from closing completely,

leaving Native families in these cities without support. The Yankton Sioux Tribe in South Dakota was just informed that its Indian Health Service unit must begin reducing services.

The 276 Tribes that depend on the USDA’s Food Distribution Programs on Indian reservations—a program that feeds nearly 100,000 American Indians and Alaska Natives—are also faced with reliving the 2013 shutdown crisis, when food rotted in locked warehouses while hungry families gathered outside—all because the President and some extreme Members of his party refuse to do their jobs and keep the government open.

It is disgraceful, and it is dangerous. Every day that the President continues to treat Tribal health and public safety programs like hostages for political gain, it endangers families across Indian Country. The United States has trust and treaty obligations that Tribes obtained in exchange for ceding millions of acres of land. The consequences of the President’s outright disregard for treaty obligations are real. The consequences of the Senate majority leader’s inaction are real. The consequences of the Republicans’ unwillingness to stand up for Tribes in their States—to stand up for basic humanity and common sense—are also real.

We are talking about people’s lives and the fundamental obligation of our Nation to honor its commitment to Native Americans. It is really that simple. We all know how pressing these problems are. The impacts of the Trump shutdown are far and wide. There are thousands of stories across the Nation. Let me tell you another from my home State of New Mexico.

A local Santa Fe small business—a construction company, Sarcon Construction Corporation—is ready to begin an \$8.4 million project to build two new hangars at the Santa Fe Municipal Airport. This 32,000-square-foot project will generate \$650,000 in local tax revenue and will employ 75 to 100 people. Many of those people are literally unemployed now while waiting for this project to begin. This project is a big deal for my home city of Santa Fe.

Do you know why the project is stalled? Sarcon can’t get the necessary approval from the Federal Aviation Administration because of the Trump shutdown, as the FAA personnel who are responsible for its approval are fur-loughed.

This shutdown has real consequences for real people, especially for people like those unemployed New Mexicans who are ready and eager to work but who are unable to because of our President’s tantrum. The President says he can “relate” to Federal workers who can’t pay bills during the shutdown, but in the next breath, he blithely assumes they will “make adjustments” and be fine.

As he has demonstrated time and again, this President cannot and does

not relate to the struggles of everyday Americans who are hurt by his policies. He cannot and does not relate to Federal employees who live paycheck to paycheck or to Santa Fe construction workers who wait anxiously to get back to work. He has shown us time and again that his policies and behavior are heartless and that he is unfit for the office he holds. I will say it again. The President told the American people on camera that he is “proud to shut down the government.” The responsibility falls squarely on him and now on his Republican collaborators in the Senate.

The impacts reach every corner of our Nation. His shutdown has already had real impacts on our Nation’s public lands, including our most iconic national parks.

Many national parks, such as Banderlier National Monument and Valles Caldera National Preserve in New Mexico, remain closed. Restrooms have been closed for 2 weeks, trash has accumulated, and roads have not been plowed. For 2 weeks, we have heard horror stories of poor sanitation and public safety issues at national parks because of the shutdown, including overflowing toilets, vandalism, and other resource damage. In Big Bend National Park, because of the lack of emergency services, Good Samaritans had to rescue a hiker who fell and broke his leg while hiking on Christmas Eve.

In fact, the effects have been so devastating that, in a legally questionable move, this administration just made the unprecedented decision to dip into the park’s entrance fees to fund basic services at a handful of parks across the country. These are fees that Congress authorizes the Park Service to collect to pay for deferred maintenance projects and other critical needs, not to take the place of appropriated funds. We still don’t know which parks will be affected by the administration’s decision, but I fully expect this bandaid approach to fall far short of protecting our treasured national resources or restoring services to the public in a meaningful way. It is merely a cynical attempt to get the problems caused by the President’s shutdown off the front page of the newspaper.

If we want to reopen the parks, there is a simple solution: Pass the Interior appropriations bill without delay, and we can reopen the entire National Park System. In the meantime, reopening some park sites but not others will not help many gateway communities that depend on parks and public lands to provide needed revenue and that are facing economic crisis as this shutdown wears on.

The National Parks Conservation Association estimates that in January, visitors spent an average of \$20 million per day in nearby communities. That is real and vital revenue. In New Mexico alone, national parks generated more than 1,700 jobs in 2017 and created more than \$140 million in economic output

for my State. I can tell you that New Mexico can't afford for these sites to be closed.

It is not just the parks that are at risk. Fire prevention programs funded by the U.S. Forest Service are being deferred during the shutdown, despite a recordbreaking fire season. Environmental protection programs are suffering. EPA has halted most activities related to hazardous waste cleanups under its national Superfund Program. Enforcement activities against polluters have ground to a halt, as have Federal permitting efforts. States aren't receiving funds to operate their regulatory programs.

Even our Nation's cherished national museums are shuttered. On January 2, the Smithsonian ran out of funds and closed its doors, preventing more than 110,000 visitors a day from accessing its prized collections. Its next-door neighbor, the National Gallery of Art, is also closed, leaving school groups, families, and everyday citizens out in the cold.

Again, there is a simple solution to stop this damage. All we have to do is pass an appropriations bill and reopen the government.

I want to end where I began. The President has nothing to be "proud" of here. President Trump needs to stop holding Federal programs hostage to his demands for a wasteful, ineffective, and destructive wall and end this shutdown now. We can do it easily. The Senate can immediately take up and pass H.R. 21—the appropriations bill passed by the House last week. This should cause no controversy. These are bills drafted by Republicans with broad bipartisan support. In fact, the Interior bill is the exact same legislation that was passed by this Chamber by a vote of 92 to 6 last August—a margin that would override a veto of the bill, I might add.

I call on Leader MCCONNELL and Members of his party to let us get to work. We need to do what is right and immediately take up and pass the House bill today. There is no reason this shutdown must go on one day longer. The lives and livelihoods of everyday Americans hang in the balance.

As a final comment, I will say that I so much appreciate working with Senator LEAHY, who is vice chairman of the Appropriations Committee and who I know feels, sees, and hears from all of his Appropriations members how concerning this situation is.

With that, I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Vermont.

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, the Appropriations Committee has worked extremely hard to get these bills through. We passed them almost unanimously. Every single bill to keep this government open has been passed by this Senate or the Senate Appropriations Committee and will be passed again if Republicans allow it to come to a vote. They passed almost unanimously out of committee. Senator SHELBY and I worked very, very hard to

have bipartisan bills, and we did. I think the appropriations bills have had more bipartisan votes than they have had in over 20 years.

Now, where are we? We are on the 18th day of the Trump shutdown. For more than 2 weeks now, the President has withheld the paychecks of more than 800,000 Americans. He has held them hostage in order to extort Congress into funding his border wall—a wall for which he gave his word to the American taxpayers over and over again that Mexico would pay for, not the American taxpayers. Now he says: I want the American taxpayers to pay for it.

For more than 2 weeks, the President has withheld vital government services from the American people in order to gain leverage to fulfill a divisive campaign promise and rally his base. He has totally ignored that we had passed the bills that would reopen the government. Shamefully, he cares more about this cynical bumper sticker symbol of his Presidency than he does about the millions of Americans impacted by his shutdown or the hardships to come if the Trump shutdown continues. He wants rhetoric, not reality. I want reality.

I ask, what will the President say to the 800,000 Federal workers who will not get a paycheck this Friday because of this political stunt? What will he say to the men and women who have mortgages, families to feed, and bills to pay? What will he say to those forced to deplete their hard-earned savings or retirement funds or to those who have no safety net at all?

I will give an example. Just yesterday, a man called my office. He has a job with the Internal Revenue Service in Vermont. He has been furloughed. He will not receive a paycheck this week. He fears he will not be able to pay his bills past mid-January if he does not get paid. He has already turned off the cable and most of his family's cell services to save money. He is concerned about feeding his family, and his wife has serious medical issues that require attention. Incidentally, I was looking at the weather report for parts of Vermont. Tomorrow, it will be 5 degrees below zero. He also has to heat his home in that weather. So he was upset, he was worried, and he was looking for help.

Does the President even care about these people? The President claims he can relate to them, but he dismisses their fears, glibly saying they will "make adjustments." Make adjustments for their child's medical bills? Make adjustments for their mortgage payments? Make adjustments for heating their homes when it is 5 degrees below zero? He even absurdly claims they support his silly wall. Really? Really? Come on. There are 800,000 Federal employees who are affected by the Trump Shutdown. Let somebody poll them and find out how many support what many in Vermont have called a "dumb wall." I have never heard any-

thing more tone-deaf from a President of the United States of America.

Perhaps for a man who was made a millionaire by his father at the age of 8, the idea of living paycheck to paycheck is a foreign concept, but it is not to the millions of Americans—both Republicans and Democrats alike—across this country who struggle to make ends meet. They should not be bargaining chips in the President's game. This is not a game for them, and the President should not treat it as such.

In fact, in addition to all of the Federal employees who are wondering when they will get their next paycheck, vital services on which many Americans rely and have paid taxes to support have come to a grinding halt. Remember that. Americans have paid taxes for these services, and they have come to a grinding halt.

Farmers can't get loans from the U.S. Department of Agriculture—USDA—to get them through the next planting season because no one is in the office to process the applications. We passed a 5-year farm bill. I am proud of the bipartisan bill that Senator ROBERTS and Senator STABENOW led through the Senate. I was one of the conferees on that farm bill, and it was bipartisan. It is complicated, and there are new rules in it, but the USDA cannot implement the new farm bill because all of the staff have been furloughed. How about all of the midwestern farmers who don't know what the rules are going to be before they start planting? They have to make that decision now. They paid their taxes to have the Department of Agriculture to help them, but it is closed now.

Our national parks—the prize of this country since the time of Teddy Roosevelt—are being vandalized and littered with trash and human waste. Since the Trump shutdown began, seven people have died in national parks. The parks were left unsupervised and unstaffed.

Homebuyers are finding out that their Federal Housing Administration loan applications are on hold.

Food safety inspections are slowing. How many people are going to die of food poisoning?

The Small Business Administration has stopped issuing new business loans, and our Federal courts are running out of money.

This is the United States of America. We are an embarrassment to the rest of the world because of this. The President should be embarrassed because he is the one who has asked for the Trump Shutdown.

Everyone agrees that we need to secure our borders, but there are smart ways to do it. A wall is not one of them. It is a 5th-century solution to a 21st-century problem. In 2015, the President's own acting Chief of Staff said that the idea of a wall was "absurd and almost childish." He said that a "fence doesn't stop anybody who really wants to get across . . . you go under,

you go around, you go through it.” It may be one of the few times Mick Mulvaney and I are in agreement.

To do what the President wants to do would require seizing land from ranchers and farmers. Some of these ranchers and farmers have had that land in their families for years. They are proud, hard-working, taxpaying Americans, and we say that we are going to come in with a wall through their land. It would require building walls through wildlife refuges and nature preserves. It would forever scar the landscape and ecosystem of the southwest border in ways we cannot anticipate. After all of that and billions of wasted taxpayer dollars, what would we have accomplished?

Tonight, the President will assert that the security of our Nation is in crisis. He will assert that criminals and drugs are pouring across the border. But his claims are not grounded in fact. That is typical of the claims he makes. The disinformation coming from the White House has been staggering.

In his zeal to feign a national emergency at the border, the President has employed nothing short of a propaganda campaign like we have seen in dictatorships of the past.

The reality is that between the year 2000 and 2018, apprehensions at the border have dropped. How much? They have dropped by 75 percent. The reality is that apprehensions at the southwest border have dropped to similar levels we had in the 1970s. It has dropped.

The reality is, many southern border communities have violent crime rates that are lower than the national American average. The reality, according to the Drug Enforcement Administration, is that the vast majority of drugs apprehended at the border are seized at ports of entry so a wall between such ports would be entirely useless at stopping drugs.

The demographic that is increasing in number are families—women and children—seeking asylum. Many are not even trying to sneak past the Border Patrol; they present themselves to Border Patrol agents when they cross. They are not here to perpetuate violence; they are fleeing violence, they are fleeing murder, they are fleeing rape, they are fleeing crime from their countries. Wasting billions of American taxpayer dollars to build a wall will not stop them from coming. We need comprehensive immigration reform—like the bipartisan bill the Senate passed in 2013—and smart foreign policy to address these issues, not fearmongering, not distortions, not lies, and certainly not thousands of miles of concrete or steel.

The Constitution vests the power of the purse to Congress. It is our job to be good stewards of taxpayer dollars. A border wall doesn't meet that threshold. Even if it did, the President has never provided us with a detailed plan for how he would spend the money, and he has been all over the map about how

much he is demanding. The only thing he has said is: We are going to have a wall, and Mexico will pay for it. Fine, let Mexico pay for it. For someone who spent years as the host of a reality TV show, reality has never been his strong suit.

We are not in the business of providing blank checks to satisfy Presidential whims. The President's own budget request to Congress was \$1.6 billion for the wall, and he has never submitted an addendum. No matter how much he or others talk about it, he never has. Instead, he makes demands by tweets and through the press. I have lost track of all the times his demands for the wall have changed, but I still go back to the original request. The only request in his budget was \$1.6 billion.

This weekend, Democrats asked the Vice President for more details on their border wall request. The administration sent Chairman SHELBY and me a letter asking for \$7 billion in border security investments that the President is demanding as part of this negotiation, including \$5.7 billion for the wall. This letter came out of nowhere 3 months into the fiscal year and 18 days into the shutdown, and it did not come from the President, it came from the Acting Director of the Office of Management and Budget. I think I may have that letter. They are asking for \$5.6 billion more for the Department of Homeland Security than they proposed in their original budget request, including an additional \$4.1 billion for the wall. This came up this weekend, but the letter included no budget justification, no details, and no suggestions for how to pay for it. The letter has a lot of cliches but does not say where the money comes from or what it is going to do. That is not the way we operate. It should not be the way we operate.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the letter be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT, OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET,

Washington, DC, January 6, 2019.

Hon. PATRICK LEAHY,
*Vice Chairman, Committee on Appropriations,
U.S. Senate, Washington, DC.*

DEAR SENATOR LEAHY: The President continues to stress the need to pass legislation that will both reopen the Federal Government and address the security and humanitarian crisis at our Nation's Southwest border. The Administration has previously transmitted budget proposals that would support his ongoing commitment to dramatically reduce the entry of illegal immigrants, criminals, and drugs; keep out terrorists, public safety threats, and those otherwise inadmissible under U.S. law; and ensure that those who do enter without legal permission can be promptly and safely returned home.

Appropriations bills for fiscal year (FY) 2019 that have already been considered by the current and previous Congresses are inadequate to fully address these critical issues. Any agreement for the current year should satisfy the following priorities:

Border Wall, Customs and Border Protection (CBP): The President requests \$5.7 billion for construction of a steel barrier for the Southwest border. Central to any strategy to achieve operational control along the southern border is physical infrastructure to provide requisite impedance and denial. In short, a physical barrier—wall—creates an enduring capability that helps field personnel stop, slow down and/or contain illegal entries. In concert with the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, CBP has increased its capacity to execute these funds. The Administration's full request would fund construction of a total of approximately 234 miles of new physical barrier and fully fund the top 10 priorities in CBP's Border Security Improvement Plan. This would require an increase of \$4.1 billion over the FY 2019 funding level in the Senate version of the bill.

Immigration Judge Teams—Executive Office for Immigration Review (EOIR): The President requests at least \$563 million for 75 additional Immigration Judges and support staff to reduce the backlog of pending immigration cases. The Administration appreciates that the Senate's FY 2019 bill provides this level of funding, and looks forward to working with the Congress on further increases in this area to facilitate an expansion of in-country processing of asylum claims.

Law Enforcement Personnel, Border Patrol Agent Hiring, CBP: The President requests \$211 million to hire 750 additional Border Patrol Agents in support of his promise to keep our borders safe and secure. While the Senate's FY 2019 bill supports some Border Patrol Agent hiring, fulfilling this request requires an increase of \$100 million over the FY 2019 funding level in the Senate version of the bill.

Law Enforcement Personnel, Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE): The President requests \$571 million for 2,000 additional law enforcement personnel, as well as support staff, who enforce our U.S. immigration laws and help address gang violence, smuggling and trafficking, and the spread of drugs in our communities. This would require an increase of \$571 million over the FY 2019 funding level in the Senate version of the bill.

Detention Beds, ICE: The President requests \$4.2 billion to support 52,000 detention beds. Given that in recent months, the number of people attempting to cross the border illegally has risen to 2,000 per day, providing additional resources for detention and transportation is essential. This would require an increase of \$798 million over the FY 2019 funding level in the Senate version of the bill.

Humanitarian Needs: The President requests an additional \$800 million to address urgent humanitarian needs. This includes additional funding for enhanced medical support, transportation, consumable supplies appropriate for the population, and additional temporary facilities for processing and short-term custody of this vulnerable population, which are necessary to ensure the well-being of those taken into custody.

Counter-narcotics/weapons Technology: Beyond these specific budgetary requests, the Administration looks forward to working with Congress to provide resources in other areas to address the unprecedented challenges we face along the Southwest border. Specifically, \$675 million would provide Non-Intrusive Inspection (NII) technology at inbound lanes at U.S. Southwest Border Land Ports of Entry (LPOE) would allow CBP to deter and detect more contraband, including narcotics, weapons, and other materials that pose nuclear and radiological threats. This would require an increase of \$631 million over the FY 2019 funding level in the Senate version of the bill.

In addition, to address the humanitarian crisis of unaccompanied alien children (UACs), Democrats have proposed in-country asylum processing for Central American Minors. This would require a statutory change, along with reallocation of State Department funds to establish in-country processing capacities at Northern Triangle consulates and embassies. Furthermore, for the new procedure to achieve the desired humanitarian result, a further corresponding statutory change would be required to ensure that those who circumvent the process and come to the United States without authorization can be promptly returned home. Without the latter change, in-country processing will not reduce the unauthorized flow or successfully mitigate the humanitarian crisis.”

These upfront investments in physical barriers and technology, as well as legislation to close loopholes in our immigration system, will reduce illegal immigration, the flow of illicit drugs entering our country and reduce the long term costs for border and immigration enforcement activities.

The Administration looks forward to advancing these critical priorities as part of legislation to reopen the Government.

Sincerely,

RUSSELL T. VOUGHT,
Acting Director.

Mr. LEAHY. The President may not care about the impact the shutdown is having on millions of Americans, but the U.S. Senate—a body that should be the conscience of the Nation—should care. Stoking fear through misinformation in order to promote a political agenda is simply wrong. We could and should reopen the government this week.

Last week, the House passed a bipartisan, six-bill minibus to reopen most of the government and a continuing resolution for the Department of Homeland Security. To show how bipartisan it is, the six appropriations bills the House passed originated in the Republican-controlled Senate last Congress and had bipartisan support, including by Senator SHELBY as chairman and by myself as vice chairman of the Appropriations Committee.

I worked hard with Senator SHELBY—and I admire his efforts—to produce these bills last summer and fall, and all of them received nearly unanimous support when they were considered on the floor of the Senate or in the Appropriations Committee. Senator MCCONNELL should bring them to the floor of the U.S. Senate today and put them up for a vote. We have already shown virtually every Republican and every Democrat in this body will vote for them.

Bring them up. Let’s vote for them. End this nonsense. End it. The leader owes that to the American people. We owe that to the American people. Let us be the conscience of the Nation, not an institution that is simply a foil for the latest tweet or posting. We can do it. We have passed these bills before. Bring them up. Bring them up. Bring them up, and pass them again. Republicans and Democrats have voted for them in the past. The Republican chairman and I strongly support them. Bring them up. Bring them up. Bring them up and pass them and open the

government and let 800,000 Americans stop their suffering.

I yield the floor.

I see the Senator seeking recognition, so I withhold my request.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from South Carolina.

CONGRATULATING THE CLEMSON TIGERS

Mr. GRAHAM. Mr. President, I will be quick. I know we have a lot to do before we vote, but if you are from South Carolina, you have a lot to be happy about today. If you watched the football game last night, I thought you saw a real display of college football.

I am a South Carolina graduate. I went to the University of South Carolina. I have lived near Clemson most of my life, and I am here to congratulate the Clemson Tigers because after last night, the Clemson Tigers have become the gold standard for college football, both on and off the field.

What I like most about Clemson is, they believe you can’t win on the field if you lose off the field, and it starts at the top. Coach Swinney is the very definition of “all in”—with his family, his faith, his coaches and staff and his dedication and loyalty to his current and former players. He is one of the most beloved men I have ever met in the coaching profession. His players understand that he cares about them, and when he pushes them, it is only because he wants them to be the best they can be and the best the team can be.

Clemson University is not a football school, for those who are wondering. It is one of the top-tiered, academically challenging public universities in the entire country—and it is not bragging if it is true—which happens to have a great football team and a great coach.

To those who don’t want to see Clemson versus Alabama part 5, I can understand that. I have some advice for you. Get better and beat one of them. Don’t complain. These are the two best teams in the Nation.

To my friends from Alabama, your program is going to go down as one of the most historic programs in the history of college football, but last night, the best team in the Nation was the Clemson Tigers. They won decisively. They won with class. The 2018 season will be remembered as long as there is a Clemson University.

I live 5 miles from the stadium. I grew up in the shadow of Clemson University. I got an honorary degree from Clemson. That is about the only way I would have ever gotten a degree. I am very proud of what Clemson University has accomplished on and off the field. TIM and I will be introducing a resolution recognizing this great accomplishment by the Clemson Tigers.

I just want to end with this. In these troubled times, when there is a lot going on in the world, and there is a lot of bad news, this is a chance to celebrate something very positive. America is a football country, and college football is one of our most beloved sports. Last night, you saw two quality

teams. I can say, without a doubt, if you are going to follow college football, get to know the Clemson Tigers because you are going to see them again. Go Tigers.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Colorado.

S. 1

Mr. GARDNER. Mr. President, to my colleague from South Carolina, Senator GRAHAM, we will challenge the Clemson Tigers to the NCAA skiing championship anytime.

I rise to speak about the bill we are working on today, S. 1, Strengthening America’s Security in the Middle East Act.

I am proud to be a sponsor of this legislation, along with Senator RUBIO and Senator RISCH. I commend Chairman RISCH for working with the majority leader in attempting to move this important legislation and effort without delay.

I think it is important to recognize that this bill combines four non-controversial pieces of legislation from the 115th Congress that are intended to support our strong allies, Israel and Jordan, and to impose sanctions against the gross human rights abuses of the Assad regime in Syria.

We have no stronger ally in the Middle East than the State of Israel. Israel has proven itself to be a resilient beacon of democratic values, despite facing existential threats daily since its founding in 1948.

Our two nations have worked closely to fight terrorism, to stop the spread of radical Islamist extremism, and to prevent nuclear and chemical weapons proliferation by rogue regimes, such as Syria and Iran. The legislation before us today simply reaffirms our strong support for Israel, including \$3.3 billion per year in annual U.S. security assistance, consistent with the 10-year U.S.-Israel memorandum of understanding, which was signed in 2016 by President Obama.

In the 115th Congress, 72 Senators—72 Senators, Republicans and Democrats—cosponsored this legislation. It passed in the Senate unanimously on August 1, 2018. There is no reason why my colleagues across the aisle should not support this legislation today—no reason—in order to show our strong bipartisan support to our friend and ally, Israel, at a time of great need.

This package also includes provisions supporting State governments that have taken action against the anti-Israel and anti-Semitic movement known as Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions, or BDS. To date, 26 States—including my home State of Colorado—have adopted laws or executive orders against BDS. This legislation before us today simply endorses those decisions and clarifies that these measures adopted or enforced by a State or local government are not preempted by any Federal law if they comply with the requirements in the legislation.

This anti-BDS legislation had 48 bipartisan cosponsors in the 115th Congress. There is no reason it should not be passed with bipartisan support today.

BDS is a vile movement—a vile movement—and should be vociferously opposed by Republicans, Democrats, and everyone alike. This is why, on December 20, I led a letter, with 14 of my Senate colleagues, to the majority leader and the minority leader to take immediate action against BDS.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that this letter be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

U.S. SENATE,

Washington, DC, December 20, 2018.

Hon. MITCH MCCONNELL,
Senate Majority Leader,
The Capitol, Washington, DC.

Hon. CHARLES SCHUMER,
Senate Minority Leader,
The Capitol, Washington, DC.

DEAR LEADERS MCCONNELL AND SCHUMER: We write today to bring to your attention a disturbing development concerning the anti-Israel and anti-Semitic movement known as Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions (BDS). Regrettably, in recent days, future members of the U.S. House of Representatives have publicly expressed support for this extreme movement.

We urge you to issue a joint statement publicly condemning BDS and to prioritize legislative efforts in the next session of Congress to counter this destructive trend. We note there were bipartisan legislative efforts, including the Combating BDS Act (S. 170) and the Israel Anti-Boycott Act (S. 720), which were introduced in the 115th Congress.

Israel is our country's most steadfast ally in a highly volatile region of the world. The State of Israel has proven itself to be a resilient beacon of democratic values, despite facing existential threats daily since its founding in 1948. Working closely together, our two countries have worked to fight terrorism, to stop the spread of radical Islamist ideologies, and to prevent nuclear and chemical weapons proliferation by rogue regimes, such as Syria and the Islamic Republic of Iran.

As then-President Barack Obama stated in his speech in Jerusalem on March 21, 2013: "Israel has established a thriving democracy with a spirited civil society, proud political parties, a tireless free press, and a lively public debate—lively may even be an understatement. And Israel has achieved this even as it has overcome relentless threats to its security—through the courage of the Israel Defense Forces, and a citizenry that is resilient in the face of terror."

Simply put, the BDS movement seeks to de-legitimize the State of Israel and its people. Senator Schumer, as you so eloquently stated on March 6, 2018: "We must continue to stand firm against the profoundly biased campaign to delegitimize the State of Israel through [BDS] . . . While Iran publicly executes its citizens, Turkey jails its journalists, scores of Arab nations punish homosexuality with imprisonment and torture, why does BDS single Israel out alone for condemnation?"

It is disheartening to see future members of Congress take a position on BDS that is not only highly biased, but contrary to fundamental facts and detrimental to U.S. national security interests. We therefore respectfully urge you to immediately condemn

these comments and to show bipartisan support for our ally Israel.

Sincerely,

Cory Gardner, Lindsey Graham, Marco Rubio, Chuck Grassley, Ted Cruz, Susan M. Collins, Jon Kyl, John Hoeven, Steve Daines, John Thune, Cindy Hyde-Smith, Roger Wicker, James E. Risch, David Perdue, Tim Scott.

Mr. GARDNER. In that letter, we asked for immediate bipartisan response against BDS, including moving today's legislation forward. In that letter, we quote the minority leader, Senator SCHUMER, when he spoke at the annual American-Israel Public Affairs Committee conference just this past March. Less than a year ago, here is what Senator SCHUMER told the audience at AIPAC on March 5, 2018:

[W]e must continue to stand firm against the profoundly biased campaign to delegitimize the State of Israel through [boycotts, divestment, and sanctions].

While Iran publicly executes its citizens, Turkey jails its journalists, scores of Arab nations punish homosexuality with imprisonment and torture, why does BDS single Israel out alone for condemnation?

When there is such a double standard, when the world treats everybody one way and the Jew or the Jewish State another way, there's only one word for it: anti-Semitism. Let us call out the BDS movement for what it is. Let us delegitimize the delegitimizers by letting the world know when there is a double standard. Whether they know it or not, they are actively participating in an anti-Semitic movement.

Those are the words of the Democratic minority leader in March of 2018. I completely agree with Senator SCHUMER. Yet today I understand that he and Members of his caucus plan to vote against the motion to proceed on bipartisan legislation that would condemn BDS. It is regrettable. It is unfortunate. It is horrible.

It is also part of a new and disturbing trend that we see from some of our colleagues in the Democratic caucus. As we noted in our letter, several Members of the House of Representatives have now publicly endorsed BDS and have not been condemned by Senator SCHUMER and other Democratic leaders. We saw the manifestation of this dangerous trend 2 days ago, when a Democratic Representative issued a statement alleging that the Senators who introduced the bill before us today, myself included, forget what country they represent. This is a reprehensible charge of dual loyalty utterly unbecoming of a sitting Member of Congress, and we all need to come together to condemn such vile insinuations.

I am glad to see that respected, non-partisan organizations, like the American Jewish Committee, AJC, have now issued strong statements rebuking this Democratic Member of Congress.

The AJC statement reads in part:

AJC is outraged at the tweet posted by [the Representative] that U.S. senators who had introduced Israel-related legislation "forgot what country they represent."

That assertion, which completely avoids legitimate debate about the content of the

bill itself, insinuates that a number of respected, long-serving senators are somehow more loyal to Israel than they are to the United States.

The charge evokes classical anti-Semitic tropes about dual loyalty—in this case applied to some lawmakers who are not even Jewish—that have no place in our political discourse.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the statement from AJC dated January 7, 2019.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AJC OUTRAGED BY REP. TLAIB'S TWEET

(Jan. 7, 2019)

NEW YORK.—AJC is outraged at the tweet posted by Representative Rashida Tlaib (D-MI) claiming that U.S. senators who had introduced Israel-related legislation "forgot what country they represent." That assertion, which completely avoids legitimate debate about the content of the bill itself, insinuates that a number of respected, long-serving senators are somehow more loyal to Israel than they are to the United States.

The charge evokes classical anti-Semitic tropes about dual loyalty—in this case applied to some lawmakers who are not even Jewish—that have no place in our political discourse. Ironically, it was Representative Tlaib who took the unusual step of wrapping herself in a foreign flag upon winning election to Congress, and who said she would serve as "a voice for" another nation in the House of Representatives.

Her ad hominem attack on congressional colleagues joins a growing list of troubling statements by the newly elected member, including her rejection of a two-state solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

AJC calls on Rep. Tlaib to apologize for her offensive remarks.

Mr. GARDNER. Mr. President, I believe this body can do different, so I ask my colleagues to put politics aside and vote yes on the motion to proceed to this legislation that will help enhance our national security and will take strong action against a reprehensible and racist movement known as BDS.

I know there are some who believe we should shut down the Senate because of the current funding situation in the Federal Government, but let me remind Members of this Chamber that in 2013, under Democratic Majority Leader Harry Reid, what was voted on during the shutdown in 2013—here it is—a bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to take actions to implement the agreement between the United States of America and the United Mexican States concerning transboundary hydrocarbon reservoirs in the Gulf of Mexico. Somehow, in 2013, it was OK to find time for that measure.

While complaining about finding time for other measures right now, during the shutdown in 2013, they found time to address the Security Clearance Oversight and Reform Enhancement Act. They found time for the Small Airplane Revitalization Act. They found time to ensure that any new or revised requirement providing for the screening, testing, or treatment of individuals operating commercial motor

vehicles for sleep disorders is adopted pursuant to a rulemaking proceeding and for other purposes. Now they don't want to bring up anti-BDS legislation because we shouldn't be talking about anything else, but in 2013, they had time to vote on and to consider things like extending the period during which Iraqis who are employed by the U.S. Government in Iraq may be granted special immigrant status and temporarily increasing the fee or surcharge for processing machine-readable non-immigrant visas.

I am not downplaying the importance of these bills. I am saying that there seems to be a significant double standard and a significant partisan double standard because what is being complained about today is the same thing that was fine in 2013—had time to vote on a couple of district judges as well, but now there is no time for that.

People are saying we shouldn't vote on this legislation until the government is funded. I have said it very clearly—we need to fund the government. What also needs to be very clear is how people will vote on this legislation, to not hide behind the shutdown how they would vote on anti-BDS legislation.

We have heard the rhetoric. We have heard the very real comments from not fictitious Members of Congress but from actual Members of Congress who support an anti-Semitic movement. We can condemn it today with a simple vote to proceed. If people don't want to take too much time to debate it, I think everybody knows that it is right to support an anti-BDS position. They know it is right to oppose Assad and his chemical attacks and the other torturous actions he has taken against his own people. It is a pretty simple vote on this motion to proceed—vote yes; support the underlying legislation. Bipartisan Members, Republicans and Democrats, just last year supported this legislation, voted for this legislation, and I hope they will not let partisan politics get in the way of doing what is right.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Maryland.

Mr. VAN HOLLEN. Mr. President, we are now in day 18 of an unnecessary and shameful government shutdown. I am proud to be joined on the floor by my colleague and partner, the senior Senator from Maryland, BEN CARDIN, Senator TIM KAINE and Senator WARNER from Virginia, and many of my colleagues, to say loud and clear that the first order of business in this Senate should be to reopen the Federal Government because every day that goes by, more and more Americans are losing access to important government services, 800,000 hard-working Federal employees are going without pay and facing mounting monthly bills, 400,000-plus are working without pay to help protect our country, and over 300,000 are forcibly furloughed. Small businesses that do contract work for the

government are getting clobbered, as are the employees who work for them.

We have it within our power to vote tonight to end this shutdown by voting on the two bills that passed the House of Representatives last Thursday. They made it their first order of business, and so should we. I have copies of those bills.

I have a copy of H.J. Res. 1 right here in my hand. It would reopen the Homeland Security Department at current levels until February 8, allowing us an opportunity to discuss with the President the best and most effective approach to border security. It is identical to what this Senate passed on a bipartisan basis just before Christmas.

The second bill that passed the House—and I have that right here at my desk as well—would reopen the other eight Departments of the Federal Government for the remainder of the fiscal year and, importantly, at levels that were supported in this Senate on a bipartisan basis either through votes on this Senate floor or in the Senate Appropriations Committee.

Both of these bills—H.J. Res. 1 and H.R. 21—are on the Senate calendar. We could bring them up, and we could vote tonight to end the government shutdown. Then we could have a discussion with the President on the best way to secure our borders. Let's stop holding the entire Nation and 800,000 hard-working Federal employees hostage in a disagreement they have nothing to do with.

President Trump did say that he was going to be proud to shut down the government, and he did it. Every day that goes by in this Senate without a vote on the House bills to reopen the government makes this Senate more and more complicit in the shutdown. No Senator—no Senator—should be contracting out their constitutional responsibilities and their votes to the President of the United States. Let's not be an accomplice to this shutdown. Let's bring up the vote, bring up the bill, vote on it now—no business-as-usual tonight—and let's, first of all, do the people's business and reopen the government. Let's do it now.

I am proud to now give time to Senator CARDIN, my friend, the senior Senator from Maryland.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Maryland.

Mr. CARDIN. Mr. President, I take this time to support what Senator VAN HOLLEN has said. I am here with Senators WARNER and KAINE. We have the honor of representing Maryland and Virginia in the Senate, where there are so many Federal workers.

I want to underscore one point Senator VAN HOLLEN made about the two bills that are on our calendar that passed the House. These are not Democratic bills; these are bipartisan bills. These are bills that passed this body just a few weeks ago by unanimous votes to keep government open as we continue to negotiate on border security. They deal with appropriations

bills that passed our Appropriations Committees—in one case unanimously, and in one case, all but one Senator voted for it. So these are bipartisan bills that have been sent over to us from the House that have already cleared this body once. Now we can pass them, keep government open for most of the agencies, and in the case of Homeland Security, a continuing resolution.

This shutdown caused by President Trump is a disaster. It is hurting people. In this morning's Sun paper, there was an article about an important economic development project in Baltimore City on the east side that cannot move forward because HUD can't process the paperwork so it can go forward. We are getting hurt every day.

Senator VAN HOLLEN mentioned the 800,000 Federal workers. About half are being asked to show up and work every day without a paycheck. The others are being locked out and are being furloughed without pay. People are getting hurt.

The taxpayers of this country expect to be able to get government services from their agencies, and they can't get those services. They are being hurt.

Contractors are being hurt, small businesses are being hurt, and our economy is being hurt.

It makes no sense whatsoever. The first order of business should be to take up these two bills. Let's put aside what is currently pending. Let's bring up these two bills. We can return to that calendar immediately thereafter. We can do that, but let's make sure we get these bills passed so we can open government now. The Senate should not be complicitous in the shutdown that President Trump has caused. Let's act in good faith. Let's open up government. Let's negotiate border security. If we can't get that done quickly, we could at least have a continuing resolution and continue our debate on border security, but don't hold the American people hostage. That is exactly what the President of the United States is trying to do.

Mr. President, I yield the floor to Senator WARNER.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Virginia.

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Senator KAINE and I each be permitted to speak for up to 5 minutes prior to the scheduled vote.

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

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, I want to join my colleagues from Maryland and my friend, the Senator from Virginia, as well, to speak out on this manufactured crisis.

This President is holding 800,000 Federal workers hostage, folks who are going to work, some of them without pay, and others who are furloughed. As has been mentioned, this is not just affecting Federal workers. Senator KAINE and I have been talked to by a number of contractors, small business owners.

A couple of them are closing their doors this week because they have now gone for weeks without being paid. You can't put a business back together after you have closed its doors. So there are 800,000 Federal employees, there are contractors, but there is a whole slew of other folks who are already immediately affected.

The complete lack of thought this administration had in this shutdown—they tried to say: We are not going to make it seem like a shutdown. We are going to leave the parks open. Now we see destruction going on in our parks. We see in our State that Shenandoah National Park has trash overflowing. We have the battlefields where people have engaged in inappropriate activities. We have seen as well a whole slew of businesses that depend upon a high volume of tourist travel during the holidays—none of that took place.

I also wonder whether Donald Trump, who says this is about security—well, if it is about security, we ought to make sure our Coast Guard is paid. We ought to make sure our TSA agents are paid. We are seeing dramatic numbers of folks calling in sick, dramatically reducing the ability to maintain security at our airports, where, frankly, most of our vulnerability on the border actually takes place. That is going to get exponentially worse after Friday when these employees go without a paycheck.

The fact is, these workers don't work for Donald Trump; they work for America. Echoing what my colleague said, our first order of business ought to be making sure we get this government reopened.

The final point I want to make is this: The heartlessness of this President in his comments about our Federal workers that somehow they can manage through without a paycheck, that somehow they can negotiate with their landlord if they can't pay their rent—rather than Donald Trump putting on a political show tonight on TV and a political trip to the border tomorrow, I invite the President to come anywhere in Virginia, Maryland, or the District and sit down with Federal employees and explain this crisis and why they are not getting paid.

So my hope is that, echoing what our Senators from Maryland have said, the Senate shouldn't be complicit in this. We need to reopen the government. If we want to negotiate additional border security, I am all for it, but not holding hostage, literally, our Federal employees and countless others.

I yield to the Senator from Virginia.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Virginia.

Mr. KAINÉ. Mr. President, before I begin, I ask unanimous consent that following my remarks, Senator RISCH be permitted to speak for up to 5 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. KAINÉ. Mr. President, tonight following this vote, Senator SHAHEEN

and I have organized a group of more than 15 Democrats who will take the floor to talk about the effect of the government shutdown in each of our States. We will talk about the effect on workers, on families, and on citizens needing services. I don't want to repeat what I will say in about an hour, but I want to address the issue of the vote that is now coming before us.

The vote is a vote to proceed to a number of issues that are important to the security of other nations. I am the cosponsor of one of bills that is before us—a U.S.-Israel security assistance bill—and strongly, strongly support it, but as passionate as I have been for the security of the nation of Israel, I am every bit as passionate about the security of the United States, and I think the first business of this Senate should be to reopen the Government of the United States.

I think to take any other action or to focus on any other issue when we have bipartisan bills pending in the Senate that have been supported by our Republican colleagues that would reopen government—to skip by those bills and push them aside for another 18 days or longer—makes absolutely no sense.

So I will be opposing the motion that is on the floor this evening because the first business of this body should be to reopen government.

I think of the question that Abraham Lincoln raised at Gettysburg. He talked about this Nation dedicated to the proposition that all are created equal and the question about whether any nation dedicated to that proposition can long endure. I don't think President Lincoln, the founder of the modern Republican Party, would have supported a government shutdown for a year, for a week, for a day, or for a minute. This issue that is on the table before us is about the endurance of the United States Government and giving people confidence in us that we support the government's operation.

We should not take up other items until we take up the bipartisan proposal before this body and make sure that the government of the United States is funded and that people are protected.

I yield the floor.

S. 1

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Idaho.

Mr. RISCH. Mr. President and fellow Senators, I rise today to present S. 1, the Strengthening America's Security in the Middle East Act of 2019.

It is really a compilation of three bills, addressing three different issues in the Middle East. It is left over from the last Congress, the 115th.

It is fitting that the first piece of legislation on the Senate floor in the 116th Congress is made up of bills that have previously enjoyed the support of my colleagues on both sides of the aisle. This is a bipartisan piece of legislation—all three of them that are put together in this bill—with many Senators from both sides of the aisle hav-

ing contributed to the construction of this bill.

We need to get this important work done now, not in a month or two. It is leftover business, as I said, and it is about as unanimous as anything around here gets.

Now, I understand that there is friction around here at the moment, as my good friend from Virginia just talked about. But, look, we are the U.S. Senate. We can walk and we can chew gum at the same time.

These issues that are in this bill desperately need our attention, and it is disheartening to see that there is going to be a vote against this simply because the parties want to focus on just one issue. That isn't the issue in front of us. If it were, of course, we could vote that way.

I don't think there is anybody on this floor that wants to see the government shut down. There are a lot of us that would like to see a smaller government, a less intrusive government, and a less regulatory government, but we were elected to govern. We were not elected to not govern, and it is important that we do resolve that.

But in the meantime, we have these important matters left over from the last Congress, and I hope we can move to them and get them done.

Israel and Jordan have been steadfast allies and friends of the United States. This legislation reaffirms our strong friendship with these countries and extends critical aid to these two allies. Israel and Jordan deserve the support and cooperation that this legislation would extend. We should not let them down.

Also included in this legislation is the Caesar Syria Civilian Protection Act, which very nearly passed in the full Senate by unanimous consent in the closing hours and minutes of the last Congress. There was only 1 objection to it, but 99 Senators agreed to this act.

The Caesar bill declares that it is U.S. policy to use all diplomatic and economic means to compel the government of Bashar al-Assad to stop the slaughter of the Syrian people and to work toward a democratic government.

Sanctions are an important tool of U.S. foreign policy. Carefully designed sanctions allow the United States to create the conditions to influence decision-making and serve U.S. national security interests without having to implement additional military measures and put U.S. troops in harm's way. The sanctions method has been particularly effective in some very important situations.

The Caesar Syria Civilian Protection Act includes strong financial sanctions to target those individuals responsible in the Assad regime for the terrible loss of life and destruction in Syria. Further, it extends sanctions to those who would support the Syrian regime's actions in the war in Syria, such as Iran and Russia.

In order for us to bring a permanent defeat of ISIS, which necessitates getting Iran out of Syria, we should encourage politically negotiated solutions that will bring major change to the current Syrian regime structure.

With nearly 500,000 killed in Syria, this legislation is deserved, and it is long overdue. We must exert maximum pressure in coordination with our allies and friends to bring the Syrian dictator, Assad, and his Iranian friends and their allies to account.

It is my hope that the Senate can move to this bill and take up this important legislation with its three-pronged approach that supports our important allies. Let's not let these allies down.

Again, I come back to I understand that there is some friction here on other issues that we should be addressing, but right now the vote is this: Do you or do you not support the allies and the civilian population of Syria, who are being slaughtered in the fashion that they have?

My fellow Senators, I urge an affirmative vote on this good piece of legislation.

I yield the floor.

CLOTURE MOTION

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. RUBIO). Pursuant to rule XXII, the Chair lays before the Senate the pending cloture motion, which the clerk will state.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

CLOTURE MOTION

We, the undersigned Senators, in accordance with the provisions of rule XXII of the Standing Rules of the Senate, do hereby move to bring to a close debate on the motion to proceed to Calendar No. 1, S. 1, a bill to make improvements to certain defense and security assistance provisions and to authorize the appropriation of funds to Israel, to reauthorize the United States-Jordan Defense Cooperation Act of 2015, and to halt the wholesale slaughter of the Syrian people, and for other purposes.

Mitch McConnell, Chuck Grassley, John Barrasso, Cory Gardner, John Hoeven, Mike Rounds, Mike Crapo, Roy Blunt, Tom Cotton, John Boozman, John Cornyn, John Thune, Roger F. Wicker, Marco Rubio, Bill Cassidy, Shelley Moore Capito.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. By unanimous consent, the mandatory quorum call has been waived.

The question is, Is it the sense of the Senate that debate on the motion to proceed to S. 1, an act to make improvements to certain defense and security assistance provisions and to authorize the appropriation of funds to Israel, to reauthorize the United States-Jordan Defense Cooperation Act of 2015, and to halt the wholesale slaughter of the Syrian people, and for other purposes, shall be brought to a close?

The yeas and nays are mandatory under the rule.

The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

The yeas and nays resulted: yeas 56, nays 44, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 1 Leg.]

YEAS—56

Alexander	Gardner	Perdue
Barrasso	Graham	Portman
Blackburn	Grassley	Risch
Blunt	Hawley	Roberts
Boozman	Hoeven	Romney
Braun	Hyde-Smith	Rounds
Burr	Inhofe	Rubio
Capito	Isakson	Sasse
Cassidy	Johnson	Scott (FL)
Collins	Jones	Scott (SC)
Cornyn	Kennedy	Shelby
Cotton	Lankford	Stinema
Cramer	Lee	Sullivan
Crapo	Manchin	Thune
Cruz	McSally	Tillis
Daines	Menendez	Toomey
Enzi	Moran	Wicker
Ernst	Murkowski	Young
Fischer	Paul	

NAYS—44

Baldwin	Harris	Rosen
Bennet	Hassan	Sanders
Blumenthal	Heinrich	Schatz
Booker	Hirono	Schumer
Brown	Kaine	Shaheen
Cantwell	King	Smith
Cardin	Klobuchar	Stabenow
Carper	Leahy	Tester
Casey	Markey	Udall
Coons	McConnell	Van Hollen
Cortez Masto	Merkley	Warner
Duckworth	Murphy	Warren
Durbin	Murray	Whitehouse
Feinstein	Peters	Wyden
Gillibrand	Reed	

The PRESIDING OFFICER. On this vote, the yeas are 56, the nays are 44.

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

The majority leader.

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, I enter a motion to reconsider the vote.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The motion is entered.

CLOTURE MOTION

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, I send a cloture motion to the desk on the motion to proceed.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The cloture motion having been presented under rule XXII, the Chair directs the clerk to read the motion.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

CLOTURE MOTION

We, the undersigned Senators, in accordance with the provisions of rule XXII of the Standing Rules of the Senate, do hereby move to bring to a close debate on the motion to proceed to Calendar No. 1, S.1, a bill to make improvements to certain defense and security assistance provisions and to authorize the appropriation of funds to Israel, to reauthorize the United States-Jordan Defense Cooperation Act of 2015, and to halt the wholesale slaughter of the Syrian people, and for other purposes.

Mitch McConnell, John Hoeven, Roger F. Wicker, John Cornyn, Rick Scott, Mitt Romney, Cory Gardner, Marco Rubio, John Thune, Chuck Grassley, Todd Young, John Barrasso, Deb Fischer, Lindsey Graham, Johnny Isakson, James E. Risch, John Boozman.

Mr. MCCONNELL. I ask unanimous consent that the mandatory quorum call be waived.

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

The Senator from Louisiana.

REMEMBERING THE VICTIMS OF THE I-75 COLLISION NEAR GAINESVILLE, FL

Mr. CASSIDY. Mr. President, I rise to speak in memory of five children from Louisiana, my home State, who were tragically killed in an awful car wreck last Thursday in Florida—Jeremiah Warren, 14; Joel Cloud, 14; Cara Descant, 13; Brianna Descant, 10; and Cierra Bordelon, 9 years old—all from Marksville, LA, a small town of less than 6,000 people.

All of the children were members of the Avoyelles House of Mercy Church family. They were traveling together in a van with four other children and three women from the House of Mercy Church while on their way to Disney World. A tractor-trailer that was traveling in the opposite direction hit a car that crossed the highway, hit their van and another 18-wheeler, and created a ball of fire. The drivers in the two tractor-trailers died as well—Steve Holland of Florida and Douglas Bolkema of New Mexico. We include them in our prayers.

Losing five children is such a devastating tragedy for the Marksville community. One can hardly imagine the grief and shock that grips everyone who knew them—their neighbors, friends, family, and fellow church members.

Pastor Eric Descant said: “I cried so much this morning that my tears felt like lava running out of a volcano.” His granddaughters Brianna and Cara died in the crash. His wife, Karen, is still hospitalized.

During a Monday night vigil at Marksville High’s stadium, Pastor Descant spoke to the crowd over the PA system by phone from Florida. He said: “I never knew a heart could break so much and still work.”

He also delivered an important reminder that even in the midst of such immense heartache and loss, “God will get the glory out of it.”

He added: Don’t stop. Keep praying. I know so many around Louisiana and the country are doing just that.

We are also praying for the full recovery of those who were injured and who are still hospitalized: Karen Descant, Robyn Rattay, Amy Joffrion and her 14-year-old son Noah, Ali Laborde and her 11-year-old daughter Chelsea, and two other children, 9-year-old Trinity Woodward and 9-year-old Chance Bernard.

We are sincerely grateful to the people in Florida who assisted the victims and their families—the first responders, law enforcement, everyone at Health Shands Hospital, North Florida Regional Medical Center, and the Pentecostals of Gainesville.

To those around the country who have heard about this tragedy and have donated money through GoFundMe, thank you for your generosity, support, and prayers.

To my fellow Louisianans, I remind you of what Scripture says in Psalm 34: “The Lord is near to the broken-hearted, and saves the crushed in spirit.”

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Louisiana.

MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. KENNEDY. 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.

REMEMBERING THE VICTIMS OF THE I-75 COLLISION NEAR GAINESVILLE, FL

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I want to take a few minutes to join my colleague, Senator CASSIDY, to talk about the unspeakable tragedy that happened last Thursday near Gainesville, FL, when a large tractor-trailer crashed into a car, crossed into oncoming traffic, and struck a church van that was bound for Disney World.

I wish I understood why bad things happen to good people. There were five kids—five youngsters—from Marksville, LA, who lost their lives in that terrible collision. They were Joel Cloud and Jeremiah Warren, both 14 years old; Cara Descant, aged 13; Brianna Descant, aged 10; and Cierra Bordelon, aged 9. These five youngsters were members of the United Pentecostal Church in Marksville, LA. They were five beautiful lives, full of potential, who were gone before their time. It is heartbreaking, and there are, simply, no words.

I will say it again. I wish I understood why bad things happen to good people. I can't imagine any greater suffering than a parent's being asked to bury a child. The love of a child is not like the love for a parent or a spouse or a sibling. That is deep love. Yet, as my late father used to tell me, "Son, you will never, ever understand love until you have a child." I can't think of any greater suffering than to ask a parent to bury his or her child.

I want to tell each of these kids' families, the United Pentecostal Church in Marksville, the whole community in Marksville, and the Avoyelles Parish that the entire State of Louisiana grieves with you and that you are in our prayers.

The Marksville van was carrying some very precious cargo. In total, there were 12 passengers: 3 women—one of whom is pregnant—and 9 children. There were survivors—thank you, Lord—but many of the survivors were gravely injured, and I pray that they all have a swift and full recovery.

I want to express my sympathies to the families of the two drivers who died in that accident. I also thank the first responders who put themselves at risk every day to try to save lives during these catastrophes.

There are no words to describe this tragic accident. It happened far too close to the holidays, but there is never

a good time. I am going to say it again. If I make it to Heaven, the first question I am going to ask is, Why do bad things happen to good people? For now, I just pray that these families will find the strength they need to go on and that all the injured are healed quickly.

Thank you.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The senior assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

GOVERNMENT FUNDING

Mr. KAINÉ. Mr. President, I rise, together with a number of colleagues who will follow me tonight, to talk about the need to end the Trump shutdown and to reopen the government of the greatest Nation on Earth. I am glad to have so many colleagues here who each will share the stories that have been experienced by folks living in our States regarding a shutdown that has now gone on for 18 days and will soon become the longest shutdown in the history of the U.S. Government.

The shutdown is unnecessary, the shutdown is embarrassing, and the shutdown is painful. It is unnecessary. Why punish American workers? Why punish American citizens? No patriotic leader in their right mind would want to do that.

The thing that is so troubling about this shutdown is that the overwhelming majority of people who are affected are not connected to the dispute between Congress and the President over immigration reform and border security. Why should that dispute lead to farmers not being able to reach their extension agents? Why should that dispute lead to small businesses not getting their small business loan applications processed? Why should a dispute about immigration block the courts of DC from issuing marriage licenses to people?

The President praying for, urging, and then being proud of a shutdown is hurting all kinds of people who are completely unconnected with the issue in dispute between Congress and the President. In that sense, it is unnecessary.

Second, it is unnecessary because there are bills on the floor right now that would solve this—bills that are bipartisan, bills that were supported by the Presiding Officer and other Republican colleagues in the Chamber just a few weeks ago. If we took action right now, we could stop the punishment. We could end the pain—the gratuitous pain—that is affecting American families and workers.

The shutdown is unnecessary. The shutdown is embarrassing. This is the United States of America. This is the greatest Nation on Earth. The fact that we are in an 18-day shutdown of critical components of our government,

where people are not getting paychecks and citizens are not being served, is beneath what we should aspire to as Americans and certainly as U.S. Senators.

Finally, before I yield to my colleague from New Hampshire, the shutdown is painful. There are statistics about the numbers affected during the shutdown. Others may get into the statistics; I just want to share stories because Virginians are reaching out to Senator WARNER and me and sharing their stories with us.

Allen is a veteran and a Federal civil servant in Yorktown, VA. He has been working without pay since the shutdown began. He wrote to our office saying that his emergency savings are exhausted, he is behind on his bills, and the situation will not get any better as long as his Agency is unfunded. I will repeat that. Allen is a veteran who voluntarily served the military, this country, and this is how this President is treating him.

Joanna is from Woodbridge, VA. She wrote to me saying that she doesn't know what she will do if she doesn't get paid by the end of the month, as her family "can't afford to miss a single paycheck." She writes that "even a slight decrease" in her pay means her family cannot afford their rent.

A family from Culpeper wrote to me wondering how they will feed their children and pay their mortgage without being paid for their service to our government. They say that if this shutdown goes on for a month or more, they will have to worry about losing their home.

Michael and Chris, two Federal employees in Annandale, have three kids, two in college. They are going to have to miss their kids' tuition payments that are due for the semester this month. If the shutdown continues, they are not sure whether they will be able to make their mortgage payment.

James is a furloughed Federal employee from Fredericksburg. He says he is the "sole breadwinner" for his family. He tells me a shutdown that goes into months would spell financial ruin for his family and others.

A Virginian from Haymarket wrote me and told me that her loved one is a Federal employee who is working without pay. She had to postpone a necessary medical procedure because their family could no longer cover the costs of copays for testing and surgery.

Teresa is a Federal employee from Springfield. She is worried about paying her mortgage, utilities, food and more, but most of all, she is worried about the health of her son, Tommy. Tommy has a disability. She writes: Because of his medical fragility, Tommy must have numerous prescription medications; therefore, there are copays to pay. Missing a single dose could land him in the ICU. President Trump needs to stop holding Federal employees hostage. When I start missing paychecks, Tommy is possibly jeopardized in his own life.

Finally, John—a NASA contractor from Virginia—and his wife, who also works for the same Agency, have lost 100 percent of their household income since President Trump's shutdown started. Get this: Their daughter, who lives at home, is a schoolteacher, and it is their schoolteacher daughter who is helping pay for the parents' expenses during this shutdown.

The shutdown is unnecessary. The shutdown is embarrassing. The shutdown is painful. We need to end the Trump shutdown and reopen the government.

With that, I yield the floor to my colleague from New Hampshire.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Hampshire.

Mrs. SHAHEEN. Mr. President, I am pleased to join my colleague Senator KAINE and so many others who are here on the floor today to talk about the hardship that has been created for so many Americans by this government shutdown—a government shutdown that is wasteful, unnecessary, and totally about politics.

Today is the 17th day since this partisan brinkmanship shut down 9 out of 15 Departments and dozens of government Agencies that we depend on to protect our health and safety.

We could reopen the government's doors today if Senate Republicans take up the bills that were passed by the House—bills that were written and overwhelmingly approved by the Republican-controlled Senate just a few weeks ago.

If there is bipartisan and bicameral agreement on the appropriations bills, then why has the government shut down? Sadly, it is because the President wants to force American taxpayers to foot the bill for an ineffective and costly wall on the southern border—a wall which the President promised Mexico would pay for and which is opposed by the majority of Americans.

Meanwhile, the men and women who work in Agencies that protect the American people and who protect our borders are either not working or on the job but not getting paid. In total, more than 380,000 Federal employees have been furloughed, and more than 450,000 are working without pay.

This shutdown affects the entire country, including New Hampshire. It is not just the thousands of Federal workers who are affected by the shutdown; it is also harming millions of Americans who depend on essential services provided by the affected Agencies, people like those Senator KAINE described.

Last Friday, I had a chance to meet with farmers in New Hampshire who are affected by the ongoing closure of the Department of Agriculture's Farm Service Agency. They are not receiving the essential services and loans they need to prepare for spring planting.

Many dairy farmers, who have been under extreme hardship anyway because of the tariffs with China and falling dairy prices, talked about the im-

pact on them. Last year, New Hampshire dairy farmers lost \$1 million because of the tariffs, and our farmers tell me they are in danger of losing several million more this coming year. So they can't afford to have another hit.

The fact that this new dairy safety net program, which was passed in the farm bill—and congratulations to Senator STABENOW, the ranking member of the Agriculture Committee. She and Senator ROBERTS did a great job providing help for the first time for so many dairy farmers. Even though they are hurting because of the tariffs, those farmers can't benefit from that right now because the program's implementation has been delayed. They don't know how long they will be able to hold on before they are able to get help.

Furloughs have also slowed work at the Office of National Drug Control Policy and the programs it oversees that are integral to New Hampshire's effort to fight the deadly opioid epidemic. Everybody who is getting ready to speak has seen the effects in their States because of the delays in these programs. Last year, New Hampshire had the second highest rate of deaths due to opioid-related drug overdoses. Continued delays from the Agency will pull the rug out from under our first responders, who rely on ONDCP resources and critical Federal opioid response efforts. Just as we are beginning to see some progress in fighting the opioid epidemic because of the work of Congress, we are seeing steps taken that move us backward.

Of course, there are the air traffic controllers. Last Friday, I visited with New Hampshire's air traffic controllers to discuss how the shutdown is affecting their operations and safety at our airports. I have received 38 handwritten letters from New Hampshire air traffic controllers who are opposed to the shutdown.

(Mr. DAINES assumed the Chair.)

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that these letters be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DEAR SENATOR SHAHEEN, My name is Dara and I have been an air traffic controller with the FAA for close to 19 years. I am writing this letter to express my concern about our current government shutdown.

On Christmas Eve, my dear mother passed away. Ever since I was a child I have been taking care of her since she was permanently disabled from Multiple Sclerosis. The day before Thanksgiving she was diagnosed with metastatic cancer and was given 3-6 months to live. When she passed I was devastated! I had to call people on Christmas Day to tell them the news. That was so hard. I had to contact the funeral parlor down in NJ (that's where we're from) to coordinate a burial. I had to take 3 days off to make it work. But I still worked during this difficult time on Christmas Eve and Christmas Day and the 26th. I also ended up having to pay thousands of dollars for her funeral.

Honestly, this government shutdown has been the last thing on my mind. But now the

realization of not being able to pay my mortgage, credit cards from Christmastime, and now this funeral is too much to bear.

Air traffic control is a very stressful profession, but I am proud to be able to do it and work with such a group of professionals who come to work and are dedicated to safety in the National Airspace System. My colleagues and I deserve better.

Please end the government shutdown immediately!

DORA (Bedford, NH).

DEAR SENATOR SHAHEEN, As an Air Traffic Controller and constituent, I want you to know how the partial government shutdown is affecting me. For the last two weeks, air traffic controllers have remained on the job, dedicated to the safety of every flight. But we don't know when we will receive our next paycheck. My colleagues and I have suffered the sudden loss of our income due to the government shutdown. My husband is a firefighter/EMT in Londonderry. We both have very important and stressful jobs and take our responsibility for public safety very seriously. We have a home, a mortgage and are trying to start a family and the stress of not knowing when I will receive my paycheck is a heavy burden to bear. Many of my colleagues had to cancel vacation time over the holidays and miss out on time with their family out of concern that they would not be reimbursed for time off that they worked hard to earn.

It is not too much to ask to get paid for the time we are required to show up and work our hardest five days a week.

Many air traffic facilities are already critically staffed with many having scheduled 6 day work weeks. In our building, we currently have 6 employees whose training is at a standstill because their trainers are non-essential contractors.

Senator Shaheen, I truly appreciate your time and beg you to do all you can to end this shutdown immediately.

Sincerely,

SARAH (Deerfield, NH).

DEAR SENATOR SHAHEEN, As an Air Traffic Controller, I want you to know how the government shutdown is affecting my family and I. My husband and I are both Air Traffic Controllers and are extremely proud of what we do. However, not knowing when we will get paid puts a log of stress on us in addition to an already stressful environment that we work in. I myself am in training at A90 and this shutdown has the possibility of delaying my final rating, which means a pay raise. Bills do not stop and we are both out of a paycheck. This puts a huge burden on my family and I. Please end the government shutdown.

Sincerely,

MICHELLE (Pelham, NH).

DEAR SENATOR SHAHEEN, Thank you so much for all the hard work you are doing on my behalf to end this harmful government shutdown.

It was a pleasure to meet with you yesterday and discuss my concerns with the shutdown. As an Air Traffic Controller and President of Boston TRACON NATCA, located in Merrimack, NH, I was able to discuss with you firsthand how the shutdown is harmful to my coworkers and the FAA as a whole.

Please keep up the fight to end the shutdown.

Sincerely,

CURT (Merrimack, NH).

DEAR SENATOR SHAHEEN, I am writing to you today to share with you the effect the government shutdown has had on my family. I'm married to someone who is older and retired, so his income is considerably less than

mine. We have two small children and own a home in Merrimack, NH. We not only have a mortgage to pay, but other bills for heat and utilities and my car. This shutdown has been extremely stressful, more than the others I have worked through. The current administration has been so unpredictable as well as volatile, it's an actual thought that this could drag out for months and that non-essential friends and family that are currently furloughed will not receive pay. This shutdown is unfair to the dedicated and professional government employees, not just myself and the other air traffic controllers.

I am asking you to please end the shutdown. Please re-open the government and allow us to work knowing we will earn our paychecks again.

Sincerely,

LISA (Merrimack, NH).

DEAR SENATOR SHAHEEN, I am writing you today to share the impact the government shutdown is having on me and more importantly my family. First, I would like to tell you a little about my wife and I. We were high school sweethearts and have been married almost 15 years. While Kelly is not perfect, she is perfect for me. Kelly struggles with and is receiving treatment for anxiety and depression. Due to childhood trauma, she struggles with uncertainty. In previous shutdowns the not knowing causes stress and strife. Even the anticipation of a possible shutdown raises her anxiety so I have started to keep them to myself and not tell her until the last possible moment to save her the anguish. It has been over two weeks with no end in sight and this wreaking havoc on our relationship.

Next I would like to tell you about my two daughters. My oldest Kaley is 13, a bright honor roll student athlete. Kaley has been having gastrointestinal issues for a few years and just had her second endoscopy last month. Even with FEHB coverage the procedures are not free. We have a follow up with her G.I. tomorrow. I find myself hoping she won't need major medical treatments as money is starting to get tight.

Next would be my other daughter Savanna. She is 10 and like her mom suffers from anxiety. Like her mother, I have also tried to shield her from this so she won't worry because no 10-year-old should have to. Unfortunately, the time where I can protect her from this is drawing to a close as this week I will have to inform her dance studio that I won't be able to afford February's tuition. I know dance classes can seem frivolous in the grand scheme of things, but they are her outlet, her freedom, and her happiness. I hope and pray for accommodation and understanding from a N.H. small business owner to allow her to continue without payment. Another Savanna story for you, she has sensory issues and through therapy is finally learning how to voice them. About a week before Christmas while tucking her into bed, I jokingly asked her why she had 9, yes 9 blankets on her bed. Her response was a big break through for us. "Dad, I like the weight of it. It helps me calm down." That Saturday we were finishing up our Christmas shopping for mom and I took her into Yogibo at the Pheasantland mall. They have weighted blankets and I let her try it out. "Oooh dad, this is nice." Well, those N.H.-made blankets are \$80. Normally, a purchase would have been made that day. Unfortunately, that was the eve of the shutdown, and Savanna is still waiting patiently for dad's next check.

Lastly, how has this affected me? I put myself last as I normally do with the girls. It pains me to watch them go through this. Furthermore, I was faced with a thought that would never have come up normally. Thursday night my 64-year-old mother was rushed to the emergency room in Brockton, MA, about an hour away from Nashua. For a

brief fleeting moment I actually thought about fuel for my truck. I had fuel and have resources for more for now, but I need to keep driving to work without pay. I did go down to check up on her and she came home last night thankfully. I do despise the fact however that the thought of not going even crossed my mind. Starting next week I have to start looking for a second job to offset some of the losses. I will have 16 years of government service at 3 different air traffic facilities in March.

I humbly request your assistance in ending the government shutdown and returning some normality to our house hold.

Sincerely,

JAMES (Nashua, NH).

DEAR SENATOR SHAHEEN, First and foremost, I want to thank you for taking the time to read my letter. During times of a government shutdown, federal employees (either furloughed or working without pay) feel like no one is actively listening to their stories. With that in mind, thank you for hearing what I have to say.

I am a single mother of three, and I thank God every day for the job that I have. My career as an air traffic controller has enabled me to take care of my children and afford to give them opportunities that many families cannot afford. I have two girls attending out of state colleges. One is at Purdue University studying Airport management, the other at University of South Carolina studying Political Science. My son, 14, is in middle school and actively engaged in sports.

Some days, when I feel the stress of bills piling on, I feel guilty because I have a great job, make a really good salary, and have great benefits. However in the end, no matter how much any of us make, we all have bills and responsibilities. I work for the sole purpose of earning a wage to support my family. This government shutdown has left me worried. I called one of my creditors and they were not sympathetic at all. I'm worried about using credit cards and being charged a high interest rate and yet, life still happens. Food needs to be put on the table, cars need to run, and my daughter's rent at college still needs to be paid. Unfortunately, everything goes on except my paycheck.

Holding federal employees paychecks "hostage" should never be an option in the midst of Congressional funding arguments. The ironic thing about it is that I am "paying the price" and I am not even receiving a paycheck! I understand that everyone has an opinion on border security. I would hope that 100% of Congress (and the President) agree that employees of the federal government should not be a pawn in this matter.

I hope that you and your fellow members of Congress can come to an agreement to let federal employees go back to work, get paid, and feel safe knowing that their family needs are being met.

Sincerely,

SHERRI (Holliis, NH).

DEAR SENATOR SHAHEEN, As an air traffic controller and a constituent, I want you to know how the partial government shutdown is affecting me and my colleagues.

The lack of paid leave means missing time with the family. It means coming to work at a stressful job when you might not feel at your best. It means not being able to plan time off to get my car fixed or get that new furniture delivered during the week.

The world of air traffic is constantly evolving. New and revised rules and procedures are a constant. The lack of support personnel means that eventually those changes could be missed and safety compromised.

The lack of training in classrooms and simulators means an already short-staffed controller workforce will continue to shrink and controllers will not be able to progress in their careers. Eventually the lack of pay

may convince eligible controllers to retire or make others decide to seek other employment. The number of fully certified air traffic controllers is now at a 30-year low.

Please end the shutdown immediately.

Sincerely,

TODD (Manchester, NH).

DEAR SENATOR SHAHEEN, As an Air Traffic Controller and constituent, I want you to know how the partial government shutdown is affecting me.

In the past year my in-laws have moved in with my family. My father-in-law lost his job and him and his wife were no longer able to afford living on their own. The extra financial burden with the combination of the government shutdown is going to make it hard for me to meet my financial obligations.

Please end the shutdown immediately!

SHANE (Bedford, NH).

DEAR SENATOR SHAHEEN, I appreciate your efforts for our state and country. At this time I feel it is vital that you understand the impact that Washington politics is having on my family and friends. The inability for our elected officials to find common ground and demonstrate leadership is disheartening to say the least. It is time for our elected officials to put politics aside and put people as their priority. Our federal workforce has good men and women with a strong desire to place the needs of this country first, yet our elected officials are preventing this. Please end this shutdown now and allow us to do our jobs.

GERALD (Brookline, NH).

HON. SENATOR JEANNE SHAHEEN, I would like to first thank you for reaching out and meeting with our NATCA legislative leadership team yesterday. They do so much work, on their own time, to help support all the air traffic controllers throughout New England. As a constituent directly impacted by this government shutdown, I would like you to stress to all colleagues, Democrat or Republican, that this has and will continue to put an undo stress upon me and my family. As an air traffic controller, with one of the most stressful jobs in the world, the last thing that I need is to worry about when I'm going to receive my next check for work. I've been performing at a professional and safe level that is expected.

In the weeks leading up to the shutdown, and knowing that it was almost certain it would happen, my federal coworkers and I raised over \$12,000 in donations in the Southern New Hampshire area. This included 200 gifts and gift cards, totaling over \$18,000 to the Nashua Children's Home and \$4,020 donated to Family Promise of Greater Nashua at Anne Marie House. We will continue to contribute to our communities but please bring an end to this shutdown immediately.

Thank you for your time,

EVERETT (Bedford, NH).

THE HON. SENATOR JEANNE SHAHEEN, As an air traffic controller and constituent, I want you to know how the partial government shutdown is affecting me. For the last two weeks, air traffic controllers have remained on the job, dedicated to the safety of every flight. But, we don't know when we will receive our next paycheck. My colleagues and I have suffered the sudden loss of our income due to the government shutdown. It's going to be hard for me to meet all of my financial obligations.

Please end the shutdown immediately!

ANDRE (Derry, NH).

THE HON. SENATOR JEANNE SHAHEEN, I am currently working at Boston TRACON for

the FAA. For the past thirty years I have been providing air traffic services for the United States. For the first nine and half years I was serving the country in the Air Force during Operations Desert Storm and Desert Shield.

I am a one income family that relies on my federal paycheck. I have two children, one that is planning on going to college in the upcoming year. That being said, I should be financially planning to pay for her college, not my mortgage! While the Congress is celebrating, high fiving each other, I'm wondering, How will I meet my financial obligations. Please help end this nonsense soon.

Sincerely,

DOUGLASS (New Boston, NH).

Mrs. SHAHEEN. Air traffic controllers keep our airways safe, but, as we all know, they are being asked to work long shifts without being sure they are going to get paid for that work. One air traffic controller I heard from was recently transferred to the Boston area, which is covered in New Hampshire. She is the sole provider to her mother. Now she is paying not only her mortgage but her mother's mortgage.

In a letter she addressed to my office, she wrote:

As a sole source of income to my household, the foreseeable future of this shutdown is detrimental. . . . [It has created] a substantial burden on not just me but the thousands of federal employees it's impacting.

Sadly, the shutdown also stands to affect the safety of air travel—not because our air traffic controllers aren't on the job. They are on the job. They are doing the work even though they are not getting paid. But the fact is, men and women who provide administrative and maintenance functions on the runway—those people who fix equipment when it stops working, who are in the control tower and at airport facilities—they will not be at work to support our air traffic controllers. So when a runway or taxiway light goes dark, it is going to go unrepaired. That jeopardizes the safety and the efficiency of aviation operations.

Then there are the impacts to those Agencies that are funded by the Commerce-Justice-Science appropriations bill. I understand this particularly well as the ranking member on the CJS Subcommittee of Appropriations. I know what a devastating effect this shutdown is having on these Agencies.

More than 41,000 law enforcement agents of the Department of Justice—including agents within the FBI, the Drug Enforcement Administration, and the Bureau of Prisons—are working for IOUs. We are hearing this directly in New Hampshire, where every staff member at the Federal Correctional Institution in Berlin, NH, which is in northern New Hampshire, is excepted. That means they are required to report for work, and they are not being paid.

I would like to read an excerpt from a letter I received from Chris Allen. Chris is the president of the union at FCI Berlin, which represents 180 staff members. He highlighted the kinds of choices staff members are being forced to make. He said:

While some staff members can call and potentially have a mortgage or a car payment

excused if they are missing only one source of income, even buying simple groceries or paying for childcare becomes difficult for a family when all sources of income have been stopped and you are required to continue working.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have Chris's letter printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES COUNCIL OF PRISON LOCALS, LOCAL #2008,

Berlin, NH.

DEAR SENATOR SHAHEEN: My name is Chris Allen and I am the President of AFGE Local 2008. I represent 180 staff members at the Federal Correctional Institution in Berlin, NH. Today I write to you with great concern for these federal employees. As you are aware, these staff members are currently being affected by the current lapse in funding for the Justice Department. Every staff member employed at FCI Berlin is considered "excepted" and are required to report for work without being paid at this time. Next week, on January 17, 2019, which would have been our next scheduled pay day, we will be missing our first full pay check.

We are fortunate to have some banks willing to lend a helping hand to employees during this difficult time. However, it hasn't been a save all either. Staff members are running into issues with banks asking for documentation that they are truly furloughed and guaranteed to be paid when the shutdown ends. With no firm date that the shutdown could be resolved and no legislation in place to guarantee they will be paid in the end, banks are giving staff a harder time while they are applying for loans at a 0% interest rate. The other fear is that the shutdown continues past one or two pay periods. Many of the banks are only offering short term loans equal to only one or two pay checks. If the shutdown continues, banks are undecided on whether future low or no interest loans will be continued for our staff.

We also have a number of families working at FCI Berlin that have two incomes coming from the Justice Department. While some staff members may have a significant other being paid from outside the government, many of our families are now missing two sources of income. While some staff members can call and potentially have a mortgage or car payment excused if they are missing only one source of income, even buying simple groceries or paying for childcare becomes difficult for a family when all sources of income have been stopped and you are required to continue working.

I ask you and your colleagues in Washington to please keep the excepted staff of FCI Berlin in mind during this time of shutdown so they can be paid for the professional work they do day in and day out to keep our communities safe.

Sincerely,

CHRIS ALLEN,
President, AFGE Local 2008.

Mrs. SHAHEEN. Mr. President, because of the shutdown, the Department of Commerce is not processing U.S. companies' requests to be excluded from the President's steel and aluminum tariffs. That delay will cost companies millions of dollars and will increase economic uncertainty. The shutdown is also preventing the Department of Commerce from assessing new anti-dumping and countervailing

duties cases that help ensure our companies are competing on a level playing field.

Finally, this shutdown, like all shutdowns, is going to put a lasting burden on the economy. The 16-day shutdown in 2013 cost the government \$2.5 billion in pay and benefits, and it lowered fourth-quarter gross domestic product for the country by about \$3 billion in lost output.

The 2018 Trump shutdown has furloughed about 380,000 employees, nearly half of the number furloughed in 2013. So it is fair to say that the shutdown has already cost the government at least \$1 billion, and the number is growing every day. The toll this shutdown is taking on the American people was completely avoidable. That is what is so frustrating, and I know it is frustrating to everybody in this Chamber.

Last week, the House passed legislation to reopen the government that is virtually identical to legislation that passed the Senate or was reported by the Appropriations Committee with strong bipartisan margins. In fact, here, as we remember, that continuing resolution to allow us to keep negotiating passed by a voice vote.

I urge Senator MCCONNELL to bring these bills to the floor. Let President Trump decide to sign them or not sign them. He can make that choice as President, but we are a separate branch of government, and it is up to us to make the determination to end the shutdown immediately and to do what is right for the American people. We need to ensure that all government employees affected by the shutdown receive the pay they deserve. I know there is legislation, led by Senators CARDIN and COLLINS, to do that. I urge Congress to take up and pass this critical legislation as soon as possible.

One of the most fundamental constitutional duties of Congress is the appropriations process—to supply annual funds for Federal programs that support national defense, transportation, small businesses, food assistance for low-income families, research and development, and so much more. Right now, by refusing to allow legislation to reopen the government, this Senate—this Congress—is failing, and millions of Americans are suffering as a result.

I urge President Trump, Senator MCCONNELL, and congressional Republicans to reopen the government and allow Americans to get back to work.

I yield the floor.

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, I rise today out of deep frustration with the Trump administration's treatment of Federal workers due to the government shutdown.

It has been 17 days since more than 380,000 Federal workers were furloughed and more than 450,000 began working without pay.

Once upon a time, we were told that Mexico would pay for the President's border wall. Now the President is demanding taxpayers cough up more than \$5 billion, and he is holding our Federal workers hostage until he gets it.

At first the President tried to paint Federal workers and contractors as political actors. Now he imagines that Federal workers are actually cheering him on.

But rather than imagining what Federal workers are going through, I encourage the President and my Republican colleagues to listen to the firsthand accounts of how this shutdown is affecting the real families caught up in it.

Here are some of the messages I have received from Virginians whose families are experiencing significant financial hardship because of this President's shutdown.

Rebecca in Chesapeake writes: “. . . I just want my husband to be able to go back to the work he loves and to have stability for my family returned . . . The stress of not knowing how long this will last is eating at both my husband and me.”

Rosemarie in Falls Church shared this: “My husband was diagnosed last week with advanced lung cancer and now on top of that stress, I have to worry about not getting a paycheck . . .”

The President, who has never worked for a paycheck in his life, says he can relate. He says he is sure Federal workers “will make adjustments.” Here is what those “adjustments” actually look like.

Lisa in Arlington writes: “I am forced to look for multiple part-time jobs to make ends meet and my savings will soon run out. Creditors and landlords have only so much patience with us.”

How disheartening it must be to dedicate your life to serving others, only to find your own livelihood in jeopardy through no fault of your own.

That is why I am doing everything I can to make sure Federal employees receive back pay for any time spent furloughed or working without pay.

That means low-wage Federal contractors, too. The other day, I received a letter from a Federal contractor from Ashburn, who says the shutdown has “rocked the financial stability of my family.”

These folks who serve the Federal Government as custodians, cafeteria workers, security guards, and in many other important roles should not suffer because of this President's actions.

We also need to reverse the President's unilateral Federal pay freeze—a slap in the face to hardworking Federal employees—announced just a few days before Christmas.

The truth is, Federal workers are sick and tired of being treated like bargaining chips by this administration.

Here is what Chad, furloughed NASA engineer from Suffolk, told me: “I'm disappointed to once again find myself barred from doing the job that I love. I find it offensive to be used as a political pawn and find the recent executive order to freeze civil servant pay at 2018 levels, while on furlough no less, to be shockingly disrespectful and wrong.”

Federal workers aren't in this business to get rich; they are public servants who often forgo higher pay in the private sector to serve their country.

Dishonoring this sacrifice with a shutdown, with a pay freeze, and with the President's utter indifference to our Federal workers is a national disgrace.

It is having a devastating effect on morale and the Federal Government's ability to recruit and retain talent.

Here is how Joanna, a DHS employee from Woodbridge, put it: “I love my job, but being a pawn for those who have no compassion for me or those I work beside is going to drive me and many, many others out of public service.”

At a time when the share of Federal employees eligible for retirement is expected to jump to 30 percent in 5 years, the last thing we should be doing is actively undermining the competitiveness of the Federal workforce.

In conclusion, I thank my friend, Senator KAINE, for bringing us together this evening and for his partnership in fighting for Virginia's Federal workers and contractors.

Thank you as well to my constituents Rebecca, Rosemarie, Lisa, Chad, Joanna, and others for allowing me to share their stories.

I want to reassure them and every Virginian that I remain committed to ending this unnecessary shutdown and making sure every worker impacted by it is made whole.

Thank you, Mr. President.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Illinois.

Mr. DURBIN. Mr. President, I thank the Senator from New Hampshire, as well as the Senator from Virginia and my other colleagues who are gathered here.

My trek each week to this desk starts in Illinois. It means that for a number of years, I have gone through the airports of the Midwest—primarily in Illinois and Missouri—more than most. In fact, I probably know O'Hare Airport and every corner of it better than anyone who doesn't work there on a regular basis, and I know the people who work there, too, at all different levels.

Starting in 2001, we brought in TSA as a means of making certain that we would be safe boarding airplanes, that people would not bring guns or weapons or bombs onto planes. These men and women, of course, get on our nerves once in a while as we have to open a valise or piece of baggage and take off our shoes, and perhaps we forgot there was a water bottle onboard. It is a little frustrating, and I know I have had that feeling, but I often think to myself: They are doing their job, and thank goodness they are. If it weren't for the men and women of TSA carefully screening passengers every single day, we would not be as safe, nor would our families be as safe, on these airplanes.

At 10 this morning, I went out to O'Hare. Instead of heading to the gate

to catch a plane, I had a press conference and brought four of these TSA agents in to explain what has happened to them and what will happen this coming weekend because, you see, this is showdown weekend for these employees. President Trump's shutdown of the Federal Government will mean that for the first time this coming weekend, these employees of the Transportation Security Agency are not going to receive a paycheck. They show up for work every day. They have to. They are known as essential personnel, which means our government has decided we can't really function as a nation without them. Yet our government has decided—at least in the White House—that as important as they may be, as essential as they may be, starting this weekend they will work without pay.

I had not met them personally before, but I asked each of them to explain, what is this going to mean to you and your family—not getting a paycheck.

They really brought home to me what workers across America—not just Federal employees but workers across America—face every payday. They each said to me, with only one exception: Senator, we live paycheck to paycheck. If we don't receive our paychecks, we have to make some basic decisions.

One young woman, who had worked for 16 years for TSA, said to me: I live 39 miles away from O'Hare, roundtrip 78 miles every single day, and I make it because I need this job, and I need gasoline for my car to get here. It costs me a lot of money each and every day and every week. I don't know what I am going to do without the paycheck.

Another one talked about the fact that they are dealing with expenses we all face—whether it is mortgage or rent—and what it will mean to them if they can't make their mortgage payment. Well, if you don't make your mortgage payment on time, and time passes, it affects your credit rating. It could affect the interest rate you pay on your mortgage or whether you even have a mortgage when it is all over. So, for these people, it is a critical element.

One woman brought up something, which I am sure many working families know instantly. She said: Senator, if I can't get my paycheck, I can't pay the daycare center that takes care of my kids while I come to work here every day. That is the reality of life for working families.

So why in the world has President Donald Trump decided that in order to make his case to the American people, he is going to penalize these workers, many of whom are essential to America's security and safety? Why did he do this?

I would have to say, with all due respect to President Donald Trump: Pick on somebody your own size. Stop picking on people living paycheck to paycheck who are trying to serve this Nation in important ways.

What we hear from the President: I just have to do it because I have to have my wall.

We remember the wall. You couldn't miss it in his campaign. He talked about it incessantly, the sea to shining sea concrete wall that was going to protect America and be paid for by the Mexicans. Remember that? Well, here we are. We have given the President money over the last 2 years in his Presidency to construct fences and barriers where they are needed—not his almighty wall, 2,000 miles long—but we have asked him to justify each year how he is going to spend this money, taxpayers' dollars, and whether it really is worthwhile.

The President has decided he is impatient. He can't wait any longer. He has to have huge sums of money, maybe even \$5 billion, dramatically increasing spending on barriers at the border, and he has to have it now, and the only way to make his point is to shut down the government.

I was at a meeting last week when the President said: Make no mistake, I am not talking about shutting down this government for a few days. I am prepared—and he repeated it afterward in front of the cameras. Donald Trump said: I am prepared to shut down this government for months, even years.

Now, this President is making history. No President in the history of this country has ever shut down his own government. We have elected men to lead and manage this government, and we understand that their responsibility is to keep the lights on and make sure taxpayer dollars are well spent, but this President doesn't understand that to be his responsibility, and a lot of innocent people are suffering.

Yesterday, I was at the Department of Agriculture research lab in Peoria, IL. It turns out it is the largest one, with 200 researchers there. You think to yourself, they are doing important research when it comes to agriculture. It turns out this lab has some amazing history behind it.

It was during World War II at this lab where they discovered penicillin. It was at the Peoria ag lab where they came up with penicillin that we could use for our troops who were being wounded in World War II, saving countless lives in the process. They are pretty proud of that legacy, and they should be.

Do you know what they are working on now? The Peoria ag lab is working on something called tunicamycin. I had never heard of it, and I am a liberal arts lawyer so I don't understand a lot about it, but here is what it gets down to: This element, which occurs naturally in nature, can boost the healing power of antibiotics that have been spent—they no longer have an effect on people—but if tunicamycin is added, they can once again be effective and save lives. Peoria may have done it again: first penicillin, now tunicamycin. Well, the lights have been turned off at the Department of Agriculture research laboratory in Pe-

oria. They have been turned off because of President Trump's shutdown.

I met with one of the research team. She has worked there for 15 years, she has a degree in chemistry, and she is doing her best to do her job, but she is not going to get paid this weekend. I asked her what she was going to do as a result of it. She said: I hoped I might be able to apply for unemployment compensation, but, Senator, the records I need to produce for unemployment compensation are in that laboratory building, and I can't get in there. They have shut me out.

She can't even apply for unemployment compensation so her family can get by until the shutdown is over. Why did we do this to her? Why does this President want to impose this kind of shutdown and hardship on people who are doing worthy work—at taxpayers' expense, for sure, but for the taxpayers of America? Whether it is TSA agents or it is people at the ag lab, these are good people who are dedicated to this government and have given their life and their life's work to this government. They deserve better treatment than this.

Let me close by saying a word about the border. The President says it is all about walls. Well, it turns out there are things he hasn't shared with the American people, and he is not likely to do it when he makes his presentation this evening.

Take a look here at the apprehensions at the border. These are the apprehensions being made by Federal agencies and people trying to cross the border illegally. Notice something? You may have noticed, in the year 2000, there were 1.6 million apprehensions. Then take a look at the year 2018. The apprehensions are down to slightly under 400,000. So from 1.6 million to slightly under 400,000.

We are going to be told we are facing a security crisis at the border, and it turns out that we have fewer people seeking to cross the border illegally now than we have in 45 years, and the apprehensions of those people have gone down dramatically from 1.6 million to slightly under 400,000, and we have already dramatically increased the number of people in Border Patrol.

Meanwhile, let me add something that the President doesn't talk about because it doesn't fit into his wall scenario. We are facing the worst drug epidemic in the history of the United States of America. It is opioids, heroin, and fentanyl, and fentanyl has now been identified by the CDC as the deadliest narcotic on the streets of America.

Where is the fentanyl coming from? I can tell you where a large part of it is coming from, from China through Mexico. Oh, they must be putting it in backpacks and jumping over the border. No, 80 percent of the fentanyl seized by CBP in 2018 was coming through ports of entry, places where vehicles and railroad cars go through now. So 80 percent of this deadly

fentanyl seized by CBP was coming through ports of entry. What are we doing to stop it? Let me tell you, we are not doing enough. Ninety-eight percent of the railroad cars that come into the United States are scanned, a basic x ray, to find out what is inside that car. Is it something that wasn't disclosed? When it comes to cars and trucks coming into this country, 18 percent are being scanned, fewer than one out of five of the cars and trucks coming into this country. Ever wonder how the fentanyl is coming into this country and killing people in every town across the State of Illinois and across America? It is coming in through ports of entry.

If the President would stop preaching about his almighty wall and take a look at real border security, he would be doing what is necessary to stop this fentanyl and these drugs coming into this country—and we are not doing enough.

I am for border security. Make it smart. I am not worried about a President keeping a campaign promise that didn't make sense from the start. I am worried about keeping this border safe for our families across the entire Nation. Tonight, let's make sure the people who work that border and work at TSA and work for the Federal Government get back to work this week. That is priority No. 1.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Michigan.

Ms. STABENOW. Mr. President, I am very proud to join with my colleagues tonight. I thank the Senator from Virginia, the Senator from New Hampshire, and other colleagues who are here to speak out and talk about common sense and what is happening and what we believe should be happening for the American people.

In Michigan, we are building a new bridge, and Canada is paying for it. That is the truth. Canada is paying for a bridge in Michigan. Here in Washington, President Trump is demanding walls that he is expecting American taxpayers to pay for—walls that the majority of experts and the majority of people do not believe will be effective in keeping us safe. Meanwhile, in Michigan hundreds of Customs and Border Patrol officers, who keep us safe every day, are working without pay, and that is wrong.

The President says we need more security. I support strong border security, as my colleagues do—strong, effective border security. I also support economic security for hard-working Michigan families.

Some Federal employees in Michigan, as other colleagues have spoken about, are wondering how they are going to support their families, pay their mortgages, and keep the heat on without the paychecks they are supposed to receive on Friday.

President Trump is talking about a humanitarian crisis. Here is a humanitarian crisis: 38 million people who depend on food assistance—the Supplemental Nutritional Assistance Program—to keep food on their tables now have to worry that it might suddenly be gone. Most of those Americans are senior citizens, people with disabilities, and children. This shutdown fight should not be about politics, but it is. It should be about people. What is happening here is about people, and the American people are losing.

One issue we should be able to agree on is the border. We all support border security. I can't say that enough, and my colleagues say that as well. I certainly know the importance of border security, as a Member from a border State—in fact, the State with the most active crossings at the northern border. The professionals on our northern border keep us safe every day, and they know what they need to do their jobs. They will say: It is more resources, more staff, more people. Above all, they need more technology. What they don't need is a 1st-century solution to a 21st-century problem. Building a wall on our border is a little like providing the U.S. Army swords and shields and expecting them to defend our Nation today.

Unfortunately, this administration is more focused on the merits of concrete versus steel than actually protecting the American people in a real and effective way. If our border is a national emergency right now, then, why hasn't the President spent the hundreds of millions of dollars that we have already given him in the last year's budget. We have already allocated dollars for border security—the majority of which has not been spent.

We all agree that border security is a high priority, and we should also be able to agree that workers—people working—deserve to be paid, and they should be able to take care of their families.

I have heard from Michigan workers who can't pay their bills and are desperately seeking temporary jobs—families who have been left without health insurance, businesses that contract with the Federal Government, that know that even if Federal workers get paid back at the end of this, they will not. There are also thousands of small businesses that depend on spending by Federal employees to remain open—the dry cleaner, the neighborhood store, the local restaurant.

This shutdown is also hurting American agriculture. My colleagues have talked about the fact that at the end of last year, just a few weeks ago, we passed a strong bipartisan farm bill to help farmers struggling with low prices, with growing trade concerns, and unpredictable weather, to say the least.

During these difficult times, our farmers desperately need the predictability and confidence of a 5-year farm bill. That is what Senator ROBERTS and

I spoke about every day on the floor of the Senate: We need to put in place a 5-year farm bill with predictability for farmers in rural communities and families. However, the President has undermined the certainty that the farm bill provided by continuing this shutdown at the U.S. Department of Agriculture.

Every day the USDA is shut down is another day the improvements we made in the 2018 farm bill are delayed. Local farm service offices all across Michigan are closed. Farmers can't apply for the loans they need, as they look to next year. We have dairy farmers in very desperate situations. We dramatically increased support for them in the farm bill—a new dairy program—and they need it now. They needed it yesterday. They needed it last week.

Important crop reports have been halted that farmers need to make decisions about upcoming planting seasons: What is the market? What are the prices? And there are all kinds of technical information they need to plan to move forward. Frankly, the USDA World Development Office is the economic development arm for every small town in every rural community in Michigan. Our rural homeowners cannot receive the housing loans they need to finance their homes and pay their mortgages. There are so many other ways things have stopped.

We can't forget about our families on food assistance. Thirty-eight million people are able to put food on their table thanks to the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program, or SNAP. While we should certainly do everything we can to ensure that food assistance is available in the near term—and I appreciate the Department working on that—our families deserve long-term certainty, especially considering that nearly 70 percent of those on SNAP are seniors, children, and people with disabilities. It is unconscionable to risk letting those most in need go hungry because of the politics of a government shutdown.

Beyond SNAP, school meals, support for WIC—a very important program for women, infants, and children—and food for seniors are all at risk if this continues to go on. Due to the shutdown, local food banks are no longer receiving funds to distribute and to store food. There are very real consequences going on. We could go through every single Department to speak about what is happening to real people and what will happen if this does not get resolved.

We can disagree about a lot of things. We should be able to agree, though, that people keeping us safe every day should be paid; that Federal workers should be able to pay their bills and take care of their families; that children, seniors, and people with disabilities shouldn't have to worry about where their next meal is coming from because of a government shutdown.

It is time for the President to end this. It is very easy. The House and the

Senate now have both passed the appropriations bills on a bipartisan vote. At the end of last year, we passed it in the Senate. It was just passed last week in the House. We can re-pass those bills. They should go to the President's desk, and this shutdown should end. He should sign the bipartisan appropriations bills and put the American people first.

We can and will continue to debate what border security looks like and how we can be most effective, doing what we all want to see get done. It is time to stop the shutdown and for the President to sign the appropriations bills that are bipartisan and make sure the American people know he is on their side when it comes to what is happening in the country.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Mexico.

Mr. HEINRICH. Mr. President, we are now in the third week of President Trump's government shutdown. This is yet another manufactured, unnecessary, and irresponsible crisis from this President. This one comes at a steep, steep cost for very real people. A government shutdown ripples throughout the entire economy. It shakes consumer confidence. It impacts hard-working families.

In my home State of New Mexico, almost 6,000 Federal workers have been furloughed or are working without pay, many of whom were already living paycheck to paycheck before this President's shutdown.

Carol from Tijeras wrote to me: "I feel I am being held Hostage by my government which I have always felt it was an honor to work for."

Carol is worried about how she and her coworkers are going to pay their mortgages and their car payments if this shutdown continues.

Kathy from Los Lunas wrote to me: "I am a federal employee and I am dismayed that the president is holding us hostage. . . . He needs to quit toying with our lives and all of the public that we support and serve and end this shutdown."

It is hard to say it any better than that. The shutdown's impacts hit far more than our Federal employees. Hundreds of thousands of New Mexicans rely on the Federal agencies that President Trump refuses to reopen.

During President Trump's shutdown, our public lands have had to lock their gates or leave parks and facilities unstaffed. The impacts of reduced visitation, the challenges for furloughed public land workers, and the costs of repairing the damage accrued during the shutdown will hurt communities across our State and many others.

In this era of increasingly extreme and catastrophic wildfires, I am particularly worried about the impact that a prolonged shutdown will have on our national forests.

Nicholas, a wildland firefighter fighter from Las Cruces wrote to me that he and his coworkers have been furloughed. He says: "If this shutdown is

not resolved, it will impact my ability to provide for my family.”

Nicholas deserves to be able to support his family. Our communities can't afford to wait for Nicholas and his co-workers to do their essential work that keeps our forests healthy and prevents more destructive wildfires.

Our State's farmers and rural communities are also facing increased uncertainty. That is because President Trump's shutdown has shuttered the Department of Agriculture, which funds agricultural loans and many economic development programs in rural communities.

If the shutdown continues into next month, as President Trump seems entirely willing to allow, the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program—sometimes referred to as food stamps—will run out of funding. That would mean that millions of Americans—including more than half a million in New Mexico alone—would be left struggling to put food on the table.

Over the weekend, KOB, one of our local television stations in Albuquerque, talked to New Mexicans who would be impacted by a lapse in food stamps funding. One man named Steven said:

All of us who use food stamps rely on it. That's how we eat, that's how we get our nutrition.

He said that if he can't receive his support for food next month, he might have to take out a loan and go into debt.

New Mexico is also home to many Tribal nations, which are disproportionately impacted by a lapse in Federal funding and are now under distress to meet very basic needs in their communities. That includes things like law enforcement, education, housing, and transportation.

Let me tell you one example I heard from the Mescalero Apache Tribe in southern New Mexico. Mescalero's lands span more than 700 square miles. Because of President Trump's shutdown, the Tribe's federally funded police force has been furloughed. Just think about what that means for someone who needs help, someone who needs to report a crime, or someone who needs medical attention.

I need to remind us that this shutdown comes right after Congress failed in December to reauthorize the Violence Against Women Act. Now, without this law and without funding, Tribes are especially strained in addressing an epidemic of sexual violence that has been so acutely felt in their communities.

Mescalero has seen every single one of its Bureau of Indian Affairs social workers and victims specialists furloughed. That is extremely dangerous for women and children who are victims of abuse. These are real people's lives being unnecessarily damaged by President Trump all because he will not stop holding our government hostage.

Perhaps most telling about President Trump's shutdown is the impact it is

having on our Federal workers responsible for keeping our Nation safe along our southern border. As a border State, New Mexico is more familiar than President Trump with responsible and smart border security policies. In fact, our State is the proud home of the Federal Law Enforcement Training Center, one of the primary training centers for U.S. Customs and Border Patrol officers. Because of President Trump's shutdown, the workers at FLETC and all of the officers working at our ports of entry and agents along our border are either furloughed or working without pay. How can it possibly be the best way to keep our Nation's border region safe and secure?

The President has said he would be proud to shut down our government, and, well, I have to say there is nothing—nothing—to be proud of about any of this. The President can—the President must—put an end to this shutdown.

Look, the way out of this is pretty straightforward. The votes are not there in either the House or the Senate to make Americans pay the bill for President Trump's wasteful border wall.

Signing a bipartisan government funding bill to reopen the government is the only responsible way forward. The only thing he is doing by refusing to back down is hurting Americans like the families I represent in New Mexico, like the people who work along our southern border. They expect and deserve so much better than this irresponsible—this preventable—shutdown.

President Trump has all the power to end this madness right now. I will say this one last time. Mr. President, if you are listening, listen to the American people. Listen to the people who work for you and me and this entire Nation whom you are hurting. Do the right thing and end this now.

Mr. KAINÉ. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. HEINRICH. Mr. President, I will.

Mr. KAINÉ. Mr. President, prior to Senator MARKEY, I wanted to ask Senator HEINRICH this: If I heard correctly, you indicated that half a million New Mexicans are currently participating in the SNAP program.

Mr. HEINRICH. That is correct.

Mr. KAINÉ. What is the total population of New Mexico?

Mr. HEINRICH. A little over 2 million people.

Mr. KAINÉ. So nearly one-quarter of the State is participating in the Food Stamp Program that is jeopardized by this shutdown.

To the Senator from New Mexico, are you aware that 95 percent of the employees of the Agency that administers SNAP have been sent home and furloughed? Are you aware of that?

Mr. HEINRICH. I was aware of that.

Mr. KAINÉ. That is causing problems not only for your half a million but for any new family who falls into hunger and needs to apply for SNAP every day.

Mr. HEINRICH. Thank you.

Mr. KAINÉ. Mr. President, I yield the floor to the Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. MARKEY. Mr. President, I thank the Senator from Virginia and I thank the Senator from New Hampshire for their great leadership on this issue.

Just talking about SNAP very briefly, 50 percent of all children in the United States, at some point in their lives, are going to be on SNAP, are going to need some help to eat so they can avoid hunger—50 percent of all children. So we are playing games with the program that is central to the lives of millions of families across this country, and we are playing out this entire drama in an all-too-familiar scene.

For the third time in just 2 years of the Trump Presidency, we are once more in the midst of a government shutdown. It is important to remember how we got here.

In December, the Senate majority leader brought to the floor a temporary funding bill to keep the Federal Government open. It passed this Chamber unanimously. Everyone—all 100 Senators at the time—agreed that, at the very least, it was important to keep the government open while we debate the issue of border security and immigration reform.

So why on Earth is the government shut down? Well, simply because President Trump has decided to hold the government hostage because he didn't get funding for a costly, ineffective wall. Shutting down the government over billions of dollars for a wall is like canceling the World Series because your team didn't make it.

At nearly 3 weeks into the Trump shutdown, we can track and see the devastating effects of the President's hostage-taking. Some 800,000 Federal employees are going without pay, and the longer this goes on, the more their worries mount. Mortgages, student loan payments, car payments, heating bills, food on the table—President Trump may operate from crisis to crisis, but countless American families are living paycheck to paycheck.

I have heard from many of the individuals and families who are part of the approximately 7,800 Federal workers across Massachusetts, and they are rightfully anxious about how they will make ends meet. Twenty-two percent of Federal employees in Massachusetts are veterans—22 percent. So how does Donald Trump repay thousands of individuals who have served and sacrificed for their country? By not paying them.

Let's be clear about who these workers are. They are janitors, cafeteria workers, secretaries, security guards. WORK, Incorporated, is the largest employer of individuals with disabilities in New England under the Federal AbilityOne Program. It employs hundreds of individuals with significant disabilities who work across Federal facilities in the region, but because of the Trump shutdown, they aren't going to work. If they are not working, they are not being paid, and they are not

providing the critical services which are needed for families in New England and across the whole country.

We have gone from Mexico paying for the border wall to Americans going without pay. That is how absurd the President is being in terms of who ultimately winds up paying the price for his campaign promises.

What is more, the Trump shutdown reaches beyond workers and empty paychecks.

The shutdown of the Environmental Protection Agency means almost all of the 516 employees in EPA region 1, which includes New England, have been furloughed. That has halted cleanup of rivers and other brownfields all across our region. It endangers the water, the air, all of the work that is done to protect the 13 million people who live in New England.

It means the Federal investigation into the deadly September 13 natural gas explosions and fires in Merrimack Valley is suspended and residents are left waiting for answers. The Trump shutdown is shutting down justice for the residents of Lawrence and Andover and North Andover because that investigation is now suspended.

We are heading for absolute catastrophe if the shutdown stretches on much longer as millions of vulnerable, low-income Americans relying on the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program—or SNAP—may have had their benefits cut severely. That is going to put 764,000 of the poorest Massachusetts residents at risk of hunger.

President Trump may think it is OK to furlough workers, but he can't furlough hunger, he can't furlough dirty drinking water, he can't furlough pipeline accidents. We need an open government to prevent these things from happening.

In just a few hours, we will hear from the President. He will go on TV tonight and present a fear and hate-ridden case about a manufactured national security emergency at our border.

The irony is, the longer President Trump extends this government shutdown, the more insecure and unsafe American families become because Federal workers aren't there to protect them against the things that they work every day to ensure that each and every family in our country are spared from—the pain that otherwise would be inflicted.

So the Department of Homeland Security is one of the agencies the President has shut down. An outsized number of Transportation Security Agency screeners and agents who screen and apprehend dangerous suspects at airports are calling in sick rather than work without pay. Some have even quit.

Sadly, our own American President is the architect of this crisis. The truth is, there are more Americans today going without their paycheck than immigrants who illegally crossed the southern border in the past 2 years.

Trump has completely manufactured this emergency, but there is an im-

pending one if this Trump shutdown continues and Americans are left without government services. So let's end this.

To my Republican colleagues, let's pass the bipartisan legislation to reopen the government. You supported it before; support it again. Raise your voices. Let's put people back to work, and let's provide certainty for the American public.

Once again, I thank Senator Kaine and Senator Shaheen for their leadership in organizing this very important colloquy.

I yield back.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Hampshire.

Ms. HASSAN. Mr. President, I rise today to join my colleagues in calling for an end to this senseless government shutdown. I, too, want to thank my friend and colleague from New Hampshire as well as my friend from Virginia for their leadership in bringing us together tonight to speak about the need to move forward and end this shutdown.

All across our country, Americans are feeling the impact of this shutdown, and government services people rely on have been put to a halt.

In New Hampshire, our farmers were relieved last month at the passage of the farm bill. Now, thanks to the shutdown, they are again facing uncertainty that they may not receive the financial assistance they need to help them operate.

Our craft breweries, which contribute to our economy, are unable to move forward with new projects because the brewers can't get the projects approved through the Alcohol and Tobacco Tax and Trade Bureau.

At the White Mountain National Forest, some visitors' services are closed, and at this amazingly beautiful national resource, trash is piling up.

Additionally, the shutdown is creating safety concerns with regard to air travel. The Airline Pilots Association International recently wrote to the President to say that the shutdown is "adversely affecting the safety, security and efficiency of our national airspace system."

We know this shutdown is impacting our Federal workforce. These are law enforcement officers, border security agents, members of our Coast Guard, workers from our National Park Service, TSA agents, and so many other people who dedicate their lives to serving their fellow citizens, but because of the shutdown, many workers are scrambling to make ends meet.

President Trump has said these workers can simply "make adjustments" to stay financially secure, but in making such a claim, the President grossly ignores the reality that hard-working Americans face. What an out-of-touch statement.

One missed paycheck can be the difference between people being able to put food on the table or not, of making their monthly mortgage payments, of affording their medications.

If, as the President suggests, the shutdown drags on for months or even years, those hardships to our families and our economy will grow as paychecks continue to be delayed.

It doesn't have to be this way. Last week, the House of Representatives passed bills that have received substantial support from Members of both parties in the Senate and would reopen the government immediately. Those included robust funding for border security, funding to support commonsense improvements, including better technology that border agents say they need. Unfortunately, the President is more focused on campaign slogans than on strengthening border security based on the facts on the ground. As a result, the President has created a crisis for families across the country, including for the border protection agents and law enforcement officers whose duty it is to protect us.

The fact is that we can keep our country safe while also reopening our government. That is why Leader McConnell must bring the bipartisan bills that have passed the House to the Senate floor and the President must sign them into law.

In the meantime, I am focused on ensuring that our Federal workforce gets the pay that they deserve and that they have earned. That is why I have joined with a bipartisan group of colleagues on legislation to ensure that any government employee furloughed as a result of this shutdown or any future ones will be paid retroactively as soon as appropriations are restored. I cosponsored legislation that would fund Coast Guard operations during lapses in appropriations—including pay—for members of the Coast Guard.

Mr. President, it is time for these games to end. We need to keep providing the government services that Americans rely on, and the people who provide these services deserve stability not only for their own sake but for that of the people and country they serve. More broadly, the American people deserve to know our government can operate effectively without these constant games and irresponsible tactics from the President.

Let's move on from this shutdown. Let's reopen our government.

Thank you, Mr. President.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Maryland.

Mr. VAN HOLLEN. Thank you, Mr. President.

First, I want to thank my colleague from Virginia, Mr. Kaine, for bringing us together this evening on the floor of the Senate to talk about the urgent need to end the government shutdown because of the mounting toll it is taking on the American public and on Federal employees who are going without paychecks at this very moment.

This is a shutdown that President Trump said he would be "proud" to put in place, but I think, if he begins to look around and see the consequences,

he has to ask himself what he means by being proud.

Just yesterday, I had a roundtable discussion with many Federal workers in my State of Maryland. I wish President Trump had been there at the roundtable to hear what these public servants had to say. Maybe if he had listened, he would know that a government shutdown is nothing anybody should be proud of. I want to share some of the stories my constituents shared with me yesterday, and I hope President Trump is listening to all of us here this evening.

Tyra was one of the people who came yesterday. She works for the Court Services and Offender Supervision Agency. She has to keep reporting to work every day, but she is not getting a paycheck. Tyra talked about the challenges of juggling the cost of medicine, food, and gas for her daily commute to a job where she is not getting paid right now. She told me yesterday: "I am trying to figure out how to get my child lunch." That is what the shutdown means for Tyra.

I heard the President say the other day: "I can relate, and I am sure that the people that are on the receiving end will make adjustments. They always do." That is the President of the United States saying he can relate to these hard-working Federal employees who are now going without a paycheck. Someone needs to tell the President that in the United States of America, 40 percent of our fellow citizens lack the \$400 in their bank account that would be needed for an emergency. So when you are talking about skipping a pay period, you are talking about thousands of families who are not going to be able to make ends meet. Mr. Trump can hang out at Trump Tower, and he can fly down to Mar-a-Lago, but it is pretty clear that one thing he cannot do is relate to the people who are going without a paycheck right now but who have bills they have to pay.

Another individual who joined us yesterday was Trish. Trish is an aerospace engineer at NASA. Trish is trying to buy a home, but the shutdown is throwing a wrench in those plans because her mortgage company, not surprisingly, says that they need current pay stubs from her in order to close on her purchase. What can she tell them? She doesn't have any current pay stubs coming in, so she may not be able to get that mortgage.

Mary works at the Commodity Futures Trading Commission, the CFTC. She told us about the important work CFTC does to safeguard the financial system against financial wrongdoing and fraud. She explained that because of this shutdown, the CFTC cannot pursue legal cases against bad actors who were defrauding American consumers and that they have had to ask the courts to suspend those cases.

So I guess the shutdown is good for those who are trying to take advantage of our fellow citizens through various financial schemes. It certainly is not

fair to those who are working hard and playing by the rules and who want to do the public's business, like our Federal employees.

Mary said that because of the shutdown, she has had to make some difficult decisions in her own household. Mary's mother was recently widowed, and the shutdown is hurting her ability to help her mother make do during this tough time.

Before I had this forum with a number of Federal employees who have been shut out of work, I visited Prince George's Community College in Maryland. It is a great community college. The president of that community college is Dr. Dukes. As I was going to meet Dr. Dukes, I met a mom on the elevator. The mom had been there to talk about her daughter who is enrolled there. It turned out that her mother is a Federal employee who has been shut out of the Department of Commerce. Then I talked to Dr. Dukes, and the president of this great community college told me that she has been getting phone calls all week from parents who have students enrolled at Prince George's Community College who are on a monthly installment payment plan, and they are calling the president of this community college and saying: What are we going to be able to do? We are not going to be able to make our next payment on our child's community college tuition bill.

Just today, I got a number of letters from air traffic controllers in Maryland. They, like thousands of other Federal employees, are working every day right now, but they are not getting paid for it.

Tension is mounting, frustration is mounting for the air traffic controllers, a lot of Federal law enforcement officers, and the people at the border, our border security. So, Mr. President, you don't know how to relate to these fellow Americans who are struggling because of your shutdown.

In the Senate, our failure to take up the bills that have already passed the House and are sitting right here in the Senate to reopen the Federal Government is making this Senate complicit in this Trump shutdown. Every day that goes by where we don't make our first order of business ending the shutdown makes the Senate an accomplice in the Trump shutdown. The House made it its first order of business to say: Let's reopen government. They passed two bills. Both bills have overwhelming support for their components here in the Senate.

I have the first bill they passed right here in my hand. H.J. Res. 1 says to open the Department of Homeland Security at current funding levels through February 8 while we negotiate the best way to provide border security. This is on the Senate calendar. We can vote on this tonight. Of course, the irony here is that this Senate, just before the Christmas break, voted on exactly this measure. We voted on a bipartisan basis to open the Homeland

Security Department at current levels through February 8 while we negotiate. We have already done it. So why are we not taking up this bill this evening?

The other bill that passed the Senate I have right here in my hand. It is also on the Senate calendar. This bill that passed the House on their opening day would open eight of the nine Departments that are closed. The first bill would open the Department of Homeland Security, while we negotiate, until February 8. The other bill opens eight of the nine other Federal Departments that have been closed.

Here is the kicker: The House did not adopt the House appropriations levels. The House looked at what the Senate had passed on a bipartisan basis either here on the Senate floor or in the Senate Appropriations Committee, and they took the Senate funding levels to open those eight Departments through the entire fiscal year, through September 30.

Mr. President, we all have a very simple question: Why is the majority leader and why are our Republican colleagues not bringing up those House bills that are sitting right here in the Senate? We have already supported those bills on a bipartisan basis. We can pass these bills to reopen the government tonight, and there is no excuse for not doing it.

I am going to close by sharing the comments of one of the other individuals who joined me yesterday at that gathering. His name is Otis Johnson. He works here at the National Gallery of Art. His message to President Trump: "Mr. President, if you really can relate to how the Federal employee is feeling, you need to go ahead and open the government back up so our people who want to work can get back to work and handle America's business."

I wish President Trump was listening to Otis and all the other hard-working Federal employees I met with yesterday. If he talked to them, he would hear their stories, and he would know they are suffering, as are the American people who every day are losing access to important services.

I want to again thank my colleague from Virginia, Mr. Kaine, and my other colleagues.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Minnesota.

Ms. Klobuchar. Mr. President, I come to the floor today to join my colleagues in voicing my sincere hope that the President will end this senseless shutdown.

The American people are tired of our country being held hostage and our economy threatened. There are real consequences. I see it all the time. Of course my State, unlike Mr. Van Hollen's State of Maryland and the State of Virginia, may not have as high a percentage of Federal workers, but for every worker who has been hit by this, it is the same story.

At our airport just this weekend, I talked to countless TSA officers. They

said: We will continue to do our job, but now we are not going to get paid. You think about these people on the frontline who are doing the work for our country, who are keeping us safe, and who are not getting paid because of this senseless shutdown. You hear about the garbage piling up in our national parks. You hear about people having trouble paying their rent or mortgage. You hear about the fears about airport security lines. Everyday Americans are affected by this as well.

Other consequences of this shutdown are less visible but deeply painful for those affected. There are entrepreneurs who want to take their companies public but can't get approval by the SEC. You have rural home buyers who can't get their mortgages backed by the Agriculture Department. Farmers can't access critical loans or information about how the Department will implement the new farm bill. We were so proud to pass the new farm bill in this Chamber on a bipartisan basis—something the President took credit for—and now we can't even implement it and help our farmers as they approach growing season in the spring. They don't even know what is going to happen with the new provisions of this farm bill, especially the dairy farmers of Minnesota, who have been hit so hard by low prices and by the trade war that we are in.

While this trade war is going on, we are also going to not be able to help them and to deny the help that vulnerable Americans need. Funding for the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program, which helps put food on the table for 38 million Americans, would be severely reduced or cut off all together. The Department of Housing and Urban Development payments that maintain housing for 3 million Americans could be in jeopardy.

It is time to put aside the political games, and it is time to get in the real game—and that is the lives of American people—and to stop this shutdown. It means reopening our entire government so we can work on the issues that matter.

This is a time in our country when we should not be governing from crisis. We should be governing from opportunity. After the downturn, the economy had stabilized, and we should be working with the rest of the world. We should be selling our goods to market and building the infrastructure in this country. We should be doing something about prescription drug prices. We should be training our workers for the jobs that are available today and the jobs that will be available tomorrow.

There are simple proposals out there. There is the Senate and the House of Representatives legislation that passed through this body unanimously—not a single Senator opposed it—yet the President suddenly changed course and, once again, insisted that he needs over \$5 billion immediately. The new House has now passed legislation to fund all shuttered agencies other than

the Department of Homeland Security through the end of the fiscal year. That includes the Treasury Department, the Agriculture Department, the Interior Department—government agencies that provide critical services. These noncontroversial bills were originally drafted and approved by the Senate Appropriations Committee run by the Republican Party. None of this makes sense to me at all. The measures that were passed by the House are sensible, and they are ones that have been supported in the past by Republicans in this Chamber.

Shutdowns are not good for the economy. I lived through the 2013 shutdown. That was estimated to cost our economy over \$20 billion. The President's own economic adviser, Kevin Hassett, has estimated that this shutdown will shrink our economy by 0.1 percent every 2 weeks. Maybe that doesn't sound like much. Do you know how much it really is? It is roughly \$10 billion every single week. That is real money for real Americans. So stop the games.

Shutting down the government should not be a negotiating tactic. If President Trump were to agree to sign the bills that the House has now passed and every Member of the Senate supported last month, we would end this shutdown. Instead, critical services and our economy are being threatened with poison pill partisanship.

To my colleagues in the Senate, I say this: Let's get this done. We owe it to the people whom we were elected to serve. We owe it to the country. As one former Congresswoman once said, America should be as good as its promise. This is a promise we made to them when we were elected—to do the best for them and to serve our country. Let's get it done.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Colorado.

Mr. BENNET. Mr. President, I rise tonight to talk about the government shutdown. I thank my colleague from Minnesota for her remarks. I remember the 2013 shutdown that she talked about. The reason I remember that is that while this place was shut down by the Senator from Texas, my State was under water from some of the worst floods we had ever seen, and there were people at every level of government—the local level, county government, the State level—coming together to work with FEMA, coming together to work with religious organizations, coming together to work with ordinary people to literally dig themselves out of the mud and the rocks that were the consequence of floods we had never seen before. I had to stand there almost like a fool explaining that the Federal Government was shut down for politics, and here we are again.

For 10 years, I have come to this floor and said over and over that this place had become the land of flickering lights. The standard of success was only whether we kept the lights on for

one more day or one more week. The standard of success had nothing to do with whether we invested in the next generation of Americans and had nothing to do with what America's place in the world was, and tonight, 18 days later, we are shut down.

Just like in Minnesota and just like in New Hampshire, people in Colorado are suffering as a result of this. This shutdown is inflicting real harm on people who are Federal workers who can't pay their mortgage, can't take care of their kids, can't hire a plumber.

We heard today that the EPA is only getting paid half of their paycheck. You can't pay only half your mortgage. You can't go to the grocery store and pay only half your bill. We have farmers and ranchers all over the State of Colorado who can't get operating loans from the FSA to buy seed or fertilizer.

We have had FEMA meetings canceled and critical projects delayed that are vital to our rebuilding after the 2013 flood, the last time there was a long shutdown like this. After a terrible fire year in Colorado, the Forest Service can't move forward with new projects or reduce wildfire risks in our communities.

Rocky Mountain National Park is closed. Why do people from Estes Park have to bear the burden of the stupidity of this place—the inability to govern like every other entity in America governs, where you could never shut down your local government and you could never shut down your school district? But for some reason, you can do it over politics. In this case, why? It is over a mnemonic device that the Trump campaign supplied to candidate Trump—the wall—and two things that weren't true: one, that Mexico would pay for the wall. If he had fulfilled that promise, we wouldn't be here because there wouldn't be a need for \$5 billion because the Mexicans would pay for this wall. That is what he said over and over. It was objectively not true, just as it is not true that what is needed is the wall that he has proposed.

We had a bill here in 2013 that 68 Senators voted for. That bill had \$46 billion of border security in it, 350 miles of fencing on the southern border, internal security, and fixed our visa system—far more effective than the ineffective wall that the President is trying to build now for \$5 billion. He can't even spend the money that has already been appropriated, and now he has shut the government down for \$5 billion to keep a campaign promise that is not true. It wasn't true then, and it is not true now.

This is ridiculous. Last week, China marked the New Year by landing a spacecraft on the dark side of the Moon. That has never happened before in human history. Here in the United States, while they were accomplishing that, we had a government shutdown. Close observers might say—and they would be right—that NASA—which, by the way, is closed—marked New Year's

Day by successfully flying the New Horizons probe past an object 4 billion miles away. We should celebrate that achievement, but let's also remember that mission was 18 years in the making because people planned for the future. An American craft is literally on the outer edge of human discovery, and last week we were shut down while the Chinese landed their craft on the other side of the Moon. Because of the fecklessness of people in this body, we can't even put an astronaut into space now. We have to call up the Russians and ask them to put us on a rocket to take us up there. Do you think our parents and grandparents would have stood for that?

There was a unanimous vote in this Chamber, and it passed in the other Chamber. We should reopen the government. This is doing too much damage to the country, and the President should understand that part of his job of being President is keeping the government open, not cheering it when it is closed.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Alabama.

Mr. JONES. Mr. President, first of all, let me say how much I appreciate my colleagues on the floor—particularly, Senator BENNET's comments—and the passion that everyone has shown for the people in this country and why we are here for the people that we represent, whether they voted for us or not. That is not the issue. We are here to represent all the people, and I really appreciate those incredible words from my colleagues and, particularly, the passion shown by Senator BENNET.

I am rising today to give my voice to the thousands of Alabamians who are also suffering as a result of this government shutdown. It is not just the folks who are employed but those who are affected by this shutdown by what-ever means necessary.

There are people who are not employed by the government who are also affected. In the midst of all the political posturing that we have seen, the costly government shutdown has hurt over 5,100 Alabama workers, their families, and the people who rely on them to do their job. Thousands more are contractors who will not get backpay. Unlike the Federal workers, who traditionally get backpay, these contractors who are not working now because there is no work to be had with the Federal Government will not get backpay from their employers.

Our Coast Guard employees, who aren't paid through the Department of Defense budget that passed last year, don't know whether their paycheck will come or not. By the way, it is the Coast Guard who is interdicting so much of the illegal drugs that are attempting to come into this country. It is not the southern border. It is the Coast Guard, which we are putting at risk, that is doing the best job of interdicting the illegal drugs that are attempting to come into this country.

These folks pay the price of this shutdown while this political drama that we have seen in Washington, DC, drags on and on—on cable TV, on Twitter, and on other social media platforms. These folks are hard-working Alabamians who keep our airports safe. They protect our communities. They monitor our prisons.

We have three Federal prisons in Alabama. Three of the workers in the Aliceville prison were on CNN today talking about the effects on them and their community in Aliceville, AL. These are people who support our national defense, like folks in Redstone Arsenal and at all of the military bases in our State. They support the aerospace programs in our State. These are the folks who are getting hurt. Many of these people are veterans who have gone on to serve their country a second time by working in Federal service.

Most of these folks support strong border security. I venture to guess that all of them support strong border security. Some will support the wall, as the President has described it, but they don't agree with—they don't support—shutting down the Government of the United States of America in a way to just get that wall or that border security done. They do not support that at the expense of their communities and their families.

Over the past 18 days or so since this shutdown, I have heard from any number of my constituents. They call the office here in Washington, and they call the offices in Huntsville, in Mobile, in Birmingham, and in Montgomery. They talk about how they are hurting already because of the shutdown.

One constituent who wrote to me is a small business owner in North Alabama, near Huntsville, whose 30-plus employees have provided very important, continuous support for NASA programs for the past 7 years. As their work gets delayed or stopped altogether, these folks don't know whether they are going to have jobs. If their work stops, those employees are going to need jobs, and they are going to start looking for other jobs. In the economy that we have now, in which unemployment is low, people are looking for workers, and they are going to find those jobs. So his business may get shut down.

There is a military spouse who also works for the Federal Government whose husband is deployed to Afghanistan right now. She also wrote to me and urged an end to this shutdown. She said that while she supports the wall, she doesn't believe that Federal employees should be used as bargaining chips just to get it done. She said that a lapse in funding would be devastating for her job and that her family needs the paychecks to cover these bills. This is a family that is already living under stress with its having a husband and father in Afghanistan. This family doesn't need the extra stress.

On behalf of her family of four in Smiths Station, AL, another mother

wrote to me about her family's lapse in healthcare coverage since the shutdown because the employees at a Federal health insurance agency, GEHA, have been furloughed. Her family's change in coverage was never fully processed by the end of the year. So it lapsed and was canceled as of December 31. The family members are now facing important medical decisions—appointments, prescriptions, refills in the next few weeks—but don't know if they are going to have the insurance to cover it.

The administration announced today that the deadline for farmers to receive their subsidies, because of the administration's trade policies, will be extended, which all sounds really great. It sounds all good and well. We are going to extend it. We are going to put a bandaid on this for our farmers. These farmers have been hit hard by the trade war that this administration has started, which I have talked about on the floor of the Senate on any number of occasions and around my State.

To ease that pain, a few months ago the administration decided to allocate \$12 billion as almost a bailout. Now, these farmers really don't want these handouts. They want their markets. Yet, to ease their pain, to its credit, the administration came up with \$12 billion to ease that pain. Less than half of that amount—roughly, about \$5.2 billion in payments—was made before the Department of Agriculture's local offices were closed. While extending that deadline sounds very good and is, simply, putting a bandaid over the wound, the fact is that until we get this government open, farmers who did not get their payments in before this shutdown are going to have a problem.

Another problem with the shutdown is that they can't depend on the Federal Government any more than they can depend on the weather. These farmers are at risk every season, every year, of things that are out of their control. What they don't need is a government that they cannot depend on, and that is what we have right now. They are out of luck at a time at which they need it the most, as they are starting to plan for their spring planting and summer planting—their loans, their crops, buying the seed—as Senator BENNET talked about a few moments ago.

There is one constituent who wrote me a really heartbreaking letter about the impact of losing her SNAP benefits after January 31 if the shutdown continues. She is living on a razor's edge financially and depends on Social Security disability benefits and SNAP dollars to survive. It is not a lot of money on a monthly basis. It is such a small amount of money that folks in this body and folks in the House and, certainly, the folks in the administration wouldn't think twice about it. It is probably less than they spend at Starbucks every morning, but, for her, it is an incredibly important part of her life, and we have to make sure that we do everything not to let her down.

I did see, just before I came over here, that the administration has said that we are going to extend it. We are going to make sure that SNAP benefits are paid in February. Again, that is great and sounds wonderful, but it is a bandaid. Sooner or later, if we don't end up doing something about this shutdown, that bandaid is going to be ripped off, and these folks are going to be left in the cold once again.

We need to remember—and I think this gets lost sometimes in the talk about this shutdown—that this is not just about the paychecks and the direct benefits that people in this country receive from the Federal Government. It also affects all of those people in our communities who serve those who work for the government—those who take in their grocery money and take in their utility money and take in their gas money. It is going to affect those people. It is going to affect car dealers, and it is going to affect local businesses. It is just like the folks at the prison in Aliceville said today, which is that sooner or later, if they don't have money to spend around Aliceville, it is going to affect that community. This touches so many people in this country that we need not lose sight of that.

The letters and calls and voice mails are pouring in every day as this shutdown continues. More and more Americans face the increasing consequences of the impasse that we see here in Washington, DC. There is, simply put, no excuse for it. We can and must do better. We can and must find the common ground that so many of us talk about. Every day, over and over, we talk about finding common ground, but we have to practice what we preach in terms of finding that common ground.

This past year, I talked to a number of my constituents back home who had gone through a number of issues. I talked to a lot of people who asked me to support the wall. They stopped me over the holidays, and I would always stop and talk to them. They were always very respectful, unlike with some things that happen in our political discourse today. These people were always very respectful, and we had nice conversations. When I asked them what they were talking about, they said that I needed to vote for a wall.

They said: We just need border security, Senator. We need border security.

This gave me the opportunity to say: I completely agree.

Unfortunately, the so-called “wall” that we keep hearing about, primarily on Twitter, has really become just a metaphor to support a secure border. To oppose it is to oppose a secure border. That makes no sense. What is getting lost in this debate is that every Member of this body wants secure borders. Every Member of this body and every Member of the House wants border security measures that will keep our communities safe. We might have disagreements about the best way to make sure our borders are secure, and

we might have disagreements on what border security will look like, but it doesn't mean that we want open borders as I keep hearing from the administration. That is a preposterous statement.

In fact, in the last Congress, we had one of the President's nominees before us for the head of ICE. He used to work on the border. He was there. He controlled it. He was the head of border security.

I asked him in the hearing: Have you ever heard one politician—have you ever heard anybody in Washington, DC—say that he is for open borders?

He said: No, sir, not at all.

We have to get away from that political posturing so that we can find the common ground that is necessary to move this forward. The fact of the matter is that we have found common ground. We have found that common ground right here in this body.

Last February, in the midst of bipartisan talks on more comprehensive immigration reform, a number of senior administration officials came to the Senate and briefed Members on the situation at the border. They outlined how an infusion of money in the context of a larger piece of legislation could improve security and conditions for asylum seekers and on the border. In the wake of that presentation—if I recall correctly, they proposed a \$25 billion price tag for border security—Republicans and Democrats alike, which was a majority of the U.S. Senate, voted to include that \$25 billion in border security funding over the next decade. That was a bipartisan effort.

Over the course of the last spring and early summer, the U.S. Senate Appropriations Committee—led by my colleague from Alabama, Senator SHELBY, and by Senator LEAHY, the ranking member—passed a bipartisan Homeland Security funding bill by a vote of 25 to 5. It did that in June of this year. It included \$1.6 billion in border security funding, which was on top of the \$1.3 billion, I think, that was funded last year. What has started this whole process today is the administration's demand of a blank check of \$5.6 billion for a wall as the price to reopen the government. That is, simply, not how our government should work.

Now, candidly and in all fairness, in recent days, we have gone from an argument that was just, simply, about dollars and cents on both sides of the aisle—5.6 versus 1.6 or 1.3—to where we have now seen the administration begin to slowly roll out how it would actually spend that money. There was no plan in the beginning. It was just “send us \$5.6 billion.” We are learning about that plan via Twitter and on the TV talk shows, not the way this body is used to getting information from the administration—through a budget process or through some proposal about which you can ask questions and can vet.

If the administration is serious about border security—and it should be seri-

ous about border security, just like the Senate of the United States and the House of Representatives of the United States should be serious about border security—we should reopen the rest of the government. Officials should also come back to the Hill, like they did in February, and brief Members of both parties in Congress about what is needed and of exactly the new border security money and how it will be spent.

This week, the House has been voting on a series—or will be voting on a series—of funding bills that the Senate has already passed, many by a vote of 92 to 6. Think about that. As I travel around the State, I tell people all the time what I saw last year—my first year—which is that there is so much more bipartisanship in this body that you don't see just by watching C-SPAN and listening to dueling press conferences. There is a lot of it that goes on, and we passed those bills by 92 to 6.

These bills will ensure that the Federal employees and contractors can go back to work and can get paid, that food assistance and housing vouchers can go forward, that vital research can be done, that our parks and museums can reopen, that our airports are safe, and that our prisons are monitored. Instead of handing political appointees a 10-percent raise, it will ensure that we will pay the Coast Guard, whose members continue to serve throughout this shutdown without knowing if their next paychecks are going to come.

I am literally sad to say—and I really hope people will take this into account, especially the folks who have been here for a long time—that in my first year here, my first year in the Senate, this is the third government shutdown that we have seen. We should be embarrassed about that, and the administration should be embarrassed about that. At every opportunity, I have voted to keep the government open. I can't say that I would do it every time, because it will depend on the circumstances, but, thus far, I have done all I can to keep this government open.

The American people are frustrated and disheartened by the dysfunction and empty rhetoric that they hear out of this town, but we have to remember that the Senate of the United States has done its job and done so in a deliberative and bipartisan way. No one on either side of the political aisle should lose sight of that.

We came together and found common ground, and we should insist that the President of the United States not only acknowledge that but honor that, get this government up and running, and let's sit down to continue to discuss the plans for the border security that we all know is necessary and we would like.

Thank you.

I yield the floor.

TRIBUTE TO BILL CUNNINGHAM

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, on February 1, the Kentucky Supreme

Court will bid farewell to a towering figure in our State's judiciary, Justice Bill Cunningham. A Lyon County native, Bill announced he would retire from the high court at the beginning of next month, bringing to a close a career of public service that has spanned more than half of his life. I would like to take a moment to join his colleagues, his family, and his community in western Kentucky in congratulating Bill on this remarkable milestone and to thank him for his service to the Commonwealth.

Bill first answered the call to service early in his life. Once he graduated from Murray State University and the University of Kentucky College of Law, Bill enlisted in the Army, nobly serving our Nation in uniform in Vietnam, Korea, and Germany. Upon his return to Kentucky, Bill decided to put his legal education to work for the men and women of his community. For the last 45 years, he has done just that.

Working in various courtrooms as the Eddyville City attorney, public defender for the Kentucky State Penitentiary, and the 56th judicial district's Commonwealth's attorney, Bill earned the esteem of his colleagues. In fact, his peers voted him the "Outstanding Commonwealth's Attorney for Kentucky."

Beginning in 1991, Bill moved to the other side of the bench when he was first elected as a circuit court judge in western Kentucky, serving in Caldwell, Livingston, Lyon, and Trigg Counties. He was then elected to the Kentucky Supreme Court in 2006. On the high court, Bill represents 24 counties in western Kentucky. His constituents rewarded Bill's accomplished service by reelecting him to a second term in 2014.

In addition to his dedicated leadership in our Commonwealth's legal system, Bill has written six books on Kentucky history and is a frequent contributor to local newspapers. He is also known as a captivating speaker, and I hope he will continue to share his perspective with audiences even in retirement.

As Bill's tenure on the Kentucky Supreme Court comes to a close, I would like to express my sincere gratitude for his lifetime of service to his community, our Commonwealth, and our country. In retirement, Bill said he looks forward to spending more time with his wife Paula, their five children, and their 15 grandchildren. I extend my best wishes to the entire Cunningham family, and I ask my Senate colleagues to help me congratulate Justice Bill Cunningham for his service to Kentucky.

Mr. President, the Paducah Sun recently published a column congratulating Bill on his retirement. I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Paducah Sun, Dec. 30, 2018]

JUSTICE SERVED

(By Joshua Robert)

Often loquacious and poignant, Kentucky Supreme Court Justice Bill Cunningham struggled Thursday to find the right words summarizing the coming sunset to his career, emotion seeping through his typically laid-back demeanor.

"I'm just very grateful—I'm trying to say this without getting choked up here—to the Almighty for giving me the strength to (serve the public)," the justice told a Sun reporter. "I'm so grateful for the people of west Kentucky for giving me this wonderful opportunity."

That Cunningham, a state Supreme Court justice for 12 years, paired his deity with the residents of his native and beloved western Kentucky is not surprising, nor is the affection one-way.

The judge, folksy and often dressed in his trademark seersucker suit, cuts a popular figure. An accomplished jurist, engaging orator and celebrated author, Cunningham is as Kentucky as they come, though in our opinion, uncommon in the commonwealth.

Cunningham, 74, of Kuttawa, announced Thursday that he'll be leaving the Supreme Court on Feb. 1, ending a career in public service that's spanned more than half his life. He considered his exit from the high court for more than a year and was unsettled by the prospect of leaving halfway through his second term.

But the "constant bombardment of human woe and suffering" he's seen and heard from the bench proved too much to continue. The judge, who felt compelled by duty, did what good judges are supposed to—he cast aside personal feelings to make the wisest decision possible, his self-assessment unsparing that he's not at his best.

"You've got to be emotionally strong to continue," Cunningham said, "and I'm just worn out with it."

The judge said he doesn't know what he'll do next, but it'll be something of service to the people of western Kentucky.

"I'm going to stay engaged," he said. "I'm going to take a couple of months off to get my perspective, then I'm going to do what other people do when they're out of a job—I'm going to look for one."

"I'd like to be able to serve in some capacity. I just don't know what that is right now."

Running again for public office, like for a state legislative seat, is unlikely. "I'm a dinosaur, and much of the political mainstream today has passed me by," he said in his self-effacing manner.

We've gotten to know Cunningham over the years, covering the justice's speeches and appearances and publishing his thoughtful, well-written guest opinion pieces from time to time. If we're coming off as an admirer, it's because we are, unapologetically so.

We've found Justice Cunningham has admirable traits like modesty, kindness, intelligence, fairness and loyalty, rare virtues among today's public servants. His replacement will come from one of the 24 counties within the First Supreme Court District, but in truth, it'll be impossible to replace Cunningham and all he has meant to our communities.

"There's some great timber out there, so they'll probably get a better justice than what they have now," he said of the judicial nominating process. With respect to the judge, that's a dubious claim.

Cunningham is slated to be the guest speaker Feb. 5 during a Paducah Lions Club meeting at Walker Hall.

"I'll be a former judge by then, so that's if they don't cancel the invitation," he joked.

We have no doubt the invitation's still good and his speech will be captivating, as always. After all, jobs and titles may change, but character doesn't.

TRIBUTE TO DEAN JOHNSON

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, last month marked the end of a distinguished career for Laurel County clerk Dean Johnson. Dean recently retired after 37 years of public service to his community, our Commonwealth, and this country. Today I would like to take a moment to reflect on my friend's many contributions to Laurel County and to thank him for his dedication to Kentucky.

First drawn to public service at a young age through organizations like the Key Club and the Future Farmers of America, Dean spent his career focused on integrity and efficiency. After serving in the Armed Forces and for 4 years as the county's treasurer, Dean was elected Laurel County clerk in 1985. His leadership has brought substantial innovation and development to this eastern Kentucky community.

In my State, a county clerk is responsible for providing a broad range of services to Kentuckians, including everything from voter registration and election management to licensing and recordkeeping. During Dean's tenure, the Laurel County clerk's office introduced new infrastructure and implemented new procedures to better serve a growing population. Running an election has changed quite a bit in Laurel County since Dean entered office, but his dedication has helped promote access to the ballot box for more than 44,000 registered voters.

In addition to his work in Laurel County, Dean collaborated with his peers to share best practices in the Kentucky County Clerks' Association. Earning both their trust and respect, he served a term as the organization's president, helping deliver essential services across Kentucky. Like other county clerks, Dean supported his fellow veterans by repurposing license plates into birdhouses. The products are sold with proceeds benefiting our Commonwealth's veterans.

Over the years, I have enjoyed working with Dean on behalf of our constituents, and I am proud to salute this man of great accomplishment. In his retirement, Dean plans to do more of what he loves most: spending time with his daughter, Teresa, and his granddaughter, Rebecca. He will also continue to oversee his 175-acre cattle farm. As he begins this next chapter, I would like to wish him the very best, and I ask my Senate colleagues to join me in thanking Laurel County clerk Dean Johnson for his decades-long service of our State.

Mr. President, the Sentinel-Echo in London recently published a profile of Dean's accomplished career. I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Sentinel-Echo, Dec. 26, 2018]

JOHNSON REFLECTS ON 37 YEARS OF SERVICE
(By Nita Johnson)

Society has changed drastically in the last 30 years—with technology being one of the major advancements.

As Laurel County Clerk Dean Johnson fills his final days in the position he has held for 33 years, he credits technology as the most advantageous developments for his office operations.

When Johnson took office as clerk in 1986, he came from a four-year term as county treasurer. In both offices, most paperwork was done on typewriters—a business machine that is now nearly obsolete. But when the technology craze hit full force, the first aspect of the clerk's office was to have computerized vehicle tag registrations.

Another huge change came in the voter registration processes—due to technological advancements and the growth in population over the years.

“When I came in, there were only 26 precincts,” Johnson said. “We had those big voting machines that were the size of a refrigerator.”

Within a couple of years, however, the use of Microvote was created—the small blue “suitcase” style machine used to cast votes. “We’ve moved to the self contained machines now because of the ADA (Americans with Disabilities Act) because all the machines have to be compliant with that,” he said. “The other machines were hard for people to use if they were in a wheelchair. With that, we had to relocate some of the precincts because some didn’t have handicapped access.”

Laurel County now boasts 45 precincts, all ADA compliant.

While Johnson said he hasn’t seen a huge increase in voter registration or turnout, he said the division from 26 precincts in the mid-1980s to the current 45 precincts does reflect on the county’s increased population.

“The precincts divisions are done by the population in the areas, not the number of registered voters in an area,” he explained. “And the population is always determined by the latest Census.”

He feels that the Laurel County Clerk’s office has always maintained a high level of integrity and efficiency dealing with the public for motor vehicle registrations, transfers, voter registration and election procedures, and maintaining the massive load of deeds, mortgages, and other legal documents that fall under the scope of that office. And Laurel County has excelled in being some of the first counties in the state to utilize technology to better serve the public.

“We were among the first counties in the state to create a computerized absentee ballot form. I worked with a guy to simulate the state forms,” he said. “Right now we have 44,000 registered voters in the county.”

The clerk’s office was also one of the first offices in the county to receive and use a FAX machine, he said, adding that the Laurel County Public Library was one of the first to offer the FAX service.

The growth in the county’s population over the past 30 years has massively increased the work load for those who serve in that office.

“When I came here in 1986, it was the 160th year of Laurel County being established,” Johnson added. “There were fewer than 200 mortgage books. Now we have approximately 1,200.”

While the workload of the deputy clerks in the office has increased to huge proportions over the past three decades, Johnson said the application of technological advancements has not caused a large increase in the employees needed in his office.

“When I started, there were 10 employees and now we have 18, so we haven’t had a big increase in the employees because of the computer systems,” he explained. “This office has come from a gross intake of \$8 million to \$15.5 million and we’ve never had a non-compliant comment in the 37 years I’ve worked for the county.”

Being the Laurel County Clerk required Johnson to interact with other clerks across the state over the years—some associations for which he said will remain dear to his heart.

“I built a rapport with other clerks and I was active in the Kentucky County Clerks’ Association,” he said. “I served one term as president.”

He has many other accomplishments for which he is proud—one of which is the efficiency of tabulating the votes on election night. With that process, the election officers returning their precincts totals are met at the back entrance of the Laurel County Courthouse and their equipment unloaded by persons approved by the local election commission members. The officers then carry in the case containing the printouts of the votes and sign in for their particular precinct, which are processed in the lobby in the ground floor near the Broad Street entrance. The printouts are then taken to the clerk’s office on the second floor where the employees of the clerk’s office then separate the documents and record the votes. Although the polls close at 6 p.m., most precincts have submitted their results and the final count is completed and reported by 7:30 p.m.

“I’m very proud of the efficiency we have on election night,” Johnson said. “That goes to the employees in this office and the state associations of elections for the efficient way we process the votes and the accuracy we have.”

As an example, Johnson reflected on the 2016 Gubernatorial race in which Republican candidate James Comer lost to now Governor Matt Bevin by a mere 83 votes.

“We had to do a re-canvas,” Johnson said. “That (statewide) re-canvas was completed on Thursday, with the result coming out the same, of course. We aren’t like Florida and Georgia, that took weeks to do a re-canvas. In fact, in national elections, Kentucky is nearly always the first to report their results.”

Johnson has also served as chair of the Laurel County Republican party, stepping down this year after four years in that position. He also has been involved with KACo (Kentucky Association of Counties) for 12 years, is a veteran, is a Shriner and member of the local masonic lodges.

His interest in being a public servant came early in his teens, being a President of his school’s Key Club and FFA (Future Farmers of America). He learned early on about working hard, and said he always had a drawing toward political issues.

“As a kid I liked to be active in things and I always liked being involved in politics,” he said. “There were two people in politics that I always admired—Boyd Boggs who was a county judge executive and later the sheriff, and Dwight Eisenhower. Those two had given a lot and I wanted to be able to help people. As the clerk, you are in the position to help people and I’ve tried to do that, not just with questions about elections or vehicle registered. Other people just come in and ask about different things and I always tried to help them the best I could. I leave here with a good feeling because I think I’ve done that.”

His political interests also brought him another accomplishment for which he is very proud.

“I was the Laurel County campaign chair and we brought George H.W. Bush to the

Bush community,” he said. “I was also the chair when George W. Bush and (former Governor) Ernie Fletcher came here.”

In fact, the shelves that line a section of Johnson’s office have a picture of the late president, George H.W. Bush, with Johnson when Bush visited the Bush Fire Department. Johnson laughs when looking at the picture now, saying, “My hair was a different color then.”

Johnson is also proud of his home county and of the many advancements that have come to the residents of this community.

“This county has been aggressive in growing and using its natural resources,” he said. “We’ve had good leadership and that continues on today. I hope we keep on and keep our best and brightest here and supply them with jobs so they can make a decent living and stay here.”

Johnson is also very dedicated in his church, Calvary Baptist, where he has served as the adult Sunday School teacher for several years. He stands true to his beliefs—even when that belief is not the most popular or “progressive.”

But his greatest accomplishment—and joy—comes from his daughter, Teresa, and his only grandchild, Rebecca. He looks forward to spending more time with them and his son-in-law while he continues to oversee the 175-acre farm where he raises cattle.

“I’m retiring as of December 31,” he said. “I’m going to go home and relax.”

S. 1

Mrs. FEINSTEIN. Mr. President today I rise in opposition to S. 1. We should be working to reopen the Federal Government, not voting to infringe upon Americans’ First Amendment rights.

S. 1 is a package of four bills that were introduced during the last Congress. Three of the bills concern U.S. aid to Israel and Jordan, as well as sanctions against the Assad regime. They are noncontroversial, and I support them.

Unfortunately, the fourth bill, which is entitled the “Combatting BDS Act of 2019,” is so controversial that I am compelled to vote against the entire package before us tonight.

This Israel boycott legislation would encourage States and localities to restrict First Amendment protections for millions of Americans. It would do so by tacitly endorsing State actions to cut financial ties and terminate any government contract with anyone who engages in or supports boycotts of Israel.

My grandfather arrived in the United States as a stowaway fleeing the Polish pogroms, and my grandmother’s family fled Russia during the revolution.

As a young child during World War II, I came to view Israel as a symbol that never again will there be another Holocaust. My support for Israel isn’t about politics. It is about Israel’s right to exist.

I will always support a free and democratic Israel as the homeland of the Jewish people. That is why I have always voted to provide Israel the security assistance it needs.

However, my unwavering support for Israel does not override my support for Americans’ constitutional rights.

The right to free speech is the foundation of American democracy. Any legislation that encroaches on that foundation should be considered with great caution. I don't believe that has been the case here.

Federal courts have already ruled against similar laws regarding boycotts of Israel enacted by Arizona and Kansas.

In Kansas, the State legislature passed a law in 2017 requiring any individual or company that contracts with the State sign a certification that they are not participating in a boycott of Israel.

In Arizona, State law requires any company that contracts with the State to certify that it is not engaged in a boycott of Israel and that it will not do so in the future.

Federal courts in both States found that these laws raised substantial First Amendment concerns by infringing on individuals' right to political expression and issued preliminary injunctions blocking their enforcement.

Given the courts' rulings in Arizona and Kansas, I fail to see why supporters believe this legislation can be considered constitutional.

Equally alarming, the legislation would also apply to Israeli settlements in the West Bank, territory that Israel has never claimed as its own.

Today, there are more than 400,000 Israelis living on 132 settlements in the West Bank. Since President Trump took office, the Netanyahu government has accelerated the expansion of existing settlements, created new settlements and outposts, and taken steps to retroactively legalize settlements built on private Palestinian land.

Enacting legislation to stifle criticism of settlements on land beyond Israel's borders would set a dangerous precedent that would further erode our credibility as a neutral arbiter in the Middle East conflict.

Instead of wasting time on this unconstitutional bill, the Senate should instead focus on reopening the government by voting on the Federal funding package the House passed last week.

I fail to see why S. 1 should be a priority during the government shutdown. The Senate has a responsibility to uphold the Constitution and keep the government running. This bill does neither.

150TH ANNIVERSARY OF AUBURN, MAINE

Ms. COLLINS. Mr. President, today I wish to commemorate the 150th anniversary of the city of Auburn, ME. Auburn was built with a spirit of determination and resiliency that still guides the community today, and this is a time to celebrate the generations of hard-working and caring people who have made it such a wonderful place to live, work, and raise families.

Auburn was settled in 1786 and first incorporated as a town in 1842. The name was inspired by a popular poem

by Oliver Goldsmith that begins with this line: "Sweet Auburn! Loveliest village of the plain."

With the mighty Androscoggin River providing power, Auburn soon was home to many lumber, grain, and textile mills. When the factory system of shoe manufacturing was developed there, the people of Auburn formed a skilled and dedicated workforce that built a great Maine industry. The factories attracted many French-Canadian immigrants, whose culture continues to enliven the city. The prosperity produced by hard work and determination was invested in schools and churches to create a true community.

On February 22, 1869, the fast-growing community incorporated as the city of Auburn. Together with Lewiston across the Androscoggin River, an economic powerhouse was created, and the "Cities of the Androscoggin" today form Maine's second largest municipal region.

The decline of traditional industries in the 20th century posed a great challenge. Auburn's response is described in words etched into the walls of Auburn Hall: a Latin phrase that translates to "No Steps Backward." Auburn is a community that was built by the power of a great river. Now, the power of community is building a new future on that river with new economic opportunities, wonderful food, vibrant arts and entertainment, and exciting recreation. Auburn cherishes its history as it continues to move forward.

Auburn is a city of compassionate, involved people. It is home to the Good Shepherd Food Bank, the largest hunger relief organization in Maine. The Auburn Police Activities League, which provides educational and athletic opportunities to children and teens after school and during the summer, is an outstanding example of public officials and committed citizens joining together to change lives today to create the leaders of tomorrow. The energy and planning that are going into Auburn's 150th anniversary celebration demonstrate the pride residents have in their city.

The celebration of the city of Auburn's 150th anniversary is not merely about the passing of time. It is about human accomplishment. We celebrate the people who, from the dawn of our Nation to our time, have pulled together, cared for one another, and built a great community. Thanks to those who came before, Auburn, ME, has a wonderful history. Thanks to those there today, it has a bright future.

TRIBUTE TO MIKE DAVIS

Mr. GRASSLEY. Mr. President, I would like to pay tribute to Mike Davis for his incredibly hard work on my Senate Judiciary Committee staff as chief counsel for nominations. He is an Iowan, so his work ethic should be no surprise, but he went above and beyond to ensure that the Senate con-

firmed a historic number of Federal judges during the 115th Congress, including the very difficult confirmation of Justice Brett Kavanaugh. In December, Mike spoke about his work for me to the Iowa Lawyers Chapter of the Federalist Society. I ask unanimous consent that the text of Mike's speech be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

KAVANAUGH AND BEYOND: JUDICIAL CONFIRMATIONS IN THE TRUMP ADMINISTRATION

Good afternoon, everyone. Thank you to Sam Langholz and the rest of the Iowa lawyers' chapter of the Federalist Society for inviting me to speak today. The Federalist Society continues to perform the critical task of building the farm team of constitutionalist, originalist, and textualist lawyers across America who can go on to serve in senior government posts, including in the federal judiciary. Sam is no doubt one of those lawyers. I have known Sam for more than 20 years, from our college internship days in Washington. Sam is an exceptional lawyer and leader, and Governor Kim Reynolds and all Iowans are fortunate to have Sam serving as a senior member of the Governor's team.

I am completing my service as one of Senator Chuck Grassley's lawyers on the United States Senate Committee on the Judiciary, where Senator Grassley is finishing his 4-year tenure as the Chairman. In January, Senator Grassley is taking over the chairmanship of the Senate Finance Committee, along with assuming the constitutional office of President Pro Tempore of the United States Senate. As President Pro Tem, Senator Grassley will become third in line in the presidential succession, behind the Vice President and the Speaker of the House. It also means that Senator Grassley must have a protective detail, which he absolutely does not want. But as I remind him, the deer across Iowa can now cross Iowa's highways a little more easily without the fear of Chuck Grassley behind the wheel. At least for the next two years, anyway.

In all seriousness, I am very proud to work for Senator Grassley. He is 85 years old, and his health is excellent. His mind is razor-sharp. He remembers everything. He still runs several miles, several times a week. He still runs circles around his staff, especially me. In fact, the "Farmer from Iowa" schools me on the law, when I am supposed to advise him on legal issues. When he does this, I tell him that at least my jokes are better than his. He laughs. Sometimes.

Senator Grassley is one of the most kind, caring, decent people I have ever met. He comes home to Iowa virtually every weekend. He puts Iowans above all. And he will never become a creature of The Swamp, even after his 44 years in Congress. Yet Senator Grassley is one of the most—if not the most—consequential lawmakers in Washington. And his chairmanship of the Senate Judiciary Committee has been one of the most consequential in our nation's history.

In fact, earlier today, following Senator Grassley's dogged and determined leadership, Senator Grassley joined the President at the White House for the bill signing of the First Step Act—a once-in-a-generation criminal-justice-reform bill that Senator Grassley wrote and shepherded through Congress. No one expected this legislation to pass, let alone with overwhelmingly bipartisan support. Yet Senator Grassley is the one senator—with the experience, credibility, and trust of his colleagues across the political spectrum—who could have made this happen.

During his 4-year chairmanship of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Senator Grassley led the effort to report out of committee 61 bills. The Senate passed 45, and 29 became law. Regardless of what you think about the particulars of any one of these laws, very few in Washington have this record of legislative success. As always, Grassley works. And Grassley delivers. Like he has done for his 38 years in the Senate.

I am particularly pleased to join you today to discuss one of Senator Grassley's most significant legislative achievements of his nearly 60-year career in public office. As Chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Senator Grassley led the historic and record-shattering effort to confirm President Trump's lifetime-appointed judicial nominees.

Over the last two years, Senator Grassley has led the effort in confirming 85 new federal judges. This includes Justice Gorsuch, Justice Kavanaugh, an all-time record 30 circuit judges, and 53 district judges.

At 85 judges appointed under President Trump, Senator Grassley has led the effort to confirm nearly twice as many judges as the 43 judges that President Obama appointed in his first two years in office.

Moreover, in 2017, Senator Grassley led the effort in setting the all-time record for federal circuit judges confirmed during a president's first year in office, at 12 circuit judges confirmed.

And earlier this year, Senator Grassley led the effort in setting the all-time record for federal circuit judges confirmed during a president's first two years in office. The previous record was 22; Senator Grassley helped smash this record, by leading the effort to confirm 30 federal circuit judges in less than 2 years.

And Senator Grassley has readied the field for 2019, when Senator Graham takes over as the chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee. Senator Grassley and the Senate Judiciary Committee have already held hearings for 50 more federal judicial nominees, including 6 more federal circuit nominees, who will have confirmation votes in early 2019. Senator Grassley has put the ball on the tee for his successor.

While Senator Grassley had made this look easy, it certainly was not. Senator Grassley and his team thoroughly vet each of these nominees, carefully examining their backgrounds and qualifications, understanding their judicial philosophy, and carefully assessing their character and fitness to serve. Senator Grassley held 20 nominations hearings this year alone, generally every other Wednesday that the Senate was in session. And Senator Grassley generally held committee meetings for debates and votes on nominees almost every Thursday that the Senate was in session. And Senator Grassley worked both behind the scenes and in public, to build support for these judicial nominees.

This took a significant amount of Senator Grassley's time. But Senator Grassley understands the critical importance of appointing judges who find and apply the law as the public understood the law at the time of its writing. And Senator Grassley also understands the dangers to liberty—in fact, the tyranny—when judges think it is their job to substitute their policy preferences for those of the American people and their elected representatives in Congress.

Fortunately, we are winning. The President is fulfilling his promise to the American people to nominate and appoint judges who are constitutionalists, originalists, and textualists.

Senator Grassley had to overcome historic obstruction by Senate Democrats. The Senate Democrats forced time-wasting and unprecedented cloture votes on 48 of the judi-

cial nominees brought to the Senate floor. How rare are cloture votes for judicial nominees? Only 2 of President Obama's nominees in the first two years faced cloture votes. Only 3 of President George W. Bush's nominees from the first two years faced cloture votes. Only 1 for Clinton; 0 for H.W. Bush; 0 for Reagan.

And the Senate Democrats' obstruction tactics were on full display during the confirmation process for Justice Brett Kavanaugh, who the Senate confirmed on October 7, 2018. Senator Grassley oversaw the most comprehensive and transparent confirmation process in history, including fully investigating a number of allegations against Justice Kavanaugh that turned out to be completely meritless.

Senator Grassley and his team reviewed the most documentation in Supreme Court nomination history—including more than 500,000 pages of Justice Kavanaugh's records from his prior government legal service.

Additionally, Senator Grassley and his team also reviewed more than 300 written opinions—more than 10,000 pages—that Justice Kavanaugh wrote or joined in his more than 12 years of service on the D.C. Circuit, the most important federal circuit court in America. We also reviewed more than 17,000 pages of Justice Kavanaugh's academic writings, speeches, and other materials provided to the Senate Judiciary Committee in response to its most expansive questionnaire ever submitted to a nominee.

Even after the 4-day hearing, in which Justice Kavanaugh testified for more than 32 hours, Senate Democrats submitted 1,287 written questions for the record—more than the total number submitted to all prior Supreme Court nominees in our history, combined.

The normal hearing process confirmed for Senator Grassley that Justice Kavanaugh was one of the most qualified, if not the most qualified, Supreme Court nominee in our history. The Senate Democrats and their liberal allies landed no punches. Justice Kavanaugh had gone through 6 prior FBI full-field background investigations, going back to 1993. He had served in the highest positions in the White House and on the second most important court in the land for more than a dozen years. It was very clear that Justice Kavanaugh unquestionably had the character and fitness to serve.

The Senate Democrats and their liberal allies ensured that what should have been a "normal" confirmation hearing was anything but normal. From the opening moments, Senate Democrats conducted themselves more like petulant children than United States senators. They interrupted the Chairman with inappropriate motions and wild yelling. Indeed, throughout the hearing, we experienced a senator—who proclaimed to become Spartacus—willfully leaking confidential records, another senator asking misleading innuendo-laced questions with no basis, and other senators doing other outrageous things.

Leftwing allies followed the disgraceful lead of these senators. With Justice Kavanaugh's two young daughters in the room, paid protestors shouted vile things, disrupting the hearing and dragging the process on for hours longer than necessary. This mob-like behavior was apparent throughout the process, as angry paid protestors harassed senators, their families, and their staffs.

When the hearing days were over and it was clear that Justice Kavanaugh was a good man with impeccable credentials, Senate Democrats and their leftwing allies went back to their playbook from the Justice Thomas confirmation. But this time, Senate Democrats and their leftwing allies went

even farther, accusing Justice Kavanaugh of being a serial gang-rapist who drugged women at parties in his teenage years and even through his 20s. While the FBI found no evidence of this in any of its previous 6 full-field background investigations conducted during Justice Kavanaugh's 25 years of public service, Senator Grassley nonetheless took the allegations seriously.

More than 20 staff members of Senator Grassley's Oversight & Investigations Unit and Nominations Unit immediately began investigating these claims. They worked around the clock. Their work was thorough and comprehensive. Senator Grassley was satisfied it contained all the answers he needed, but some senators demanded a supplemental FBI investigation. All senators were able to review that supplemental report, and most were satisfied that it confirmed what we already knew and what Justice Kavanaugh had been saying from the beginning: Justice Kavanaugh was innocent of the outrageous allegations made against him.

After Justice Kavanaugh's confirmation, Senator Grassley's staff produced a report of more than 400 pages, which catalogues the tireless work his staff did in investigating these allegations. This report made clear that some of the people who made the wild accusations against Justice Kavanaugh deserved to be criminally referred to the Justice Department. And Senator Grassley made those criminal referrals.

Senator Grassley felt strongly about making this report public, because it demonstrates his commitment to process—something many Senate Democrats wanted none of. To them, due process is inconvenient when it stands in the way of achieving their political ends. Senator Grassley, however, knows that upholding the constitutional cornerstone of due process, of innocence until proven guilty, was worth fighting for. And Senator Grassley helped deliver justice; Justice Kavanaugh prevailed.

The American people clearly felt the same way. Indeed, in an election that showed big gains for Democrats across the country, Republicans actually gained 2 seats in the Senate. Voters booted out of office Trump-state Senate Democrats who voted against Justice Kavanaugh—like Claire McCaskill from Missouri, Joe Donnelly from Indiana, Heidi Heitkamp from North Dakota, and Bill Nelson from Florida. The one Senate Democrat who actually voted the way his constituents wanted him—Joe Manchin from West Virginia—won reelection.

These legislative victories are just more in the long line of wins that the country has seen during Senator Grassley's time chairing the Senate Judiciary Committee. Again, Senator Grassley works; Senator Grassley delivers.

Thank you for your continued support of Senator Grassley. And thank you for your continued efforts in helping to find, credential, and appoint judges who share our judicial philosophy. We can never get tired of winning. The stakes are too high.

Merry Christmas and Happy Holidays!
I am happy to answer your questions.

ADDITIONAL STATEMENTS

REMEMBERING OTTO DELIKAT

● Mr. BLUMENTHAL. Mr. President, today, with a heavy heart, I wish to pay tribute to Otto Delikat, a remarkable role model, survivor, and family man. Mr. Delikat passed away on December 23, 2018 at the age of 96.

His life was similar to many of the Jewish faith during that era, an ordinary man with extraordinary spirit and indefatigable will to survive. He will be remembered for his outstanding commitment to his communities and readiness to share his experiences in order to promote freedom and democracy.

Mr. Delikat was born in Vienna, Austria, where he grew up with his father, stepmother, brother, and two sisters. As a young man, he worked on a farm in Germany, where his family's religion was not known. When World War II began, he returned to Vienna. With his father already in a labor camp, a 17-year-old Mr. Delikat volunteered to go to the same camp. He and about a dozen others from the labor camp were sent to work in a brick factory.

One of the men working with him in the labor camp escaped, which resulted in the rest of their group getting locked up in prison for a year. When the prison sentence ended, Mr. Delikat and the other Jewish prisoners were handed over to the Gestapo and sent to concentration camps.

Mr. Delikat spent just under a year in the Flossenburg concentration camp. Then, in October 1942, he and the other 16 people left with him were transported to Auschwitz. He was imprisoned there for around a year, working some of this time as part of a labor squad tasked with going through the luggage people took with them when they arrived on transports. After the destruction of the Warsaw Ghetto, he and about 3,000 other prisoners went to clean up the wreckage. Despite falling ill from the typhoid epidemic that killed over half of the inmates during their first winter in Warsaw, Mr. Delikat survived.

Eventually, the SS evacuated the prisoners in 1944, not even half of whom survived the several days' long march when their attempts to run toward water led to machinegun fire. Those who made it to the cattle cars, including Mr. Delikat, then went to Dachau. Mr. Delikat was soon relocated to another concentration camp in southern Germany, where he met a civilian who helped him pass letters to and from Vienna. Thanks to the kindness of this civilian, he learned his father was still alive.

After liberation, Mr. Delikat spent several months working for the American counterintelligence corps tracking down members of the SS in hiding in order to bring them to justice. During his time in the displaced persons camp, he met and married his wife, and they had their first child. The family moved to America, thanks to support from his wife's aunt, where Mr. Delikat quickly found work and they welcomed their second child.

When asked about how he survived, Mr. Delikat emphasized he "always looked for tomorrow." He did not think about the days that would follow, but instead focused on the hope he would make it through the current day and wake up the next. He also said his ex-

periences throughout the Holocaust led him to become active in Jewish communities, including 50 years at the Oceanside Jewish Center. He served as chairman of the temple's House committee, was named their man of the year in 1994, joined the men's club, and served on the Holocaust committee.

Mr. Delikat considered it of the utmost importance to share his experiences with others. He recognized his story and the stories of fellow survivors would be lost if not told. He liked to talk about what he went through at every available opportunity, emphasizing the positive ideals of our Nation by underlining the importance of living in a free and equal society.

My wife Cynthia and I extend our deepest sympathies to Otto's family during this difficult time, particularly to his two children, Janet and Michael, four grandchildren, and four great-grandchildren. May their many wonderful memories of Otto provide them solace and comfort in the days ahead.●

MEASURES PLACED ON THE CALENDAR

The following bills and joint resolutions were read the second time, and placed on the calendar:

S. 28. A bill to reauthorize the United States-Jordan Defense Cooperation Act of 2015, and for other purposes.

H.R. 21. An act making appropriations for the fiscal year ending September 30, 2019, and for other purposes.

H.J. Res. 1. Joint resolution making further continuing appropriations for the Department of Homeland Security for fiscal year 2019, and for other purposes.

MEASURES READ THE FIRST TIME

The following bill was read the first time:

S. 47. A bill to provide for the management of the natural resources of the United States, and for other purposes.

EXECUTIVE AND OTHER COMMUNICATIONS

The following communications were laid before the Senate, together with accompanying papers, reports, and documents, and were referred as indicated:

EC-1. A communication from the Secretary of the Army, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report entitled "Transfer of Surplus Firearms to Corporation for the Promotion of Rifle Practice and Firearms Safety"; to the Committee on Armed Services.

EC-2. A communication from the Acting Assistant Secretary of the Army (Manpower and Reserve Affairs), transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on the mobilizations of selected reserve units, received in the Office of the President of the Senate on December 20, 2018; to the Committee on Armed Services.

EC-3. A communication from the Director, Bureau of Consumer Financial Protection, transmitting, pursuant to law, the Annual Report of the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau on College Credit Cards; to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

EC-4. A communication from the Director, Bureau of Consumer Financial Protection, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Fair Credit Reporting Act Disclosures" (RIN3170-AA94) received during adjournment of the Senate in the Office of the President of the Senate on December 31, 2018; to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

EC-5. A communication from the Director, Bureau of Consumer Financial Protection, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Truth in Lending Act (Regulation Z) Adjustment to Asset-Size Exemption Threshold" (RIN3170-AA93) received during adjournment of the Senate in the Office of the President of the Senate on December 31, 2018; to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

EC-6. A communication from the Director, Bureau of Consumer Financial Protection, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Home Mortgage Disclosure (Regulation C) Adjustment to Asset-Size Exemption Threshold" (RIN3170-AA92) received during adjournment of the Senate in the Office of the President of the Senate on December 31, 2018; to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

EC-7. A communication from the Director of the Regulatory Management Division, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Air Plan Approval; California; EL Dorado County Air Quality Management District; Reasonably Available Control Technology Demonstration" (FRL No. 9988-52-Region 9) received during adjournment of the Senate in the Office of the President of the Senate on December 28, 2018; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

EC-8. A communication from the Assistant Secretary of the Army (Civil Works), transmitting, pursuant to law, a report relative to the Mamaroneck and Sheldrake River Basins Flood Risk Management project, Village of Mamaroneck, New York; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

EC-9. A communication from the Chief of the Publications and Regulations Branch, Internal Revenue Service, Department of the Treasury, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "2019 Standard Mileage Rates" (Notice 2019-2) received in the Office of the President of the Senate on December 20, 2018; to the Committee on Finance.

EC-10. A communication from the Chief of the Publications and Regulations Branch, Internal Revenue Service, Department of the Treasury, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Parking Expenses for Qualified Transportation Fringes Under Section 274(a) (4) and Section 512(a) (7) of the Internal Revenue Code" (Notice 2018-99) received in the Office of the President of the Senate on December 20, 2018; to the Committee on Finance.

EC-11. A communication from the Chief of the Publications and Regulations Branch, Internal Revenue Service, Department of the Treasury, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Guidance on the Application of Section 83(i)" (Notice 2018-97) received in the Office of the President of the Senate on December 20, 2018; to the Committee on Finance.

EC-12. A communication from the Regulations Coordinator, Centers for Medicare and Medicaid Services, Department of Health and Human Services, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Medicare Program; Medicare Shared Savings Program; Accountable Care Organizations Pathways to Success and Extreme and Uncontrollable Circumstances Policies for Performance Year 2017" (RINs 0938-AT45 and 0938-AT51) received in the Office of the President of the Senate on December 27, 2018; to the Committee on Finance.

EC-13. A communication from the Regulation Coordinator, Centers for Medicare and Medicaid Services, Department of Health and Human Services, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act; Adoption of the Methodology for the HHS-operated Permanent Risk Adjustment Program for the 2018 Benefit Year Final Rule" (RIN0938-AT66) (CMS-9919-F)) received in the Office of the President of the Senate on December 20, 2018; to the Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions.

EC-14. A communication from the Acting Chief Financial Officer, National Labor Relations Board, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report entitled "Performance and Accountability Report for Fiscal Year 2018"; to the Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs.

EC-15. A communication from the Executive Director, U.S. Election Assistance Commission, transmitting, pursuant to law, the Commission's Semiannual Report of the Inspector General for the period from April 1, 2018 through September 30, 2018; to the Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs.

EC-16. A communication from the Assistant Secretary for Congressional and Intergovernmental Relations, Department of Housing and Urban Development, transmitting, pursuant to law, the Government National Mortgage Association (Ginnie Mae) management report for the fiscal year 2018; to the Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs.

EC-17. A communication from the Vice President for Congressional and Public Affairs, Millennium Challenge Corporation, transmitting, pursuant to law, the Corporation's Agency Financial Report for fiscal year 2018; to the Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs.

EC-18. A communication from the Acting Director, Office of Personnel Management, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "General Schedule Locality Pay Areas" (RIN3206-AN64) received in the Office of the President of the Senate on January 3, 2019; to the Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs.

EC-19. A communication from the Chief of the Border Security Regulations Branch, Customs and Border Protection, Department of Homeland Security, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Civil Monetary Penalty Adjustments for Inflation" (RIN1651-AB32) received in the Office of the President of the Senate on December 20, 2018; to the Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs.

EC-20. A communication from the Acting Director, Office of Personnel Management, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Veterans' Preferences" (RIN3206-AN47) received in the Office of the President of the Senate on January 3, 2019; to the Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs.

INTRODUCTION OF BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS

The following bills and joint resolutions were introduced, read the first and second times by unanimous consent, and referred as indicated:

By Ms. BALDWIN (for herself, Mr. MORAN, and Ms. KLOBUCHAR):

S. 30. A bill to require the Secretary of Defense to develop and implement a plan to provide chiropractic health care services for certain covered beneficiaries as part of the TRICARE program; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Ms. DUCKWORTH (for herself and Mr. DURBIN):

S. 31. A bill to include Livingston County, the city of Jonesboro in Union County, and the city of Freeport in Stephenson County, Illinois, to the Lincoln National Heritage Area, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

By Mr. MCCONNELL:

S. 32. A bill to establish the Mill Springs Battlefield National Monument in the State of Kentucky as a unit of the National Park System, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

By Mr. GARDNER (for himself and Mr. BENNET):

S. 33. A bill to update the map of, and modify the maximum acreage available for inclusion in, the Florissant Fossil Beds National Monument; to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

By Mr. CRUZ (for himself and Mr. COONS):

S. 34. A bill to require a report on the continuing participation of Cambodia in the Generalized System of Preferences; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. GARDNER (for himself and Mr. BENNET):

S. 35. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to conduct a special resource study of the site known as "Amache" in the State of Colorado; to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

By Mr. GARDNER (for himself and Mr. BENNET):

S. 36. A bill to authorize, direct, expedite, and facilitate a land exchange in El Paso and Teller Counties, Colorado, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

By Mr. GARDNER (for himself and Mr. BENNET):

S. 37. A bill to ensure adequate use and access to the existing Bolts Ditch headgate and ditch segment within the Holy Cross Wilderness in Eagle County, Colorado, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

By Mr. GARDNER (for himself and Mr. BENNET):

S. 38. A bill to maintain annual base funding for the Upper Colorado and San Juan fish recovery programs through fiscal year 2023, to require a report on the implementation of those programs, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

By Mr. BRAUN (for himself and Mr. MANCHIN):

S. 39. A bill to provide that Members of Congress may not receive pay after October 1 of any fiscal year in which Congress has not approved a concurrent resolution on the budget and passed the regular appropriations bills; to the Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs.

By Mr. BARRASSO (for himself and Mr. SCHATZ):

S. 40. A bill to require the Secretary of the Interior to submit to Congress a report on the efforts of the Bureau of Reclamation to manage its infrastructure assets; to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

By Mr. CORNYN (for himself and Mr. CRUZ):

S. 41. A bill to survey the gradient boundary along the Red River in the States of Oklahoma and Texas, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

By Mr. MURPHY (for himself, Mr. BLUMENTHAL, Mr. SCHUMER, Mr. DURBIN, Ms. CORTEZ MASTO, Ms. BALDWIN, Mr. BENNET, Mr. BOOKER, Mr. BROWN, Ms. CANTWELL, Mr. CARDIN, Mr. CARPER, Mr. CASEY, Mr. COONS, Ms.

DUCKWORTH, Mrs. FEINSTEIN, Mrs. GILLIBRAND, Ms. HARRIS, Ms. HASSAN, Mr. HEINRICH, Ms. HIRONO, Mr. KAINNE, Ms. KLOBUCHAR, Mr. LEAHY, Mr. MARKEY, Mr. MENENDEZ, Mr. MERKLEY, Mrs. MURRAY, Mr. PETERS, Mr. REED, Ms. ROSEN, Mr. SANDERS, Mr. SCHATZ, Mrs. SHAHEEN, Ms. SMITH, Ms. STABENOW, Mr. UDALL, Mr. VAN HOLLEN, Mr. WARNER, Ms. WARREN, Mr. WHITEHOUSE, and Mr. WYDEN):

S. 42. A bill to require a background check for every firearm sale; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CORNYN (for himself and Mr. CRUZ):

S. 43. A bill to require the Secretary of Agriculture to transfer certain National Forest System land in the States of Texas; to the Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry.

By Mr. DAINES:

S. 44. A bill to reduce a portion of the annual pay of Members of Congress for the failure to adopt a concurrent resolution on the budget which does not provide for a balanced budget, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs.

By Mr. REED (for himself, Mr. WHITEHOUSE, Mr. BLUMENTHAL, and Mr. MURPHY):

S. 45. A bill to amend the Wild and Scenic Rivers Act to designate certain river segments within the Wood-Pawcatuck watershed as components of the National Wild and Scenic Rivers System, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

By Mr. MERKLEY (for himself and Mr. WYDEN):

S. 46. A bill to repeal the Klamath Tribe Judgment Fund Act; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Ms. MURKOWSKI (for herself and Ms. CANTWELL):

S. 47. A bill to provide for the management of the natural resources of the United States, and for other purposes; read the first time.

By Ms. MCSALLY (for herself and Ms. SINEMA):

S. 48. A bill to authorize, direct, expedite, and facilitate a land exchange in Yavapai County, Arizona, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

By Mr. LEE (for himself and Mr. ROMNEY):

S. 49. A bill to designate the outstation of the Department of Veterans Affairs in North Ogden, Utah, as the Major Brent Taylor Vet Center Outstation; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. MERKLEY (for himself, Mrs. MURRAY, Mr. WYDEN, and Ms. CANTWELL):

S. 50. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to assess sanitation and safety conditions at Bureau of Indian Affairs facilities that were constructed to provide affected Columbia River Treaty tribes access to traditional fishing grounds and expend funds on construction of facilities and structures to improve those conditions, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. TESTER (for himself and Mr. DAINES):

S. 51. A bill to extend the Federal recognition to the Little Shell Tribe of Chippewa Indians of Montana, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. RISCH (for himself, Mr. MENENDEZ, and Mr. RUBIO):

S. 52. A bill to halt the wholesale slaughter of the Syrian people, encourage a negotiated political settlement, and hold Syrian human

rights abusers accountable for their crimes; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

By Mr. INHOFE (for himself, Mr. ROUNDS, Mr. KENNEDY, Mr. CRUZ, and Mr. CASSIDY):

S. 53. A bill to appropriate \$25,000,000,000 for the construction of a border wall between the United States and Mexico, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Finance.

By Ms. MCSALLY (for herself and Ms. SINEMA):

S. 54. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to convey certain land to La Paz County, Arizona, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

By Ms. MCSALLY (for herself and Ms. SINEMA):

S. 55. A bill to provide for the unencumbering of title to non-Federal land owned by the city of Tucson, Arizona, for purposes of economic development by conveyance of the Federal reversionary interest to the City; to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

By Mr. TILLIS:

S. 56. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to annually designate at least one city in the United States as an "American World War II Heritage City", and for other purposes; to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

By Mr. BENNET (for himself and Mr. GARDNER):

S. 57. A bill to amend the National Trails System Act to provide for the study of the Pike National Historic Trail; to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

By Mr. BENNET (for himself and Mr. GARDNER):

S. 58. A bill to designate certain mountain peaks in the State of Colorado as "Fowler Peak" and "Boskoff Peak"; to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

By Mr. BENNET (for himself and Mr. GARDNER):

S. 59. A bill to adjust the boundary of the Arapaho National Forest, Colorado, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

SUBMISSION OF CONCURRENT AND SENATE RESOLUTIONS

The following concurrent resolutions and Senate resolutions were read, and referred (or acted upon), as indicated:

By Mr. CORNYN (for himself and Mr. CRUZ):

S. Res. 10. A resolution honoring the life of Richard Arvin Overton; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. INHOFE (for himself and Mr. LANKFORD):

S. Res. 11. A resolution honoring the 150th anniversary of Fort Sill in Lawton, Oklahoma; to the Committee on Armed Services.

ADDITIONAL COSPONSORS

S. 1

At the request of Mr. RUBIO, the names of the Senator from North Dakota (Mr. CRAMER), the Senator from Texas (Mr. CRUZ) and the Senator from Mississippi (Mr. WICKER) were added as cosponsors of S. 1, a bill to make improvements to certain defense and security assistance provisions and to authorize the appropriation of funds to Israel, to reauthorize the United States-Jordan Defense Cooperation Act of 2015, and to halt the wholesale slaughter of the Syrian people, and for other purposes.

S. 9

At the request of Mr. RUBIO, the names of the Senator from Wyoming (Mr. BARRASSO), the Senator from Pennsylvania (Mr. CASEY), the Senator from Oklahoma (Mr. INHOFE), the Senator from Louisiana (Mr. KENNEDY) and the Senator from Arkansas (Mr. BOOZMAN) were added as cosponsors of S. 9, a bill to amend the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act to clarify the Food and Drug Administration's jurisdiction over certain tobacco products, and to protect jobs and small businesses involved in the sale, manufacturing and distribution of traditional and premium cigars.

S. 20

At the request of Mr. WYDEN, the names of the Senator from Connecticut (Mr. BLUMENTHAL) and the Senator from Oregon (Mr. MERKLEY) were added as cosponsors of S. 20, a bill to amend the Ethics in Government Act of 1978 to require the disclosure of certain tax returns by Presidents and certain candidates for the office of the President, and for other purposes.

S. 21

At the request of Mr. THUNE, the names of the Senator from Alaska (Mr. SULLIVAN), the Senator from Hawaii (Mr. SCHATZ), the Senator from Wisconsin (Mr. JOHNSON), the Senator from Florida (Mr. RUBIO), the Senator from Alaska (Ms. MURKOWSKI), the Senator from New Jersey (Mr. MENENDEZ), the Senator from Washington (Mrs. MURRAY) and the Senator from New Hampshire (Ms. HASSAN) were added as cosponsors of S. 21, a bill making continuing appropriations for Coast Guard pay in the event an appropriations act expires prior to the enactment of a new appropriations act.

S. 24

At the request of Mr. CARDIN, the names of the Senator from Alaska (Ms. MURKOWSKI), the Senator from Michigan (Ms. STABENOW), the Senator from New Mexico (Mr. UDALL), the Senator from Hawaii (Mr. SCHATZ), the Senator from Washington (Mrs. MURRAY), the Senator from New Jersey (Mr. MENENDEZ), the Senator from Pennsylvania (Mr. CASEY), the Senator from Ohio (Mr. BROWN) and the Senator from Vermont (Mr. SANDERS) were added as cosponsors of S. 24, a bill to provide for the compensation of Federal and other government employees affected by lapses in appropriations.

S. 26

At the request of Mr. WYDEN, the names of the Senator from Delaware (Mr. COONS), the Senator from New Mexico (Mr. UDALL) and the Senator from Oregon (Mr. MERKLEY) were added as cosponsors of S. 26, a bill to amend the Help America Vote Act of 2002 to allow all eligible voters to vote by mail in Federal elections, to amend the National Voter Registration Act of 1993 to provide for automatic voter registration.

S.J. RES. 1

At the request of Mr. CRUZ, the names of the Senator from North Caro-

lina (Mr. TILLIS), the Senator from Georgia (Mr. PERDUE), the Senator from Indiana (Mr. BRAUN) and the Senator from Nebraska (Mr. SASSE) were added as cosponsors of S.J. Res. 1, a joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relative to limiting the number of terms that a Member of Congress may serve.

STATEMENTS ON INTRODUCED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS

By Mr. MCCONNELL:

S. 32. A bill to establish the Mill Springs Battlefield National Monument in the State of Kentucky as a unit of the National Park System, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the text of the bill be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the text of the bill was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

S. 32

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the "Mill Springs Battlefield National Monument Act".

SEC. 2. DEFINITIONS.

In this Act:

(1) MAP.—The term "Map" means the map entitled "Mill Springs Battlefield National Monument, Nancy, Kentucky", numbered 297/145513, and dated June 2018.

(2) MONUMENT.—The term "Monument" means the Mill Springs Battlefield National Monument established by section 3(a)(1).

(3) SECRETARY.—The term "Secretary" means the Secretary of the Interior, acting through the Director of the National Park Service.

SEC. 3. ESTABLISHMENT OF MILL SPRINGS BATTLEFIELD NATIONAL MONUMENT.

(a) ESTABLISHMENT.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Subject to paragraph (2), there is established as a unit of the National Park System, the Mill Springs Battlefield National Monument in the State of Kentucky, to preserve, protect, and interpret for the benefit of present and future generations—

(A) the nationally significant historic resources of the Mill Springs Battlefield; and

(B) the role of the Mill Springs Battlefield in the Civil War.

(2) DETERMINATION BY THE SECRETARY.—The Monument shall not be established until the date on which the Secretary determines that a sufficient quantity of land or interests in land has been acquired to constitute a manageable park unit.

(3) NOTICE.—Not later than 30 days after the date on which the Secretary makes a determination under paragraph (2), the Secretary shall publish in the Federal Register notice of the establishment of the Monument.

(4) BOUNDARY.—The boundary of the Monument shall be as generally depicted on the Map.

(5) AVAILABILITY OF MAP.—The Map shall be on file and available for public inspection in the appropriate offices of the National Park Service.

(6) ACQUISITION AUTHORITY.—The Secretary may only acquire land or an interest in land located within the boundary of the Monument by—

- (A) donation;
 - (B) purchase from a willing seller with donated or appropriated funds; or
 - (C) exchange.
- (b) ADMINISTRATION.—
- (1) IN GENERAL.—The Secretary shall administer the Monument in accordance with—
 - (A) this Act; and
 - (B) the laws generally applicable to units of the National Park System, including—
 - (i) section 100101(a), chapter 1003, and sections 100751(a), 100752, 100753, and 102101 of title 54, United States Code; and
 - (ii) chapter 3201 of title 54, United States Code.

(2) MANAGEMENT PLAN.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 3 years after the date on which funds are first made available to prepare a general management plan for the Monument, the Secretary shall prepare the general management plan in accordance with section 100502 of title 54, United States Code.

(B) SUBMISSION TO CONGRESS.—On completion of the general management plan, the Secretary shall submit to the Committee on Natural Resources of the House of Representatives and the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources of the Senate the general management plan.

(c) PRIVATE PROPERTY PROTECTION.—Nothing in this Act affects the land use rights of private property owners within or adjacent to the Monument.

(d) NO BUFFER ZONES.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Nothing in this Act, the establishment of the Monument, or the management of the Monument creates a buffer zone outside the Monument.

(2) ACTIVITY OR USE OUTSIDE MONUMENT.—The fact that an activity or use can be seen, heard, or detected from within the Monument shall not preclude the conduct of the activity or use outside the Monument.

By Mr. DAINES:

S. 44. A bill to reduce a portion of the annual pay of Members of Congress for the failure to adopt a concurrent resolution on the budget which does not provide for a balanced budget, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs.

Mr. DAINES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the text of the bill be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the text of the bill was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

S. 44

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE; FINDINGS.

(a) SHORT TITLE.—This Act may be cited as the “Balanced Budget Accountability Act”.

(b) FINDINGS.—Congress finds the following:

(1) The Federal debt exceeds \$21,000,000,000,000, continues to grow rapidly, and is larger than the size of the United States economy.

(2) The Federal budget has shown an annual deficit in 49 of the last 54 years.

(3) Deficits and the Federal debt threaten to shatter confidence in the Nation’s economy, suppress job creation and economic growth, and leave future generations of Americans with a lower standard of living and fewer opportunities.

(4) It is the duty of Members of Congress to develop and implement policies, including balancing the Federal budget, that encourage robust job creation and economic growth in the United States.

(5) Members of Congress should be held accountable for failing to pass annual budgets that result in a balanced budget.

SEC. 2. EFFECT OF FAILURE TO ADOPT RESOLUTION PROVIDING FOR BALANCED BUDGETS.

(a) DEFINITIONS.—In this section—

(1) the term “balanced budget” means a concurrent resolution on the budget which provides that for fiscal year 2029, and each fiscal year thereafter to which the concurrent resolution on the budget applies—

(A) total outlays do not exceed total receipts; and

(B) total outlays are not more than 18 percent of the projected gross domestic product of the United States (as determined by the Bureau of Economic Analysis of the Department of Commerce) for such fiscal year;

(2) the term “Director” means the Director of the Office of Management and Budget; and

(3) the term “Member” includes a Delegate or Resident Commissioner to Congress.

(b) DETERMINATION BY THE OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET.—Upon adoption by a House of Congress of a concurrent resolution on the budget for a fiscal year, the Director shall—

(1) determine whether the concurrent resolution on the budget is a balanced budget; and

(2) submit to the Speaker of the House of Representatives or the President pro tempore of the Senate (as the case may be) a certification as to whether or not that House of Congress has adopted a balanced budget.

(c) RULE FOR FISCAL YEARS 2020 AND 2021.—

(1) FISCAL YEAR 2020.—

(A) HOLDING SALARIES IN ESCROW.—If the Director does not certify that a House of Congress has adopted a balanced budget with respect to fiscal year 2020 before April 16, 2019, during the period described in subparagraph (B) the payroll administrator of that House of Congress shall deposit in an escrow account all payments otherwise required to be made during such period for the compensation of Members of Congress who serve in that House of Congress, and shall release such payments to such Members only upon the expiration of such period.

(B) PERIOD DESCRIBED.—With respect to a House of Congress, the period described in this subparagraph is the period that begins on April 16, 2019, and ends on the earlier of—

(i) the date on which the Director certifies that the House of Congress has adopted a balanced budget with respect to fiscal year 2020; or

(ii) the last day of the One Hundred Sixteenth Congress.

(2) FISCAL YEAR 2021.—

(A) HOLDING SALARIES IN ESCROW.—If the Director does not certify that a House of Congress has adopted a balanced budget with respect to fiscal year 2021 before April 16, 2020, during the period described in subparagraph (B) the payroll administrator of that House of Congress shall deposit in an escrow account all payments otherwise required to be made during such period for the compensation of Members of Congress who serve in that House of Congress, and shall release such payments to such Members only upon the expiration of such period.

(B) PERIOD DESCRIBED.—With respect to a House of Congress, the period described in this subparagraph is the period that begins on April 16, 2020, and ends on the earlier of—

(i) the date on which the Director certifies that the House of Congress has adopted a balanced budget with respect to fiscal year 2021; or

(ii) the last day of the One Hundred Sixteenth Congress.

(3) WITHHOLDING AND REMITTANCE OF AMOUNTS FROM PAYMENTS HELD IN ESCROW.—The payroll administrator shall provide for

the same withholding and remittance with respect to a payment deposited in an escrow account under paragraph (1) or (2) that would apply to the payment if the payment were not subject to paragraph (1) or (2).

(4) RELEASE OF AMOUNTS AT END OF THE CONGRESS.—In order to ensure that this subsection is carried out in a manner that shall not vary the compensation of Senators or Representatives in violation of the twenty-seventh amendment to the Constitution of the United States, the payroll administrator of a House of Congress shall release for payments to Members of that House of Congress any amounts remaining in any escrow account under this section on the last day of the One Hundred Sixteenth Congress.

(5) ROLE OF SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.—The Secretary of the Treasury shall provide the payroll administrators of the Houses of Congress with such assistance as may be necessary to enable the payroll administrators to carry out this subsection.

(6) PAYROLL ADMINISTRATOR DEFINED.—In this subsection, the “payroll administrator” of a House of Congress means—

(A) in the case of the House of Representatives, the Chief Administrative Officer of the House of Representatives, or an employee of the Office of the Chief Administrative Officer who is designated by the Chief Administrative Officer to carry out this section; and

(B) in the case of the Senate, the Secretary of the Senate, or an employee of the Office of the Secretary of the Senate who is designated by the Secretary to carry out this section.

(d) RULE FOR FISCAL YEAR 2022 AND SUBSEQUENT FISCAL YEARS.—If the Director does not certify that a House of Congress has adopted a balanced budget with respect to fiscal year 2022, or any fiscal year thereafter, before April 16 of the fiscal year before such fiscal year, during pay periods which occur in the same calendar year after that date each Member of that House shall be paid at an annual rate of pay equal to \$1.

SEC. 3. SUPERMAJORITY REQUIREMENT FOR INCREASING REVENUE.

(a) IN GENERAL.—In the Senate and the House of Representatives, a bill, joint resolution, amendment, conference report, or amendment between the Houses that increases revenue shall only be agreed to upon an affirmative vote of three-fifths of the Members of that House of Congress duly chosen and sworn.

(b) RULES OF SENATE AND THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.—Subsection (a) is enacted by Congress—

(1) as an exercise of the rulemaking power of the Senate and House of Representatives, respectively, and as such it is deemed a part of the rules of each House, respectively, but applicable only with respect to the procedure to be followed in that House in the case of a bill, joint resolution, amendment, conference report, or amendment between the Houses that increases revenue, and it supersedes other rules only to the extent that it is inconsistent with such rules; and

(2) with full recognition of the constitutional right of either House to change the rules (so far as relating to the procedure of that House) at any time, in the same manner, and to the same extent as in the case of any other rule of that House.

By Mr. REED (for himself, Mr. WHITEHOUSE, Mr. BLUMENTHAL, and Mr. MURPHY):

S. 45. A bill to amend the Wild and Scenic Rivers Act to designate certain river segments within the Wood-Pawcatuck watershed as components of the National Wild and Scenic Rivers System, and for other purposes; to the

Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, today I am once again introducing, along with my colleagues Senator WHITEHOUSE, Senator BLUMENTHAL, and Senator MURPHY, legislation to designate river segments within the Wood-Pawcatuck watershed as part of the National Wild and Scenic Rivers System.

Following more than three years of intense study, this legislation would formally recognize the recreational, natural, and historical qualities of portions of the Beaver, Chipuxet, Green Fall-Ashaway, Pawcatuck, Queen-Usquepaugh, Shunock, and Wood Rivers that flow through Rhode Island and Connecticut while providing access to Federal resources and promoting strong partnerships for their restoration and protection.

The Wood-Pawcatuck watershed is a National treasure that not only holds natural and scenic value, but also is an important economic driver for the area. Indeed, the 12 local river communities experience direct economic benefits from their proximity to these rivers through increased recreation and tourism. The watershed provides many opportunities for visitors to explore history and experience nature, including viewing early industrial mill ruins, trout fishing, bird watching, and kayaking.

I have long been a supporter of protecting and restoring these special rivers, which is why I sponsored the Wood-Pawcatuck Watershed Protection Act in 2013. The process that was initiated by that law has been a critical tool for bringing together stakeholders from Rhode Island and Connecticut including representatives from State agencies, local governments, and conservation groups in order to develop a collaborative path forward. The resulting Stewardship Plan, which has been formally adopted by the study committee and is supported by all twelve local river communities, builds upon currently existing efforts to preserve and manage the river ecosystems while also considering what steps will need to be taken collectively in the future in order to protect them.

I would like to commend Representatives LANGEVIN, CICILLINE, and COURTNEY for again introducing companion legislation. In October 2018 we commemorated the 50th anniversary of the landmark Wild and Scenic Rivers Act, and I am proud that after all these years we are continuing our work to protect such extraordinary places. I look forward to working with all of my colleagues to pass this legislation so that we can preserve the rivers of the Wood-Pawcatuck watershed for the enjoyment of current and future generations.

SUBMITTED RESOLUTIONS

SENATE RESOLUTION 10—HONORING THE LIFE OF RICHARD ARVIN OVERTON

Mr. CORNYN (for himself and Mr. CRUZ) submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary:

S. RES. 10

Whereas, on May 11, 1906, Richard Arvin Overton was born to Gentry Overton, Sr., and Elizabeth “Lizzie” Overton in Bastrop County, Texas;

Whereas, in 1940, Richard Arvin Overton enlisted in the Army and began his military service at Fort Sam Houston in San Antonio, Texas;

Whereas, from 1942 to 1945, Richard Arvin Overton bravely served in the Pacific theater, including in Guam, Palau, and Iwo Jima, with the 1887th Engineer Aviation Battalion, an all-African American unit, until the conclusion of World War II;

Whereas Richard Arvin Overton attained the rank of corporal in the Army;

Whereas Richard Arvin Overton earned the Combat Infantry Badge, the Meritorious Unit Commendation, the Army Good Conduct Medal, the American Defense Service Medal, the American Campaign Medal, the Asiatic-Pacific Campaign Medal, the World War II Victory Medal, and the Expert Rifle Marksmanship Badge;

Whereas Richard Arvin Overton returned to Austin, Texas, after the end of World War II and resided there until his death;

Whereas, on November 11, 2013, Richard Arvin Overton was honored by former President Barack Obama at Arlington National Cemetery for his courage and commitment to service in combat zones such as Pearl Harbor, the Marshall Islands, Guam, Palau, and Iwo Jima;

Whereas, on January 3, 2015, Richard Arvin Overton represented The Greatest Generation at the 2015 United States Army All-American Bowl in San Antonio, Texas;

Whereas, on May 3, 2016, Richard Arvin Overton became the oldest surviving veteran of the Armed Forces after the death of Frank Levington, a fellow World War II veteran;

Whereas, on May 11, 2016, Richard Arvin Overton attained 110 years of age and became a supercentenarian;

Whereas, in Austin, Texas, May 11th of each year is designated as “Richard Overton Day” in honor of Richard Arvin Overton’s birthday;

Whereas, in 2017, the city of Austin, Texas, officially renamed the street on which Richard Arvin Overton resided to “Richard Overton Avenue”;

Whereas Richard Arvin Overton died on December 27, 2018;

Whereas Richard Arvin Overton will be laid to rest with full military honors at the Texas State Cemetery in Austin, Texas; and

Whereas Richard Arvin Overton is a United States hero who exemplified strength, sacrifice, and service to the country: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Senate—

(1) extends its heartfelt sympathy to the family of Richard Arvin Overton on the occasion of his death;

(2) honors the life of Richard Arvin Overton and his service to the United States;

(3) honors and, on behalf of the United States, expresses deep appreciation for the outstanding and important service of Richard Arvin Overton to the United States; and

(4) respectfully requests that the Secretary of the Senate communicate this resolution to the House of Representatives and trans-

mit an enrolled copy of this resolution to the family of Richard Arvin Overton.

SENATE RESOLUTION 11—HONORING THE 150TH ANNIVERSARY OF FORT SILL IN LAWTON, OKLAHOMA

Mr. INHOFE (for himself and Mr. LANKFORD) submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Armed Services:

S. RES. 11

Whereas January 8, 2019, marks the 150th anniversary of Fort Sill, a military installation operating in the Lawton-Fort Sill region of Oklahoma;

Whereas the site of Fort Sill was staked out on January 8, 1869, by Major General Philip H. Sheridan, and the garrison was first called “Camp Wichita”;

Whereas Fort Sill is named after Brigadier General Joshua W. Sill, who was killed in the American Civil War and was a friend to Major General Philip H. Sheridan;

Whereas the first post commander at Fort Sill was Brevet Major General Benjamin Grierson;

Whereas, in 1877, Lieutenant Henry O. Flipper, the first African American to graduate from West Point, was assigned to the 10th Cavalry Regiment at Fort Sill;

Whereas, in 1898, the Fort Sill garrison was down to 27 officers and soldiers as the cavalry left for battles in Cuba during the Spanish-American War, and Lieutenant Allyn Capron, Jr., who had joined the “Rough Riders”, was the first officer killed in Cuba;

Whereas the last Indian land in Oklahoma opened for settlement in 1901, and 29,000 homesteaders registered at Fort Sill during July of that year for the land lottery;

Whereas Fort Sill played a major role in expanding the nearby city of Lawton, which was named after Major General Henry W. Lawton, a Fort Sill quartermaster who was killed in the Philippines in 1899 and was a Medal of Honor recipient;

Whereas, on August 6, 1901, the town of Lawton was established and quickly grew to become the third largest city in Oklahoma, later becoming part of the greater Lawton-Fort Sill community;

Whereas, with the disappearance of the frontier, the mission of Fort Sill gradually changed from cavalry to field artillery, with the first artillery battery arriving at Fort Sill in 1902, and the last cavalry regiment departing in May 1907;

Whereas, the School of Fire for Field Artillery was founded at Fort Sill in 1911 and continues to operate as the United States Army Field Artillery School;

Whereas, throughout its history, Fort Sill has served as home to—

(1) the Infantry School of Musketry, which was later renamed the Infantry School and moved to Camp Benning, Georgia;

(2) the Gas Defense School;

(3) the School for Aerial Observers;

(4) the Artillery Officers Candidate School (Robinson Barracks);

(5) the Air Service Flying School;

(6) the Army Aviation School;

(7) the School of Fire (now known as the Field Artillery School); and

(8) the Air Defense Artillery School;

Whereas, in 1915, the first air unit in the history of the United States Armed Forces, the 1st Aero Squadron, was stationed at Fort Sill for experiments in the aerial observation of artillery fire and, in 1916, was sent into combat with General Jack Pershing on an expedition into Mexico;

Whereas, in 1917, the Henry Post Army Airfield was constructed for aerial artillery observation and spotting;

Whereas, with the start of World War I in 1918, the post expanded quickly, and the Army established Camp Doniphan on the northwest edge of Fort Sill in order to assemble, house, and train entire divisions before sending the divisions to Europe;

Whereas, during World War I, Fort Sill found itself with a unique new training mission, as the War Department was unprepared to train officers and soldiers for the threat of weapons of mass destruction posed by the wide-scale use of chemical weapons in Europe, and soldiers had to be equipped and trained for the new threat;

Whereas the 35th Division was constituted in 1917 as 1 of the 17 National Guard divisions authorized for service in World War I;

Whereas the 35th Division—

(1) was organized from the National Guards of Kansas and Missouri;

(2) included 3 machinegun battalions, 3 field artillery regiments, 4 infantry regiments, 1 engineer regiment, and 1 signal battalion, with a total strength of 26,373 soldiers;

(3) trained at Camp Doniphan until April 1918, when the 35th Division embarked to Europe;

Whereas, on September 15, 1918, the 35th Division moved to the Meuse-Argonne front and, during the night of September 20, 1918, moved into forward positions in preparation for the Meuse-Argonne offensive;

Whereas, on September 26, 1918, the 35th Division launched an attack and, for the next 4 days, kept up the attack against heavy German resistance;

Whereas the 35th Division returned to the United States in April 1919 and was demobilized on May 30, 1919;

Whereas President Harry S. Truman was a captain and battery commander of 1 of the field artillery units of the 35th Division and ran a canteen at Camp Doniphan for a period of time;

Whereas, after World War I, the Field Artillery School commandants began a long-range program to improve field artillery mobility, gunnery, and equipment;

Whereas Major Carlos Brewer, the Director of the Gunnery Department in the late 1920s and early 1930s, introduced new fire-direction techniques so fire support could be more responsive;

Whereas Major Orlando Ward, the next Director of the Gunnery Department after Major Carlos Brewer, developed the fire direction center to centralize command and control and to facilitate massing fire;

Whereas Major Brewer, Major Ward, and Lieutenant Colonel H.L.C. Jones encouraged replacing horses with motor vehicles for moving field artillery guns;

Whereas the 45th Infantry Division, made up of National Guardsmen from Oklahoma, Colorado, New Mexico, and Texas—

(1) was ordered into Federal service for 1 year in September 1940 to engage in a training program that began at Fort Sill; and

(2) participated in the Louisiana Maneuvers;

Whereas the Field Artillery Officer Candidate School at Fort Sill—

(1) was opened by the Army in 1941 to help meet the need for leaders in a rapidly expanding Army;

(2) was closed during the peace period between World War II and the Korean War;

(3) was subsequently reopened and remained open until 1973; and

(4) trained 57,500 field artillery officers for World War II, the Korean War, and the Vietnam War;

Whereas 2 Field Artillery Officer Candidate School graduates, First Lieutenant James E. Robinson (Class of 62-43) and Second Lieutenant Harold B. Durham, Jr. (Class of 1-67), were awarded the Medal of Honor;

Whereas other Field Artillery Officer Candidate School graduates have made an impact on history, including—

(1) H. Malcolm Baldrige (Class of 91-44), a former Secretary of Commerce;

(2) Martin R. Hoffman (Class of 71-55), a former Secretary of the Army;

(3) retired General Jack N. Merritt (Class of 35-53), former senior military representative of the United States to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization; and

(4) John M. Shalikashvili (Class of 4-59), former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff;

Whereas the 818th “Tank Destroyer Battalion”—

(1) was formed at Fort Sill on December 15, 1941;

(2) deployed to Northern Ireland in 1943, equipped with towed guns;

(3) landed in France 36 days after D-Day; and

(4) after advancing through France with the 5th Infantry Division, fought at Metz and along the Saar River, pushing into Germany in early December 1944;

Whereas, the 5th Infantry Division—

(1) moved north on December 18, 1944, to fight in the Battle of the Bulge;

(2) was detached on December 20, 1944, and reassigned to the 26th Infantry Division, which saw action in the Ardennes; and

(3) from late January to March 1945, held defensive positions before driving west with the 26th Infantry Division through Germany, finishing the war just inside the Czech border at Kienberg;

Whereas, to best use new long-range guns and improve response times, the Field Artillery School championed the use of organic air observation to control field artillery fires, with the War Department approving organic field artillery air observation in 1942 and the field artillery air observers adjusting massed fire and performing liaison, reconnaissance, and other missions during World War II;

Whereas, in 1942, Fort Sill stood down the last horse-drawn field artillery unit, ending 73 years of the partnership between soldiers and horses that helped fuel the military strength of Fort Sill;

Whereas horses did not reappear at Fort Sill until 1963, when the commanding general authorized a special “Half Section of Field Artillery”, which names the horses after Fort Sill commanders;

Whereas, on July 10, 1943, the 45th Infantry Division, which trained at Fort Sill and was known as the “Thunderbirds”, participated in its first of 4 amphibious landings during World War II, landing in Sicily;

Whereas the Thunderbirds served 511 days in combat, fighting across Sicily, Italy, France, and Germany;

Whereas celebrities made appearances or received Army training at Fort Sill during World War II, with humorist Will Rogers and motion-picture star Gene Autry making numerous trips to entertain the troops there;

Whereas Louis L’Amor, before becoming a writer of western novels, was a boxing instructor at the famous Artillery Bowl at Fort Sill in 1943;

Whereas, following World War II, Fort Sill adapted to the atomic age and the Cold War, and the War Department consolidated all artillery training and development under the United States Army Artillery Center at Fort Sill in 1946;

Whereas the 45th Infantry Division “Thunderbirds”—

(1) deployed to South Korea in 1952;

(2) was 1 of only 2 National Guard divisions to see combat in the Korean War;

(3) was deployed with I Corps and participated in such battles as Old Baldy and Pork Chop Hill; and

(4) participated in 4 campaigns during 429 days in battle;

Whereas, during the Cold War, the 4th Battalion 31st Infantry “Polar Bears” was activated at Fort Sill to help train artillerymen in joint-combat tactics;

Whereas, although the Polar Bears unit was called “infantry”, it was a unique combined-arms team that included an armored tank company;

Whereas the high-profile Polar Bears unit participated in combined-arms live-fire exercises (the “CALFEX program”), which brought together infantry, armor, field artillery, and Air Force assets;

Whereas the CALFEX program was brought to an end by the drive for efficient use of money, with the end of the Polar Bears unit signaling the end of the high-profile CALFEX program;

Whereas, as of 2019, the Polar Bears unit has been reactivated with the 10th Mountain Division at Fort Drum, New York;

Whereas, in 1963, the Field Artillery School tested aerial rocket artillery, which equipped helicopters with rockets;

Whereas, as demonstrated during the Vietnam War, aerial rocket artillery was effective;

Whereas the Field Artillery School cooperated in the development of the Field Artillery Digital Automated Computer, which was introduced in 1966 to compute fire direction data and made the Field Artillery a leader in computer developments for the Army;

Whereas, in 1963, the 1st Aerial Artillery Group (Provisional) was organized at Fort Sill to test equipping CH-34 helicopters with rocket pods attached to each side, converting the transport aircraft, an easy target in most combat situations, into flying weapons capable of direct or indirect fires;

Whereas modern helicopter gunships are descendants of the 1963 test program at Fort Sill;

Whereas, on August 8, 1990, Fort Sill became actively involved in supporting Operation Desert Shield, with initial activities centered around the preparation of III Corps Artillery units for deployment;

Whereas, during Operation Desert Shield, Fort Sill—

(1) deployed 19 Active and 20 Reserve units;

(2) processed 9,246 Active and 1,397 Reserve personnel;

(3) trained, equipped, and validated reserve component units and personnel;

(4) supported active component units and personnel;

(5) prepared and shipped equipment to ports for shipment to the battlefield; and

(6) with help from Army Reserve units, expanded the training base for initial military training;

Whereas, during Operation Desert Shield, Fort Sill agencies supported Active and Reserve component units and personnel with all classes of supply, medical, dental, maintenance, personnel, finance, training, and transportation services prior to deployment;

Whereas Fort Sill immediately implemented its force-protection plan the morning of September 11, 2001—

(1) by opening its installation operations center to coordinate security measures around the clock; and

(2) by activating its quick-reaction force—

(A) to guard the outer perimeter roads;

(B) to serve as roving security patrols; and

(C) to perform other security duties;

Whereas, in response to the attacks of September 11, 2001, Fort Sill furnished security personnel for high-risk targets and hardened major entries with concrete and water-filled blocks, while at the same time continuing its primary mission of training officers, new soldiers, and noncommissioned officers;

Whereas Fort Sill supported Operation Enduring Freedom in Afghanistan—

(1) by serving as a mobilization station for—

A) the 5045th Garrison Support Unit (Military Police), which augmented installation security efforts;

(B) the 1st Battalion, 379th Field Artillery, which augmented the training base; and

(C) the 2nd Battalion, 379th Field Artillery, which augmented the training base; and

(2) by mobilizing the 3rd Battalion, 141st Infantry from the Texas Army National Guard to staff the entry gates of the installation;

Whereas, although the 5045th Garrison Support Unit, the 1st Battalion, 379th Field Artillery, the 2nd Battalion, 379th Field Artillery, and the 3rd Battalion, 141st Infantry were eventually deactivated, Fort Sill mobilized and deployed numerous additional units and improved force protection during Operation Enduring Freedom;

Whereas Fort Sill supported Operation Iraqi Freedom in 2003 by deploying more than 5,000 active duty soldiers and 400 reserve component soldiers, including—

(1) C Battery, 3rd Battalion, 13th Field Artillery, the first unit to deploy from Fort Sill;

(2) the 75th Field Artillery Brigade, which deployed more than 200 soldiers;

(3) the 1st Battalion, 14th Field Artillery, which deployed approximately 300 soldiers;

(4) the 2nd Battalion, 18th Field Artillery, which deployed approximately 300 soldiers;

(5) soldiers from the 17th Field Artillery Brigade;

(6) soldiers from the 212th Field Artillery Brigade; and

(7) additional soldiers and units;

Whereas Fort Sill is—

(1) the only active duty Army installation of all the forts on the South Plains built during the Indian Wars;

(2) the second-oldest continuously serving military installation west of the Mississippi River; and

(3) designated as a National Historic Landmark;

Whereas Fort Sill serves as home of—

(1) the United States Army Field Artillery School;

(2) the United States Army Air Defense Artillery School;

(3) the 428th Field Artillery Training Brigade;

(4) the 30th Air Defense Artillery Training Brigade;

(5) the 434th Field Artillery Basic Combat Training Brigade;

(6) the Marine Corps Field Artillery Military Occupational Specialty School;

(7) a Marine Corps detachment;

(8) the 75th (Forces Command) Fires Brigade; and

(9) the 31st (Forces Command) Air Defense Artillery Brigade;

Whereas thousands of soldiers and Marines have been trained for service in the Field Artillery at Fort Sill, including former President Harry S. Truman, who, during World War I, became the commander of Company D, 129th Field Artillery, entering combat in the last few months of the war, moving his horse-drawn battery to engage the enemy and support the infantry, and firing his last shot on the day of the Armistice at 10:45 a.m.;

Whereas the people of Oklahoma take great pride in the history of Fort Sill and in the continuing critical role the Field Artillery plays in the defense of the United States;

Whereas Fort Sill is known as the birthplace of military combat aviation, where the 1st Aero Squadron, under Captain Benjamin Foulois—

(1) uncrated new, unassembled airplanes and put those planes together in 1915;

(2) pushed the Curtiss JN-3 planes (known as "Flying Jennies") to Polo Field; and

(3) on Aug 10, 1915, flew the planes for the first time;

Whereas Henry Post Army Airfield is the oldest airfield in the Army, having been surveyed and established by Captain H.R. Eyrich in August 1917;

Whereas Henry Post Army Airfield is named after Second Lieutenant Henry B. Post, who was killed in a plane crash in California in 1914;

Whereas several individuals associated with Fort Sill have received the highest honor for their bravery and sacrifice, including—

(1) Captain Gary M. Rose, who received the Medal of Honor for action in Laos in 1970 and attended the Field Artillery Officer Basic Course and Field Artillery Officer Advance Course in the 1970s;

(2) First Lieutenant Lee R. Hartell, who posthumously received the Medal of Honor for action in the Korean War; and

(3) Sergeant First Class Jared Monti, who received the Medal of Honor for heroic action in Afghanistan;

Whereas the Fires Center of Excellence consists of—

(1) the United States Army Field Artillery School;

(2) the Air Defense Artillery School;

(3) the Directorate of Training Development and Doctrine;

(4) the Capabilities Development and Integration Directorate;

(5) the Army Multi-Domain Targeting Center; and

(6) additional tenant units;

Whereas Fort Sill is a large military installation in the United States, covering approximately 94,000 acres, with—

(1) a \$2,261,000 economic impact to the Lawton-Fort Sill region of Oklahoma in 2016; and

(2) approximately 10,000 military and civilian personnel as of 2016; and

Whereas the people of the Lawton-Fort Sill region of Oklahoma fought to establish Fort Sill and have continued to support Fort Sill from its inception: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Senate—

(1) honors Fort Sill in Lawton, Oklahoma, on its 150th anniversary;

(2) commends the thousands of men and women who have worked and trained at Fort Sill;

(3) honors the people of the Lawton-Fort Sill region of Oklahoma for their continued support of Fort Sill; and

(4) encourages Fort Sill to continue its instrumental role in preparing the brave men and women of the United States for the battlefield.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from South Dakota.

MEASURE READ THE FIRST

TIME—S. 47

Mr. ROUNDS. Mr. President, I understand there is a bill at the desk, and I ask for its first reading.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will read the title of the bill for the first time.

The bill clerk read as follows:

A bill (S. 47) to provide for the management of the natural resources of the United States, and for other purposes.

Mr. ROUNDS. I now ask for a second reading, and in order to place the bill on the calendar under the provisions of rule XIV, I object to my own request.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The objection having been heard, the bill will

be read for the second time on the next legislative day.

ORDERS FOR WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 9, 2019

Mr. ROUNDS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate completes its business today, it adjourn until 10 a.m., Wednesday, January 9; further, that following the prayer and pledge, the morning hour be deemed expired, the Journal of proceedings be approved to date, the time for the two leaders be reserved for their use later in the day, and morning business be closed; further, that following the leader remarks, the Senate resume consideration of the motion to proceed to S. 1; finally, that the Senate recess from 12:15 p.m. until 2:15 p.m. to allow for the weekly conference meetings.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Without objection, it is so ordered.

ORDER FOR ADJOURNMENT

Mr. ROUNDS. Mr. President, if there is no further business to come before the Senate, I ask unanimous consent that it stand adjourned under the previous order, following the remarks of our Democratic colleagues.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oregon.

GOVERNMENT FUNDING

Mr. MERKLEY. Mr. President, I come to the floor tonight to talk about hostages, seven hostages—seven spending bills that have come through this Republican-led Chamber, bills the House is ready to move forward on that have, ironically, been taken hostage by the Republican leadership of the Senate and the President of the United States.

Those seven hostages, those spending bills, the House has said: Well, Mr. President, we have a difference of opinion that has to be worked out, and that is Homeland Security. So let's continue that debate while setting the other six free—freedom for six bills passed by the Republican-led Senate so we can put America back to work.

It sounds like a pretty good idea, but good ideas and common sense seem to be victims—victims of this Presidential temper tantrum over a symbol on the southern border. So it shut down nine Cabinet Departments: Agriculture, Commerce, Justice, Homeland Security, Housing, Interior, State, Transportation, and the Treasury—affecting all kinds of everyday functions for Americans.

The local schools keep functioning. They figure it out. The local city doesn't shut down. The county doesn't shut down. Has your State shut down? I don't think so. So why this childish behavior, why this incompetence, why

this disregard for the quality of life for Americans?

There are 800,000 workers who are either instructed to work without pay or who are instructed to go on furlough. We are all affected. Every one of us is affected by these Departments being shut down, but those 800,000 workers don't get a paycheck.

What does that mean when they try to write the check that will pay for their mortgage or their rent, their student's tuition, or their utility bill? How do they keep the lights turned on? It is all fine for the President. His lights are staying on. He is not inconvenienced, but these 800,000 Americans are more than inconvenienced. They are put into a hard place over this hostage-taking by the President and the Republican leadership of this body.

Out in Oregon, the estimate—admittedly somewhat imprecise—is that 9,000 workers have been affected. It seems in the ballpark. Oregon's population is about 1 percent of the country, and 1 percent of 800,000 is 8,000. So 9,000 sounds in the ballpark. There are 9,000 Oregonians who are affected by this foolishness.

An air traffic controller wrote to me and said, we are "tired of being a pawn in the partisan games that are being played in Washington. . . . These shutdowns have compromised aviation safety."

He said they hinder the FAA's ability to hire and train new controllers and upgrade air traffic control systems. They break down morale and an already understaffed and frustrated workforce.

Then there is the constituent who wrote to me to say: "It is unconscionable for Trump to deprive Federal employees of earned and necessary income, holding them hostage for his foolish wall."

There are seven spending bills held hostage, along with 800,000 Americans and their families' finances.

There is the young man in Lane County whom I spoke with after one of my townhall meetings last week. He was supposed to be moving to California to begin working in the Sierra National Forest this past weekend. He was all set to go, giving up his current living arrangements because he was going to be moving into Forest Service housing. Then the shutdown happened. Now he has no job, has no key to undo the lock. He has no ability to move into that Forest Service housing. He is stranded. There are just all kinds of everyday stories of challenges to Americans.

To President Trump, I say: Listen. Listen to the voices of ordinary Americans who are having a hard time because of you and because of the leadership of this Senate—the Republican leadership of this Senate. Ordinary Americans are caught in the middle of this.

This is your shutdown, Mr. President. You said so. You said it on television. You said it from the Oval Office. You

said you were proud to own this shutdown. You said:

I am not going to blame anybody else. This is my shutdown.

Yes, it is, Mr. Trump. Mr. President, it is your shutdown, and it is not a shutdown with a mission, a mission that is important, because the mission that is important, that you talk about, is border security.

Every Democrat, every Republican supports border security. All of us who were here in 2013 voted for huge sums. I have heard some describe that bill we passed in 2013 as \$35 billion for border security. I heard in an earlier speech tonight that it was over \$40 billion for border security, smart border security—smart border security.

Don't you want to spend the taxpayers' dollars smartly? Do you want to waste them? Do you want to shut down the government and create a hardship for 800,000 people because you want to waste their money?

Mr. President, and to my colleagues across the aisle, listen to the common sense of people in your home State who want border security, but they don't want a foolish shutdown.

The President said there is a crisis—crisis—at the border because so many people are coming. How many people are coming to the border? Let's take a look. This shows the number of folks who have been apprehended at the border from the year 2000—19 years ago now—to year-to-date in 2018. This is slightly out of date, so you can add a little bit more to that final bar, but you see the point. There were massive amounts in the year 2000, really high numbers in 2001 through 2007, and then the numbers dramatically decline through 2011 and beyond.

I just got the numbers before I came to the floor for the last month we had, which was October. About 60,000 people came to the border. In 1 month, in 2000, 200,000 people came to the border. That is quite a difference. That is now less than one-third than last month.

There is no crisis there, only the humanitarian crisis, Mr. Trump, that you are creating with your war on children—your war on migrant children—shoving them back into Mexico to put them at the mercy of the Mexican gangs; proceeding to let them into the United States and then ripping them out of the arms of their parents while you lock up their parents; deciding you are going to lock up the children with their parents behind barbed wire and internment camps; establishing a national system of child prisons that, last month, held 15,000 children, which is up from 7,000 in June; failing to provide medical evaluations for these children when they cross the border. Two have died—one after 6 days in the care of the American border guard.

You, Mr. President, have created a crisis, a humanitarian crisis. The arrivals on the border are not the crisis; it is your hardened heart, your dark and evil heart, your war on children; the deliberate strategy of inflicting trauma

on children in order to send a message of deterrence, a political message of deterrence.

Who here believes it is right to deliberately injure children to send a message of deterrence? That is the strategy Jeff Sessions announced last May that started this intense assault on migrant children. Who would defend it today? Find me one caretaker of children who believes that inflicting trauma on children is acceptable. Find me one religious tradition, one moral code that says that is OK—because it is not OK. Every human civilization recognizes that.

Meanwhile, our farmers are wondering what happened to their Farm Service Agencies. They are closed down across the country, including 23 in Oregon. What happened to those payments that the President promised for those affected by tariffs? The payments can't be distributed because of the shutdown. How about our Federal firefighters who need to be in training right now for the fires we are going to see next summer because of climate chaos?

We are seeing the impacts in every conceivable way, as my colleagues have been pointing out, and it is time to end it. It is time to release the hostages. It is way past time to end it. It has 18 days—3 days from the longest shutdown in history. It is time to end it, put people back to work, return to common sense, and at the same time quit afflicting children and migrant adults as a political strategy.

Almost everybody—probably everyone in this room—came here as a descendant of immigrants, almost all Americans. Not many of us are directly descended from Native Americans. Most of us are descendants from immigrants. How did we want them to be treated? We wanted them to be treated with respect and decency as they waited for an asylum hearing, and that is what we have to return to.

So release the hostages, return to common sense, and treat the American people with respect.

Thank you.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Pennsylvania.

Mr. CASEY. Mr. President, I join in raising these issues tonight about the government shutdown. The reason so many of us have referred to it simply as the "Trump shutdown" is because the President is the person who led the way to have the government shut down. He said that before the shutdown, as we all know. We have heard the statement he made in the Oval Office.

Then, of course, we went forward. I think it is important to reset where we have been and where we are.

There was an agreement in this body, the U.S. Senate, by 100 Senators, just before Christmas, to extend funding for the government for a short period of time so that if there were issues to debate between now and February, we could do that. It is hard to get 100 Senators to agree on anything around

here, but of course that is what happened.

Then it went to the House, and we know what happened after that. The President got pressure from rightwing talk show hosts, and I guess they have more influence on him than a lot of Americans, who never want a government shutdown.

As we stand here tonight, 9 of 15 Federal Departments are closed, shut down, and I am not even itemizing the number of Agencies that is. Then we came into the new year, on January 3—I don't know what hour it was, but it was in the evening—with a new majority in the U.S. House of Representatives, a Democratic majority. What did that Democratic majority do? What did the Democratic House Speaker do? In her first act as Speaker, and in essence their first vote on substance, they voted to open up the government by voting in favor of a bill that was essentially a Republican appropriations bill. That is what the Democratic-controlled House did. They voted to move forward Republican appropriations bills that were voted on here in committee but also were agreed to here, in a sense, by consensus—a 100-to-0 consensus just before Christmas. So there is ample reason, there is a lot of documentary evidence—video evidence—that this is a Trump shutdown.

I think it is important for people to understand. I know some here call it a partisan bill. No, it wasn't. It was a bipartisan bill. It just happened to have its origin in the work of Republicans in the Senate—the Senate appropriations work that was done by Republicans, with Democratic help. Of course, this Chamber is controlled by Republicans, so these were Republican bills.

It is also important to know what could happen here. There is legislation now that the Senate can vote on that will open the government up by doing the following: by funding eight Departments of government until the 30th of September. It is important for people to understand that. They see the back and forth, and they see how a bill like that is characterized on television, but it is important for people to know—and I will keep saying it for emphasis because this is important we get the facts right—this is an action by a House controlled by Democrats to move forward bills that virtually every Republican agreed to in one way or another over time on various occasions.

The effect of passing that bill here would open the government for those Agencies—those Departments is a more correct word—those Departments that are shut down right now, leaving only one Department that would now be funded over a longer term, the Department of Homeland Security. That Department would not be funded after a certain date in February if we can't agree on funding until then.

What the effect of that is, it moves forward the effort to keep the government operating, to keep—just by way of example—13,709 FBI agents who

could be working without pay, 4,399 DEA agents who could be working without pay, and I can go down the list. We have had many examples tonight. I will not restate them. It allows all of those operations of the Federal Government to go forward but still preserves the opportunity for the President or anyone to make assertions, to make arguments, and to put forth policy regarding border security, no matter what it is. We could debate that from now until that moment in February—that date in February when the Department of Homeland Security would run out of money—and see what would happen at that point.

That is what people have to understand. There is a way to continue a debate about border security, a very important debate. I voted for, I don't know how many tens of billions now—billion with a "b"—on border security since I have been here. I voted for the bill in 2013, the comprehensive bill that got 68 votes here in 2013—68 votes. That means a whole number of Republicans voted for it. That committed more than \$40 billion to border security, based upon the testimony of experts, based upon people who understand border security. Let's be honest, folks. A lot of House Members and a lot of Democrats and Republicans in both parties and both Houses are not border security experts. That is why we should ask for their advice in telling us the best way to secure the border. That is essentially what happened in 2013, when both parties voted—68 votes here—to pass a comprehensive bill that had more than \$40 billion for border security.

That is how you do border security. You don't just say: Well, because I used a word in a campaign, I used a sound bite in a campaign, therefore, the sound bite—which isn't based upon good policy—has to become the policy. That is not how we should do things here. No one in either party should do it that way.

Now we are, I guess, 17 days since the President decided to shut down the government because he would not get his wall. We should never confuse a wall with border security. We all want border security. I don't know of a legislator who doesn't support that. Most people here voted for it many times—border security—based upon what the experts tell us, not the politicians. If we were using politicians for that kind of expertise, we would be in big trouble. We wouldn't do that in many subject areas, including something as consequential and as important and as complicated as border security. We should do it the right way and have a debate about it and hear testimony from experts, not just hot air from politicians because they said a word or two or three in a campaign. That is not policy.

Right now, there are 820,000 Federal employees, 14,000—some in Pennsylvania, wondering how they are going to make a mortgage payment or pay the

rent or buy food. The list is longer than that. It is, in essence, appropriations hostage-taking. My colleague referred to and used that word in his remarks earlier. This is appropriations hostage-taking that hurts a lot of people and will continue to hurt more and more people as the days go on.

That is one of the reasons why I supported the legislation introduced by Senators CARDIN and VAN HOLLEN that would guarantee backpay for these hard-working Federal employees who do so many things for the American people that we don't itemize or praise, except when there is a crisis like the one we are facing right now, the crisis of not having a government fully funded.

So the President shut down the government over a wall that will not work, will not secure the border. Let's not confuse the two. We have always made investments over time—both parties, many administrations, many sessions of Congress have made investments in effective border security based upon the recommendations from experts. We should do that again, as we have done over many years. The security experts over the number of years charged with keeping our Nation safe along the width of the southern border will not work. It will not work.

Former Commissioner of Customs and Border Patrol Gil Kerlikowske said, in January 2017: "I think that anyone who's been familiar with the southwest border and the terrain . . . kind of recognizes that building a wall along the entire southwest border is probably not going to work."

That is someone who understands this subject. That is what he said. He is not a politician spewing out a sound bite or just doing an interview. He is a person who has dedicated a large portion of his life to border security, and we should listen to those voices.

Building a concrete wall will not stop illegal activity. Border security—effective border security—will. What is that? It is technology. It is 24-hour surveillance. It is, as in the 2013 bill, in essence, doubling the Border Patrol. I think we could have hired 20,000 more people at the border to do border enforcement. That is why the cost was so high—because to hire 20,000 people costs a lot of money, but that is what we voted for then. I haven't even listed all of them, but those kinds of methods—battle-tested, proven methods to secure the border will work. That is what we should be doing.

According to a 2017 national drug assessment report, most illegal smuggling happens at our ports of entry, not crossing a line in a desert at the southwest border—ports of entry. One example is at our airports. Airports are among the places we should be focusing our attention. I haven't heard the President talk about airports. Maybe I haven't been listening, but he has been President now for just about 2 years, and I am not sure he has talked about stopping smuggling at ports of entry.

If the President was serious about securing the southern border or fixing our immigration system, he would work with both parties, both Houses, on an immigration system that would secure the border and do a whole range of things we need to do because we have a broken system.

Here is my belief. I can't prove this. This is just my belief watching what he has said and listening to his speeches and listening to the policies he has supported and the policies he has not supported. I don't believe the President has any interest in fixing our broken immigration system. He seems to have an interest in building a wall that will not work—I am rather certain of that—but I don't think he has any interest in fixing this broken system. He has a strong interest, in my judgment, of scoring points, and I will give him that. He is an expert at scoring political points, but in terms of sitting down with people in both parties, taking hours and hours and hours and hours of testimony from border security experts, or at least listening to the presentations made here by way of hearings or information that can be ascertained in a hearing, I don't think he is willing to do that. I don't think he has any interest in doing that.

The Presiding Officer and many Members of this Chamber, including the Senator from New Hampshire and the Senator from Virginia, worked long and hard—not over hours but over days and weeks—to come up with a proposal last year which would have provided \$25 billion for border security over about 10 years. It is a lot of money over 10 years, and they had to agree to that based upon those expert recommendations. They also coupled that with a statutory change that would make sure those Dreamers in the DACA Program were given the benefit of the fulfillment of our promise to them. That could have been done in law by statute, and I commend Republicans who stood up then and worked in a bipartisan way.

What did the President do? He told them he would back them up, that he would sign that bill—that bill with \$25 billion and a fix for the DACA Program. Then his second promise he made was, he said: I will take the heat. It didn't happen. He didn't sign it. He denigrated it. Of course, he didn't take the heat because he went running for cover.

I don't see much evidence on the record that he wants to fix a broken system. Everyone knows the system is broken, everyone knows we have to rely upon experts to secure the border, everyone knows the path to citizenship is complicated, but we had a way to do that in the 2013 bill.

Everyone knows that the guest worker program and bringing people out of the shadows and having order and rules to our immigration system is complicated and difficult. Everyone knows you can't do that with a sound bite. You can't do that with an image. You

can't do that with a symbol. You have to do it with policy. That is what you have to do.

The President seems totally disinterested in sitting down and trying to lead an effort on the kind of immigration reform that both parties know we need and that most Americans know we need as well. We all want to fix this system with a comprehensive bill. I mentioned the 2013 effort and what that would have done.

Instead of wasting \$5.6 billion on a wall, we could use that money to rebuild our infrastructure or to invest in border security that is based upon expertise. We could use \$5.6 billion to do a lot of infrastructure in my State and a lot of States—fixing bridges, for example. I live in a State, like many, that has thousands of structurally deficient bridges. We could use that money to enhance our national security.

I am told that we are to understand the President is looking for money—the \$5.6 billion—potentially out of the Defense Department. Is that what we should be doing with DOD dollars that are meant for national security?

We could also use \$5.6 billion to invest in our children and thereby invest in our future, but I don't think the President is interested in this. He wants to win a sound bite war or an image or symbol war, not fix the problem and not make the investments we should make.

Instead of creating chaos and perpetuating chaos, the President should support the bipartisan funding bill the House passed last week—the Democratic House, which passed the Republican bills, for a little shorthand there. The bills would reopen the government and also provide \$1 billion for border security that is based upon facts and evidence and expertise and effectiveness, not based upon some sound bite and hot air.

The vast majority of Senate Republicans supported these funding measures last Congress.

On August 1, Senate Republicans joined Democrats to advance funding for the Department of Agriculture, Financial Services, Transportation, Housing and Urban Development, and Interior. That big appropriations bill is affecting all those Agencies referred to there. The vote was 92 to 6 on the floor of the U.S. Senate. I don't know who the 6 were, but 92 is a good number—and obviously in both parties.

The Commerce, Justice, Science, and Related Agencies appropriations bill passed out of committee—this is a committee vote; not a floor vote but an important vote—on June 14 by a vote of 30 to 0.

The State-Foreign Operations bill passed out of committee by a vote of 31 to 0.

So one bill passed on the floor 92 to 6, and the other committee votes were 30 to 0 and 31 to 0—again, bills passed by a Democratic House that are, in fact, Republican appropriations bills. That is what the House did.

That bill is here, in essence. All the majority leader has to do is put it on the floor, and it will pass. The government will be opened up, and we could debate border security until the cows come home—all the rest of January, longer into February, as long as we all agree to debate it. Let's have a real debate. Let's not debate a sound bite about an image that refers to a way someone thinks we should do border security. Let's have the evidence and put it on the table. I think my point of view on this would prevail, but let's hear from both sides.

We have a way out of this predicament for the American people, a way to provide certainty and relief to those families who are suffering right now and the many more families who will continue to suffer if this continues.

It is time for the majority leader to schedule a vote and stop making excuses why he shouldn't. Let's see what happens if the President has to confront a bill passed by both Houses. If he vetoes it, then it is further evidence that he is not serious about border security, but we will see. Maybe the President would sign a bill that was passed by both parties in both Houses.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. ROUNDS). The Senator from New Hampshire.

Mrs. SHAHEEN. Mr. President, I thank my colleague from Pennsylvania, Senator CASEY, for his compelling remarks. In fact, for the last several hours, we have heard compelling remarks from a number of our colleagues. I thank Senator Kaine from Virginia for helping to organize this effort and all of those who have come to the floor to talk about the lasting and negative effects of this senseless shutdown—a shutdown that is all about President Trump yielding to Rush Limbaugh and the rightwing commentators who told them he wasn't being tough enough.

Senators CASEY and MARKEY reminded us how we got here, that we had an agreement we thought the President had committed to sign. His Vice President, his Acting Chief of Staff, told us he was going to sign it. It passed the Senate on a voice vote.

What is so ironic, as Senator MARKEY said, is that what is happening now is actually making us less safe. The idea that we have all of these people on our southern border, all of these TSA agents, people who are working, 800,000 employees, 400,000 who are furloughed, 380,000 who are working without pay—that is actually making us less safe.

As Senator DURBIN pointed out, a wall across our southern border wouldn't do anything to interdict the fentanyl that is coming across from China. That is the biggest killer of people in New Hampshire from overdoses; it is the fentanyl. As Senator JONES pointed out, the Coast Guard's role in interdiction is what is significant. It is not a wall that is going to keep out those vehicles that are going to come through our ports of entry.

Senator STABENOW reminded us that there are 38 million people who depend on food assistance, and a quarter of the people in New Mexico, as Senator HEINRICH told us, depend on food assistance. He quoted his constituent Kathy, who pointed out that the President is holding us hostage. She said: Federal employees are being held hostage. We are now being held hostage in the Senate because the majority is unwilling to act on the legislation that has passed the House and previously passed the Senate.

Senator BENNET talked about China landing on the dark side of the Moon last week. It is a reminder that we have to compete in this world, that we can't assume that America is going to be No. 1 in everything again. Yet, while China was landing on the dark side of the Moon, our government was shut down. Thousands of researchers weren't doing their jobs at NASA, the Department of Agriculture, and so many other places because we were shut down.

The cost to the economy as a whole, as Senator HASSAN pointed out—there are craft breweries in New Hampshire, small businesses that can't get their businesses started because government is shut down.

Senator KLOBUCHAR pointed out that the cost to the economy, according to the President's own advisers, is \$10 billion a week. At a time when the stock market is going up and down, when we have people losing billions of dollars because of fluctuations in the stock market, \$10 billion a week contributes to that uncertainty.

Then, of course, Senator VAN HOLLEN and Senator MERKLEY and virtually everybody here talked about the impact on ordinary Americans from this government shutdown. We are going to hear from President Trump in about 5 minutes. He is going to speak to the country. I will bet he doesn't talk about the impact on ordinary Americans of this government shutdown. I will bet he doesn't talk about the cost to the economy or what he promised to sign when this Congress passed funding bills. I will bet he doesn't talk about the future of America and what is going to happen if we don't continue to invest in research and if we don't continue to invest in our people and instead get involved in these partisan fights. No. I think what he is going to do is tell Americans a made-up story about the emergency at our southern border—an emergency that we saw from Senator DURBIN and Senator MERKLEY is not real. We have gone from 1.6 million people coming across our southern border and being arrested down to about 200,000 in the last year.

This is not a crisis that is affecting America. We need to address border security. Everybody here believes that. All of the people who spoke tonight said we need to address border security. We need to do it in a way that is thoughtful and that spends taxpayer dollars wisely.

It is time for us to act in the Senate. It is time for Congress to fund this government, to get it back open. I very much appreciate Senator KAINE's work here tonight as we talk about the impacts on this country of this government shutdown.

Thank you, Mr. President.

I yield to my colleague from Virginia.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Virginia.

Mr. KAINE. Mr. President, I would like to finish the colloquy of the Democratic Senators who talked about this important issue—the need to reopen the government and to stop the shutdown—and I intend to do so before 9 o'clock. I want to thank my colleague from New Hampshire and all the colleagues who appeared on the floor today.

On Friday, January 11, if we do not end this shutdown, it will be tied for the longest shutdown of government in the history of the United States. It is also a payday where more than 800,000 Federal employees will not get a paycheck. My quick census research suggests that is essentially the population of South Dakota. More than 800,000 people who just want to serve their country, some of whom have been forced to work without a paycheck, will not get a paycheck on January.

Friday, January 11, is right after Christmas, when a lot of Christmas bills come due. Friday, January 11, is in the middle of winter, when heating bills are at their highest. Friday, January 11, is right before the beginning of the college spring semester, and families will be sitting around kitchen tables to write tuition checks for their kids to go to school for the spring semester. That will be this Friday.

This shutdown hurts workers. I told stories of workers in Virginia who have already suffered, and my colleagues have as well.

It hurts citizens. I had the experience two Saturdays ago of going to four Federal—either national forests or Park Service operations and seeing gates closed. I watched families come up. They had driven. They may not get a lot of vacation. They had a lot of kids in the car, and they were coming up to have fun with their families that day. I watched the looks on their faces as they pulled to the locations and saw the gates closed and the sign saying that they weren't able to enjoy the day they had planned with their family. That is not the same as missing a mortgage payment, but for families who are stretched in time and want to spend a day enjoying time with each other—I saw the looks on their faces as they were turned away.

Mr. President, you and I have worked together on an important initiative to train students, college students, to be our next cyber professionals. Today is the cyber jobs fair that the National Science Foundation sponsors for college students all over the country. It was at National Harbor. I went there. I

walked by a lot of students who had come because they want to serve the country as cyber professionals, and they were having interviews. But a lot of the booths—the Department of Justice—there was a booth, there was a sign, but there was nobody there. There was nobody there from the Federal Agency to hire.

These are effects on everyday citizens, kids who want jobs, Federal agencies that want to hire workers, families who just want to go to the parks.

This is hurting workers, it is hurting citizens, and it is hurting our country.

In conclusion, I just want to say: Why? Why would we want to hurt Federal workers? Why would we want them to be without a paycheck? Why do we want to hurt everyday citizens? Why do we want to hurt the reputation of the country?

Because I could see from the looks on the faces of those getting turned away at the park not just aggravation, I could see: What kind of country is this? I am a hard-working person, I pay taxes, I am coming to a national park, I am coming to a national forest, and I am getting turned away because the President wants to shut down the government over a debate about border security.

You know, Mr. President, because you and I worked on it together, in February, \$25 billion for border security, that wasn't enough. The President blew up the deal. Five years ago, \$44 billion of border security wasn't enough for the Republican House.

We want to fund border security, but as I conclude, I just would say to this President: Do not hurt American workers. Do not hurt American citizens. Do not hurt the reputation of the greatest country on Earth.

I would say to my Republican colleagues, please be willing to vote and support exactly what you voted and supported just 3 weeks ago.

Why the change in position? Why was it OK in December, and it is not OK now? Is it not OK because the President suddenly said he didn't like it? Is it the job of the article I branch to play Mother May I with the President and seek his permission to be an article I branch? I don't believe it is. Let's end this shutdown. Let's reopen government. Let's do border security and immigration reform the right way.

I yield the floor.

ADJOURNMENT UNTIL 10 A.M.
TOMORROW

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate stands adjourned until 10 a.m. tomorrow.

Thereupon, the Senate, at 9:01 p.m., adjourned until Wednesday, January 9, 2019, at 10 a.m.