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Senate

The Senate met at 10 a.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.

Eternal God, You are wisdom without end, mercy without limits, and strength beyond resistance. We praise Your holy Name.

On this 19th day of the partial government shutdown, illumine our darkness, revive our faith, and heal our wounds. Give wisdom to our lawmakers. May they transform the jarring discord of anxiety and fear into the music of Your purposes.

Lord, help our Senators to serve our Nation and world, unsullied by base motives of self-interest. Pardon and overrule what has been done unworthily or left undone or done amiss.

We pray in Your merciful 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.

RESERVATION OF LEADER TIME

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mrs. HYDE-SMITH). Under the previous order, the leadership time is reserved.

RECOGNITION OF THE MAJORITY LEADER

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority leader is recognized.

MEASURES PLACED ON THE CALENDAR—H.R. 251, H.R. 264, AND H.R. 269

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the bills by title for the second time.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (H.R. 251) to extend by two years the Chemical Facility Anti-Terrorism Standards Program of the Department of Homeland Security, and for other purposes.

A bill (H.R. 264) making appropriations for financial services and general government for the fiscal year ending September 30, 2019, and for other purposes.

A bill (H.R. 269) to reauthorize certain programs under the Public Health Service Act and the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act with respect to public health security and all-hazards preparedness and response, to clarify the regulatory framework with respect to certain nonprescription drugs that are marketed without an approved drug application, 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.

BORDER SECURITY

Mr. MCCONNELL. Madam President, all week I have been outlining the humanitarian and security crisis at our Nation's southern border. I have discussed the threats from the inflow of drugs and criminal aliens; I have shared career border security experts' strong support for physical barriers; and I have cited the empirical data that actually backs them up. But on day 20 of this partial government shutdown—a shutdown that has been prolonged by my Democratic colleagues' refusal to even come to the table—I

thought I might try something different this morning, so I brought a visual aid.

The chart right here behind me sums up my Democratic colleagues' past and present positions on border security.

Over here on the left, you have a border fence made out of steel bollard at the U.S.-Mexico border in Nogales, AZ. Construction on this upgraded steel slat barrier began back in 2011 at the direction, mind you, of President Obama's Department of Homeland Security—this fence over here, under President Obama, at the direction of his Department of Homeland Security.

Just 5 years prior, Senator Obama joined with then-Senator Hillary Clinton, the current Democratic leader, and several other Democrats and voted to authorize 700 miles—700 miles—of physical barriers under the Secure Fence Act of 2006.

On the right of this chart, we have an example of a barrier like those the new Speaker of the House has recently described as immoral. I would defy my colleagues to tell me what the difference is. They are exactly identical. So we went from the Obama administration, when everybody was supporting a wall that looked just like this, to the Trump administration, where now it is immoral. It is the kind of barrier that all of a sudden the Democrats are so opposed to that they would rather prolong the partial government shutdown than agree to an additional investment of approximately one-tenth—one-tenth—of 1 percent of Federal spending.

They are identical walls, exactly alike. When President Obama was there, they were for it. When President Trump is there, they are not. As I said, it is basically the same photograph twice.

I do that to underscore the point that the Trump administration is requesting funding for the same kinds of physical barriers that the Obama administration was actually proud to build and

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



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bragged about: fencing with spaced slats that allowed visibility, made with reinforced steel.

They are the same kinds of barriers that Customs and Border Protection experts have told us actually produce real results. You could call them walls; you could call them fences; you could call them steel slats, but what they really are is effective. That is what they are. Call them what you will, but they are effective.

According to the Government Accountability Office, after the outdated fencing in Nogales was replaced by this particular steel slat structure, the Border Patrol reported a significant drop in violent encounters with illegal immigrants. The Border Patrol is not on either side of this debate. They are just giving us the facts—just the facts.

During the 2 years leading up to the 2011 construction, 376 assaults on Border Patrol agents were recorded in the Nogales station. In the 2 years after—after—the bollard fence went up, the number of assaults fell to 71. That is 376 down to 71. That is a decline of 81 percent after the wall or fence or steel slats—whatever you choose to call it.

We have seen big success in other sectors as well. The Trump administration reports that in four border sectors where physical barriers were recently built or upgraded, illegal traffic dropped by—listen to this—90 percent—90 percent.

It is a fact that physical barriers are effective, as Democratic Senators used to understand perfectly well when there was a different occupant in the White House and, indeed, used to say publicly. They used to say that they are an essential ingredient in a balanced strategy for securing our border.

That was then, and this is now.

So why the tale of two completely Democratic Parties? Why does the Speaker of the House feel compelled to denounce as “immoral” the very kind of structures that her own party leaders recently praised as essential? Why do my Democratic colleagues and why does the Democratic leader feel the need to prolong this partial shutdown to avoid getting more of the same investments he used to vote for? What is the reason for this bizarre about-face?

Well, even these very Democrats are finding it difficult to invent a good excuse. On Tuesday, the distinguished House majority leader, Mr. HOYER, was asked by reporters how there is any real daylight between border security construction projects that Democrats have supported in the past and the ones they are now trying to block. Here is what majority leader HOYER said to those reporters. This is an honest man. “I don’t have an answer that I think is a really good answer.” “I don’t have an answer that I think is a really good answer.” That is the majority leader of the House of Representatives. Well, the reason is because there isn’t a good answer. There is no credible answer to this massive flip-flop.

We all know what the real reason is. My Democratic colleagues are oper-

ating purely on political spite directed at the President of the United States. Why else would they rather have a partial government shutdown drag on for nearly 3 weeks than get more of what they used to vote for and brag about? Why else would they plug their ears and refuse to listen to the experts out on the ground who do this kind of work, like President Obama’s own former Border Patrol Chief? Here is what he says: “I cannot think of a legitimate argument why anyone would not support the wall as part of a multi-layered border security issue.”

Remember, the proposal we are talking about today would represent one-tenth of 1 percent of Federal spending for this year—one one-thousandth.

With a straight face, Democrats are trying to convince the country that the Federal Government simply cannot reopen, that they simply cannot negotiate with the President because the sky would come crashing down if we invest one one-thousandth of Federal spending in proven border security solutions—proven border security solutions, by the way, that their own party used to support and that President Obama’s Border Patrol Chief and other security experts continue to support.

Let’s call it what it is—a flip-flop that is not based on principle or on evidence but solely on the fact that President Trump is the occupant of the White House.

So Republicans support the President’s commonsense request. The experts on the ground who actually risk their own safety to secure our Nation support it. Even the 2006 versions of President Obama, Secretary Clinton, and the Democratic leader would have supported it, but today’s Democrats now say that the same fencing and barriers that were A-OK when President Obama was in the White House are now “immoral”—“immoral”—because President Trump is the one making the requests.

This is not how you make serious policy. Partisan tantrums are no way to govern. My Democratic colleagues need to get serious about their responsibilities, seek treatment for their brand-new partisan allergy, seek some treatment for their brand-new party allergy to border security, sit down with the President, and negotiate a solution that works for everyone. That is the only way to move the country forward.

RECOGNITION OF THE MINORITY LEADER

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Democratic leader is recognized.

GOVERNMENT FUNDING

Mr. SCHUMER. Madam President, today is the 20th day of the Trump shutdown. Tomorrow, it will tie the record for the longest shutdown in American history, and 800,000 Federal workers will miss a paycheck—TSA agents and Border Patrol, air traffic

controllers and food safety inspectors, veterans, and FEMA aides, and more. Many Federal employees—particularly, GS-3s and GS-4s and GS-5s—live paycheck to paycheck. Who is going to make the next mortgage payment for them? Who is going to put food on the table? And what on Earth do these employees and their agencies have to do with disagreements here over security down on our southern border?

The President is treating these hard-working Americans as nothing short of leverage—pawns in his political gambit to extract \$5 billion from American taxpayers to fund a border wall that he promised Mexico would pay for. This is ridiculous and cruel, and it needs to end now—right now.

The Democratic position is very simple. Let’s separate our disagreements over border security from the government shutdown, reopen all the government agencies unrelated to border security, and let’s continue to work to resolve our differences. Do not hold all of these workers as hostages, as pawns, as leverage.

That is why Democrats have passed the House legislation to reopen government that was drafted and supported by Senate Republicans. We Democrats are not trying to push down the throats of Republicans something they don’t support or they can’t swallow. Four of the bills in this package passed the Senate 92 to 6. The other two came through committee. They didn’t get to the floor. They passed 31 to 0 and 30 to 1. There is nothing—I repeat, nothing—contained in the legislation that Senate Republicans oppose.

So why aren’t we voting on it? Because Leader MCCONNELL is hiding behind President Trump, saying he will not bring to the floor a bill to reopen the government unless the President says OK.

Now, for the past 3 weeks, we have tried to get the President to “yes.” We have gone around and around and around with the White House and made little progress. Congressional leaders have now been to the White House three separate times for negotiations. Each time, the President has been intransigent and uncompromising. He refuses to back down from his position that the price to reopen the government is \$5 billion of taxpayer money for a wall that he promised Mexico would pay for.

On multiple occasions, he has refused our request to reopen unrelated parts of the government and continue negotiations on border security, revealing that he is holding the American people hostage as leverage, and he seems to be—in his words—“proud” of it. After only a short time into yesterday’s meeting, the President got up, said “bye-bye,” and left. Does that sound like someone who is working to solve this impasse?

Allies of the President pointed out that he passed out candy to start the meeting. With all due respect, President Trump, we don’t need candy. Federal workers need their paychecks.

The Congress—the Senate in particular—can no longer wait for this President to see the light of reason. We gave it a good-faith effort. Staffers worked over the weekend. Speaker PELOSI and I have gone over to the White House whenever we have been asked, but the President is simply not budging.

A few weeks back, we all thought that the President, realizing he doesn't control the House, would come around and support a true compromise before hundreds of thousands of Federal workers would miss their paychecks. Clearly, that was wrong.

We need intervention, and Leader MCCONNELL and Senate Republicans have a responsibility not simply to wait for the President but to intervene. Leader MCCONNELL has voted for every single one of the six appropriation bills Democrats passed through the House. He voted for all six of them in committee, and he voted for four of them again on the floor, because two didn't get to the floor. There is nothing that he or his party truly opposes in this legislation.

They are refusing to vote on it because the President has bullied them into his hostage-taking gambit. I know that is not where most of my friends on the other side want to be. I don't even believe it is where my friend Leader MCCONNELL wants to be. Just listen to Leader MCCONNELL from last year:

Well I'm in favor of border security. There are some places along the border where [a wall is] probably not the best way to secure the border.

Here is Leader MCCONNELL in 2014:

Remember me? I am the guy that gets us out of shutdowns . . . it's a failed policy.

Fast-forward to today, and Leader MCCONNELL—"the guy that gets us out of shutdowns"—is aiding and abetting the blockade against reopening the government over a policy he doesn't fully support.

In a moment, my friends Senators CARDIN and VAN HOLLEN will give the Senate a chance to do the right thing by asking this Chamber to vote on the six appropriations bills already supported by Senate Republicans and a short-term continuing resolution for Homeland Security.

Frankly, even if President Trump doesn't support this legislation, his intransigence has forced our hand and hurt America. We need to move forward, and Leader MCCONNELL should allow the vote to happen.

I yield to the Senator from Maryland.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Maryland.

Mr. CARDIN. Madam President, as Leader SCHUMER has pointed out, starting today, 800,000 Federal workers are going to be missing their paychecks. In this region, there are 140,000. Senator VAN HOLLEN and I, representing Maryland, and Senators WARNER and Kaine, representing Virginia, have made the point of what this is going to mean for families in our communities.

This shutdown is outrageous and dangerous—caused by President Trump. Workers are not going to be receiving their paychecks and are going to be at risk. Our whole country is at risk. Let me put this in perspective, if I might. It is like AT&T, General Motors, Apple, Lockheed Martin, Google, and ExxonMobil laying off their entire workforce at one time. That is the impact we have now with 800,000 workers not receiving their paychecks. Kevin Hassett, who is the Chair of the White House Council of Economic Advisers, points out that this will cause a \$1.2 billion-per-week hit on our economy.

America is being held hostage by President Trump—held hostage over his desire to have a wall built. It is not about border security. We have already appropriated funds for border security, and we are prepared to continue to protect our borders. This is about President Trump and his wall. We should open government and work together for the American people.

There are seven appropriations bills that have not yet been acted upon. With six of those appropriations bills, there is no controversy. They have nothing to do with the border wall. They have nothing to do with homeland security. These are six appropriations bills that this body has already acted on in one way or the other. They include Financial Services and General Government, Agriculture, Interior and Environment, and Transportation-HUD. Those four appropriations bills passed this body by a vote of 92 to 6. Then, there are State-Foreign Operations, which passed the Appropriations Committee unanimously, and Commerce-Justice-Science, which passed by a vote of 30 to 1.

These six appropriations bills have already been acted on under Republican leadership in a bipartisan manner in this body. That is exactly what H.R. 21, which is pending before this body, incorporates. It is not a Democratic effort; it is to reaffirm what this body has already done and allow these six appropriations bills to pass and for those workers and those Agencies to be fully operable without the hostage-taking by the President of the United States.

UNANIMOUS CONSENT REQUEST— H.R. 21

Mr. CARDIN. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the immediate consideration of Calendar No. 5, H.R. 21, making appropriations for the fiscal year ending September 30, 2019. I further ask that the bill be considered read a third time and passed and the motion to reconsider be considered made and laid upon the table with no intervening action or debate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

The majority leader.

Mr. MCCONNELL. Madam President, reserving the right to object, there is a

lot of important business the Senate could be tackling. We have typically done that during these government shutdowns. The last thing we need to do right now is to trade pointless—absolutely pointless—show votes back and forth across the aisle.

Just a few days ago, very recently—not years ago—before the latest shifts in political winds, my good friend the Democratic leader completely agreed with me on this. In fact, he and I made an explicit commitment to several of our Members on this very point. We announced it here on the floor. We agreed that we wouldn't waste the Senate's time on show votes related to government funding until a global agreement was reached that could pass the House, pass the Senate, and which the President could sign.

Here is how the Democratic leader himself stated his position, and remember, this was very recently: In order for an agreement to be reached, all four congressional leaders must sign off and the President must endorse it and say he will sign it. That is how you make a law. Most importantly, the President must publicly support and say he will sign our agreement before it gets a vote in either Chamber—before it gets a vote in either Chamber.

That was my good friend the Democratic leader just recently. I intend to keep my word, and I intend to hold him to his.

Yesterday, the White House made clear that the President opposes piecemeal appropriations that neglect border security and would veto them, so obviously that isn't going to become law. This proposal flunks the Democratic leader's own test of a few days ago.

Look, the political stunts are not going to get us anywhere. Senate Democrats should stop blocking the Senate from taking up other urgent matters, like the pending bills concerning Israel and the Syrian civil war. In previous government shutdowns, the Senate has done business. The Senate hasn't been shut down. That is what we ought to be doing and actually at the same time negotiate with the President on border security because nothing else is going to get a solution. Therefore, I object.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Objection is heard.

The Senator from Maryland.

Mr. CARDIN. Madam President, if I could, very briefly.

I am extremely disappointed. I can assure you, the majority leader, this is not a show vote issue with 800,000 Federal workers being denied their paychecks. The last time I checked the Constitution, we are a coequal branch of government, and we should act as a coequal branch of government and pass legislation that is overwhelmingly supported by this body.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority leader.

Mr. MCCONNELL. Madam President, colleagues on the Democratic side of

the aisle apparently pledged to oppose proceeding to other important bills—we have experienced that at least to this point—during the government shutdown even though there is no precedent for that.

All but four yesterday voted against the motion to proceed to S. 1, and I am assuming they will vote against it again this afternoon. S. 1—the bill they are preventing us from going to—has wide bipartisan support and is a critical step in supporting our allies in the Middle East and securing peace in Syria.

I have talked to many Americans who are intensely interested in the Israel issues. They don't understand why this important legislation would be stymied over a dispute over something entirely different.

Through the Chair, I ask Senator CARDIN if this blockade against business on the floor is absolute.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection.

The Senator from Maryland may respond.

Mr. CARDIN. Madam President, I might return the question and ask the distinguished majority leader whether his objections to reopening the government with action we have already taken previously is absolute. I can assure the majority leader that it is my commitment to our Federal workers and to our country that the first order of business here should be the reopening of government. There are other important issues we need to do that I strongly support. I, quite frankly, do not understand the majority leader's position as to why he would deny us a vote on reopening government that passed this body unanimously in the past.

Mr. MCCONNELL. Madam President, I say to my friend from Maryland—I will repeat the question in a minute, but the answer to his question to me is, because this will not produce a result. It has been perfectly clear that the only way to produce this result is for the President, the Speaker of the House, and the minority leader to agree, because we need votes from Democrats both in the Senate and the House in order to pass a measure that the President will sign.

My question of the Senator from Maryland was, is this blockade against business on the floor absolute?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Maryland.

Mr. CARDIN. Madam President, of course I would repeat my request of the distinguished majority leader whether his objections are absolute.

Let me just point this out. We passed the bill that I asked unanimous consent—basically that has been passed nearly unanimously by this body—92 to 6 for these appropriations to pass. The last time I checked the Constitution, that is enough even for a veto override. I don't think anything has changed. These bills have nothing to do—zero to do with the Homeland Security wall

issue. Zero. So why doesn't our distinguish majority leader, as the leader of a coequal branch of government, allow us to speak on behalf of our responsibilities under article I of the Constitution? Let us take our action that we can take right now, today, at this very moment, and pass six appropriations bills where there is no controversy whatsoever in this body.

Mr. MCCONNELL. As I said, Madam President, repeatedly, it will not solve the problem because the President has made it clear he won't sign it.

Let me try one more time. Does the Senator, through the Chair—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will come to order.

Mr. MCCONNELL. Can we have order in the Senate?

Does the Senator intend to vote against proceeding to other measures during the government shutdown?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Maryland.

Mr. CARDIN. My first order of priority right now, since we can do this at this very moment, is to reopen the government. It is outrageous that the government is closed. People's lives are being affected every minute. I heard just yesterday of a layoff of another 180 jobs in my State because the Department of Agriculture is closed. We have an important economic development program in Baltimore, and HUD can't act on the papers right now. That is being delayed.

To me, that is something we can get done right now. As a Senator from Maryland, I am going to use every opportunity I can to reopen government in a responsible manner. I am disappointed that the majority leader is not using the opportunity we have right now to pass six appropriations bills that are not in controversy.

If the majority leader could answer for me, why are we holding up these six bills that have nothing to do with the central debate argument? We can put enough votes on the board to show the President of the United States that he doesn't have the support in the Senate, and we have the votes to override his veto. To me, that should be our first order of business.

Mr. MCCONNELL. Madam President, I think since the Senator from Maryland is unwilling to answer my question, the assumption should be—and I say this to the broad pro-Israel community in America that we all interact with on issues related to the U.S.-Israel relationship—the Senator is saying he might well vote to proceed to something else but not vote to proceed to these important Israel bills and this important Syria bill.

I want to make sure everybody understands where we are. The Senator is refusing to answer the question as to whether or not this blockade against Senate business applies to everything or just to these pro-Israel bills. So I think the refusal to answer provides the answer for our colleagues, and I assume we can anticipate the Democrats

will try to get votes on other matters during the government shutdown but just not the Israel issue and the Syria issue.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Maryland.

Mr. CARDIN. Madam President, I will express my views on issues. I don't need the majority leader trying to express how I will vote on future issues. I will answer to the people of Maryland on how I will act on issues that are up before the Senate.

My top priority right now is to reopen the government, and I am very disappointed that the majority leader will not allow us to act as a coequal branch of government.

Mr. SCHUMER. Madam President, would my colleague from Maryland yield?

I will just say three words to my friend the majority leader: Open the government. It is in your hands.

I yield the floor.

Mr. MCCONNELL. Madam President, through the Chair, I have a question of Senator VAN HOLLEN. He is going to propound a consent agreement, I assume.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Maryland.

Mr. VAN HOLLEN. Madam President, I think we all know the Constitution of the United States, under article I, says the Senate and the House of the United States are separate and coequal branches of government with the executive branch.

We are now seeing more and more Americans hurt every day by the government shutdown, Americans losing access to services. We just saw that the Food and Drug Administration has stopped routine food safety inspections of seafood. We just saw that the EPA has halted one of the Federal Government's most important health activities—the inspection of Federal factories, powerplants, oil refineries, water treatment plants. Eight hundred thousand Federal employees are not getting paid. Hundreds of thousands of them are going to work every day, including at our border, protecting our border, not getting paid. Hundreds of thousands more have been locked out of work.

There is a Maryland mom who just had to go on the internet to set up a GoFundMe account to help pay her son's college tuition because they are on a monthly installment plan. I talked to the head of a community college in Maryland just the other day. I went to see her, asked how things are. The first thing she told me, her phone had been ringing off the hook all morning because the parents of students of the community college weren't going to be able to make their monthly installment payments.

Hundreds of thousands of Federal employees are one paycheck away from not being able to pay their mortgage or their rent, and tomorrow hundreds of thousands of them are not going to get a paycheck.

So to the majority leader, I will just say, we should not be contracting out our constitutional responsibilities to any President—certainly not a President who said he is proud to shut down the Government of the United States. There is nothing to be proud of in denying important services and leaving 800,000 people without a paycheck. I don't think any of us should be proud of that, and we shouldn't be contracting out our responsibilities to the President of the United States.

We should vote on these measures we have already voted for. Senator CARDIN just asked us to vote on this at the Senate desk. It has been supported in various ways by a bipartisan majority right here in the U.S. Senate.

I have in my hand H.J. Res. 1. This is also on the Senate calendar. It is identical, with respect to the Department of Homeland Security, to the measure this Senate passed just a few weeks ago.

Let's reopen the Department of Homeland Security at current funding levels until February 8. In fact, if I recall, that was the majority leader's legislation. We passed it overwhelmingly on a bipartisan vote.

The House, 1 week ago, as their first order of business, passed this bill and the bill Senator CARDIN asked us to vote on.

This bill to open the Department of Homeland Security, as we negotiate the issue of border security—and there is no dispute over whether we need border security. Of course we need secure borders. The issue is over the most effective and smart way to accomplish that.

So now this bill is right back in our possession. It is on the calendar. The question is, Why are our colleagues on the Republican side refusing to allow a vote on the very bill they proposed in this body just a few weeks ago, and how can you justify to the American people that you are not going to vote on something you yourself proposed as the first order of business in the U.S. Senate, when people are losing those services, losing public safety protections, and 800,000 Federal employees are not being paid?

UNANIMOUS CONSENT REQUEST— H.J. RES. 1

Mr. VAN HOLLEN. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the immediate consideration of Calendar No. 6, H.J. Res. 1, making further continuing appropriations for the Department of Homeland Security. I further ask that the joint resolution be considered read a third time and passed and the motion to reconsider be considered made and laid upon the table with no intervening action or debate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mr. MCCONNELL. I object.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Objection is heard.

Mr. MCCONNELL. I will not prolong this because I know a lot of my Democratic colleagues on the floor may want to speak, but there are two shutdowns going on here. The first one related to the government can only be solved with a Presidential signature, supportive of the Speaker of the House and supportive of at least 10 of our Democratic colleagues—or 7 on the other side. In other words, there has to be a deal, an agreement.

There is a second shutdown going on that, as far as my research can discover, is rather unprecedented. The Senate itself is being shut down because of the refusal of our colleagues on the other side to do business in the Senate during this period. There is no precedent for that. There is no reason for that. We are all here.

The bill they are refusing to let us get on relates to Israel, our great friend Israel, and addresses the atrocities that have been occurring in Syria.

I am having a hard time understanding why the Senate should be shut down as well as the government. We are all here. In fact, attendance looks pretty good, and I don't know why we can't process bills that the vast majority of us support.

I had hoped to pass all of these bills at the end of last session. We had some last-minute objections—and I will say on our side—and so we were unable to do it, but the vast majority of the Members of the Senate do want to process these bills.

So I would hope, no matter how you view the government shutdown, that there is no real significant reason to shut down the Senate.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Maryland.

Mr. VAN HOLLEN. We are clearly not shut down. We are all here.

I would say to the majority leader, if you go to a lot of Federal Agencies right now, no one is there. They are shut down. They can't do the work of the American people, which is why the FDA is no longer doing important food inspections on seafood. It is why the EPA is not able to inspect major polluters to protect the public health. We are open.

All we are saying is, we want our first order of business to be to also open the eight of nine Federal Departments that have nothing to do with a wall or border security. The EPA's work has nothing to do with a wall. The work the FDA does on food inspection has nothing to do with a wall. So pass the measures that have already been agreed to in the U.S. Senate on a bipartisan basis. Open those eight of nine Departments at funding levels the Senate supported to the end of the fiscal year. Then, with the Department of Homeland Security, do exactly what the majority leader proposed right here and which we supported just a few weeks ago so we can work with the President. I mean, he walked out the other day, but we would like to work with the President to resolve that.

What we are saying is, we are open, and we want to focus on the urgent business of reopening the rest of the Federal Government, both to provide the American people with the services they paid for and to make sure Federal employees don't go without paychecks.

I will tell you, your phones will all be ringing off the hook tomorrow when Federal employees begin to miss that first paycheck. I will tell you, GS-2s, GS-3s in the Federal Government, they are one paycheck away from not being able to pay their bills.

On top of that, you have small businesses all over the country—I have heard from my Republican colleagues, small businesses that contract with the Federal Government, they are being squeezed. One in the State of Maryland, nonprofit small business, laid off 173 people just yesterday. The Federal contractors' employees? They are not coming to work. They are shut out, and they are not getting paid.

So this is having an increasingly harmful effect every day on people throughout the country, and we have it in our power today to vote on bills we have already voted for in the U.S. Senate on a bipartisan basis to reopen.

We should not be accomplices to the shutdown the President said he would be proud of. We should say today, we are proud to cast our first vote, as the House did, to reopen the Federal Government and get people back to work.

CONCLUSION OF MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Morning business is closed.

STRENGTHENING AMERICA'S SECURITY 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 senior assistant 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.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Vermont.

GOVERNMENT FUNDING

Mr. LEAHY. Madam President, now, President Trump is right about one thing. There is a crisis in America, and I want the President to know I agree with him, but I would note it is not fictitious hordes of illegal immigrants crashing into our southern border. That is nothing more than the imaginary invasion of a President obsessed with constructing a wasteful monument to himself; the obsession of a President who, long before the Trump shutdown, began resorting to misinformation and stoking fear among the American people for political gain.

There is a crisis in America, but it is not the crisis the President wants us to believe. It is a crisis at the kitchen table of Americans.

Hundreds of thousands of American families are preparing to miss their first paycheck through no fault of their own. These families are trying to figure out how they are going to make ends meet, how they will pay their mortgage or heating bills or, God forbid, whether they can afford both food for their table and medicine for their children next week. That is not fiction. That is a real choice in America today. That is the crisis in America.

These are the adjustments President Trump has glibly said our country's public servants are "willing" to make on behalf of his wasteful border wall; incidentally, a wall the President repeatedly promised—gave his word—that Mexico would pay for.

I have been privileged to be here for a long time, but in my 44 years in the U.S. Senate, I have never seen something so tone deaf from a President of the United States of either party. Even during his address to the Nation on Tuesday night—which was more of an exercise in data-distorting demagoguery than informing the American people—President Trump refused to acknowledge the real pain the Trump shutdown is causing.

Dozens of Vermonters have contacted my office to share how they are suffering under the Trump shutdown. These Vermonters are urging the President and my Republican colleagues in the Senate to stop playing politics with their lives and reopen the Federal Government. These are not just people who are Federal employees; these are people who have contracts with the Federal Government. These are people who have to rely on the Federal Government being open.

I will give you one example. Like many Americans affected by the Trump shutdown, one of the Vermonters who contacted my office is a veteran. He spent more than two decades serving his country in the Navy. He is now a Federal employee in charge of more than a dozen people who are coming to him with questions he cannot answer.

He writes:

I have run out of words to tell the 15 employees who work for me when asked how they are supposed to provide food, heat, and electricity for their families here in Vermont.

Keep in mind, the weather in Vermont is projected to drop well below zero this weekend with enough snow to close down all of Washington.

This Navy veteran continues:

We are real people, with real families, and real bills. Creditors do not "understand" [as the President claimed they would]. They want their money.

Try to explain to the bank why you cannot pay your mortgage this month. Go to the bank and say: Well, the President of the United States is throwing a tantrum, and he is holding

my paycheck hostage. Try explaining that to the bank. Try explaining that to your children.

Another Vermonter wrote to me expressing concern for his 88-year-old aunt. She recently moved to a new nursing home to be closer to the family. Because the phones at the Treasury Department are going unanswered, approval for the transfer of his aunt's benefits from one facility to another has been delayed. Thankfully, we heard that the transfer had been approved just this morning, but that doesn't detract from the uncertainty and the anxiety caused for this family.

The new home allowed her to stay while we in Washington were sorting out this mess caused by President Trump, but the bills are piling up, and the delays are placing a burden on what is a small local nursing home that has to pay its bills, including when it is 5 below zero.

The Vermonter said in his letter: "To be sure, we do not believe that capitulation to the Republican demand for the Wall is the answer; yet, the toll on the people of holding the government hostage to such outrageous demands must not be ignored."

Finally, today, let me share the story of a Vermonter who wrote to me about her sister. Her sister joined the U.S. Forest Service. In the wake of the recent hurricanes and typhoons, she used a government credit card issued in her name, following orders to travel with the service to assist in the aftermath of these disasters. But now the bills for her official travel—travel she was ordered to take by the Federal Government—are due. Guess what. There is no one at the Forest Service to pay them. She is now stuck with more than \$5,500 in government bills in her name for carrying out her duties for the Federal Government. Now she has to pay them or risk damaging her own financial record.

In her letter to me, she writes:

This, though, is one very small story in a flood of credit disasters, unpaid mortgages, Christmas debts, anxieties, and uncertainties among government employees affected by the shutdown.

I'm writing you to suggest that this kind of government shutdown should not be on the negotiation table, because it holds out the possibility that the suffering of the American people can be used as political leverage. There are other ways.

I agree. This is just a handful of stories from my small State of Vermont. Think of the fear and anxiety today of American families as they sit around the kitchen table trying to figure out what to do when the check does not arrive tomorrow. Think about the impact this has on the talented young student who is thinking about taking a pay cut to work for their government out of a sense of duty. Think about the morale of the American people who serve this country when the President of the United States says that their livelihoods are worth risking over his border wall—and I say "border wall" on purpose. If this were about border secu-

rity, the men and women who protect our borders and patrol our coastlines would be receiving their paychecks, not forced to be pawns in the President's political game.

Think about that. If this were really about border security, these people protecting us would be paid. The great irony of the Trump shutdown is that it has made our borders less safe, not more safe. Today, 88 percent of the Department of Homeland Security, including 54,000 Customs and Border Patrol agents are working without pay. At our airports, where the overwhelming majority of the "suspected terrorists" President Trump's wall is meant to stop are actually intercepted—keep that in mind. He keeps talking about all of the suspected terrorists. They are not coming across the border. They are being stopped at the airports. So what has happened at our airports? More than 51,000 TSA agents at our airports are working without pay. Morale is so low that many just stopped showing up for work, leading to longer wait times and straining security measures.

(Mr. SULLIVAN assumed the Chair.)

Take another area. More than 42,000 members of our Coast Guard—and the Coast Guard is an effective investment in securing our borders and stopping the flow of drugs. But 42,000 members of our Coast Guard are working without pay as I stand here today. The Coast Guard are deployed along the coasts of the distinguished Presiding Officer's State and are deployed in my State.

What does President Trump say to all of this? Nothing. It has been widely reported that instead of sitting down and negotiating with Democrats, President Trump simply stood up and walked out of the room like a bully yesterday, tweeting shortly afterwards, "bye-bye."

Does anybody think he hadn't planned to do this before he went there? This is what you do on so-called reality TV. Well, this is not reality TV; this is reality. He should try to act Presidential.

There is a real crisis in our country. It is a crisis at the kitchen table as families struggle over how they will make it through the next week. It is a crisis of morale as dedicated men and women who serve our country debate whether to stop serving our country and look instead for a career where they cannot be used as a political pawn. It is a crisis of confidence in the young men and women, doubting a career in public service, and it is a crisis of leadership when the President simply walks away so that he can send another tweet. This is a crisis created by one man, President Trump.

We have bipartisan bills before us that could reopen the government. We have passed them in this body before by an overwhelming veto-proof majority. Well, I would call upon our Republican leader to bring up these bipartisan bills to reopen the government. It

is time for Republicans and Democrats to join together to tell the President to put a stop to this self-inflicted wound on this great country, and he needs to hear it from both Democrats and Republicans. I implore Leader McCONNELL: Bring up H.R. 21 and H.J. Res. 1. Send them to the President. Send them to the President. Show the rest of the world that the United States is a great country and can act like a great country, not act like a pawn in a temper tantrum.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Virginia.

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, first of all, I want to thank my colleague the Senator from Connecticut for giving me a chance to very briefly—less than 1 minute—add my voice as well.

I echo what my friend the Senator from Vermont has said. I want to commend the leadership of my friends the Senators from Maryland, Mr. CARDIN and Mr. VAN HOLLEN. The Commonwealth of Virginia is experiencing the same kinds of challenges and crisis that Maryland is. We have a disproportionate number of Federal employees, and I think we underestimate what is going to happen when these employees don't get their paychecks on Friday—that coming on top of countless number of contractors. I have small business contractors who have had to shut down their business because they can't make the payroll. Even reopening the government will not mean those businesses will come back into operation.

I simply wanted—I am sorry the majority leader is not here. The majority leader keeps saying, you know, that we are powerless in this body to do anything, that the only way we can pass any legislation is if the President agrees.

I do not want to overstate the case, but I would simply refer the majority leader to article I, section 7, clause 2 of our Constitution, which gives this body, if it reaches a two-thirds vote, the ability to override a Presidential veto and make the legislation, which has already passed this body by a 96 to 2 vote. If those same votes stand by the legislation that we all agreed to before Christmas—if it was a good idea before Christmas to reopen the government and continue the debate on national security on a separate path, how is it not a good idea today, when Federal employees are going without their pay?

So the majority leader's unwillingness to allow us to vote, to have our voices be heard—and if that vote would in any way appear close to where this same body voted before Christmas, we would have a solution to this crisis. I simply wanted to point that out.

I know the majority leader knows our laws and knows our Constitution, but I find it a little bit rich when he says that we have no ability at all to weigh in on this process and he refuses to take any action that will not meet with the agreement of this President.

The Constitution of the United States gives the Senate the ability to

have their voices heard. We have already voted in margins that would well exceed the veto requirements laid out by the Constitution. I hope he will give us the right to vote and let us have our voices heard and potentially be able to have the government of the United States reopened.

With that, I thank my colleagues for giving me the chance to add that small item to the debate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The minority whip.

Mr. DURBIN. Mr. President, I was happy to yield to the Senator from Virginia because I know this issue of the government shutdown is particularly acute in Virginia and in the State of Maryland, but we feel it all across the United States of America.

Just a few minutes ago, I was on the phone with Dr. Scott Gottlieb of the Food and Drug Administration, and I asked him: What is the impact of the Trump shutdown on the Food and Drug Administration? Dr. Gottlieb was very explicit. He said that the area that was hardest hit was food safety.

Food safety is a responsibility that was assumed by the Federal Government over 100 years ago after publication of the novel "The Jungle" by Upton Sinclair. We decided to create a Federal Agency with the responsibility of inspecting food so that people across America would not suffer foodborne illness or worse.

We have a great Agency, and it does a great job when it is fully funded operationally, but the fact is, over 40 million Americans will end up with a food illness in any given year, and over 3,000 will die. The responsibility of this Agency is not some bureaucratic function; it is quite literally a life-and-death responsibility.

I asked Dr. Gottlieb: What does the government shutdown do to the Food and Drug Administration when it comes to food safety? He said: We have had to suspend operations at the highest risk food operations.

I asked him for an illustration, and he said: For example, the facilities that make baby food, high-risk food inspection responsibilities at the FDA. He said: We decided we had to call back 150 employees to make sure that we resume inspections at these high-risk facilities, such as those that make baby food.

Thank goodness.

He told me he has a problem. Here is the problem. The people he is going to call back are in the lower income categories of Federal employees. Many of them are making a decent wage, but only a decent wage, and, certainly, they are not wealthy by any stretch, nor do they have savings to turn to.

He said: I have to call back these folks who are literally out of work because of the government shutdown—some of whom have applied for unemployment compensation—and tell them they have to come to work. Commissioner Gottlieb said: When I declare them essential, that is the law. They

have to return to work and come here for no pay.

We have an important responsibility of the government, food safety, which is now being ignored—or I should say diminished—because of the shutdown, and as they try to resume some part of it, Commissioner Gottlieb has the awful responsibility of trying to pick those employees who will be hurt the least if they are called back to work.

This is America. This is the U.S.A. This is a great country, perhaps one of the greatest in the history of the world, and this is where we stand when it comes to making certain that baby food is safe for American families across the United States. Now we have to pick and choose those who will be asked to come to work for nothing to perform that function.

That is not the only area that he mentioned. He went on to talk about areas that are not covered by user fees. You see, some of the pharmaceutical companies and medical device companies actually pay for inspections. As long as user fees are coming in, the inspections continue. But it doesn't apply to every aspect when it comes to medicine. For example, when it comes to compounding medicines, which is done at the State level, primarily, the Federal Government has a responsibility in some areas to make sure that those medicines are safe. Do you recall a few years ago, in the State of Massachusetts, when the compounding standards were lax and innocent people died because the injections they were given were not sterile? Those are exactly the responsibilities of the Food and Drug Administration. They are the responsibilities that are not being met as they are supposed to be met today because of this government shutdown.

If you think this is just about a lot of bureaucrats who are not showing up to work and are sitting by some swimming pool, you are dead wrong. These are people who are doing important things for America and keeping us safe in the process.

There is also one other thing I want to mention to you. If you are in the midst of a clinical trial to approve a new drug—an important drug for someone whose life depends on it—the clinical trials continue through the government shutdown. But if you completed your trials and you want to make an application to sell this drug in America, you are stopped cold by this government shutdown. Commissioner Gottlieb says we can't process these. Those potential lifesaving drugs have to sit on the shelf because of the government shutdown, which this President has proudly declared he believes is in the best interest of America. Tell that to the families who are waiting for that drug. Tell that to the people who labored for years to get it ready for market—that they just have to wait until the President is ready to move.

I was there yesterday. I was at the meeting of the leaders with the President, Vice President, and members of

his Cabinet. It was not a long meeting. I think it lasted 17 minutes. The President came in and distributed candy bars to the people who were in attendance, and then started his speech. It basically came down to this: Unless you are prepared to give me this wall, I will keep the government shut down. That is what he said. When we made it clear that the government shutdown should not be a bargaining chip in this process, the President stood up after 17 minutes, and said: This is a total waste, turned, and, in a fit of pique, left the room. To me, that was a sad moment in the history of this country, when the Chief Executive of the U.S. Government, a man who was elected to manage and lead our government, has voluntarily shut down important and critical functions of that government for a political purpose. He is not serving the American people as he was elected to serve.

The victims, of course, will not be the President and his family, nor many of the people who were in that room. It will be the 800,000 Federal employees who are victims of the shutdown. It will be half of them who are showing up for work today with no pay and will not receive a paycheck over the weekend.

Many of us will travel home over the weekend and go through an airport. We will go through the TSA inspection, as all passengers do, to make sure we travel safely on airplanes. It is tough to look those TSA agents in the eye because we know what is happening. Many of them, barely making enough money to get by—paycheck to paycheck—will not receive a paycheck this weekend. I called a group of them together at the O'Hare Airport on Tuesday. We held a press conference. I asked them to explain what this means to you. They talked about being unable to come up with the money to pay for gasoline to drive back and forth to work 39 miles each way. They talked about the difficulties the families are going to face when it comes to daycare for their children. What are they going to do with their kids if they are coming to work for no pay and they can't pay the daycare service? For those who have mortgage and rental payments, some real consequences can follow. If you fail to make that mortgage payment on a timely basis, you may face an increase on the interest rate on your mortgage, and you may even face a downgrade on your credit rating.

That is the real world for people who don't live in the White House. That is the real world for the victims of this prideful shutdown, which President Trump believes is in the best interest of this country. He is wrong. It is in the best interest of this country to open this government. It is in the best interest of Democrats and Republicans to sit down together and work out our differences when it comes to border security. We are all dedicated to border security. We just see it differently. We have to find middle ground to come to a conclusion on this important issue.

The last point I want to make is this. I am concerned that the majority leader—the Republican leader, Senator MCCONNELL—has made it clear that he is waiting for a permission slip from President Trump to be the leader of the Senate. We are a separate and proud branch of government. We are given authority under this Constitution which the President does not have. We do not wait for a permission slip from him to exercise that constitutional authority. The votes to pass these appropriations bills, I believe, are on the floor of the Senate today, and that is what has led Senator MCCONNELL to the conclusion that he wouldn't dare call the bill. I think there are enough Republican Senators who have spoken to me privately who are ready to step forward and say: End this mindless shutdown. They are ready to vote for the spending bills. Will it reach 67 to override a Presidential veto? It just might do that. But let's test it by being the Senate under the Constitution, not by waiting for a permission slip from President Trump to exercise the constitutional responsibilities which each of us swore to uphold when we became Members of this important body.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Connecticut.

Mr. BLUMENTHAL. Mr. President, the Senator from Illinois is absolutely right. The votes are there to pass these six bills. The majority leader, in effect, is acting as a buffer for the President. He is not serving this body because he knows that his own Members would vote for it and vote to reopen the government. That is because they are hearing the American people tell them, as they are telling us: Reopen the government.

That was the message that Senator SCHUMER delivered. It is simple, direct, and it is true. The American people want the government reopened. They know we have disagreements all the time. We disagree about policy and politics, proposals and legislation, but we don't shut down the government simply because we disagree. The government continues to do its work and serve the American people even as we have disagreements.

Our friends on the other side, the Republican leadership, are complicit in this shutdown by refusing to permit us to do our duty and our work, which is to consider and pass legislation that will keep the government serving the people of the United States. If the President vetoes those bills, there may well be enough votes here to override them. That is our job as well.

The reason the American people want us to reopen the government is that they know the crisis here is one that Donald Trump has made himself. It is a manufactured crisis involving dedicated public servants who are missing paychecks, taxpayers denied critical government services, economic hardship for small businesses, and low-in-

come Americans. It is a crisis that is spreading.

It is not a crisis at the border in security that the President, supposedly, is witnessing as we speak here. There is a humanitarian crisis at the border, which is also of Donald Trump's making, but the broader crisis throughout this country will affect our economy, our education system, our transportation, and the real security of this country, which is our ability to help each other.

I have looked at those folks in the face, most recently the day before yesterday, at Foodshare, our food bank in Connecticut, which will soon be unable to meet the challenges and needs of the food insecure in Connecticut because the Commodities Distribution Program will be crippled. Their cost and transportation and storage will be overwhelming and unmet. Children and seniors will begin to go hungry because their reserves will be exhausted by the end of this month.

I have spoken to the Coast Guard members who will be unpaid. Alone among our military services—unfairly, unfortunately, unacceptably—they will be unpaid. We know in Connecticut the value of our Coast Guard as a military branch of our government. We are home, proudly, to the Coast Guard Academy, with over 2,000 Active-Duty servicemembers, cadets, and civilian employees who are feeling the direct effect of this Trump shutdown.

In reality, it is a Trump lockout, not a shutdown. He is locking out so many dedicated workers of our Federal Government. But the Coast Guard is continuing to work. It is the only branch of the military that isn't guaranteed pay during this Trump shutdown because, by a quirk of history, it is now part of the Department of Homeland Security, not the Pentagon. These Active-Duty Coast Guard members based in New Haven and New London and across the country are continuing to protect our Nation's security, continuing to rescue Americans at sea, continuing to interdict drugs that threaten our Nation, and they are going unpaid.

That is why a bipartisan group of Senators—and I want to thank Senators THUNE, CANTWELL, and others—have introduced legislation to pay them during this Trump shutdown and any other shutdown going forward. I call on the Senate leadership to immediately approve this bill and allow it for a vote. Our military members in the Coast Guard deserve better, but so do all of the homeowners of this Nation who are seeking mortgages and must put those efforts on hold, so do the community development block grant projects that create jobs and economic growth, and so do law enforcement, essential to our security, who are going untrained.

Food safety inspections have been suspended. Housing safety inspections, like the ones at Barbour Garden in Connecticut and Infield apartments, have stalled.

Breweries, like many in Connecticut—and I am hoping to visit a number tomorrow—are unable to deliver their products to market and onto store shelves.

The National Parks have been left unsupervised.

Last week, the Hartford Courant highlighted the story of Bryan Krampovitis. He is a resident of West Haven and an air traffic controller at Bradley International Airport. A number of traffic controllers are here in Washington, DC, and they will be outside this building later today. He is continuing the work, but he told the Hartford Courant:

I'm a single father of my daughter, and she relies on me to be her sole provider. I have a home and mortgage. It's a hard time to be in. I'm forced to continue to go to work or face the possibility of losing my job.

If the Federal Government is still closed at the time of his next scheduled pay, he will receive "a zero dollar paycheck."

Like him, so many of these Federal workers are living paycheck to paycheck, and they will be without that paycheck. The effect, though, will be on Americans as a whole.

The President continues to divide us with rhetoric that is distorted and divisive, with misleading, malign mendacity. I am reminded of the sign I saw on TV: "Stop truth decay." The President should stop truth decay as he visits the border today. He should recognize that there is no crisis, insecurity at the border; that it is manufactured by him. The idea that drugs are imported across the border is correct, but it is at the ports of entry. The idea that terrorists are coming across the border is factually absurd. In fact, the 3,700 figure the President broached has been completely debunked. The idea that the wall will be effective or practical has been abandoned by members of his own administration who have recognized that a wall from sea to shining sea is simply impossible and impractical.

So we are left with a vanity problem—an applause line in the President's campaign—that has become a wall to progress. It is a wall to progress only in the President's mind, as everybody in this body knows there is a path forward to reopen the government. That is what the American people want—to reopen the government, to adopt the bills that are necessary for these agencies to go back to work, and to reopen the Department of Homeland Security as well while we debate those disagreements we have and do our jobs.

The Congress must do its job and send to the President the bills that are necessary to reopen the government and save America from this manufactured, unnecessary, unacceptable crisis that has come to us and our country from 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue.

I yield the floor.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Nevada.

Ms. CORTEZ MASTO. Mr. President, many Federal workers in Nevada and

across this country will miss their first paychecks tomorrow due to this shutdown. Our President's govern-by-chaos approach has pulled the rug out from hundreds of thousands of Federal workers and contractors across the country who are currently furloughed or who are being forced to work without pay, including over 3,000 of them in my home State of Nevada. It is outrageous.

I have heard from many Federal workers in Nevada who didn't sign up to live in constant fear that their paychecks would be held for political gain. They didn't sign up to wonder if they will be able to pay their rent on time, cover childcare costs for their young children, or put food on the tables for their families. They certainly didn't sign up to be used as pawns in this President's political game. They signed up to serve the American people, and they deserve the certainty of a functioning government and steady paychecks. Instead, hard-working Nevadans are writing and calling me to say they are worried about paying their bills, supporting their children, and keeping up with their mortgage payments.

One Nevadan who is currently working without pay told me he and his colleagues are struggling to pay for the gas to drive to their unpaid jobs.

Another Nevadan is a mother who told me that her son, who is newly enlisted in the U.S. Coast Guard, is now facing eviction just 1 month after reporting for duty.

A Las Vegas government contractor who is working to help the Department of Justice reduce its immigration court case backlog told me how discouraged he and his colleagues are that this shutdown is hurting the very people who are trying to help fix our immigration system.

Nevada's veterans, park rangers, and TSA agents have also all contacted my office and asked for an end to this senseless shutdown so they can continue to provide for themselves and their families.

This is one of the major impacts on Nevada, but it is not the only major disruption we are seeing.

At our national parks and monuments, there is overflowing trash, which threatens the wildlife and public safety because the park rangers and maintenance staff have been furloughed.

In Nevada's Tribal communities, lapses in funding threaten to close the doors of health clinics, food pantries, and childcare centers.

The Small Business Administration has stopped processing loans that help Nevada's small businesses and job creators thrive. Over 7,850 Nevada seniors who are enrolled in nutritional food programs and over 437,000 Nevadans who receive SNAP benefits are at risk of losing access to the food assistance that keeps them and their families healthy.

Real people, families, and communities are hurting. These are the people

who do an honest day's work. They do an honest day's work, and they expect steady paychecks and a government to be led by a President who cares about their needs and their families' safety.

The solution to this is simple. Reopen the government and stop holding Federal workers hostage for political gain. They are not leverage. These are hard-working people who are committed to going to work every single day, if that is what they are told to do, to make sure our services run and that we are protected, for they are standing guard even though they are not getting paid.

As we go on about our day, I ask every single one of us, if you see them, to thank them. They are actually going to work and are not getting paid and can't pay their rent. For those who are furloughed and staying home, they are still struggling in the same way.

That is why I support what my colleagues have done in introducing legislation that provides the backpay that will be necessary to protect these families and make sure they get paid, legislation so we may look out for them and ensure that their credit does not get dinged because of a government shutdown they had no control over. Don't forget, there are going to be thousands of workers out there who will never get paid because they are contract workers, and we should be doing everything in this Congress to ensure that they are getting the support they need. People are having to look for second jobs, and some can't even look for second jobs because the Federal jobs they have don't even allow them to look for second jobs.

This is outrageous. This whole process is outrageous. There is a simple answer to all of this, and we know it. It is doing our jobs. I came to this Congress as a U.S. Senator. I believe in article I. I believe we are a coequal branch of government. We should not be abdicating to the executive branch. We should be doing our jobs. We know we can pass legislation that opens this government. We have already done it. We did it in the last session of Congress. There are many, in a bipartisan way, who want to do this. Let's just do our jobs. Let's show the rest of the country that this branch of government can govern and protect everyone.

It is very simple because I know, if we were to get together, pass these bills, and send them over to the President, then he would make his decision. If he were to decide to veto it, then we would override that veto. That is the process. That is the process our Founders and our Framers set up so no one branch of government could control. I hate to see the leadership here abdicating our role to another branch of government.

It is time for us to come together. Let's open this government. Let's do it now, and let's show these Federal workers they are not political pawns, that they are not leverage. Let's show them the respect and dignity they deserve.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Minnesota.

Ms. KLOBUCHAR. Mr. President, I come to the floor to discuss the ways in which this pointless shutdown has done real harm to American workers and families. I appreciate the words of my colleague from Nevada as she explained how devastating this has been in her State.

We are now in day 20, and the stories are flooding in, in the calls to my office, as to how this political gamesmanship from the White House is harming the American people.

The Washington Post estimates that 6,100 Federal workers in Minnesota have been affected by the shutdown. This includes 1,700 who work for the Department of Agriculture—right when the farm bill has passed. We have many small dairy farmers in Minnesota for whom we had worked so hard to get this bill passed. Now they need to understand it, and they need to figure out what programs to sign up for, but they have no one to talk to. These aren't big milking operations. These are places with a couple of dozen cows, with 50 cows, and they have no one to talk to. As I said, the Washington Post has cited 6,100 Federal workers. Some of these employees are furloughed and are forced to stay away from work. Others are forced to work without pay. Here are a few of their stories.

Sandy Parr works as a food service supervisor and nurse at the Federal Medical Center Rochester in Rochester, MN. She has been asked to work 60-hour shifts during the shutdown and to fill in for dozens of absent colleagues—all without being paid. She told one of our newspapers that she may soon be forced to choose between groceries and medication for her 14-year-old son who has autism.

Celia Hahn is a transportation security officer at our airport, the Minneapolis-St. Paul International Airport. It is a major airport, a hub. She told our local newspaper that she has canceled her plans to sign up her twin 9-year-old boys for a soccer clinic. If the shutdown drags on, she will have to call her mortgage lender to negotiate payments, which is a step many of her colleagues have already had to take.

It goes from the small—a soccer signup that might not seem that important, but anyone who is a parent knows it is a really important thing for kids—to the big, are you going to be able to afford your house? Then it goes to the even bigger as you look at a major airport that has lines and people who are working without pay and where you have law enforcement on the frontline, whether it is Homeland Security or whether they are FBI agents who are going to be working without pay.

Of course, my State is by no means unique in being hurt by this shutdown. I have heard the stories from so many of my colleagues.

Senator Kaine told us about Alan, a veteran and civil servant in Yorktown.

He has had to work without pay since the shutdown began. His emergency savings are exhausted, and he is behind in his bills.

Senator DURBIN of Illinois talked about a Transportation Security Administration worker, a TSA worker, who fears the impact of missing a mortgage or a rent payment. The man told the Senator that if he can't make one of those payments on time, it will hurt his credit rating, which could affect the interest rates he will pay on loans and mortgages for the rest of his life.

These are real people with real-world problems.

Senator HEINRICH of New Mexico told the story of Nicholas, a firefighter. If the shutdown isn't resolved, he told the Senator, he will not be able to support his family.

On Tuesday night, I joined Senator SHAHEEN, who talked about how furloughs have slowed down the work at the Office of National Drug Control Policy and about how the continued delays in funding will pull the rug out from first responders who rely on this funding.

Senator WARNER of Virginia talked about the shutdown's impact on Federal contractors, including custodians, cafeteria workers, and security guards who work as Federal contractors who will never see backpay for the shutdown unless we do something about it.

This is what is happening.

The public IRS office is closed. That is in my State. A woman is trying to make a payment for taxes due and is concerned about the interest and penalties because of the time it will take to process her payment by mail.

The Neighborhood Development Center in St. Paul, MN, a community lender, has two projects awaiting construction funding from the SBA, the Small Business Administration. That is shutdown.

A young man needs his tax transcripts for a late enrollment in college. With the IRS not providing this service, he will not be able to attend the first day of his classes.

A woman who was the victim of identity theft in my State was trying to report it to the IRS but to no avail.

These are basic services that our constituents are being forced to go without. These are promises we made to our constituents and to the men and women who serve the public as Federal employees. It is time for the President to end this pointless shutdown and reopen the government.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Louisiana.

THE MIDDLE EAST

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I want to talk for a few minutes today about America's foreign policy, I want to talk about interests, and I want to talk about values.

As you know, Congress is about to consider our foreign policy priorities in the Middle East. As we do that, I want

to draw attention to some of our most vital allies in the Middle East. These allies have stood by America and we have stood by them for decades, through thick and thin. As a result, American interests in the Middle East have been protected, and their people have been protected as well. I am talking about the Syrian Kurds. I am talking about Israel. I am talking about Jordan.

In my judgment, America must now stand by the Syrian Kurds, Israel, and Jordan—all of whom have paid a heavy price for the destabilization in Syria over the past 5 years—to make sure that this fight stays won.

Once the Senate turns our attention to S. 1—and we will eventually—I plan to offer an amendment to S. 1 that will allow the U.S. military to defend the Kurds in Syria, if need be. It would give the President the authority to use the U.S. Armed Forces as he deems fit to keep our promise and to protect our allies. That is all my amendment would do. It wouldn't require anything, but it would give the President of the United States the authority to protect one of our allies in the Middle East—the Syrian Kurds—because, after all, the Kurds contributed mightily to the fight against ISIS, and we owe them. We owe them some peace of mind as we draw down our presence in the region.

The Kurdish-led Syrian Democratic Forces—better known as SDF—have been another set of boots on the ground in our fight against ISIS. In the words of former Secretary Mattis, Kurdish fighters “shredded” ISIS. We couldn't have done it without them. With the help of coalition supplies, weapons, and airstrikes, the SDF—the Syrian Kurds—have been able to recapture large parts of both northern Syria and eastern Syria from ISIS's iron grip. That is just a fact. Four years ago, there were nearly 100,000 ISIS fighters. Thanks to our Kurdish allies and others, including American blood and treasure, those numbers have now dwindled to just 5,000.

Today, ISIS has surrendered 99 percent of its territory. Let me say that again. Today, ISIS has surrendered 99 percent of its territory, including its former capital of Raqqa. To put that accomplishment in perspective, in January 2015, ISIS controlled more than 34,000 square miles of Syria and Iraq. Thirty-four thousand square miles of Syria and Iraq was ISIS-controlled territory. The world looks a lot different today. Less than 3 weeks ago, the so-called caliphate—the ISIS caliphate—withdraw from their last major urban stronghold in Syria. They are now being held to a small sliver of territory on the eastern border with Iraq, near the Euphrates River.

I think it is plain to see that the Syrian Kurds have been indispensable in our fight against the Islamic State. Today, the SDF—the Syrian Kurds—control nearly a quarter of Syria. That land no longer belongs to ISIS. That land is being lived in peacefully by the

Syrian Kurds. It doesn't belong to Russia, and it doesn't belong to Iran. It is land where the Kurds know they will be free from persecution and slaughter.

There are 30 million Kurds in the world, as the Presiding Officer well knows. They are living in Iraq, Iran, Syria, and Turkey. In each country, the Syrian Kurds have been subjected to discrimination, massacres, forced relocation, and countless other human rights violations.

The Kurdish people are one of the largest, if not the largest ethnic minority in the world that doesn't have a state or a country to call its own. After World War I, when Western interests carved up the Middle East, the Kurds were left without a state, despite President Woodrow Wilson's argument that this would be—and indeed is—unfair.

The truth is that the Kurds in the world today, no matter where they are, are not completely safe anywhere. The Turkish Defense Minister made that clear just this last December when he said that when the time comes—when the time comes, the Turkish Defense Minister said, the Kurds “will be buried in the ditches they dug. No one should doubt this.” That is a direct quote.

Just last week, Secretary of State Pompeo said that “ensuring that the Turks don't slaughter the Kurds [and] the protection of religious minorities there in Syria” are “still part of the American mission set.” Secretary Pompeo is a wise man.

Our troops there in the region who stand beside our Kurdish friends do more than simply offer supplies and logistical support to the Kurds; they are a visible sign of our solidarity in the fight against Islamic terrorism. Without assurances of our support, the Kurds will be left to fend for themselves. Without the Kurds, we cannot be certain who will step in to fill the power vacuum in the areas of Syria that they currently control. We just cannot. We can only guess, and the answers aren't good.

The threat of U.S. military force has been a major deterrent for the reemergence of jihadists like ISIS and al-Qaida. We know that. Our presence has held back Assad, Turkey, Russia, and Iran from gaining stronger footholds in the area. If the Kurds are vulnerable to attack from Turkey or Syrian rebels, I fear they may turn to our enemies for protection. Even if the Kurds didn't, they can't fight off Turkish troops and pursue the remnants of ISIS at the same time. For America to abandon the Kurds in Syria now would compromise the security of our allies, would compromise the security of Israel and Jordan, and would risk exposing the region to more turmoil.

I think it was the late, great Ambassador George Kennan, writing, of course, during the Cold War, who said: “If the policies and actions of the U.S. government are to be made to conform to moral standards”—not self-interest, to moral standards—“those standards

are going to have to be America's own, founded on traditional American principles of justice and propriety.” The Ambassador was correct.

As I read his words, as I have read his words, and as I have studied his words, I thought long and hard about what he meant by “American principles of justice and propriety.” If justice is getting what you deserve, as C.S. Lewis said, and propriety is doing what is right, as I think most of us believe, then we should give the President the authority to protect the Kurdish people. That is what my amendment would do. We have to do it because they are our friends. We also have to do it because it is the right thing to do for America's interests and for the Middle East peace process.

Once we take up the bill, I want to urge my colleagues in the Senate to consider my amendment and to help me make sure that American foreign policy continues to have that important moral component. Standing with our friends in the face of evil despots and dictators is just as important today as it was during the Cold War.

I understand President Trump's decision with respect to Syria. I understand his concern about mission creep. I understand his concern about America's failure in our efforts at nation building. I think all of the American people are frustrated with the Middle East. All of us want a prosperous America, but all of us in America want a prosperous world. And we have been disappointed time and again by totalitarian governments in the Middle East.

I don't want any of my remarks today to be construed as critical of the President's decision with respect to Syria. Frankly, I don't know whether he is right. I am still listening to both sides. I know this: American foreign policy never has been and never should be based solely on self-interest. Certainly, self-interest is part of it, but American foreign policy also has to have a moral component. Morality in this case dictates that if we withdraw from Syria, we do not allow our Kurdish allies in Syria to be butchered and gutted like a fish.

Thank you.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mrs. FISCHER). The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Ms. SMITH. Madam 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

Ms. SMITH. Madam President, today and for the last 19 days, men and women across the country are being hurt by a government shutdown that President Trump said he was proud to cause for the wall. I rise today on behalf of Minnesotans, on behalf of more than 4,790 hard-working Federal employees and low-wage contractors going without pay in Minnesota right

now, and I rise today on behalf of the taxpayers of our country who just want the government to work for them.

Since I became a Senator, just a little over a year ago, the government has been closed three times over the President's obsession with building an expensive, ineffective wall on our southern border. I am all for border security, but we need to focus on real solutions, not symbols.

So let us start with the facts. In my home State of Minnesota, the Federal Government employs about 32,000 people as food safety inspectors, prison guards, postal workers, and more. Of this total number, the Center for American Progress estimates that 4,790 people are impacted by the shutdown today in Minnesota and are furloughed or working without pay. Over 750 of these workers have already filed for unemployment benefits, and hundreds more are being forced to make tough decisions about how to cover basic expenses, feed their children, and take care of their families.

A couple of days ago, I asked Minnesotans how they are being hurt by this shutdown because I wanted to understand how this is affecting people in their everyday lives. In just the last 48 hours, I have heard from Minnesota farmers who can't cash checks because the Farm Service Agency offices are shut down and Tribal law enforcement officers who are working without pay.

I have heard from air traffic controllers in Minnesota who came by my office earlier this week with dozens of handwritten letters full of stories. The letters I am about to read come from these air traffic controllers, and I really want to thank them for sharing their stories. These are public servants who have dedicated their careers to making our airports safe.

Tomorrow, January 11, marks the first day when these folks—Americans who show up at work every day to protect us—will miss their first paycheck. What is going to happen to these families? How will they be able to cover their credit card bills, their childcare payments, their mortgages? These are the questions that are keeping them up at night.

I wanted to share some of their stories with you today so that those of us in Congress and the President can keep these people uppermost in our minds and the human impact of what is a wasteful and increasingly harmful shutdown.

The first story comes from Michael, in Rochester, MN. Michael writes:

My wife stays at home to care for our 3 year old daughter. She is also currently obtaining a master's degree in education so she can be a teacher when our daughter finally goes to school.

I am the sole income in my home. Needless to say, the prospect of not receiving a paycheck in a week has us wondering how we will make mortgage payments, buy food, etc. We are more fortunate than some of my co-workers, however. Many of them are wondering how they will pay for day care while they continue to go to work as unpaid, essential employees.

The next letter is from Jonathan, from Lino Lakes, MN. This is what Jonathan wrote:

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 wife is due with our fourth child in two weeks and this uncertainty only adds to an already stressful situation.

Here is another one from Mike, from Minnetonka, MN. He is describing the impact of the shutdown on his family's future.

I am a father to twin four-year-old boys (Jax and Finn) and had to close their college fund account in order to pay bills through the end of the month. The shutdown has also prevented me from training and certifying on my last few positions to receive a \$5,000 pay raise. These hardships are going to affect my family for years to come. The replenishment of my boys' college fund alone could take years as a single income family.

Mike goes on to say:

This is going to have a lasting negative impact on me and my family. Please help stop the shutdown to lessen the already great impact it has had on me and my family. My kids' future and our current financial hardship depends on it.

Next is Christopher, from Dundas, MN. He writes:

As a cancer survivor, I have a huge stack of medical bills on structured and negotiated payments. My colleagues and I have suffered the sudden loss of our income due to this shut down. It will be very hard to meet all of my financial obligations.

Finally, I want to share this really heartbreaking note that I received from a brand-new father, Joe, from Lakeville, MN. Joe enclosed two photos of his beautiful brand-new baby boy, Oliver. Here is a picture of Oliver. This is the picture Joe sent to me. This is what he wrote:

This is a picture of my son, Oliver. He was born on New Year's Eve, 10 weeks early. The only local hospital to take babies born before 32 weeks is not in network for our insurance. I cannot change our insurance with this qualifying life event because those government services are closed due to the shutdown.

Further, because there is no paid leave during a shutdown, I am spending my days in the NICU on unpaid furlough status. I don't know when I'll be able to change my insurance, or when I'll get paid again. I take solace in what matters most: Oliver is getting a little stronger and a little closer to home every day.

Joe closed by saying:

Please do what you can to reopen the government and leave us with one less worry.

President Trump and my Republican colleagues, listen to these stories and think about the consequences of this reckless and increasingly harmful shutdown.

The Senate could put an end to this right now. We could take up and pass the bipartisan bills passed by the House—bills that have already passed the Senate, bills that would help baby Oliver and his dad Joe and the hundreds of thousands of other people around the country who never asked and don't deserve to be pawns in this fight. It is our job to do this.

Colleagues, we can do this. I don't just sit in this Chamber and say whether my vote is what the President wants me to do. I think about what Minnesotans want me to do. We must reopen government.

I know, colleagues, that each of you has thousands of families with stories like this in your State and I know that you are hearing them. Let's resolve this. Let's end this shutdown now and not let American families down.

To the Minnesotans who are speaking up and sharing your stories, I want to thank you, and I want to tell you to keep it up. You deserve to be heard by our President, and you deserve a government that works for you.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority whip.

Mr. THUNE. Madam President, yesterday President Trump and Republican leaders once again tried to sit down with Democrats to break the impasse over border security funding and fully reopen the government. Yet, again, Democrats proved unwilling to offer any serious solution or agree to work with the President in any way.

When the President asked Speaker PELOSI yesterday if she would be willing to commit to funding the border wall if the government was reopened, she said no—no.

Democrats are saying that we need to end this partial shutdown and reopen the Federal Government. I completely agree with that, but it is Democrats who are standing in the way of that happening. Instead of seriously trying to resolve this shutdown, they are holding show votes in the House and trying to score political points.

The administration made an offer on Sunday. Yet 4 days later, Democrats have yet to respond. If they really want to reopen the government, they will sit down and negotiate in good faith with the President to arrive at a solution that both parties can support and that the President will sign.

I have to ask: When did securing our borders become immoral?

It used to be that Members of both parties recognized that border security was a basic obligation of our government and that we had a duty to ensure that our borders were protected and that dangerous individuals or goods were not entering our country, but apparently—apparently—Democrats don't agree with that anymore.

According to Speaker PELOSI, building barriers to protect our border is "immoral." That is right—"immoral." According to the Speaker of the House, protecting our border with barriers to prevent illegal entry is "immoral."

Contrary to what Democrats would like people to believe, border security isn't an issue dreamed up by hard-hearted Republicans to oppress various groups of people. Border security is a national security imperative—something that both parties recognized, until recently. No country can be secure if dangerous individuals can creep

across its borders unchecked and unobserved.

Democrats talk about border barriers as if they are meant to prevent anyone from entering our country. That is just false. America is a land of immigrants, and we will always welcome new faces to America with open arms. In fact, I, like many others in this Chamber, am the grandson of immigrants who came through Ellis Island. My grandparents obviously came and settled in South Dakota, but we have to make sure that individuals who are coming to this country are coming here legally and that we know who they are and why they are coming. We do that by enforcing our laws and by securing our borders—with physical barriers, Border Patrol agents, and technology—so that individuals can't cross our borders illegally and undetected.

Leaving our borders open to any criminal, drug dealer, or human trafficker who wants to sneak across isn't compassion. It is an abdication of our responsibility.

Right now, we are facing a security and humanitarian crisis along our border. Tens of thousands of individuals try to cross our southern border illegally each month. That is a serious security problem. It is also a humanitarian problem. Individuals attempting the journey to come here illegally are vulnerable to exploitation, to illness, and to abuse. One out of every three women attempting the journey to the United States is sexually assaulted. A staggering 70 percent of individuals become victims of violence along their way. Illness and other medical issues are a serious problem. By failing to discourage illegal immigration, we are perpetuating this humanitarian crisis.

The inadequate state of our border security—both around barriers and through our ports of entry—also allows other problems to flourish, like the flow of illegal drugs pouring into the country. Every week in this country, 300 Americans die from heroin. Ninety percent of the heroin supply—90 percent—flows across our southern border.

Democrats will say it doesn't come across, that it comes through ports of entry. A lot of it does come through ports of entry—that is part of our borders—and the President in his proposal has advanced measures that would also deal with those drugs coming through our ports of entry. But the fact of the matter is, we have to secure our border, and that requires a whole range of measures as a part of that solution.

Democrats didn't always think that securing our borders was immoral. In fact, in 2006, the Democratic leader and the ranking member on the Senate Judiciary Committee voted for legislation to authorize a border fence. They were joined in their vote by then-Senator Biden, then-Senator Clinton, and then-Senator Obama. In 2013, every Senate Democrat, bar none, supported legislation requiring the completion of a 700-mile fence along our southern border. This legislation would have

provided \$46 billion for border security and \$8 billion specifically for a physical barrier.

As recently as last February, nearly every Senate Democrat—46 out of 49—supported \$25 billion for border security—just last February.

In 2009, the Senate Democratic leader said in a speech: “Any immigration solution must recognize that we must do as much as we can to gain operational control of our borders as soon as possible.”

Let me repeat that. In 2009, the Democratic leader said: “Any immigration solution must recognize that we must do as much as we can to gain control of our borders as soon as possible.”

Then he went on to discuss progress that had been made on our border security between 2005 and 2009, including “construction of 630 miles of border fence that create a significant barrier to illegal immigration on our southern land border.”

That is right. In 2009, the Democratic leader not only didn’t oppose border fences; he was praising them for their effectiveness.

So what has changed? The need to secure our borders certainly hasn’t changed. Everybody says: Is it a crisis or isn’t it a crisis? I would say that having 300 people a day dying from heroin in this country is a crisis, particularly given the fact that 90 percent of that heroin is coming across our southern border. That strikes me as a crisis.

The President has changed, and that, more than anything else, is the thing that has changed the minds of a lot of Democrats in the Senate because we used to have a President Democrats like; now we have one they don’t like and, in many cases, they are openly hostile to.

For Democrats opposing this President and catering to the far-left, anti-border-security wing of their party seem to be more important than addressing the security and humanitarian crisis we are facing at our border.

I venture to say that deep down, a lot of Democrats still realize we need to secure our borders. I think many realize how important the physical structure—some sort of barrier—is in making sure that the border is secure. Certainly, those who protect our border would tell you that, and certainly those who have observed what has happened over the past 20 or 30 years—a border fence has been built in certain areas of our southern border—would tell you that has been very effective.

I think it is important for us to listen to the experts and allow the opinions of the experts to shape the policies we put in place. I think what the experts have been telling us is that, yes, we need a comprehensive solution, one that includes a physical barrier, one that includes technology, one that includes manpower—all of which this President, his team, have been willing to negotiate but none of which the Democrats in the Senate or the House have been willing to sit down at the table and be a partner in working out.

With their partial shutdown now into its 20th day, I hope they will soon end this political theater and fulfill their obligations to keep Americans safe.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Montana.

Mr. TESTER. I thank the Presiding Officer for recognition.

Madam President, look, we have heard a lot about the shutdown today. We have heard a lot about the impacts on families and on businesses and on our society in general. We heard a speech recently on the floor of the Senate on how Democrats don’t want border security, which cannot be further from the truth.

The fact is, last year, we appropriated \$21 billion for border security. That was in 2017. For 2018, it was \$21.5 billion. The truth is, everybody I know of who serves in this body, whether a Democrat or Republican, wants to make sure our borders are secure.

Unfortunately, the President—or fortunately, however you want to look at it—came in with his budget request last year to the Homeland Security Subcommittee of Appropriations, on which I serve as ranking member, and asked for \$1.6 billion for a wall. Guess what that subcommittee did, and guess what the Appropriations Committee did. We gave him \$1.6 billion for that wall. The Senate didn’t pass that bill, I might add. Sometime later, the President came in and said: No, I want \$5 billion for a wall. And now it is \$5.7 billion for a wall.

We asked for a report on how this money was going to be spent, and they sent us a report on how the \$1.6 billion was going to be spent, with no comparative analysis on how technology or manpower or anything else to secure that border might work more beneficially to keep our borders secure and be more cost-effective for the American taxpayer.

What did the President do? Twenty-five times he said: I am going to shut down the government.

Guess what. The government is shut down. It doesn’t take a genius to do that. We have heard the stories—and they will continue, especially after tomorrow when working folks will not get their paycheck—of the impacts on this country, on average Americans, who could lose their homes, their autos, not be able to send their kids to school, and not be able to afford healthcare. The list goes on and on.

I ask: Is this how you make America great again? Is this how it is done? It is not working.

Senator CARDIN came to the floor a bit ago, and he said: I want to put up not show bills; I want to put up Republican bills that this body has already passed and that the House passed this last week so that the Senate would do their job and hopefully reopen the government. I think there are enough votes to do it. I think there are enough votes to override a veto.

The majority leader’s response was: No, we are not going to do this; we want to take up a bill on Israel.

I am telling you, I am a big supporter of Israel, but I took an oath of office to protect this country first, and we are turning our back on this country.

We can continue to have the debate about the best way to secure the border, but it should not be done by holding the American people hostage. It should be done by having a debate in this body—the most deliberative body in the world, I was told before I got here. I got to serve with great Senators, got to serve with Robert C. Byrd, Richard Lugar, Kennedy, and Baucus. The list goes on and on. We don’t debate. We don’t even vote. In fact, we don’t even live up to the Constitution’s goals for us, its requirements for us—whatever you want to call them.

We are a coequal branch of government. We shouldn’t be allowing—as Senator DURBIN said, asking for a permission slip from the President to be able to do our business. Bring the bills to the floor to open this government, and vote on it. If they go down, they go down. I think they will pass. If the President vetoes them, bring them back for a veto override. It is as simple as that.

I wonder what the forefathers would think today if they saw this body—a shell of its former self. And it is not due to the rules; it is due to the fact that we have leadership that will not live up to the obligation of this body as set up to begin with.

We have work to do here. We have a lot of work to do, and that work starts with opening the Government of the United States. If we don’t do it or if we say we are only going to do it with permission from the President, then we all ought to hold our heads in shame.

I yield the floor.

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. LANKFORD. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

Mr. LANKFORD. Madam President, we are in day 20 of a government shutdown. It is exceptionally avoidable, but it is also exceptionally painful and distracting to the American people.

At the USDA, the Farm Service Agency loans have stopped.

TSA employees are working without pay. If we can’t get this resolved by tomorrow, they will miss a paycheck, but they will still be at work.

Home lending programs have halted.

For the FAA, new air traffic controllers are not being trained. We still have air traffic controllers in the tower who are working now—by tomorrow, without pay coming in—but new training has stopped. That means a year from now, when we need to have those new air traffic controllers take their spot in that tower, there won’t be someone in that tower because we have halted the training at this point.

IRS taxpayer advocate services are closed.

Indian Health Service is being stretched.

At the Bureau of Indian Affairs, most employees have been furloughed.

The Department of Commerce and many others have been affected.

While this doesn't affect most Agencies in the Federal Government, it affects a lot, and it affects real lives and real people. Let me give some examples from just my State of Oklahoma.

There is a technology company in Tulsa that will have to begin furloughing employees because it is a contractor for the Federal workforce.

Those folks who are selling their cattle right now and who have a relationship with Farm Service can't cash that check because they can't get a second cosigner for the check, and that definitely affects them.

A Federal worker contacted us and said that she is a contractor, and as of a couple days from now, she is not going to be able to pay her son's tuition so he can go back to college, because it will be too far a stretch.

The food banks in my State have already started stocking up and reaching out to Federal employees who may not get a check starting tomorrow and may be stretched and need some additional assistance, many of them for the first time ever.

We have a family in the Norman area, south of Oklahoma City, who typically handles the contract for housing for students who are coming to the FAA, to the academy. Well, obviously those academy students have all gone home, and they are losing \$5,000 a week due to the shutdown and the lack of housing for those folks. And it is not just empty facilities; employees who are contractors there are now being furloughed.

See, this affects real lives and real people. This was an exceptionally avoidable shutdown. Months and months ago, the President of the United States announced publicly and repetitively that he was not going to sign a funding bill at the end of the year that does not add additional border security. Over and over again, in public speeches and in private conversations on this Hill, the President repeated over and over: I am not going to sign a funding bill unless it adds additional border security.

For some reason, half of this Hill ignored it and said: He is just kidding. He is not just kidding. He sees the issue of border security—as I do, by the way, as well—as being a serious issue that has been talked about for decades but has not been addressed. Now all of these families are being impacted because half of this Hill said they thought the President was kidding.

We should be able to do basic border security. This used to not be a partisan issue. It was just a decade ago that this body voted to add 650 miles of additional fencing along the border between Mexico and the United States

because at that time, a decade ago, this body said: There is a serious issue with border security. We should add fencing to the border.

Outspoken liberals like Senator Clinton and Senator Obama voted to add fencing to the border in 2006 and said that is the right thing to do. But suddenly now, a decade and a couple years later, it is a partisan issue and we can't allow President Trump to have additional fencing. It seems very odd to me. This seems like a personal attack on the President rather than a realization of where we have been as a country for a long time. We should have basic border security.

For the President to be actually very malleable on this—shockingly so, to some people—he stepped out and said: I want \$5.7 billion for a wall or for fencing or for steel barriers or whatever you want to call it. We need some additional barriers on it.

To negotiate during the Christmas time period and to be stuck because the White House makes an offer to Senator SCHUMER, and Senator SCHUMER's response apparently was, we will wait to negotiate this after NANCY PELOSI becomes speaker—so for 10 days we sat with no negotiations going because we had to wait until there was a Speaker PELOSI.

Now Speaker PELOSI steps up and says: We are going to do nothing on this. And the President says: No, we need to do something. And suddenly something that the American people saw as obvious—why wouldn't we do basic things for border security—has suddenly become political and controversial.

The President, even in his speaking earlier this week from the Oval Office, started by saying we should do additional technology at the border. I fully agree. In fact, just in the last 2 years, the Department of Homeland Security has added 31 new fixed surveillance tower units to the southern border, has added 50 mobile surveillance systems to the southern border, and has added ground sensors and tunnel detection capabilities to the southern border. Those are all technology aspects of helping the southern border. The President stepped up and said we need to do more in that area.

He said we need to add additional agents, which, again, has not been a partisan issue in the past.

He said we need to add additional immigration judges, which, again, has not been controversial. We have 800,000 people waiting in immigration courts to get due process right now. Many of them will wait 3 years or more just to get to a court. That is because we have too few judges handling the many immigration cases that are out there. It should be common sense to say "Let's add additional judges so people can get to due process faster," but suddenly that has become controversial.

The President said we need to add a steel barrier. Now, I am fully aware he has talked about a wall in the past, and

he said wall, wall, wall over and over, and some people have this picture that it is going to be the Berlin Wall, complete with graffiti on the side of it. That is not what DHS is putting up, nor what they have put up. They put up these big steel slats because the Customs and Border Patrol folks don't want a solid wall. They need to be able to see through it to see whether there is a threat coming to them.

Has it made a difference? It has absolutely made a difference. Some of my team were down at the border in San Diego just a month ago. They visited with the Customs and Border Patrol folks there. They stated that the old fencing that is there—and there is some very old fencing in that area—that old fencing had more than a dozen penetrations through it a day—a day. It was meaningless. But the new fencing that they are putting up, these big steel slats, that steel barrier has one person a month. So it moved from 10 to 12 a day to 1 a month. That is a pretty big difference. That is helping manage our border. That is why fencing actually does work.

I am fully aware of folks saying, if you put up a 30-foot fence you get a 31-foot ladder, but what happens is, when you have to climb a 31-foot ladder, you have to slow down in the process, and it gives time for the Border Patrol to be able to interdict. That is what a fence is about, to say: You can't cross here easily. You have to slow down through the process—and we can interdict folks.

This is a completely avoidable and, quite frankly, very recognizable problem. We should not have a government shutdown happening right now. Interestingly enough, some of my Democratic colleagues I have spoken with over the last 2 days were quietly whispering in these hallways: I hope the President will just declare a national emergency so the fencing can get built, and we can say we fought it, rather than actually bringing a piece of legislation here to solve it.

There are real families and real lives getting affected by this. Let's resolve this. This is not a big number. This is not a complicated issue. We can come to common agreement on basic border security to protect our communities and our cities. We should have the ability for individuals to come into the United States to work. We have always been that way.

Interestingly enough, I remind people all the time that the 5,000 people coming from the migrant caravan from Honduras are camped out 250 yards from the largest legal border crossing in the world, the San Ysidro crossing. We have 5,000 people who are trying to illegally cross the border literally 250 yards from where 100,000 people a day cross legally every single day, but the cameras are all focused on the 5,000 people trying to cross illegally, not turning the camera 90 degrees to focus in on the 100,000 people a day who filled out the forms and did it right and are

coming into our country. We are still a country with open immigration, and we should be; we just ask people to do it the right way. I don't think it is that unreasonable.

So how do we get out of this? The most basic way to get out of this is just to do what we talked about for months—let's sit down and figure out how to do border security—just the simple process of that. Some of my colleagues have said the President needs to open the government, and then we will talk about border security. That will be the same argument we have had for a couple of years now, where they say: Some other time, some another time. The President said, after months and months, this is the time to talk about this. So let's resolve it as quickly as we possibly can.

Let's not complicate it. I have heard people say: Let's add all these additional things to the conversation and make the deal bigger. Making the deal bigger just slows down the process even more. Federal employees and all these families need answers right now. Let's not continue to try to make this a bigger and bigger argument that stretches out longer and longer in debate. Let's solve the issue we have in front of us right now and keep debating the other issues.

Finally, let's get a permanent resolution to this issue of government shutdowns. It has been interesting to me to see the media comparing this shutdown to the one that happened during the Jimmy Carter Presidency or the Clinton Presidency or the three that happened during the Reagan Presidency or those that happened in the Bush Presidency. This is a bad habit Congress is in. There were 16 of us who met this last year, from April all the way through December—eight Democrats and eight Republicans, half from the House and half from the Senate—to try to resolve the budget process. Many of us spoke up, myself included, over and over again, saying that this is a broken budgeting process, saying we have to end the government shutdowns. By the time we got to the middle of December, that group of 16 could not come to a resolution to address this problem. Well, how about now? Are we willing to admit now that there is a problem with budgeting?

Here was one of the solutions I brought to that committee. I think it is straightforward. The simple solution is, if you get to the end of the budget year and if we don't have things resolved at that point, go into a continuing resolution; that is, continue to fund the government, hold the Agencies and employees harmless, but Members of Congress have to stay in Washington, DC, and the Cabinet and the White House have to stay in Washington, DC—no travel for anyone. We have to be here.

If you want to hit Members of Congress where it hurts, don't let anyone go home for the weekend to see their families. We have families we want to

see, too, but we shouldn't be able to walk away when there is still work to be done. The greatest pressure point we can have in this body is that we would have to stay in continuous session until the negotiations are finished. Make everyone stay here.

That may sound overly simplistic, but when I bring that up to other Members of Congress, they are like: Whoa. That is too much. Really? Everyone needs to stay here, keep the negotiations—from the House, the Senate, the Cabinet of the White House, and the White House staff itself.

The second measure we can take is, each week, through any kind of fight that goes on to get the budgeting done, cut everyone's budget in the House, Senate, and White House's operating budget 5 percent that week. Now, again, holding all the Agencies harmless, but for those who are doing the negotiations, they start feeling the pressure. Not only can you not travel, you can't see your families. You have to stay in continuous session, but your budget is getting cut every week by 5 percent, each week until it gets resolved. Again, the pressure is on the people it should be on, holding harmless the American people who aren't in the middle of this fight in the process. There are ways to solve this—simple, commonsense ways—and I will continue to bring those up again and again because when this shutdown is complete, there will be a fight over another one coming. In the meantime, we need to try to end this loop we are in that destabilizes our system.

Let's do border security. Let's not fight over, "OK. Let's open up the government, and we will talk about it later." Everyone knows that really will not happen. Everyone knows that game. Let's resolve what all the American people know needs to be resolved—basic, functional, real commonsense security, not putting up a big wall across the whole border. No one wants to see a 2,000-mile-long wall. It is not even needed, but in areas where there is a city on both sides of the border, and you literally cross the border within seconds unless there is a barrier there, it makes sense to have a barrier in those locations. It makes sense to put technology in other areas to be able to monitor folks who are illegally crossing the border in other areas. We can do this in a commonsense way. We can do this quickly. Let's get it resolved.

With that, I yield the floor.

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

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

S. 1

Mr. RUBIO. Mr. President, in a few minutes here—in 45 minutes or so—the

Senate is going to vote to decide whether we want to begin debate on the bill that is before us, S. 1, Strengthening America's Security in the Middle East Act of 2019. I remind everybody of why we began with this bill.

I don't know what the number is, but I would say the overwhelming majority of the Members of the Senate did not agree when the President decided to pull us out of Syria for various different reasons. Everybody was asking us: Well, why don't you guys do something about it? As you know, it is difficult. The Congress cannot order the President to take military action. It can authorize it, it can fund it, and it can defund it, but it cannot compel it. That is the role of the Commander in Chief. There are some things we can do. However, because there are things we were concerned about with his decision, there are things we can do to sort of deal with the consequences of what, I believe, would be a mistake, and this bill endeavors to do that.

We went through and said: Let's find some bills that would help our allies in the region—Israel, Jordan—and that deal with the human rights catastrophe in Syria. Let's find things that are bipartisan and have widespread support so that we are not starting with something controversial. Then let's put it all together in one bill so that the country will be able to see that the Senate is engaged in the foreign policy of this country and is acting out its constitutional role as a check and balance on the Executive.

That is what we did. No good deed goes unpunished, though, because as that bill was filed, apparently, the Democratic leader and others in the leadership asked their Members to vote against even beginning debate on a bill that an overwhelming number of them supported, that a majority of the Democrats supported. They asked them to vote not to proceed on the bill, and the argument is because of the government shutdown.

I still don't know how it makes any sense to respond to a government shutdown by shutting down the Senate. In essence, why did we even come up here this week? It appears they are not making any progress on the negotiations, and we are not moving on any bills or legislation. I don't know if it gives people any comfort to know that at least the Senate is shut down too. I don't know how that fixes the government shutdown situation. This should be a place that can walk and chew gum at the same time, meaning a place that works on solving and ending this shutdown, which is bad for everybody, that works on securing our borders, which is something we need to do for our country, but that also works on dealing with something like this, especially as timely as the decision is that was just made last month and the threats that are facing our allies in the region. That is what this bill is about.

We are going to have another vote here for the second time this week. So

that everybody understands, this vote is not even in favor of or against the bill; it is just to the question of whether we can start debate on this bill. I hope a few more Democrats will join us so that we can get the 60 votes we need just to begin debating the bill. If you still want to make your point at the end of the day, then go ahead and vote against it or whatever. I hope you don't, but let's at least begin debate on it. We will see what happens here in about 30 minutes. My sense is that we still won't have the votes to do that, and it is unfortunate.

I do want to address two things that have been brought up with regard to this bill—one thing that has been brought up and one element of the bill that I hope will change people's minds in terms of beginning the debate on it.

First, let me talk about a provision in this bill that deals with BDS. BDS—boycott, divestment and sanctions—is an international effort to wage economic war on Israel in order to punish it for its supposed treatment of Palestinians. It boycotts companies that do business in Israel until they cut ties. It boycotts or pressures banks and investment firms until they divest of any investments that help Israel. It then asks governments to impose sanctions on Israel. That is BDS.

Some people support it. There are two newly elected Members of the House who openly support it. I assume that is their right. I think they are wrong, but that is their right. The vast majority of people do not support it.

What has happened across America is that there are States and counties and cities that have decided they don't support BDS. It is not illegal and we are not going to make it illegal if you want to be a company that participates in BDS. Yet we—the government, the cities, and the States—are not going to buy services or goods from any company that is boycotting Israel. All this bill does is protect them from lawsuits if they make that decision.

The argument against this has been—and I have seen this now in numerous statements from those on the other side of the aisle—that it infringes on the First Amendment rights of individuals. I don't know what bill does that, but it isn't this one.

To begin with, this bill doesn't even apply to individuals. Individuals can do whatever they want. If you don't want to buy stock in a company that does business in Israel, I think it is shortsighted, but no one is stopping you from doing that. If you want to divest your investments from companies that do business in Israel, no one is stopping you from doing that. If you don't want to shop at or buy from companies that do business with Israel, that is not illegal. This doesn't apply to any individuals.

By the way, it doesn't even make it illegal for companies to make that decision. This is not banning participating in BDS. You have every right to support it. You are wrong, but you

have every right to support it. You have every right to carry it out if you are a company or an individual.

This bill does not apply to individuals. Any time people say they are protecting the individual First Amendment rights of Americans by opposing this legislation, I don't know what they are talking about because this does not apply to individuals.

All this says is to go ahead and do it. If you, company X, want to boycott Israel or divest investments from Israel, you can, but the people who disagree with you can boycott and divest from you. You see, free speech is a two-way street. If you want to proclaim something or say something, you have every right to do it, but the people who disagree with you have a right to do that as well. If there is a First Amendment right to companies to boycott or divest from Israel, then there has to be a First Amendment right to boycott or divest from those companies.

If you oppose this bill, then you are in favor of shielding from counter-boycotts anyone who decides to take these actions. That is what you are for, which is de facto support for BDS, because what you are basically saying is to go ahead and boycott Israel and divest from Israel, but no one can do that to you. That is not what the First Amendment is. The First Amendment protects your right to speech, and it protects from government infringement an individual's right to speak. It does not protect you from people who disagree with you. It does not protect you from people who speak out against you. So if you are a boycotter, you yourself can be boycotted. If you are a divestor, people can divest from you. I am talking about the elected representatives of our cities and counties. If the members of that community do not agree with that decision, they can vote them out of office.

Why does a city or a county have to be forced to buy products from companies that are undertaking a foreign policy action, which is what this is? This is not an effort to influence domestic policy; this is an effort to influence the policies of a foreign country. Why should a city or a county be forced by law to have to do business with those that a city or a county or a State disagrees with? That is all this bill is.

When people go around talking about how this infringes on the First Amendment rights of individuals, it is just not honest. It is just not true. This doesn't even apply to individuals. In fact, the bill says very clearly in writing—right there—that nothing under this act shall be construed to infringe upon the First Amendment rights of any American.

As they continue to say that, just know that this bill only applies to cities, counties, and States being able to not buy things from companies. This doesn't give you the right to fire an employee who posts a pro-BDS thing on Facebook. This doesn't give you the right to refuse to sell a home to or pro-

vide housing for or discriminate in any way against individuals who support BDS. This doesn't give anyone the right to put you in jail for supporting BDS. It doesn't do anything to infringe on anyone's First Amendment right. All it does is protect the First Amendment right to be against BDS and to do to the boycotters what the boycotters are doing to Israel. It is a two-way street. Those are the facts. If you are hiding behind that in order to oppose this bill, you are not being frank about what the bill does.

The second part of this bill that I wanted to talk about today shouldn't be controversial at all because we are all now painfully familiar with the grave humanitarian crisis we have seen in Syria. I would say and most would agree that what we have seen over the last 8 years of this conflict is the worst humanitarian crisis since the end of the Second World War. It began as anti-government protests, but it led to the fighting for political freedoms that has now escalated into a bloody civil war with a bunch of foreign fighters flowing in. It is a mess of all kinds of different groups from foreign countries and of radical jihadists.

Caught in the middle are innocent people who have been bombed and gassed. In fact, this administration has had to take action to punish militarily the Assad regime for dropping chlorine bombs and chemical weapons on civilian populations. We have seen these images of children, babies, and everyday people—bakers and plumbers and small business owners and professionals—who 1 minute were walking around and the next minute were choking to death because their own government, with the support of Russia and Iran, dropped chemical weapons on their communities and killed countless people.

Not only is this sort of activity horrifying, it is a war crime. It is a war crime to deliberately target civilian populations, and it is particularly cruel to do it with a gruesome form of death—that is, death by chemical weapon. That is what we have seen.

That is what we have seen supported, by the way, by Vladimir Putin. He knows for a fact what they are doing and doesn't care. He gives them cover, and he makes up these ridiculous stories about how it is the opposition that has done it. Everyone knows who has done it. There is zero doubt about it. That is why they don't allow inspectors to go in and find evidence and point it out. But it is abundantly clear who is doing it, and they have done it.

Even as this administration is deciding to pull out, the prospects grow and the likelihood grows every day that the people who have made these decisions will never be held accountable for what they have done. These war criminals—these savages—will never be held accountable for what they have done if trends continue the way they are going. This bill tries to address that.

The now chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, the Senator from

Idaho, Mr. RISCH, filed a bill last year, called the Caesar Syria Civilian Protection Act, that is now included in this bill. I believe he will be here shortly to speak about it. It is called the Caesar bill—it has nothing to do with Rome—because it is named after a Syrian military defector. It is named after someone who was in the Syrian military whose code name was “Caesar” who smuggled out tens of thousands of pictures of what was going on inside of Syria, the images of the thousands of people who were killed while being detained in Syria. They were images of the torture, of the brutalization of women and innocent men and even sometimes children by the Assad regime and by those who supported them.

The pictures show the true face of what we are dealing with here—the face of an evil and criminal regime, a regime that needs to be held to account. All those who support them and are allowing them to do it should also be held accountable.

What Senator RISCH's bill does is it provides the Trump administration new legal authority to bring some accountability for the people who have done this.

First, it requires a determination and a report by the Treasury on whether the Central Bank of Syria is a financial institution of primary money laundering concern. Why does that matter? Because they are using that bank to clean and launder money to fund their operations, to remain in power, and, ultimately, to gas and kill their own people.

The other thing it does is it imposes new sanctions on anyone who does business with or who provides financing to the Government of Syria, including Syrian intelligence and security services, or the Central Bank of Syria; who provides aircraft or spare aircraft parts that are used for military purposes in Syria; who does business with transportation or telecom sectors controlled by the Syrian Government; or who supports Syria's energy industry.

These aren't just about punishing them. It is about hurting them in their pocketbooks so they can't afford to put those planes up there to drop these bombs on innocent people. It gives the administration the authority to do this.

By the way, this bill also requires the administration to brief Congress. You hear them talking about holding the administration accountable and conducting oversight. This bill requires them to come before us and tell us what their plan is to deliver humanitarian aid.

By the way, I want to know how we are going to deliver humanitarian aid if there is no U.S. presence on the ground and the only people left are the Russians, the Turks, the Iranians, and the Assad regime. It would be interesting to be briefed on that plan with us not there, but it requires them to come forward and either tell us what their plan is or admit that there isn't a plan because we are not there anymore.

That is what this bill does. I would love for everyone here to support it, but before you can even vote for it, we have to start debate on it through the rules of the Senate. In about 15 minutes, we are going to vote on this thing, and there are going to be people who vote against even starting a debate on it, and the argument is that it is because of the shutdown.

I hope people reconsider. I don't understand the logic of it, but when you talk about the threats that are facing Israel, which the overwhelming majority of the Senators here say they are strong supporters of, and when you talk about the importance of Jordan and our alliance with Israel, something that every single person here basically agrees with, for the most part, and when you talk about these horrifying war crimes for which there should be some accountability, which I believe everybody here was outraged by, how does stopping a bill or refusing to move on to debating a bill that deals with those things help end the shutdown? It doesn't. It makes no sense, but, apparently, that is what some are willing to do.

They probably aren't watching at this point. They are probably off at their caucus lunches or doing something else, but I hope that over the last 48 hours, some of my colleagues on the Democratic side have thought about it and have said to themselves that it really doesn't make any sense to deal with the government shutdown by shutting down the Senate.

I hope they will reconsider and vote differently this time. If they don't, then, I am just not sure how we can explain to people why it is that we will not agree to even begin debate on something almost all of us agree on for reasons completely unrelated to it. In essence, that is what happened earlier this week and what could potentially happen here very shortly.

I actually, oftentimes, wonder what must go through the minds of visitors to the Capitol. I understand most people in America aren't watching this. Very few people probably are. I wonder. You come up here, and these groups from Close Up were here. It is a great organization. It brings high school kids up here. You try to explain to normal, regular human beings that there is a bill that 90 of the 100 Senators support, but we are not even going to be able to debate it because they are voting against debating it. They would look at you like you have three heads and say: What are you talking about? They support the bill, but they don't want to have a debate on the bill yet? Why? Because of the government shutdown. Well, what does that have to do with it?

There are no other aspects in our lives where we would do that. I have never heard that in my life. I have never heard someone say: I am not going to work today because I am upset that my favorite team lost the game yesterday, or I am not paying my

bills this month because I don't like the fact that they charged me too much for changing my tires. If you did that in any part of your life, people would think you were crazy. Yet that is what is happening here.

What kind of leverage is this—that you are going to hold up a bill we all agree on as leverage to force us to negotiate? The Democratic leader and the Democratic Members know that in order for a bill to become law, it needs the support of the House, which their party controls, 60 Senators, which they can keep us from getting, and the President who will sign it. They know full well that this has nothing to do with that, but, nonetheless, a majority of them seem to be prepared to vote against even debating it.

I don't know how to explain that. I certainly don't know how to explain it to high school students up here visiting from Close Up or to anyone else, for that matter, but that is what happened earlier this week, and that is what might happen today here in a few minutes.

I hope I am wrong. I hope people have reconsidered because, honestly, this is an issue that deserves our earnest attention.

I will close with this. Please do not go around saying that Congress needs to do more to hold the administration accountable or to conduct oversight of our administration policy, when we started this Congress trying to do that and you decided to keep us from doing it for some other reason. Don't say that Congress needs to be more involved in the foreign policy of the United States, when this is exactly what we are trying to do here today and you will not let us for reasons unrelated to it.

This country needs a strong Senate more than ever before, not one that is shut down. I hope people will change their minds so we can get to work on this right now.

The Senate should be able to walk, chew gum, write, and read at the same time—or a lot of us. There are 100 people here. We should be able to do multiple things at the same time. We do it all the time.

You don't need to shut down the Senate, and you don't need to stop debate on this bill to solve the government shutdown. One has nothing to do with the other. Everyone knows that. Americans understand that. Normal people recognize that.

Let's act normal. Let's stop being weird about these things, and let's move on something like this and get the debate going, even as we work on the government shutdown and on border security.

I yield the floor.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

Mr. RISCH. Mr. President, I rise today, again, to discuss S. 1 and to urge my colleagues to vote in favor of this.

We had a vote just the other day on this, and it has been reconsidered. All Republicans voted for it. Four of our friends on the other side of the aisle also voted with us on this, and I would urge a few more to do so. If that happens, we will actually pass this package of bills, which is so important.

These have been kicked around for some time. The substance of these bills have near—although not complete—unanimous approval of this body. Indeed, Members of this body have voted for these, both in committee and on the floor, individually in the past, but they have not gotten across the finish line because we ran out of time in the last Congress.

Essentially, it is a package of three bills that support our friends. One, of course, supports Israel. One supports Jordan, one of our best friends in the Middle East. And, lastly, one of the bills refreshes and strengthens the sanctions against Bashar al-Assad and his government in Syria.

These should pass. You might ask yourself: Well, what is going on here? Why are we having these party-line votes on this? Well, my friends on the other side of the aisle have said: We are not going to vote on anything while the government is shut down, and we should be focused on this. I would remind my friends that there are a lot of us around here who are veterans of the 2013 Obama-Harry Reid shutdown.

During that shutdown, the U.S. Senate continued to do its job, continued to consider resolutions, continued to pass bills, and continued to do confirmations, as it was required to do.

That is what we have here today—something that we should be doing that reinforces our friends in the Middle East. Particularly with times being somewhat tumultuous there, it is important that we support our friends in the Middle East, and it is important that we put these sanctions on the people of Syria.

I would also remind my friends on the other side of the aisle that they are forcing a vote on the Treasury regulations surrounding Mr. Deripaska, the Russian person who has had sanctions placed on him and who has gone through the process of getting them removed. My friends on the other side are requiring that we debate and then vote on those, which is a good thing to do. First of all, there are some issues that need to be aired there, and, secondly, it is important that we have the process for reviewing actions by the Treasury Department under the sanctions legislation in the past. It is good that we do that. But to say “We can’t do this, but we can do that” because they want to do it really doesn’t make sense. They also want to do this. I think if we had a straight-up vote on this, I would suspect the Democrats would vote unanimously to do this.

This is just the wrong way to do business. We are the U.S. Senate. We are open for business. We are doing business. In the last shutdown, we did business, and there is no reason we can’t do this.

Mr. President, fellow Senators, for all of the reasons I have just said, I urge an affirmative vote on this good legislation. Get it on its way, and get it doing the things that we want to see done.

CLOTURE MOTION

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

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.

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, 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, shall be brought to a close?

The yeas and nays are mandatory under the rule.

The clerk will call the roll.

The senior assistant legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. THUNE. The following Senators are necessarily absent: the Senator from Texas (Mr. CORNYN), the Senator from Texas (Mr. CRUZ), the Senator from Kansas (Mr. MORAN), and the Senator from Georgia (Mr. PERDUE).

Further, if present and voting, the Senator from Texas (Mr. CORNYN) would have voted “yea.”

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

The yeas and nays resulted—yeas 53, nays 43, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 2 Leg.]

YEAS—53

Alexander	Braun	Cotton
Barrasso	Burr	Cramer
Blackburn	Capito	Crapo
Blunt	Cassidy	Daines
Boozman	Collins	Enzi

Ernst	Lankford	Rubio
Fischer	Lee	Sasse
Gardner	Manchin	Scott (FL)
Graham	McConnell	Scott (SC)
Grassley	McSally	Shelby
Hawley	Menendez	Sinema
Hoeven	Murkowski	Sullivan
Hyde-Smith	Paul	Thune
Inhofe	Portman	Tillis
Isakson	Risch	Toomey
Johnson	Roberts	Wicker
Jones	Romney	Young
Kennedy	Rounds	

NAYS—43

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

NOT VOTING—4

Cornyn	Moran
Cruz	Perdue

The PRESIDING OFFICER. On this vote, the yeas are 53, the nays are 43. Three-fifths of the Senators duly chosen and sworn not having voted in the affirmative, the motion is rejected.

CLOTURE MOTION

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

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.

Todd Young, Mike Rounds, Richard C. Shelby, James E. Risch, Mike Lee, Josh Hawley, John Boozman, Shelley Moore Capito, Mike Crapo, Tim Scott, Cory Gardner, Roy Blunt, Steve Daines, Marco Rubio, Rob Portman, John Barrasso, Mitch McConnell.

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

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from South Carolina.

CIVILITY, FAIRNESS, AND OPPORTUNITY

Mr. SCOTT of South Carolina. Mr. President, each new year brings with it a range of different emotions. We look back on what we have accomplished in the last year, what we hope to achieve in the year to come, and think of ways we can better ourselves.

Some of our objectives may include eating just a little less. For me, that

means eating a little less sour cream pound cake or sweet potato pie, which is something I can completely control, and I am trying.

As a nation, though, we need to look at some goals for the new year that will help us move forward together—goals that may be a little tougher and require all of us to work together. While we may have some uncomfortable conversations—and we will—we must recognize that at the end of the day, we are family, both inside our homes and as Americans, in the land of the free and the home of the brave.

As we look to 2019, I am hopeful we can take three lessons and carry them forward. Those who follow me know I have focused my time in the Senate on an opportunity agenda that focuses on helping people rise from poverty in distressed communities, helping folks who are living paycheck to paycheck to experience the greatness that is, in fact, the American dream, and I will continue to focus on those issues in 2019, but you will also hear from me in 2019 what I believe are some missing keys to American progress. Those keys are civility, fairness, and opportunity.

So when you are having dinner and a family member tries to tell you that the reigning Super Bowl Champion Philadelphia Eagles—lucky, of course, to be in the playoffs at all—are in fact the best football team in America, we all know the truth: It is America's team, the Dallas Cowboys. You will have a discussion with your family friend who believes otherwise, and I hope you will disagree strongly, that you will argue with facts, history—the history of Roger Staubach or Troy Aikman or Emmitt Smith or Tony Dorsett or “Too Tall” Jones—and you argue that with history and with passion, but you know, at the end of the day, your crazy uncle is still your crazy uncle. You will see each other next weekend. You will hug, and you will start the same fight all over again, but you see what you have done is you have agreed to disagree without being disagreeable. That, at its core, is the civility our Nation is sorely missing right now.

Too often too many seem too focused on saying whatever they want to say and saying it more loudly, without any concern for the actual content. We need to return to civility, where the other side isn't evil or a traitor or trying to destroy our country, but they simply have a different vision for how to achieve success.

Second, sometimes we struggle to make sure our loved ones, especially our kids around Christmastime, are treated fairly. So as they open their presents, we want to make sure everyone has a chance to play with everything. This is what we call trying to be fair. As a parent—or in my case as the giver of cool gifts—we want to make sure the kids are being fair with their siblings as they play with the new toys. There is something in each and every one of us that yearns for fairness, but

too often, when we leave the comfort of those mornings, we tend to want more for ourselves than we want for others. We want people to treat us in a way that gives us the benefit of the doubt, but sometimes we don't want to give it in return. Being fair means first seeking to understand before being understood.

Finally, opportunity. I want to look back at a Christmas tradition in my hometown of North Charleston, a place where we see amazing things happen around the Christmas holidays. We see police officers, firefighters, and community volunteers coming together about 6 a.m. on Christmas morning to go knock on doors, where they know definitively there are kids without Christmas trees, much less Christmas presents. These police officers, firefighters, and community volunteers join hands and raise a ton of dollars and bring presents to the doors. Anyone who has experienced this, as I have, cannot fully describe the joy on a child's face, the emotion and the tears of happiness for someone who didn't expect a single thing for the holidays, because opportunity is just not about ourselves and our families. While we certainly strive to be successful, the true meaning of the Christmas and the holiday season lies in what we do for others.

For Congress, that means everything we do—everything we do—should be with an eye toward improving the lives of all Americans. For folks at home, remember, there are folks in your community who are less fortunate. This became the greatest Nation on Earth because of our hearts and our minds, the hearts and minds of the American people, the power and endurance of the American dream, and the graciousness and strength of the American spirit; in other words, American exceptionalism. Civility, fairness, and opportunity are three words that can help our Nation heal and move us forward toward a better future.

My hope this year is that we will take some time to think about what each of us can do to further these goals. Resolutions are good. Being resolute in our mission to strengthen our Nation is great. Soon I will speak about my vision for the future, my America 2030 plan.

I want to say happy new year and ask everyone to remember the true spirit of what makes America great.

RECOGNIZING THE CLEMSON TIGERS' 2019 NCAA CHAMPIONSHIP VICTORY

Mr. President, before I close, I would like to talk, just for a few minutes, about an epic celebration in a small upstate city in the great State of South Carolina—a celebration that is because of a game. Now, in South Carolina, we have real division. The divisions can be seen between those who support the Clemson Tigers and those like myself who support the Carolina Gamecocks. After the Clemson national championship victory, both sides of the great State of South Carolina—at least most

of us—are celebrating the absolute overwhelming success of the Clemson Tigers. You can't help but appreciate and admire the amazing leadership at Clemson University, the leadership of Jim Clements, the President of Clemson University.

Clemson has been an amazing testament to the goodwill and good effort of programs focused on character first. As Coach Swinney has created an absolute powerhouse in Clemson, it is hard to deny that he is not one of the best coaches in college football in America today. He has surrounded himself with amazing players such as Deshaun Watson, DeAndre Hopkins, Vic Beasley, and now Trevor Lawrence, Travis Etienne, and Christian Wilkins.

I want to extend my congratulations to Clemson University on their second national championship in just the last 4 years and their third overall national championship. I wish I could be in Clemson on Saturday morning at 9 a.m. as they—they don't have to paint the streets orange because they are already orange—but as they blow out the great city they live in. I will say that not only am I heartened and excited about the success of Clemson University on the field, I thought, listening to Dabo Swinney as he talked about success in life, it reminded me of my civility, fairness, and opportunity agenda for 2019.

He said something to this effect. When asked about his success and the greatness of his football team and the wonders of winning a national championship, what did he celebrate the most? He said it in this fashion. He said: When I think about being selfless, when I think about real success, it is in this order. First, it is about honoring the Lord Jesus Christ, his Lord and Savior; second, it is about honoring others; and third, finally, it comes down to self. There is something to learn about putting others before ourselves as we look toward a more civil society, filled with fairness, brimming with opportunity.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Rhode Island.

Mr. WHITEHOUSE. Thank you, Senator, and if I may congratulate the junior Senator from South Carolina on the spectacular win that Clemson had and also congratulate him about being so true to the spirit of civility he discussed and not trash-talking the other team involved.

It was a truly splendid victory between two extraordinarily talented and capable teams, and I congratulate the Senator.

Mr. SCOTT of South Carolina. Would the Senator yield for a moment?

Mr. WHITEHOUSE. Gladly.

Mr. SCOTT of South Carolina. I will concede that while I am exuberant and excited for the enthusiasm for Clemson's success this year, I am aware that next year Clemson and Alabama may meet again. So the more you celebrate this year, perhaps the more you will regret it next year.

Thank you, Senator.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Rhode Island.

CLIMATE CHANGE

Mr. WHITEHOUSE. Thank you, Mr. President, and happy new year. The new 116th Congress brings new hope for the Senate to face up to the clear and present danger of climate change. The House of Representatives being in Democratic hands augments that hope.

The Senate Republican majority has failed to address climate change. This is no accident. This is the Senate in the Citizens United era. I was here before Citizens United, and for years we saw Senate climate bipartisanship, before Citizens United. After Citizens United, what we see is immensely powerful climate-denying, dark-money front groups for the fossil fuel industry, all likely funded by fossil fuel interests, and we see no Republican Senator willing to cross them. The spending they do in politics—and the more silent threat of spending—is a blockade. It reeks.

Here is a case study on how dark and unlimited money play in Senate elections. In 2016, in Ohio, Indiana, and Wisconsin, three Democratic Senate candidates stood a good early chance of winning Republican-held seats in 2016. All were solid, experienced candidates who had been Senators before. All were ahead in early polling. Then the big influencers came in hard, launching attack ads, in some cases, well more than 1 year before the election. It is a little like strafing the other side's planes while they are still on the airfield.

The pile-on of so-called outside group spending against these three candidates came to almost \$70 million. All three ultimately lost their races, and their losses meant Republicans kept majority control of this Chamber.

Let's look at that \$70 million that acquired the continued Republican majority control of this Chamber. Of that \$70 million, only about \$11 million came from donors and PACs that appear unconnected to the fossil fuel industry. At least two-thirds of that outside spending—more than \$46 million—can be directly traced to groups that received significant funding from fossil energy, and \$12 million, the remainder of that 70, came through dark money channels. In this day and age in America, powerful influencers can obscure their identities by running their political spending through these dark money channels so it is impossible for us to know whether or how much of this remaining \$12 million was from polluter dollars—fossil fuel dollars. I strongly suspect all of it was. In any event, when one industry can deliver that kind of political artillery, the vast majority of a \$70 million barrage against three specific candidates, that gives that industry remarkable political power with the side that is advantaged—climate action stopping political power, it would seem.

As the mounting effects of climate change have grown ever more dire and

the scientific understanding has grown ever more clear, what has the Senate done? Nothing. Let's look at what we learned and what we witnessed and what we failed to do in 2018.

Mr. President, 2018 saw the release of two landmark climate science reports—one from the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change on the effects of warming 1.5 degrees Celsius above preindustrial levels, and the second, the Trump administration's own "National Climate Assessment." Together, these reports delivered the starkest warning on climate change to date. Damage from climate change is already occurring. Economies are now at risk, and we are almost out of time to prevent the worst consequences.

The IPCC report told us that accounting for the costs of carbon pollution by charging a price for carbon emissions is the "central" policy that will allow us to hold the global temperature increase to 1.5 degrees Celsius or less. Even this dire endorsement was not enough to move a single Republican colleague to join a bill to establish a carbon fee.

More telling was the spectacle of the Trump administration's "National Climate Assessment." This report, written by 13 Federal Agencies, described the monumental damage the United States is facing from climate change, flatly contradicting the climate denial assertions of the President and his fossil fuel-flunky Cabinet. The administration tried to bury the report by releasing it on Black Friday during the Thanksgiving holiday. That cynical move happily backfired, with more than 140 newspapers around the country featuring the report's stark findings on front pages and Google searches for "climate change" hitting their highest level for the year.

Tellingly, the fossil fuel industry and its bevy of stooges in the Trump administration did not contest the science in the report—an admission by inaction that they know their science denial campaign is phony. They know the real science is irrefutable. It is better to hide from it.

Unfortunately, we witnessed the irrefutable contribution of climate change to the most devastating natural disasters of 2018.

"Irrefutable," by the way, is one way to describe climate science. Another way to describe it is "incontrovertible." The description of climate science as "incontrovertible" was published in a New York Times full-page advertisement in 2009 that was signed by, among others, Donald Trump, Donald Trump, Jr., Ivanka Trump, Eric Trump, and the Trump Organization. How things change.

Anyway, out West, wildfires in California broke records. The Mendocino Complex Fire in July and August was the largest in the State's recorded history. The Camp Fire—this photograph—was the deadliest and most destructive wildfire in California history, killing 86 people. Scientists linked

California's increasing wildfires to climate change, estimating the area burned by wildfires across the Western United States since 1984 at twice what would have burned without the human-driven changes.

Michael Mann, the professor of atmospheric science at Penn State University, told PBS recently:

It's not rocket science. . . . You warm the planet, you're going to get more frequent and intense heat waves. You warm the soils, you dry them out, you get worse drought. You bring all that together, and those are all the ingredients for unprecedented wildfires.

Mr. President, 2018 saw the east coast slammed by hurricanes that were supercharged by warming oceans. Hurricanes gain strength from heat energy in the oceans they pass over. Warmer oceans also evaporate more water up into the storms, generating more storm rainfall. So stronger and wetter storms then ride ashore on higher and warmer seas and push larger storm surges ahead of them.

Hurricane Florence intensified over water 1 to 2 degrees Celsius above average and dumped record rainfall and flooding on the Carolinas. Preliminary analysis suggests that its rainfall was more than 50 percent higher due to climate change.

When Hurricane Michael hit Florida, it passed over water 2 to 3 degrees Celsius warmer than average. Passing over that heat, its winds spun up by 80 miles per hour in just 48 hours, becoming the strongest storm ever to make an October landfall in the United States and almost completely flattening the town of Mexico Beach, FL.

Scientists are increasingly able to identify the role of climate change in extreme weather. The American Meteorological Society reported in December that 15 extreme weather events in 2017 were made more likely due to human-caused climate change, including a devastating marine heat wave off the coast of Australia that would have been "virtually impossible" without human-induced warming. The report drew attention to the role of oceans in many of these extreme events. Jeff Rosenfeld, the Meteorological Society's editor-in-chief, said that "the ocean is actively playing a role in the extremes that we're seeing" and that "we're seeing the oceans as a link in a chain of causes that ultimately tie human causes to extreme weather events on land."

The changes occurring in the ocean are imposing an increasing threat to our coastal communities, from gulf communities in Louisiana to shoreline communities in Rhode Island.

The Union of Concerned Scientists released a report last year finding that over 300,000 coastal homes, with a collective market value of over \$130 billion, are at risk of chronic flooding by 2045. By the end of the century, 2.4 million homes, worth more than \$1 trillion, are expected to be at risk.

A 2018 report from Climate Central and Zillow found that thousands of

homes continue to be built in risky coastal areas that are expected to suffer annual floods by 2050.

Freddie Mac, the big U.S. housing corporation, has taken a look at this and warned of a coastal property values crash as those houses become uninsurable or unmortgageable to the next buyer.

A second economic crash we face is a “carbon bubble” in fossil fuel companies. The “carbon bubble” collapse happens when fossil fuel reserves now on the books of fossil fuel companies turn out to be undevelopable “stranded assets.” Research published by economists in the journal *Nature Climate Change* estimated that in a world where we succeed in limiting warming to 2 degrees Celsius, \$12 trillion of financial value could vanish from balance sheets globally in the form of stranded fossil fuel assets. That is over 15 percent of global GDP, and that is why the Bank of England calls this a systemic risk—i.e., a risk to the entire global economy.

Financial managers are waking up to these risks. At the recent U.N. climate summit in December, a group of 415 global investors, managing \$32 trillion of investments—these are men and women who have been trusted with managing \$32 trillion worth of investments—came together to warn that the world faces a financial crash worse than the 2008 crisis unless carbon emissions are urgently cut. The group called for the end of fossil fuel subsidies and the introduction of substantial prices on carbon emissions. They understand that to limit the worst climate risks, including economic catastrophes, we must cut carbon emissions immediately and substantially.

But back home, the Trump administration—clearly and completely corrupted by the fossil fuel industry—has now taken more than 90 actions to weaken climate policies. Regrettably, after years of decline, U.S. carbon emissions grew 3.4 percent in 2018. Global carbon emissions also grew by 2.7 percent to reach a new carbon emissions record.

If the Trump administration’s 2018 regulatory actions read like a fossil fuel industry wish list, it is because they are. Just one example is the fuel economy rollback for automobiles. It is a perfect example. The new, weaker standards were pushed by—guess who—the largest oil refiner in the country, Marathon Petroleum. Marathon also distinguished itself as a top donor to ethically challenged EPA Administrator Scott Pruitt during his time in political office in Oklahoma. Marathon worked with the creepy Koch Brothers’ network and oil industry lobby groups to run a stealth campaign, including a Facebook ad campaign using a phony front group called Energy4US that hid its oil industry origin.

Fossil fuel energy companies claim to be cleaning up their act. They issue statements voicing support for carbon pricing. Look at what they do when the

prospect of getting a carbon price on the books becomes real, as it did in Washington State’s carbon fee ballot initiative. The campaign against the carbon fee outspent the campaign supporting it by 2 to 1, dumping more money into this ballot fight than any ballot initiative campaign in the State’s history. And who funded the campaign against the initiative? Oil companies. BP, Phillips 66, and, of course, our friends Marathon Petroleum were the top spenders by far.

Oil companies claim to support carbon pricing, but the giant trade associations they fund to go out and do their political work—the American Petroleum Institute, the so-called U.S. Chamber of Commerce, the National Association of Manufacturers—all oppose any proposals to reduce carbon pollution. The CEOs say one thing, and their political electioneering and lobbying apparatus is instructed to go out and do the exact opposite.

Another telling aspect of the Washington State ballot initiative is who did not show up. Conspicuously absent are any of the good-guy corporations from the tech, financial, and food and beverage sectors that talk such a good game on climate change. That is telling because it matches what happens here in Congress. The good-guy corporations do not lift a political finger to advance climate legislation here in the Senate. In fact, these are the good guys. Set aside the fossil fuel pirates and what they are all up to through their front groups and their dark money and all the nonsense that they drive. These are the supposed good guys. In fact, they have a net negative presence here in the Senate on climate legislation because they do virtually nothing, and the trade associations they help to fund, like the Chamber of Commerce, lobby against climate action.

So you have American corporations with good climate policies taking sustainability seriously within their corporate precincts. Then, those companies come to the Senate, and their positions, as they appear here in the Senate, are against the climate policies they claim to support because they work through these intermediary groups that have been co-opted by fossil fuel interests and because they don’t show up themselves. In 2019, let’s hope the good-guy American corporations get off the bench, clean up the acts of their trade groups, and get onto the field on the good side of the climate policy fight.

Let me wrap up, through all of that gloom, with the good news for the new year and beyond.

Record low prices for wind and solar projects are now cheaper than fossil fuels in many places. Battery costs are falling rapidly. Amazing electric vehicles keep coming to market. New carbon capture technologies emerge. Xcel Energy, a Colorado-based utility that serves over 3 million customers, has announced a commitment to reduce

carbon emissions 80 percent by 2030 and to have zero carbon emissions by 2050, which shows that players in the energy industry know to make this transition.

Out of the States, California has passed a law requiring 100-percent zero carbon electricity by 2045—100 percent. The Governors of New York and Washington States recently announced 100 percent zero carbon electricity goals. Hawaii has a law requiring 100 percent renewable electricity by 2045. On the same day in late December, the District of Columbia passed a bill requiring 100 percent renewable electricity by 2032, and nine Northeastern States—I am proud to say it includes my Rhode Island—committed to cap emissions from the transportation sector.

Here in the Senate, we can expect the new Democratic House to send climate legislation our way. Whether my Republican colleagues like it or not and whether the fossil fuel industry likes it or not, this will be an issue in the 116th Congress.

My new year’s wish is that my Republican Senate colleagues will finally wake up to the damage that climate change is causing, to the looming threat that climate change presents, and will help us to pass bills addressing the huge climate risk that we face.

This is not impossible. This is the way the Senate behaved until January of 2010. From when I was sworn in in 2007, through the rest of that year and through 2008 and 2009, we had bipartisan climate bills. We had bipartisan climate hearings. We had bipartisan climate negotiations. We had bipartisan climate discussions. It was possible to do that because the five Republican judges on the Supreme Court had not yet given the fossil fuel industry the massive, new political artillery they had given them in the *Citizens United* decision. Once the fossil fuel industry had that new artillery, the game changed, and it brought it to bear on our friends on the other side, and there has not been a single Republican Senator on a single serious carbon emissions bill since that moment. It shows what happens when you give a big special interest a massive, new piece of political weaponry.

It doesn’t mean it has to be this way. The good guys could show up and counterbalance the political hydraulics here of the fossil fuel industry’s power. Our colleagues could say: Guys, we gave you a heck of a good run. For years, we did nothing, but it is time now. We have taken a look at where voters are. We have even taken a look at where Republican voters are. We have taken a look at where the science is, and we are going to do something.

There are a lot of ways that we can go back to the bipartisan legislation, the bipartisan hearings, and the bipartisan conversations that characterized this issue before *Citizens United*. It has been too long that big polluter donors have had their way around here. They pay the fee, but our Nation pays the price. We have a responsibility here to

protect future generations from an avoidable disaster of our own making. It is time for us to wake up and do our job.

I yield the floor.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The senior assistant bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oregon.

REMEMBERING LARRY WEINBERG

Mr. WYDEN. Mr. President, I come to the floor today to talk about Larry Weinberg, who was beloved by many Oregonians, one of the original owners of our wonderful basketball team, the Portland Trail Blazers—the owner who won eternal gratitude from the people of my State as he guided our Trail Blazers to their first title. He passed away last week at the age of 92. He was a soft-spoken man who was never one to drone on, so in that spirit, I am going to keep these remarks brief.

The first thing we want everybody to know about Larry is that he was a wonderful family man. I met him for the first time in the early 1980s. I was a young Member of the other body, the House of Representatives, and Larry could have made our first conversation about politics. We were very interested, for example, in ways to promote a strong U.S.-Israel relationship. There were plenty of things we could have talked about with respect to politics, but he made the conversation about basketball, which was one of the great loves of his life, and I think people know around here that my great hope was to play in the NBA. Larry knew that.

Because Larry was a family man, that first conversation we had was about family, and he had an enormous family. If you look at the family photo on the holiday cards that Larry and his wife Barbi sent each year, you would think about half of the 320 million people in our country were actually Weinbergs. The cards were wonderful, and they just seemed to go on and on and on.

During that first conversation, Larry asked me about my family. I told him about my great-uncle Max, who was one of last Jews to be murdered in Auschwitz. I told him about my parents, who fled Nazi Germany as refugees and settled in America before they pitched in to the war effort during World War II.

That was one of the first bonds I had with Larry Weinberg, and I think that was true of many of his friends. We had family who were veterans themselves, loved ones who had wanted to make sure the United States prevailed in World War II, and that was Larry. He served in Europe during the war and sustained serious injuries in France.

Throughout his life, he carried that dedication to service that was so characteristic of so many of his generation.

Larry Weinberg applied the lessons of the war to his leadership of the American Jewish community. He worked to promote understanding between religious groups while demonstrating a firm commitment to the Jewish tradition of *tikkun olam*—improving the world. That is something Jews feel very strongly about. Whether it is healthcare or foreign relations, whatever, we want to be part of making the world a better place, perfecting the world. That is what *tikkun olam* means.

Larry and Barbi Weinberg supported the development of concrete scholarship on issues that face not only Israel but the entire Middle East, understanding that the difficulties affecting one's neighbors are really part of a shared burden, demanding a shared solution.

Portlanders like myself know Larry for another reason. If you are a Portlander of my age and an ardent Blazer fan, you cheered on Bill Walton's Trail Blazers because they won a championship for Rip City in 1977. If you are a young basketball fan in Portland today, you probably root for Dame—that is Mr. Lillard—or C.J.—that is C.J. McCollum. All of us in Portland and in Oregon owe Larry Weinberg a debt of gratitude because he brought the NBA to our State, and had he not done that, all of us who root for the Trail Blazers today wouldn't be able to turn out and see Dame and C.J. and all of our wonderful players who are really community leaders.

I remember back then seeing Larry and his wife Barbi cheering at our home games, and they were always wearing our colors. I particularly saw that bright-red blazer. Whether it was back in the seventies at the Memorial Coliseum or even in their later years at Moda Center, when you looked at Barbi and Larry Weinberg, you got a sense of what it meant not just to be a fan, but the Weinbergs really looked at our town and those Trail Blazers as part of their extended family.

With respect to sports and the intersection of sports and how sports fit into the world, I want to relate something that happened in the late 1980s when Larry approached me with a particular request, something he wanted me to do.

I was traveling to the Soviet Union with a group of Jewish community leaders from Portland. At that time, the Trail Blazers were very interested in bringing a wonderfully talented center, Arvydas Sabonis, to Portland. There was a discussion. It was a period when the United States and the Soviet Union were still talking about the relationship being so ambiguous. Reagan and Gorbachev were trying to sort it out. Larry asked me to present a letter to the Soviet Sports Federation about Arvydas Sabonis. He had actually been drafted a few years before, and the idea

was that the Trail Blazers hoped to bring Mr. Sabonis from the Soviet Union to the United States to play for the Trail Blazers in the NBA.

Now, as I mentioned, relations between the United States and the Soviet Union were still somewhat ambiguous, but they were improving. A lot of people believed that a Soviet-born player coming to play professional basketball in my hometown in Portland would help that along. So on this trip to the Soviet Union, Larry asked me to meet with the Soviet Sports Federation. I was to, in effect, hand over a letter to the Soviet Sports Federation, making it clear—and this was a courtesy letter—that if Mr. Sabonis were permitted to come to Oregon to play basketball for the Trail Blazers—the letter indicated—Mr. Sabonis would be well treated. He would have comfortable accommodations, good training facilities, and there would be people to advise him on nutrition and get him acclimated to our country.

Well, when I walked into this meeting in Moscow, I really felt like I was starring in *Rocky IV*. There I was—a young Congressman from the United States, a former basketball player myself—trying to make the case on behalf of my hometown and the Portland Trail Blazers to these men, all of whom were at least 20 or 30 years older than me. I was trying to make the case that if the Soviet Sports Federation were willing to allow Mr. Sabonis to come, he would be well treated.

What I got from these stern looking Soviet Sports Federation officials were essentially monosyllabic answers, much like you heard in the *Rocky* movies—maybe somebody would say “nyet.” I didn't know everything about the language of my host, but I got the sense that wasn't a good thing when they said that. I could get the sense about their skepticism as if they believed that this young American Congressman in front of them was pulling some sly trick of geopolitical strategy as we tried to bring Arvydas Sabonis to Portland.

I tried to make the point to these Soviet leaders that we were not exactly talking about arms control. We were talking about playing basketball, and we were talking about building bridges.

That, if anything, is what Larry Weinberg's life was all about. He was about building bridges in sports. He did it in terms of housing, when he was trying to create housing opportunities for people of modest means, when he was creating opportunities for people to learn from each other. There he was with this young Congressman, just wanting to offer a guarantee that Mr. Sabonis, the best Soviet player of his time, would be well cared for. It took a few more years. Eventually he made it to Portland, where Larry and Trail Blazer fans got to watch him play and play well.

I cannot find the picture, but back then there was a picture that ensured that Oregonians across the State were

laughing at their breakfast tables. One day it came out that Mr. Sabonis and I were strolling along the waterfront in Portland. I am 6 feet 4 inches—not as tall as Senator COTTON, but 6 feet 4 inches—and I was standing next to Mr. Sabonis, who was as tall as a typical building. I mean, we thought he might have been 7 feet 5 inches, which was much taller than was listed.

It was a wonderful experience for me, and it was a chance to see what Larry Weinberg was all about. He always told me: It is a chance for you to learn a little bit more about the world, RON, a chance for you to go to the Soviet Union—it was the Soviet Union at that time—and see the connection between reforms and what Ronald Reagan and Gorbachev were trying to do and the role of sports in terms of bringing people together.

I was so honored that Larry Weinberg would give me a window into that kind of opportunity and allow me, in a really small way, as a young Congressman to be part of what his life was always about, which is building bridges.

So I am going to close this way. I think some of my colleagues are going to speak about Larry as well. When the Jewish people really want to compliment somebody and say somebody is really special and has exceptional character, what we say is that person is a mensch. What I am here to tell the Senate today is my friend Larry Weinberg, whom we lost just a few days ago, was really a super mensch, a true mensch, a person of enormous integrity, decent at his core. I just want to say that Larry and his wife Barbi were the essence of Rip City pride. He was a soft spoken guy, but he was Portland's loudest fan.

Tonight, I want to say to his family and friends—all, seemingly, 100 million of them—that we are always going to remember Larry Weinberg with great fun and appreciation for his enormous contributions to our city and for all that he did during his lifetime to be in that bridge building business, for working to perfect the world—tikkun olam—a wonderful, wonderful man.

Our Larry Weinberg we Oregonians will always remember in our hearts.

I yield the floor.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will the call roll.

The senior assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. CARDIN. 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. CARDIN. Mr. President, in a few moments I am going to yield the floor to Senator KAINE to make a unanimous consent request that has been cleared by both sides, and I am very pleased about that. This is in regard to S. 24, legislation that I have filed with several of my colleagues.

I particularly thank Senator KAINE, but I also want to thank my colleagues

Senator VAN HOLLEN and Senator MARK WARNER for their work, as well as Senator COLLINS and others in this body who cosponsored that legislation. It is legislation very similar to what we passed in the last hours of the 115th Congress by unanimous consent. It does what I think all of us have said we want to make sure is done; that is, when we reopen government, those who have been working without pay and those who are on furlough without pay will get their backpay. I think that is at least some assurance to our government workforce that when we finally reopen government, they know they will be getting their paychecks. I think it is a very important point to give them at least that comfort.

I don't want to minimize the risk factors that we have for the 800,000 Federal workers who are not getting their paychecks. Just today, I found a letter from a constituent. I am going to read it very briefly.

"Dear Senator CARDIN, As an Air Traffic Controller and Maryland constituent, I want you to know how the partial government shutdown is affecting me and my family. Today, I received my Earnings and Leave statement from the Department of Transportation, indicating I received \$0 for my last 2 weeks of working at the FAA-Washington Enroute Air Traffic Control Center in Leesburg, VA. I have proudly gone to work for this job that I love, and always maintain the highest level of safety. My husband Brad is also a controller with me at Washington Center, and his Earnings and Leave Statement was for \$1.34. We cannot sustain our financial obligations on a total of \$1.34 for our last two weeks of work! We recently were able to build a new house to try to start a family, and we still have increased financial obligations because of that and all that entails. In addition, my family, my brother and father, has minimal income now, and we are supporting them. My father is 69 years old and currently has an enlarged hernia that requires an operation, he has no health insurance, and no income. He lives in NH, and is on even more medication now. The side effects are greatly affecting him. He needs my help, and I don't have the resources now to help him. He is suffering so much, and I love him greatly. My brother recently had to weather a separation from his wife, and has been unable to find affordable housing in MD on a single income for him and my niece and nephew—Ayden 10 years and Ava 7 years old. They have been living in our basement since August 2018, and we have been supporting them in every way we can until he can get back on his feet. I love them so much, and now I can't continue to help them. This hurts so much, we need our pay checks to support our family now!"

It ends by saying: "Please help in any way you can to END THIS SHUTDOWN NOW!"

I couldn't agree more. I urge our colleagues, hopefully in the next couple of

days—even before that—to end the shutdown. But at least, as a result of the unanimous consent request that will be made very shortly, which has cleared both sides, we can tell them that the pay is coming.

I see the distinguished majority leader is here. We had some words earlier. I want to thank the majority leader for accommodating this unanimous consent. It is consistent with what the leader has said in the past, that we will make sure our workers get paid when the government is open.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority leader.

GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEE FAIR TREATMENT ACT OF 2019

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, I had an opportunity to talk to President Trump a few moments ago and wanted to indicate to our colleagues that he will sign the bill that we have been discussing here to guarantee that government workers who have been displaced as a result of the shutdown will ultimately be compensated. So I want to ease their anxiety about that particular possibility.

With that in mind, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the immediate consideration of Calendar No. 3, S. 24.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. YOUNG). The clerk will report the bill by title.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (S. 24) to provide for the compensation of Federal and other government employees affected by lapses in appropriations.

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the bill.

Mr. McCONNELL. I know of no further debate on the bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there further debate?

Hearing none, the bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading and was read the third time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill having been read the third time, the question is, Shall the bill pass?

The bill (S. 24) was passed, as follows:
S. 24

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 "Government Employee Fair Treatment Act of 2019".

SEC. 2. COMPENSATION FOR FEDERAL AND OTHER GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES AFFECTED BY A LAPSE IN APPROPRIATIONS.

Section 1341 of title 31, United States Code, is amended—

(1) in subsection (a)(1), by striking "An officer" and inserting "Except as specified in this subchapter or any other provision of law, an officer"; and

(2) by adding at the end the following:

"(c)(1) In this subsection—

"(A) the term 'covered lapse in appropriations' means any lapse in appropriations that begins on or after December 22, 2018;

"(B) the term 'District of Columbia public employer' means—

“(i) the District of Columbia Courts;
 “(ii) the Public Defender Service for the District of Columbia; or
 “(iii) the District of Columbia government;
 “(C) the term ‘employee’ includes an officer; and
 “(D) the term ‘excepted employee’ means an excepted employee or an employee performing emergency work, as such terms are defined by the Office of Personnel Management or the appropriate District of Columbia public employer, as applicable.

“(2) Each employee of the United States Government or of a District of Columbia public employer furloughed as a result of a covered lapse in appropriations shall be paid for the period of the lapse in appropriations, and each excepted employee who is required to perform work during a covered lapse in appropriations shall be paid for such work, at the employee’s standard rate of pay, at the earliest date possible after the lapse in appropriations ends, regardless of scheduled pay dates.

“(3) During a covered lapse in appropriations, each excepted employee who is required to perform work shall be entitled to use leave under chapter 63 of title 5, or any other applicable law governing the use of leave by the excepted employee, for which compensation shall be paid at the earliest date possible after the lapse in appropriations ends, regardless of scheduled pay dates.”.

Mr. McCONNELL. I further ask that the motion to reconsider be considered made and laid upon the table with no intervening action or debate.

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

The Senator from Virginia.

GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEE FAIR TREATMENT ACT
OF 2019

Mr. KAINE. Mr. President, just briefly, I also want to extend my gratitude to the majority leader for working with us on this matter. I alerted both caucuses yesterday that I planned to object to adjourning for the weekend on the grounds that tomorrow more than 800,000 Federal employees will stop getting paychecks. This has already started, according to the words of my colleague from Maryland.

Also, on Saturday the shutdown will achieve the dubious distinction of being the longest shutdown in the history of the United States. So yesterday I alerted both caucuses that my plan was to object to an adjournment. I filed that objection. The majority leader then engaged in discussion, together with the minority leader and others, about whether there is something we can do to send a message to these people, many of whom are under very dire circumstances. They have written me, too, about postponing medical procedures and not buying medication for their kids. Is there something we can do that can send them some message of comfort that they will receive their paychecks, if not tomorrow, but they will be made whole?

Over the course of the afternoon, as we have talked about it, we thought the best message we could send—and I am glad we are able to send it by voice vote unanimously from this body—is that they will be paid. When we reopen, they will be paid.

That is not the same comfort as getting the paycheck. It is not the same comfort as knowing when the shutdown will be over and when they can go back to try to keep serving American citizens, but having the certainty that it will be paid is something that we can do for these people. I appreciate the majority leader’s working with us on the S. 24 bill that Senator CARDIN is the sponsor of and I am a cosponsor of. It does good work in this regard, and I think we can send some people a little bit of a signal on what will be a tough day tomorrow. We can send them a little bit of a signal that we are going to be there, and they can count on the paycheck.

With that, I thank my colleagues for working together on this.

I yield floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Alaska.

Mr. SULLIVAN. Mr. President, I am glad I had the opportunity to vote with my colleagues, the majority leader, and my colleagues from Virginia and Maryland on the bill we just passed here on the Senate floor to ensure the backpay for Federal workers who will be without pay, and I hope we can get to a resolution soon on this partial government shutdown that gets all elements of the government open and fully funds the border and the significant amounts requested by the White House that I think most Americans and most Alaskans need and want.

TRIBUTE TO URBAN RAHOI

Mr. President, I hope that you and all the pages here—we have some new pages in the staff here—had a great holiday season and that everybody listening back home and watching back home in Alaska around the country also had a wonderful holiday. I certainly did. It is always great to be home in my State—spending time with family and my wife, my daughters, and with friends—which to me is the greatest State in the greatest country in the world.

Winter is a special time in Alaska. The sun may be low or in some places it may not rise above the horizon at all, but there is a certain glow that comes with the snow. With that glow and the Northern Lights dancing in the sky, particularly in the interior—the place I am going to talk about in a minute—it is magical. We want to assure anyone watching to come to Alaska and you are going to have the trip of a lifetime.

As I have said so many times on the floor of the Senate, it is the people who make my State so special—tough, hearty, resilient people who have lived some of the most amazing, meaningful, purposeful lives and who have the wisdom, the character, the toughness, and, yes, even the scars to prove it. Stories of character, stories of lives well-traveled, and stories of lives well-lived abound my State.

Last Saturday, in the great city of Fairbanks, AK, I had the great opportunity and the honor to attend the

100th birthday party—I am looking at the pages, who all just said “wow”—of a legend in Alaska, a man, certainly, of great stories but also of heart, of patriotism, and of everything that makes Alaska and America great.

As you know, Mr. President, I come to the floor nearly every week, while we are in session, to honor someone that I refer to as the Alaskan of the Week, someone who makes our State and our country very special. I want America right now—if you are watching on C-SPAN, in the Gallery, or the press—to meet Urban Raho, our Alaskan of the Week—a husband, a father, a veteran, a pilot, a hunting guide, a developer, and a builder, just to name a few of his defining characteristics.

Urban has lived a dozen lives, all in only one century—100 years old. He helped to save America, and he helped to build Alaska—to save this great Nation of ours and to build one of our greatest States. He is our Alaskan of the Week.

I believe he may even be watching in Fairbanks—I hope you are, Urban—in the pioneer home there, maybe with some of the Laundry House Gang members, maybe even my father-in-law, Bud, and, Craig Compeau. I hope you are all watching right now.

Urban has had such a full life that it is hard to know where to start—100 years. Let me give you some of the highlights.

He was born on January 7, 1919, the day after Teddy Roosevelt died, in Iron Mountain, MI. He grew up during the height of the Depression, but Urban recently told a reporter with the Fairbanks Daily News-Miner that the Depression for him and for his family wasn’t that bad. His family hunted. They grew their own food. They worked hard. He said: “We had a garden and we had 100 rabbits.” In many ways, that is how they got through the Depression.

He began to get interested in airplanes and in flying. When he was just 15 years old, he took his first solo flight—at 15, a solo flight—and he was forever hooked.

He was also hooked on the love of his life, whom he met when he was 21 years old, Vienna—Vi, everyone called her—and they got married in 1940.

In 1943, Urban joined the U.S. military during World War II, in the Army Air Corps, and he flew bombers in North Africa and Italy. “From Italy, we would fly bombing missions into southern Germany, Austria, Romania, and wherever they needed us”—dozens of bombing combat missions.

And what did he fly? Appropriately, Urban Raho flew the B-17s, also known as the “Flying Fortresses.” Those airplanes stayed in the air even after some of the toughest battles and some of the most vicious flak—tough as can be, just like Urban. Again, he was a B-17 pilot in World War II, part of the greatest generation, which saved America and saved this institution, among others, the U.S. Senate.

Eventually, as it does with a certain kind of an adventurous person, Urban heard the call of Alaska, and he flew to the State in a PA-12 Cub. He and Vi homesteaded on the Tanana River, near the Richardson Highway, and began to make a life for themselves in Alaska.

What a rich life it was. They began a family, eventually having three children—Rick, Eugene, and Holly. Urban also stayed active in the military, as a member of the Air Force Reserve 449th Fighter Squadron, in Alaska. He commanded the C-47 squadron and co-piloted several historic military aircraft, including the North American F-82 Twin Mustang, the Lockheed F-94 Starfire, and the Northrup F-89 Scorpion.

This is a great pilot for America. He began offering private flying services, and he also built two areas in terms of developments. Together, they made up these trailer parks with 172 lots. Urban designed the development of these areas and installed all of the electrical lines, the water lines, and the septic system—all himself.

Think about that. What American can do that today? He also built a lodge in an inholding in Wrangell-St. Elias National Park and Preserve. If that were not enough, he became a big game guide in Alaska, running a successful big game guiding business, and he built Ptarmigan Lake Lodge, an inholding in Wrangell-St. Elias National Park and Preserve.

When Alaska became a State, guides were required to become registered, and they had registration numbers. Urban Rahoi was issued big game Alaska's State license No. 1—No. 1, the first.

All told, during his career as a pilot, he racked up an incredible 20,000 hours of flying—20,000 hours of flying. That is probably older than some of you pages. He has seen so much, nearly every part of Alaska. "If someone's there, I've been there," he said recently, about all the flights he has taken all over the great State of Alaska.

In 2012, the FAA presented Urban with the Wright Brothers Master Pilot Award. Here is what the FAA wrote:

He has used his skill as an aviator to train airmen, fight a war [for America], and maintain the safety standard in commercial aviation. He has rescued people in trouble and supplied people in . . . Bush [Alaska] with the necessities of life. He has contributed to the state of Alaska, and provided many people a chance to see the wild and beautiful Alaska we all love.

The party for Urban's 100th birthday last Saturday in Fairbanks was so reflective of the impact that he has had on the State, his community in Fairbanks, and, of course, his country. Fairbanks is a tough, tough place. I love Fairbanks. Fairbanks has been experiencing a bit of a cold snap. Last Saturday, at Urban's 100th birthday party, it was 30 below zero in Fairbanks. That is a dangerous temperature for some but not for the people of interior Alaska, who deal with that on

a regular basis. Despite 30-below temperatures, hundreds of people from the interior of Alaska and beyond, from all walks of life, were there at the Pioneer Parks' Centennial Center to honor this legend, this great Alaskan, and this great American.

There were family and friends. We even had a special guest—the football fans watching know him very well—former Miami Dolphins football player and Hall of Famer Larry Csonka was there to celebrate Urban's 100th birthday. Csonka had been sheep hunting at Urban's lodge, and the two remained very, very close friends ever since.

One of Urban's goals is to be the first 100-year-old to participate in a snowmachine race in Fairbanks—a race that Urban rides in every year. Larry Csonka gave him an autographed Miami Dolphins football helmet to wear as the helmet when Urban participates in this race this year.

There was a life-sized cake with 100 candles, a slide show of pictures of Urban and Vi at different phases of their lives—so many different adventures, World War II, Alaska as a State, so much love, so much life, so many people celebrating this great American.

I had the opportunity to talk a little bit about Urban at the birthday party last Saturday in Fairbanks, and I mentioned that here was a man who had so many qualities—patriotism, service, sacrifice, perseverance, and, yes, even tougher than Larry Csonka. The football fans watching know there are not many people in America who are tougher than Csonka. Urban is, and Csonka acknowledged this.

The one person missing from this great celebration was his beloved wife, who passed in Urban's arms on January 3, 2010, 3 days before their 70th wedding anniversary.

She was 92 years old. Vi's memory lives on in their 3 children, 7 grandchildren, 16 great-grandchildren, and 1 great-great-grandchild, and her memory lives on in Urban's heart.

At the ceremony, my good friend who put it together, Craig Compeau, was the emcee of this wonderful birthday party, and he interviewed Urban. Toward the end of it, he asked him what the secret for such a long life was—100 years old.

Urban said it could be summed up in two words: My wife.

Now, isn't that beautiful, America? Isn't that beautiful?

What a great man. What a great life.

So, Urban, here is to flying free, living well. Here is to the State and the country we all—you—love so much. Here is to being part of the "greatest generation" that saved America and built Alaska, and here is to the example you have set for all of us, whether U.S. Senators, whether pages, 100 years old, service to your country, dedication to your wife. Thanks for all you have done. Thanks for all you have done to protect and defend this great Nation, to build our great State, and thank

you, Urban, for being our Alaskan of the Week from the floor of the U.S. Senate. Happy 100th birthday.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority leader.

MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to a period of morning business, with Senators permitted therein to speak for up to 10 minutes each.

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

BUDGET SCOREKEEPING REPORT

Mr. ENZI. Mr. President, I wish to submit to the Senate the budget scorekeeping report for January 2019. The report compares current-law levels of spending and revenues with the amounts the Senate agreed to in the Bipartisan Budget Act of 2018, BBA18. This information is necessary for the Senate Budget Committee to determine whether budgetary points of order lie against pending legislation. The Republican staff of the Budget Committee and the Congressional Budget Office, CBO prepared this report pursuant to section 308(b) of the Congressional Budget Act, CBA.

This is my first scorekeeping report this year. My last filing can be found in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for November 15, 2018. That report included final budgetary levels for fiscal year 2018. The information included in this report is current through January 7, 2019.

Several bills have cleared Congress since my last filing. The three with the largest direct spending and revenue effects were the Frank LoBiondo Coast Guard Authorization Act of 2018, P.L. 115-282; the Agriculture Improvement Act of 2018, P.L. 115-334; and the First Step Act, P.L. 115-391.

Budget Committee Republican staff prepared Tables 1-3.

Table 1 gives the amount by which each Senate authorizing committee exceeds or is below its allocation for budget authority and outlays under the most recently adopted budget resolution and the fiscal year 2019 enforceable levels filing. This information is used for enforcing committee allocations pursuant to section 302 of the CBA. For this reporting period, 8 of the 16 authorizing committees are not in compliance with their allocations. Over the current 10-year enforceable window, authorizing committees have increased outlays by a combined \$3.4 billion.

Tables 2 provides the amount by which the Senate Committee on Appropriations is below or exceeds the statutory spending limits. This information is used to determine points of order related to the spending caps found in sections 312 and 314 of the CBA. Appropriations for fiscal year 2019, displayed in this table, show that the Appropriations Committee is currently compliant with spending limits for fiscal year

2019. As of this filing, 7 of the 12 annual appropriations bills have not been enacted with full-year spending.

The fiscal year 2018 budget resolution contained points of order limiting the use of changes in mandatory programs in appropriations bills, CHIMPS. Table 3, which tracks the CHIMP limit of \$15 billion for fiscal year 2019, shows the Appropriations Committee has enacted \$7.7 billion worth of full-year CHIMPS for fiscal year 2019. The fiscal year 2019 CHIMPS were contained in the Labor, Health and Human Services, Education and Related Agencies division of P.L. 115-245. This information is used for determining the point of order under section 4102, overall limit, of H. Con. Res. 71, 115th Congress.

In addition to the tables provided by Budget Committee Republican staff, I am submitting CBO tables, which I will use to enforce budget totals approved by Congress.

For fiscal year 2019, CBO annualizes the effects of the last continuing resolution, P.L. 115245, which provided funding through December 21, 2018. For the enforcement of budgetary aggregates, the Budget Committee historically excludes temporary funding. As such, the current-law levels are \$305.5 billion and \$196.7 billion below enforceable levels for budget authority and outlays, respectively. Revenues are \$302 million below the level assumed in the budget resolution. Further, Social Security revenues are at the levels assumed for fiscal year 2019, while Social Security outlays are \$4 million above assumed levels for the budget year.

CBO's report also provides information needed to enforce the Senate pay-as-you-go, PAYGO, rule. The PAYGO scorecard shows deficit increases in FY 2019 of \$1,797 million—\$302 million revenue loss, \$1,495 million outlay increase—over the fiscal year 2018–2023 period of \$3,045 million—\$665 million revenue loss, \$2,380 million outlay increase—and over the fiscal year 2018–2028 period of \$416 million—\$625 million revenue loss, \$209 million outlay decrease. The Senate's PAYGO rule is enforced by section 4106 of H. Con. Res. 71, 115th Congress.

This submission also includes a table tracking the Senate's budget enforcement activity on the floor since the May 7, 2018, enforcement filing. Since my last report, no new budgetary points of order were raised.

All years in the accompanying tables are fiscal years.

I ask unanimous consent that the accompanying tables be printed in the RECORD.

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

TABLE 1.—SENATE AUTHORIZING COMMITTEES—ENACTED DIRECT SPENDING ABOVE (+) OR BELOW (–) BUDGET RESOLUTIONS

	[In millions of dollars]		
	2019	2019–2023	2019–2028
Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry			
Budget Authority	2,414	4,249	3,123
Outlays	1,406	1,820	70
Armed Services			
Budget Authority	0	0	0
Outlays	0	0	0
Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs			
Budget Authority	21	285	382
Outlays	20	285	382
Commerce, Science, and Transportation			
Budget Authority	41	77	91
Outlays	11	74	90
Energy and Natural Resources			
Budget Authority	0	0	–14
Outlays	0	0	–14
Environment and Public Works			
Budget Authority	2	4	–333
Outlays	2	4	–333
Finance			
Budget Authority	206	991	–919
Outlays	119	988	–919
Foreign Relations			
Budget Authority	0	–5	–20
Outlays	0	–5	–20
Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs			
Budget Authority	0	2	4
Outlays	43	48	49
Judiciary			
Budget Authority	11	194	467
Outlays	11	190	462
Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions			
Budget Authority	0	–36	–84
Outlays	0	–36	–84
Rules and Administration			
Budget Authority	0	0	0
Outlays	0	0	0
Intelligence			
Budget Authority	0	0	0
Outlays	0	0	0
Veterans' Affairs			
Budget Authority	4	3	–729
Outlays	4,402	4,400	3,668
Indian Affairs			
Budget Authority	0	0	0
Outlays	0	0	0
Small Business			
Budget Authority	0	0	0
Outlays	0	0	0
Total			
Budget Authority	2,699	5,764	1,968
Outlays	6,014	7,768	3,351

TABLE 2.—SENATE APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE—ENACTED REGULAR DISCRETIONARY APPROPRIATIONS¹

	[Budget authority, in millions of dollars]	
	2019	
	Security ²	Nonsecurity ²
Statutory Discretionary Limits	647,000	597,000
Amount Provided by Senate Appropriations Subcommittee		
Agriculture, Rural Development, and Related Agencies	0	9
Commerce, Justice, Science, and Related Agencies	0	0
Defense	606,340	129
Energy and Water Development	22,440	22,200
Financial Services and General Government	0	0
Homeland Security	0	9
Interior, Environment, and Related Agencies	0	0
Labor, Health and Human Services, Education and Related Agencies	0	178,076
Legislative Branch	0	4,836
Military Construction and Veterans Affairs, and Related Agencies	10,332	86,804
State Foreign Operations, and Related Programs	0	0
Transportation and Housing and Urban Development, and Related Agencies	0	4,400
Current Level Total	639,112	296,463
Total Enacted Above (+) or Below (–) Statutory Limits	–7,888	–300,537

¹ This table excludes spending pursuant to adjustments to the discretionary spending limits. These adjustments are allowed for certain purposes in section 251(b)(2) of BBEDCA.

² Security spending is defined as spending in the National Defense budget function (050) and nonsecurity spending is defined as all other spending.

TABLE 3.—SENATE APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE—ENACTED CHANGES IN MANDATORY SPENDING PROGRAMS (CHIMPS)

	[Budget authority, millions of dollars]
	2019
CHIMPS Limit for Fiscal Year 2019	15,000
Senate Appropriations Subcommittees	
Agriculture, Rural Development, and Related Agencies	0
Commerce, Justice, Science, and Related Agencies	0
Defense	0
Energy and Water Development	0
Financial Services and General Government	0
Homeland Security	0
Interior, Environment, and Related Agencies	0
Labor, Health and Human Services, Education and Related Agencies	7,715
Legislative Branch	0
Military Construction and Veterans Affairs, and Related Agencies	0
State Foreign Operations, and Related Programs	0
Transportation and Housing and Urban Development, and Related Agencies	0
Current Level Total	7,715
Total CHIMPS Above (+) or Below (–) Budget Resolution	–7,285

U.S. CONGRESS,
CONGRESSIONAL BUDGET OFFICE,
Washington, DC, January 10, 2019.

Hon. MIKE ENZI,
Chairman, Committee on the Budget,
U.S. Senate, Washington, DC.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: The enclosed report shows the effects of Congressional action on the fiscal year 2019 budget and is current through January 7, 2019. This report is submitted under section 308(b) and in aid of section 311 of the Congressional Budget Act, as amended.

The estimates of budget authority, outlays, and revenues are consistent with the allocations, aggregates, and other budgetary levels printed in the Congressional Record on May 7, 2018, pursuant to section 30103 of the Bipartisan Budget Act of 2018 (Public Law 115–123).

Since our last letter dated November 15, 2018, the Congress has cleared and the President has signed the following legislation that has significant effects on budget authority, outlays, and revenues in fiscal year 2019:

Frank LoBiondo Coast Guard Authorization Act of 2018 (Public Law 115–282),

Agriculture Improvement Act of 2018 (Public Law 115–334); and

First Step Act of 2018 (Public Law 115–391).

Sincerely,
KEITH HALL,
Director.

Enclosure.

TABLE 1.—SENATE CURRENT LEVEL REPORT FOR SPENDING AND REVENUES FOR FISCAL YEAR 2019, AS OF JANUARY 7, 2019

	[In billions of dollars]		
	Budget Resolution	Current Level	Current Level Over/Under (–) Resolution
On-Budget			
Budget Authority	3,619.2	3,634.5	15.3
Outlays	3,546.4	3,540.7	–5.7
Revenues	2,590.5	2,590.2	–0.3
Off-Budget			
Social Security Outlays ^a	908.8	908.8	0.0
Social Security Revenues	899.2	899.2	0.0

Source: Congressional Budget Office.

^a Excludes administrative expenses paid from the Federal Old-Age and Survivors Insurance Trust Fund and the Federal Disability Insurance Trust Fund of the Social Security Administration, which are off-budget, but are appropriated annually.

TABLE 2.—SUPPORTING DETAIL FOR THE SENATE CURRENT LEVEL REPORT FOR ON-BUDGET SPENDING AND REVENUES FOR FISCAL YEAR 2019, AS OF JANUARY 7, 2019

[In millions of dollars]

	Budget Authority	Outlays	Revenues
Previously Enacted ^{a,b}			
Revenues	n.a.	n.a.	2,590,496
Permanents and other spending legislation	2,337,789	2,232,677	n.a.
Appropriation legislation	0	573,950	n.a.
Offsetting receipts	–890,012	–890,015	n.a.
Total, Previously Enacted	1,447,777	1,916,612	2,590,496
Enacted Legislation			
Authorizing Legislation			
Economic Growth, Regulatory Relief, and Consumer Protections Act (P.L. 115–174) ^d	18	17	–5
VA MISSION Act of 2018 (P.L. 115–182)	0	4,400	0
American Innovation \$1 Coin Act (P.L. 115–197)	3	3	0
Miscellaneous Tariff Bill Act of 2018 (P.L. 115–239)	0	0	–304
Department of Veterans Affairs Expiring Authorities Act of 2018 (P.L. 115–251)	4	2	0
FAA Reauthorization Act of 2018 (P.L. 115–254) ^c	1	44	0
America's Water Infrastructure Act of 2018 (P.L. 115–270)	2	2	0
SUPPORT for Patients and Communities Act (P.L. 115–271) ^b	206	119	0
Frank LoBiondo Coast Guard Authorization Act of 2018 (P.L. 115–282)	40	10	0
Agriculture Improvement Act of 2018 (P.L. 115–334)	2,414	1,406	7
First Step Act of 2018 (P.L. 115–391)	11	11	0
Subtotal, Authorizing Legislation	2,699	6,014	–302
Appropriation Legislation ^a			
Energy and Water, Legislative Branch, and Military Construction and Veterans Affairs Appropriations Act, 2019 (P.L. 115–244)	191,127	145,276	0
Department of Defense and Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education Appropriations Act, 2019 and Continuing Appropriations Act, 2019 (P.L. 115–245) ^{a,b}	1,691,001	1,223,855	0
Supplemental Appropriations for Disaster Relief, 2018 (P.L. 115–254, Division I) ^c	1,680	25	0
Subtotal, Appropriation Legislation	1,883,808	1,369,156	0
Total, Enacted Legislation	1,886,507	1,375,170	–302
Continuing Resolution			
A joint resolution making continuing appropriations for fiscal year 2019, and for other purposes (P.L. 115–298) ^{a,b,c}	320,763	190,949	0
Entitlements and Mandatories	–20,585	57,981	0
Total Current Level ^b	3,634,462	3,540,712	2,590,194
Total Senate Resolution	3,619,159	3,546,419	2,590,496
Current Level Over Senate Resolution	15,303	n.a.	n.a.
Current Level Under Senate Resolution	n.a.	5,707	302
Memorandum			
Revenues, 2019–2028			
Senate Current Level ^c	n.a.	n.a.	33,272,529
Senate Resolution ^f	n.a.	n.a.	33,273,213
Current Level Over Senate Resolution	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Current Level Under Senate Resolution	n.a.	n.a.	684

Source: Congressional Budget Office.

n.a. = not applicable; P.L. = Public Law.

^a Sections 1001–1004 of the 21st Century Cures Act (P.L. 114–255) require that certain funding provided for 2017 through 2026 to the Department of Health and Human Services—in particular the Food and Drug Administration and the National Institutes of Health—be excluded from estimates for the purposes of the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985 (Deficit Control Act) or the Congressional Budget and Impoundment Control Act of 1974 (Congressional Budget Act). Therefore, the amounts shown in this report do not include \$771 million in budget authority, and \$767 million in estimated outlays.

^b For purposes of enforcing section 311 of the Congressional Budget Act in the Senate, the resolution, as approved by the Senate, does not include budget authority, outlays, or revenues for off-budget amounts. As a result, current level does not include those items.

^c Public Law 115–298 amended the Continuing Appropriations Act, 2019 (Division C of P.L. 115–254), to continue the appropriations and authorities contained in Divisions A, B, E–G, and K–M of the Consolidated Appropriations Act, 2018, through December 21, 2018. As of January 7, 2019, those appropriations and authorities have not been further extended. This report includes the annualized levels of estimated budget authority and outlays that were provided by P.L. 115–298, as it was in effect on December 21, 2018.

^d Pursuant to section 232(b) of H.C. Res. 290 (106th Congress), the Concurrent Budget Resolution for Fiscal Year 2001, the budgetary effects related to the Federal Reserve's surplus funds are excluded. As a result, the amounts shown do not include estimated increases in revenues of \$655 million in fiscal year 2019, \$570 million over the 2019–2023 period, and \$454 million over the 2019–2028 period.

^e Division I of P.L. 115–254 provided \$1.68 billion in supplemental appropriations for fiscal year 2019, and designated those amounts as being for emergency requirements pursuant to section 251 of the Deficit Control Act. In general, the budgetary effects of authorizing legislation are recorded as direct spending or revenue. However, consistent with the language in Division I, and at the direction of the Senate Committee on the Budget, those budgetary effects are classified as discretionary spending.

^f Section 30103 of the Bipartisan Budget Act of 2018 required—in the absence of a concurrent resolution on the budget for fiscal year 2019—that the Chair of the Senate Committee on the Budget publish the aggregate spending and revenue levels for fiscal year 2019; those aggregate levels were first published in the Congressional Record on May 7, 2018. The Bipartisan Budget Act of 2018 also allows the Chair of the Senate Committee on the Budget to revise the budgetary aggregates.

	Budget Authority	Outlays	Revenues
Original Aggregates Printed on May 7, 2018:	3,547,094	3,508,052	2,590,496
Revisions:			
Pursuant to sections 311 and 314(a) of the Congressional Budget Act of 1974	921	0	0
Pursuant to sections 311 and 314(a) of the Congressional Budget Act of 1974	69,464	38,556	0
Pursuant to sections 311 and 314(a) of the Congressional Budget Act of 1974	0	–214	0
Pursuant to sections 311 and 314(a) of the Congressional Budget Act of 1974	1,680	25	0
Revised Senate Resolution	3,619,159	3,546,419	2,590,496

TABLE 3.—SUMMARY OF THE SENATE PAY-AS-YOU-GO SCORECARD AS OF JANUARY 7, 2019

[In millions of dollars]

	2018	2019	2018–2023	2018–2028
Beginning Balance ^a	0	0	0	0
Enacted Legislation ^{b,c}				
A joint resolution providing for congressional disapproval under chapter 8 of title 5, United States Code, of the rule submitted by Bureau of Consumer Financial Protection relating to "Incident Auto Lending and Compliance with the Equal Credit Opportunity Act" (S.J. Res. 57, P.L. 115–172)	*	*	*	*
Economic Growth, Regulatory Relief, and Consumer Protections Act (S. 2155, P.L. 115–174) ^d	*	22	329	490
Trickett Wendler, Frank Mongiello, Jordan McLinn, and Matthew Bellina Right to Try Act of 2017 (S. 204, P.L. 115–176)	*	*	*	*
An Act to amend title 38, United States Code, to authorize the Secretary of Veterans Affairs to furnish assistance for adaptations of residences of veterans in rehabilitation programs under chapter 31 of such title, and for other purposes (H.R. 3562, P.L. 115–177)	*	*	*	*
VA MISSION Act of 2018 (S. 2372, P.L. 115–182) ^c	*	*	*	*
Whistleblower Protection Coordination Act (S. 1869, P.L. 115–192)	*	*	*	*
All Circuit Review Act (H.R. 2229, P.L. 115–195)	*	*	*	*
American Innovation \$1 Coin Act (H.R. 770, P.L. 115–197)	0	3	3	0
Small Business 7(a) Lending Oversight Reform Act of 2018 (H.R. 4743, P.L. 115–189)	*	*	*	*
Northern Mariana Islands U.S. Workforce Act of 2018 (H.R. 5956, P.L. 115–218)	0	0	0	–3
KIWI Act (S. 2245, P.L. 115–226)	*	*	*	*
To make technical amendments to certain marine fish conservation statutes, and for other purposes (H.R. 4528, P.L. 115–228)	*	*	*	*
John S. McCain National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2019 (H.R. 5515, P.L. 115–232)	*	*	*	*
Miscellaneous Tariff Bill Act of 2018 (H.R. 4318, P.L. 115–239)	0	304	690	–118
Tribal Social Security Fairness Act of 2018 (H.R. 6124, P.L. 115–243)	0	*	–1	–3
Departments of Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 2019 (H.R. 6157, Division B, P.L. 115–245, Division B)	0	0	18	18
Nuclear Energy Innovation Capabilities Act of 2017 (S. 97, P.L. 115–248)	*	*	*	*
Department of Veterans Affairs Expiring Authorities Act of 2018 (S. 3479, P.L. 115–251)	*	2	*	–3
Elkhorn Ranch and White River National Forest Conveyance Act of 2017 (H.R. 698, P.L. 115–252)	*	*	*	*

—Continued

[In millions of dollars]

	2018	2019	2018–2023	2018–2028
FAA Reauthorization Act of 2018 (H.R. 302, P.L. 115–254) ^a	*	44	42	26
Patient Right to Know Drug Act of 2018 (S. 2554, P.L. 115–263)	*	*	–11	–52
Orrin G. Hatch–Bob Goodlatte Music Modernization Act (H.R. 1551, P.L. 115–264)	0	0	13	–24
Congressional Award Program Reauthorization Act of 2018 (S. 3509, P.L. 115–268)	*	*	2	4
America’s Water Infrastructure Act of 2018 (S. 3021, P.L. 115–270)	0	2	16	–230
SUPPORT for Patients and Communities Act (H.R. 6, P.L. 115–271) ^a	*	*	*	*
Hizballah International Financing Prevention Amendments Act of 2017 (S. 1595, P.L. 115–272)	*	*	*	*
To authorize the National Emergency Medical Services Memorial Foundation to establish a commemorative work in the District of Columbia and its environs, and for other purposes (H.R. 1037, P.L. 115–275)	0	*	*	*
Gulf Islands National Seashore Land Exchange Act (H.R. 2615, P.L. 115–279)	*	*	*	*
Frank LoBiondo Coast Guard Authorization Act of 2018 (S. 140, P.L. 115–282)	*	10	34	0
Making further continuing appropriations for fiscal year 2019, and for other purposes (H.J.Res. 143, P.L. 115–298)	*	*	*	*
Amy, Vicky, and Andy Child Pornography Victim Assistance Act of 2018 (S. 2152, P.L. 115–299)	*	*	*	*
A bill to establish a procedure for the conveyance of certain Federal property around the Dickinson Reservoir in the State of North Dakota (S. 440, P.L. 115–306)	0	0	0	–4
A bill to establish a procedure for the conveyance of certain Federal property around the Jamestown Reservoir in the State of North Dakota, and for other purposes (S. 2074, P.L. 115–308)	0	0	0	–7
Anwar Sadat Centennial Celebration Act (H.R. 754, P.L. 115–310)	*	*	*	*
Larry Doby Congressional Gold Medal Act (H.R. 1861, P.L. 115–322)	*	*	*	*
Reciprocal Access to Tibet Act of 2018 (H.R. 1872, P.L. 115–330)	*	*	*	*
Protecting Access to the Courts for Taxpayers Act (H.R. 3996, P.L. 115–332)	*	*	*	*
Agriculture Improvement Act of 2018 (H.R. 2, P.L. 115–334)	0	1,399	1,785	0
Nicaragua Human Rights and Anticorruption Act of 2018 (H.R. 1918, P.L. 115–335)	*	*	*	*
21st Century Integrated Digital Experience Act (H.R. 5759, P.L. 115–336)	*	*	*	*
Chinese–American World War II Veteran Congressional Gold Medal Act (S. 1050, P.L. 115–337)	*	*	*	*
USS Indianapolis Congressional Gold Medal Act (S. 2101, P.L. 115–338)	*	*	*	*
First Step Act of 2018 (S. 756, P.L. 115–391)	0	11	120	317
Naismith Memorial Basketball Hall of Fame Commemorative Coin Act (H.R. 1235, P.L. 115–343)	0	0	0	0
Sanctioning the Use of Civilians as Defenseless Shields Act (H.R. 3342, P.L. 115–348)	*	*	*	*
Correcting Miscalculations in Veterans’ Pensions Act (H.R. 4431, P.L. 115–352)	*	*	*	*
To authorize early repayment of obligations to the Bureau of Reclamation within the Northport Irrigation District in the State of Nebraska (H.R. 4689)	*	*	*	*
Strengthening Coastal Communities Act of 2018 (H.R. 5787, P.L. 115–358)	*	*	*	*
Walnut Grove Land Exchange Act (H.R. 5923, P.L. 115–361)	*	*	*	*
To amend the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 to extend through 2023 the authority of the Federal Election Commission to impose civil money penalties on the basis of a schedule of penalties established and published by the Commission (H.R. 7120, P.L. 115–386)	*	*	*	*
Abolish Human Trafficking Act of 2017 (S. 1311, P.L. 115–392)	*	*	*	*
CENOTE Act of 2018 (S. 2511, P.L. 115–394)	*	*	*	*
NASA Enhanced Use Leasing Extension Act of 2018 (S. 7, P.L. 115–403)	0	0	5	5
Veterans Benefits and Transition Act of 2018 (S. 2248, P.L. 115–407)	*	*	*	*
Stephen Michael Gleason Congressional Gold Medal Act (S. 2652, P.L. 115–415)	*	*	*	*
Veterans Small Business Enhancement Act of 2018 (S. 2679, P.L. 115–416)	*	*	*	*
Forever GI Bill Housing Payment Fulfillment Act of 2018 (S. 3777, P.L. 115–422)	*	*	*	*
National Integrated Drought Information System Reauthorization Act of 2018 (S. 2200, P.L. 115–423)	*	*	*	*
75th Anniversary of World War II Commemoration Act (S. 3661)	*	*	*	*
Impact on Deficit	*	1,797	3,045	416
Total Change in Outlays	*	1,495	2,380	–209
Total Change in Revenues	*	–302	–665	–625

Source: Congressional Budget Office.
Notes: P.L. = Public Law, * = between –\$500,000 and \$500,000.
^a On May 7, 2018, the Chairman of the Senate Committee on the Budget reset the Senate’s Pay-As-You-Go Scorecard to zero for all fiscal years.
^b The amounts shown represent the estimated effect of the public laws on the deficit.
^c Excludes off-budget amounts.
^d Pursuant to section 232(b) of H.C.Res. 290 (106th Congress), the Concurrent Budget Resolution for Fiscal Year 2001, the budgetary effects related to the Federal Reserve’s surplus funds are excluded. As a result, the amounts shown do not include estimated increases in revenues of \$655 million in fiscal year 2019, \$570 million over the 2019–2023 period, and \$454 million over the 2019–2028 period.
^e The budgetary effects of this Act are excluded from the Senate’s PAYGO scorecard, pursuant to section 512 of the Act.
^f Division I of P.L. 115–254 contains the Supplemental Appropriations for Disaster Relief Act, 2018, which provided \$1,680 million in supplemental appropriations for fiscal year 2019, and designated as an emergency requirement pursuant to section 251 of the Deficit Control Act. At the direction of the Committees on the Budget, and consistent with the language in section 1701, those amounts are shown as discretionary spending.
^g The budgetary effects of this Act are excluded from the Senate’s PAYGO scorecard, pursuant to section 8231 of the Act.

ENFORCEMENT REPORT OF POINTS OF ORDER RAISED SINCE THE FY 2019 ENFORCEMENT FILING

Vote	Date	Measure	Violation	Motion to Waive	Result
127	June 18, 2018	H.R. 5515—John S. McCain National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2019.	4106(a)–Senate-Pay-As-You-Go Violation ¹	Sen. McConnell (R–KY) ²	81–14, waived
192	August 23, 2018	S. Amdt #3695 to H.R. 6157, the Defense, Labor, HHS, and Education Appropriations Act ³ .	314(a) CHIMP with Net-Costs ...	Sen. Leahy (D–VT)	68–24, waived

¹ Senator Sanders raised a section 4106(a) of H. Con. Res. 71 (115th Congress) point of order against the bill because the bill would increase the on-budget deficit.
² By unanimous consent the Senate proceeded to a roll call vote to waive the point of order.
³ This surgical point of order would have struck lines 7–8 of page 270 in Division B (Title III) of the substitute amendment, which was related to the Pell Grant program. This provision was a Change in Mandatory Program (CHIMP) estimated to increase spending by \$390 million over 10 years.

TRIBUTE TO MAE STEVENS

Mr. CARDIN. Mr. President, I would like to take this opportunity to thank Mae Stevens, a member of my legislative staff, for her service on my behalf to the people of Maryland and the Nation. Mae Stevens has served as my environmental policy adviser since 2015. In this role, she has advanced my priorities as the ranking member of the Transportation and Infrastructure Subcommittee on the Senate Environment and Public Works Committee. She has dedicated much of her time as a member of my staff to formulating and advancing sound policies at the intersection of drinking water, wastewater, stormwater, source water protection, equity, and affordability. I very much appreciate all that we achieved during her tenure in my office. Mae has spent more than 7 years on Capitol Hill and,

9 years prior to that, at various non-profit environmental organizations. Mae enrolled at Columbia University’s School of International and Public Affairs to earn a master of public administration from Columbia’s Earth Institute. After Mae received her MPA, she worked as a policy adviser in the clean energy program at Third Way. From there, she joined the office of Representative Russ Carnahan, who represented Missouri’s Third Congressional District. Later, she worked for Representative MATT CARTWRIGHT of Pennsylvania, who represented the 17th Congressional District at the time. Mae learned about hard work from her parents. Her father Raymond “Art” Stevens owned an ice cream parlor in Royal Oak, MI, and her mother Jaky Van Dox dressed mannequins in clothing stores in the metro Detroit area. They spent every extra penny they had on ice skating lessons for their daugh-

ter, teaching her the grit, dedication, and perseverance she uses every day in my office. I know they are extremely proud of the good work she has done in my office and will continue to do in private sector. Mae believes that people in every community across America—urban, rural, and suburban—have a right to expect that the water coming from their tap is safe to drink and that Congress will do everything within its power to ensure that happens. Mae helped me to ensure that, for the third Water Resources Development Act—WRDA—in a row, Congress included updates to our Nation’s drinking water, wastewater, and stormwater infrastructure to meet our water infrastructure backlog demands, while addressing the needs of our communities and our environment.

Mae also fought for Maryland priorities in the Senate's 2018 WRDA, including helping me double the amount of Federal funding spent on drinking water infrastructure, nationally and at the State level, and reauthorize the Water Infrastructure Finance and Innovation Act, WIFIA, a low-cost financing mechanism for large water infrastructure projects. Baltimore, MD, is one of 12 projects in nine States that will receive the first of the WIFIA grants in 2019. This will help the 1.8 million people served by the Baltimore Department of Public Works continue to have some of the cleanest, safest, and more reliable drinking water in the country.

Clean water is not a partisan issue, and Mae worked with her colleagues on both sides of the aisle and Capitol Hill to develop legislation that will benefit our aging water resources and infrastructure. The Senate passed the 2018 WRDA reauthorization by a vote of 99-1, a testament to the hard, bipartisan work of the majority and minority staff on EPW, personal staff like Mae, and the committee members. I was proud to be involved.

Mae conscientiously strives to reduce her personal carbon footprint. One way she does this is by commuting to and from work on her bike. She helped me to increase funding for the Transportation Alternatives Program, TAP, and ensure that cities and counties continue to have a voice in how Federal dollars are spent on these important programs in the Fixing America's Surface Transportation—FAST—Act.

As the British primatologist and anthropologist Jane Goodall has said, "You cannot get through a single day without having an impact on the world around you. What you do makes a difference and you have to decide what kind of a difference you want to make." I want to thank Mae Stevens for the difference she has decided to make—and will continue to make—and wish her the best of luck in her future endeavors. Of course, even though she is leaving the Hill, she will always be a member of Team Cardin.

ADDITIONAL STATEMENTS

REMEMBERING DICK BARCLAY

• Mr. BOOZMAN. Mr. President, today I wish to remember and pay tribute to Dick Barclay. Dick was a friend and civic leader from Rogers, AR, who passed away from complications due to Alzheimer's last week at the age of 81.

Born in Oberlin, KS, Dick attended Kansas State University before his honeymoon brought him to Arkansas. Dick and Jan eventually moved to Rogers where Dick, along with his brother Charles, opened a successful public accounting firm that served the area for decades. When I first moved to Rogers in the 1970s, naturally, Dick was one of the first people I met and someone I quickly grew to lean on and turn to for his consistently sound advice.

In addition to his successful career as a trusted accountant in northwest Arkansas, Dick put his belief in community service into practice throughout his entire life. He served in the Arkansas House of Representatives from 1976 until 1992. In 1996, he joined Governor Mike Huckabee's administration, where he put his financial expertise to use as executive director of budget, legislative affairs, and policy. He went on to become Arkansas's chief fiscal officer and directed the Arkansas Department of Finance and Administration in 1999.

Dick didn't believe that holding public office alone was where his call to service ended, though. He was active among many different groups and organizations that worked to improve life in Rogers and in greater northwest Arkansas. A few such roles included serving on the board of the Northwest Arkansas Community College Foundation, as president and board member of the Rogers Little Theater, chairman of the Rogers-Lowell Chamber of Commerce, commissioner of the Arkansas Economic Development Commission, member and president of the Northwest Arkansas Council, and chairman of the Arkansas State Chamber of Commerce. He also led the Benton County Republican Party for a time.

A man of strong faith, Dick was a board chair and elder at First Christian Church in Rogers. One of his sons went on to lead services at Fellowship Bible Church, and Dick, along with his wife, was proud to attend services there to show his support. He has already been remembered by others as being a devoted family man and a person of principle and integrity with the highest ethics. He was all these things and more, including a talented musician who played in a bluegrass band with friends and also performed with a barbershop quartet.

As a former colleague described him, Dick Barclay was a "quintessential public servant." He had a tremendous impact across northwest Arkansas. His example of leadership and dedication are truly worthy of emulation by anyone who wishes to do the important work required to better their own town, community, and entire state.

I greatly admired and respected Dick and will feel his loss keenly, as will so many others in Rogers and throughout Benton County and northwest Arkansas. My thoughts and prayers are with Jan and the entire Barclay family at this difficult time. Dick's legacy of service, his ever-present positivity, and the difference he made in countless lives will be remembered for years to come.●

TRIBUTE TO MARSHALL WILLIAMS

• Mr. DAINES. Mr. President, this week I have the honor of recognizing Marshall Williams of Powder River County for his impact on the community of Broadus.

Marshall has spent the last 39 years educating students in the small south-

east Montana community and ensuring their future success. Mr. Williams recently received the 2018 Montana Career and Technical Education Lifetime Achievement Award. The Association for Career and Technical Education is a nationwide organization who recognize career and technical educators for their professionalism and leadership in their field. They are one of the largest national education association dedicated to the advancement of education. This prestigious award is for dedicated educators who have spent an extended period of time in their respective fields.

Mr. Williams has selflessly given to each of his students, dedicating his time and efforts to ensure their success. Marshall is currently a teacher at Broadus High School, where he teaches ag education and shop. Mr. Williams is constantly looking for ways to improve student's education, as he works closely with teachers, administrators, and even local businesses as a means of open communication on how to progress their communities' education system.

I congratulate Marshall on being a selfless educator to the Broadus community. I look forward to seeing his success continue to grow as each of his students goes on to achieve their own success.●

TRIBUTE TO HOLLY GATLING

• Mr. GRAHAM. Mr. President, I ask my fellow colleagues to join me in celebrating Ms. Holly Gatling's dedicated service as the executive director of South Carolina Citizens for Life.

Holly earned a bachelor's degree in journalism from the University of South Carolina in 1972. While at the University of South Carolina, she served as a copy editor for "The State" newspaper. She went on to work for several newspapers across South Carolina, including as a feature writer from 1976 to 1990 for "The State."

As a stalwart champion for the unborn, Holly has effectively lobbied the South Carolina General Assembly in support of pro-life laws. Some of these laws included Woman's Right to Know, Partial Birth Abortion Ban, and Safe Haven for Abandoned Newborns. She was also instrumental in ushering Pain Capable Unborn Child Protection to Governor Nikki Haley's desk for signature in 2016.

I am proud to have worked closely with her on many pro-life issues, including the Pain Capable legislation in the U.S. Senate. I know that one day we too will pass this important legislation into law.

I am extremely proud of her work for the unborn and know she has made a difference in the lives of thousands of South Carolinians. She is a model for public servants, and I am honored to congratulate my friend Holly Gatling on her 25 years of service to others in South Carolina, across the United States of America, and around the world.●

TRIBUTE TO ROBERT KRAFT

• Mr. MARKEY. Mr. President, today I recognize Robert Kraft of Massachusetts, the 2019 Genesis prize laureate. Recognized as the “Jewish Nobel” prize, organizers grant the award each year to an extraordinary person recognized for their outstanding professional achievement and making a significant contribution to improving the world and inspiring young Jews through their dedication to social justice and philanthropy. I believe the Genesis prize committee made an excellent choice in selecting Mr. Kraft.

While known to most as the owner of the New England Patriots, Mr. Kraft, along with his late wife Myra, has for decades spoke out and donated generously to organizations combating prejudices, including anti-Semitism. Most recently, Mr. Kraft announced that all proceeds of the match between his Major League Soccer team, the New England Revolution, and the Chelsea Football Club will benefit initiatives to combat the disturbing trend of rising anti-Semitism and hate crimes in the United States and around the world. Upon receiving the Genesis prize, Mr. Kraft announced he would donate the \$1 million monetary award to efforts to combat anti-Semitism.

Mr. Kraft is a true “patriot” in all senses of the word. The Commonwealth, country, and global community owe much gratitude to Mr. Kraft. I congratulate my dear friend Robert Kraft on his lifelong efforts to further the Jewish value of *tikkun olam*, to heal the world.●

TRIBUTE TO TATUM ASHBY

• Mr. RUBIO. Mr. President, today I recognize Tatum Ashby, a 2018 fall intern in my Orlando office, for all of the hard work she has done for me, my staff, and the people of the State of Florida.

Tatum is a student at Southeastern University, where she is majoring in political science. She is a dedicated and diligent worker who has been devoted to getting the most out of her internship experience.

I would like to extend my sincere thanks and appreciation to Tatum for all the fine work she has done and wish her continued success in the years to come.●

TRIBUTE TO CHARLIE GRAY

• Mr. RUBIO. Mr. President, today I recognize Charlie Gray, a 2018 fall intern in my Orlando office, for all of the hard work he has done for me, my staff, and the people of the State of Florida.

Charlie is a student at Rollins College, where he is majoring in environmental studies with a minor in political science. He is a dedicated and diligent worker who has been devoted to getting the most out of his internship experience.

I would like to extend my sincere thanks and appreciation to Charlie for all the fine work he has done and wish him continued success in the years to come.●

TRIBUTE TO CAROLINE HUSEBO

• Mr. RUBIO. Mr. President, today I recognize Caroline Husebo, a 2018 fall intern in my Orlando office, for all of the hard work she has done for me, my staff, and the people of the State of Florida.

Caroline is a graduate from Circle Christian School and interned during her gap year. She is a dedicated and diligent worker who has been devoted to getting the most out of her internship experience.

I would like to extend my sincere thanks and appreciation to Caroline for all the fine work she has done and wish her continued success in the years to come.●

TRIBUTE TO MARY PARK

• Mr. RUBIO. Mr. President, today I recognize Mary Park, a 2018 fall intern in my Orlando office, for all of the hard work she has done for me, my staff, and the people of the State of Florida.

Mary is a graduate of the University of Florida, where she is majored in political science and African-American studies. She is a dedicated and diligent worker who has been devoted to getting the most out of her internship experience.

I would like to extend my sincere thanks and appreciation to Mary for all the fine work she has done and wish her continued success in the years to come.●

TRIBUTE TO VICTORIA SCOTT

• Mr. RUBIO. Mr. President, today I recognize Victoria Scott, a 2018 fall intern in my Orlando office, for all of the hard work she has done for me, my staff, and the people of the State of Florida.

Victoria is a student at Rollins College, where she is majoring in political science and international relations. She is a dedicated and diligent worker who has been devoted to getting the most out of her internship experience.

I would like to extend my sincere thanks and appreciation to Victoria for all the fine work she has done and wish her continued success in the years to come.●

TRIBUTE TO RYLEIGH WOGOMAN

• Mr. RUBIO. Mr. President, today I recognize Ryleigh Wogoman, a 2018 fall intern in my Orlando office, for all of the hard work she has done for me, my staff, and the people of the State of Florida.

Ryleigh is a student at the University of Central Florida, where she is majoring in political science. She is a

dedicated and diligent worker who has been devoted to getting the most out of her internship experience.

I would like to extend my sincere thanks and appreciation to Ryleigh for all the fine work she has done and wish her continued success in the years to come.●

RECOGNIZING OCEANA COFFEE ROASTERS

• Mr. RUBIO. Mr. President, I wish to recognize the first Small Business of the Week of the 116th Congress. Each week this Congress, I will honor a small business that exemplifies the hard work and perseverance of the American entrepreneur. The great State of Florida is home to businesses of all types, from family-run farms in Ocala to aerospace machinists in Cape Canaveral. Today, it is my distinct pleasure to honor a small business with a strong commitment to the quality of its products and a desire to give back to its community. As chairman of the Senate Committee on Small Business and Entrepreneurship, it is my pleasure to recognize Oceana Coffee Roasters as this year's first Small Business of the Week.

Amy and Scott Angelo founded Oceana Coffee Roasters in 2009 with only a \$35 coffee roaster, converted from a popcorn machine, and the goal of bringing freshly roasted coffee to their area. Located in Tequesta, FL, Amy and Scott founded the company after they were unable to find a local coffee roaster that produced fresh, small-batch coffee. Seeing an opportunity, the Angelos began by roasting just a quarter-cup of coffee at a time, experimenting with different types of beans and roasting techniques.

From a popcorn popper in their kitchen, to roasting 50,000 pounds of beans a year, the Angelos have remained focused on the details of producing high-quality, small-batch, whole bean and ground coffee. In order to meet their high standards, Scott and Amy learned all they could about how coffee beans are grown, where the best beans originate, and how to bring out the best flavor in each type of bean. They also researched the fair trade coffee process, how coffee is harvested and transported, and the logistics of importing beans to their Florida small business. Through their diligent study and a trial and error process, the Angelos harnessed their entrepreneurial spirit to understand their customers' desires and make a product they are proud of. In 2016, the Palm Beach North Chamber of Commerce recognized Oceana Coffee as the Small Business of the Year and SCORE of Palm Beach County recognized them for entrepreneurial excellence. Also in 2016, they were the overall winner for the Golden Bean North America Award, which is the world's largest coffee roaster competition.

As the business has grown, the company has periodically added new coffee

varieties from around the world to its product line. Instead of focusing on large production runs of one type of coffee, Oceana produces small batches of shade-grown, Guatemalan, Ethiopian, and Costa Rican coffee for all types of coffee consumers. Their success has also led to expansion, with Amy and Scott adding a second location in Palm Beach County while increasing e-commerce sales and direct shipments to reach approximately 100 wholesale customers.

The Angelos are committed to their community and doing right by the people they do business with. Every quarter, Oceana makes a donation to a charitable organization voted on by its customers under an initiative they call Cup of Kindness. Oceana Coffee also gives back by offering internships to adults with autism by partnering with Jupiter, FL-based Els for Autism so that affected individuals can gain workforce experience. Additionally, the Angelos provide a platform to local artists, authors, and other small businesses in the area. Each month, the shop hosts a showcase to help these entrepreneurs gain exposure.

The Angelos care about the community of growers they work with, as they purchase their coffee beans from small, fair-trade farmers that they interact with directly and visit regularly. They have also made a commitment to reduce waste through the use of reusable straws and recyclable cutlery and containers.

Oceana Coffee Roasters has found its niche and expanded as a company, while keeping its commitment to quality and principles. The Angelos' love of quality coffee, commitment to their community, and painstaking review of the coffee making process has made the company a leader in its community and created a loyal customer base. Again, I would like to congratulate Scott, Amy, and all of the employees at Oceana Coffee Roasters for being named the Small Business of the Week. I wish you continued success in your future endeavors.●

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

At 10:02 a.m., a message from the House of Representatives, delivered by Mr. Novotny, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House has passed the following bill, in which it requests the concurrence of the Senate:

H.R. 226. An act to amend the Small Business Act to include best in class designations in the annual report on small business goals prepared by the Administrator of the Small Business Administration, and for other purposes.

MEASURES REFERRED

The following bill was read the first and the second times by unanimous consent, and referred as indicated:

H.R. 226. An act to amend the Small Business Act to include best in class designations in the annual report on small business goals

prepared by the Administrator of the Small Business Administration, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Small Business and Entrepreneurship.

MEASURES PLACED ON THE CALENDAR

The following bills were read the second time, and placed on the calendar:

H.R. 251. An act to extend by two years the Chemical Facility Anti-Terrorism Standards Program of the Department of Homeland Security, and for other purposes.

H.R. 264. An act making appropriations for financial services and general government for the fiscal year ending September 30, 2019, and for other purposes.

H.R. 269. An act to reauthorize certain programs under the Public Health Service Act and the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act with respect to public health security and all-hazards preparedness and response, to clarify the regulatory framework with respect to certain nonprescription drugs that are marketed without an approved drug application, and for other purposes.

MEASURES READ THE FIRST TIME

The following bill was read the first time:

S. 109. A bill to prohibit taxpayer funded abortions.

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-58. A communication from the Under Secretary of Defense (Acquisition and Sustainment), transmitting, pursuant to law, a report entitled "Report to Congress Section 889 of the Fiscal Year 2018 NDAA Report on Defense Contracting Fraud"; to the Committees on Armed Services; and Appropriations.

EC-59. A communication from the Director of Congressional Relations, Office of the Comptroller of the Currency, Department of the Treasury, transmitting, pursuant to law, the Office of the Comptroller's 2018 Annual Report to Congress; to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

EC-60. A communication from the Program Specialist (Paperwork Reduction Act), Office of the Comptroller of the Currency, Department of the Treasury, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Community Reinvestment Act Regulations" (RIN1557-AE54) received in the Office of the President of the Senate on January 8, 2019; to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

EC-61. A communication from the Program Specialist (Paperwork Reduction Act), Office of the Comptroller of the Currency, Department of the Treasury, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Expanded Examination Cycle for Certain Small Insured Depository Institutions and US Branches and Agencies of Foreign Banks" (RIN1557-AE37) received in the Office of the President of the Senate on January 8, 2019; to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

EC-62. A communication from the Deputy Assistant Secretary for Export Administration, Bureau of Industry and Security, Department of Commerce, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled

"Control of Military Electronic Equipment and Other Items the President Determines No Longer Warrant Control Under the United States Munitions List (USML); Correction" (RIN0694-AH64) received in the Office of the President of the Senate on January 2, 2019; to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

EC-63. A communication from the Secretary of Energy, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report entitled "Strategic Petroleum Reserve Annual Report for Calendar Year 2017"; to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

EC-64. A communication from the Director of Congressional Affairs, Office of Nuclear Reactor Regulation, Nuclear Regulatory Commission, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "DI&C-ISC-06, Licensing Process, Interim Staff Guidance, Revision 2" (10 CFR Part 50) received in the Office of the President of the Senate on January 4, 2018; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

EC-65. A communication from the Assistant Secretary for Legislation, Department of Health and Human Services, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report entitled "Status of Risk Adjustment in Medicare Advantage 2018"; to the Committee on Finance.

EC-66. A communication from the Assistant Secretary for Legislation, Department of Health and Human Services, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report entitled "Ryan White HIV/AIDS Program Parts A and B Supplemental Awards for Fiscal Year 2018 Report to Congress"; to the Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions.

EC-67. A communication from the Assistant Secretary for Legislation, Department of Health and Human Services, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report entitled "Tenth Annual Report on Delays in Approvals of Applications Related to Citizen Petitions and Petitions for Stay of Agency Action for Fiscal Year 2017"; to the Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions.

EC-68. A communication from the Assistant General Counsel for Regulatory Services, Office of General Counsel, Department of Education, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Improving the Effectiveness and Efficiency of FERPA Enforcement" received in the Office of the President of the Senate on January 2, 2019; to the Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions.

EC-69. A communication from the Administrator, U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), transmitting, pursuant to law, the Uniform Resource Locator (URL) for USAID's Agency Financial Report for fiscal year 2018; to the Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs.

EC-70. A communication from the Assistant Secretary for Legislation, Department of Health and Human Services, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report entitled "Report to Congress on the Social and Economic Conditions of Native Americans: Fiscal Year 2015"; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

EC-71. A communication from the Chair of the Federal Election Commission, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report relative to eleven (11) legislative recommendations; to the Committee on Rules and Administration.

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 Mrs. SHAHEEN (for herself, Mr. BROWN, Mr. KING, Ms. HASSAN, Mr.

WHITEHOUSE, Ms. BALDWIN, Mrs. GILLIBRAND, Mr. VAN HOLLEN, Mr. SANDERS, Mr. REED, Ms. KLOBUCHAR, Mr. BLUMENTHAL, Ms. WARREN, Ms. HIRONO, Ms. SMITH, Mr. SCHATZ, Mr. DURBIN, Mr. BENNET, Mrs. FEINSTEIN, Mr. MANCHIN, and Mr. LEAHY):

S. 73. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to deny the deduction for advertising and promotional expenses for prescription drugs; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. DAINES (for himself and Mr. CORNYN):

S. 74. A bill to prohibit paying Members of Congress during periods during which a Government shutdown is in effect, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs.

By Mr. RUBIO (for himself and Ms. ERNST):

S. 75. A bill to prohibit certain business concerns from receiving assistance from the Small Business Administration, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Small Business and Entrepreneurship.

By Mrs. SHAHEEN (for herself and Ms. HASSAN):

S. 76. A bill to redesignate the Saint-Gaudens National Historic Site as the "Saint-Gaudens National Historical Park", and for other purposes; to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

By Mr. RUBIO:

S. 77. A bill to amend the Small Business Act to ensure small businesses affected by the onset of transmissible diseases are eligible for disaster relief; to the Committee on Small Business and Entrepreneurship.

By Mr. RUBIO (for himself and Ms. ERNST):

S. 78. A bill to ensure a complete analysis of the potential impacts of rules on small entities; to the Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs.

By Mr. RISCH (for himself and Mr. CRAPO):

S. 79. A bill to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to maintain or replace certain facilities and structures for commercial recreation services at Smith Gulch in Idaho, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

By Mr. BARRASSO (for himself, Mr. GARDNER, and Ms. SINEMA):

S. 80. A bill to repeal the annual fee on health insurance providers enacted by the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. WYDEN (for himself and Mr. MERKLEY):

S. 81. A bill to adjust the eastern boundary of the Deschutes Canyon-Steelhead Falls Wilderness Study Area in the State of Oregon, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

By Mr. WYDEN (for himself and Mr. MERKLEY):

S. 82. A bill to designate the Frank and Jeanne Moore Wild Steelhead Special Management Area in the State of Oregon; to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

By Mr. RUBIO (for himself and Ms. ERNST):

S. 83. A bill to amend section 203 of Public Law 94-305 to ensure proper authority for the Office of Advocacy of the Small Business Administration, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Small Business and Entrepreneurship.

By Mr. RUBIO (for himself, Mr. KENNEDY, Mr. COONS, and Mr. JONES):

S. 84. A bill to amend the Small Business Act to require that consumer reporting agencies and other credit reporting companies provide certain protections to small businesses, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Small Business and Entrepreneurship.

By Mr. GRASSLEY (for himself, Ms. KLOBUCHAR, Mrs. CAPITO, and Mr. TILLIS):

S. 85. A bill to reauthorize the Family Violence Prevention and Services Act; to the Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions.

By Mr. WYDEN (for himself and Mr. MERKLEY):

S. 86. A bill to designate certain land administered by the Bureau of Land Management and the Forest Service in the State of Oregon as wilderness and national recreation areas and to make additional wild and scenic river designations in the State of Oregon, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

By Mr. ISAKSON (for himself and Mr. PERDUE):

S. 87. A bill to adjust the boundary of the Kennesaw Mountain National Battlefield Park to include the Wallis House and Harriston Hill, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

By Mr. ISAKSON (for himself and Mr. PERDUE):

S. 88. A bill to redesignate Ocmulgee National Monument in the State of Georgia and revise its boundary, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

By Mr. ISAKSON:

S. 89. A bill to expand the boundary of Fort Frederica National Monument in the State of Georgia, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

By Mr. LEE (for himself and Mr. ROMNEY):

S. 90. A bill to limit the establishment or extension of national monuments in the State of Utah; to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

By Mr. GARDNER (for himself and Mrs. MURRAY):

S. 91. A bill to amend title 38, United States Code, to authorize per diem payments under comprehensive service programs for homeless veterans to furnish care to dependents of homeless veterans, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. PAUL (for himself, Mr. GRASSLEY, Mr. YOUNG, Mr. CASSIDY, Ms. ERNST, Mr. CRUZ, Mr. BLUNT, Mr. CRAMER, Mr. COTTON, Mr. RISCH, Mr. DAINES, Mr. MORAN, Mr. BRAUN, Mrs. BLACKBURN, Mr. TOOMEY, Mr. JOHNSON, Mr. PERDUE, Mr. PORTMAN, Mr. BARRASSO, Mr. INHOFE, Mrs. CAPITO, Mr. SASSE, Mr. KENNEDY, Mr. GARDNER, Mr. ENZI, Ms. MCSALLY, Mr. ROBERTS, Mr. SCOTT of South Carolina, Mr. SULLIVAN, Mr. RUBIO, Mr. ROUNDS, Mr. LEE, Mrs. FISCHER, Mr. ISAKSON, and Mr. MCCONNELL):

S. 92. A bill to amend chapter 8 of title 5, United States Code, to provide that major rules of the executive branch shall have no force or effect unless a joint resolution of approval is enacted into law; to the Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs.

By Mrs. FEINSTEIN (for herself and Ms. HARRIS):

S. 93. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to convey certain land and facilities of the Central Valley Project; to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

By Mrs. CAPITO (for herself, Mr. BENNET, Mr. BOOZMAN, Mr. CRAPO, Ms. ERNST, Mr. KING, Mr. MANCHIN, Mr. RISCH, Mr. ROUNDS, and Mr. SULLIVAN):

S. 94. A bill to amend the Pittman-Robertson Wildlife Restoration Act to facilitate the

establishment of additional or expanded public target ranges in certain States; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

By Ms. KLOBUCHAR (for herself and Mr. GRASSLEY):

S. 95. A bill to amend the Public Health Service Act to designate certain medical facilities of the Department of Veterans Affairs as health professional shortage areas, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions.

By Ms. KLOBUCHAR (for herself, Mr. HOEVEN, Ms. STABENOW, Mr. LEAHY, Ms. BALDWIN, Ms. SMITH, Mr. SANDERS, Mr. PETERS, and Mrs. GILLIBRAND):

S. 96. A bill to revise the authorized route of the North Country National Scenic Trail in northeastern Minnesota and to extend the trail into Vermont to connect with the Appalachian National Scenic Trail, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

By Mr. SANDERS (for himself, Mr. BOOKER, Mr. CASEY, Ms. BALDWIN, Mr. BLUMENTHAL, Mr. BROWN, Ms. CANTWELL, Mrs. GILLIBRAND, Ms. HARRIS, Ms. HASSAN, Mr. HEINRICH, Mr. KING, Mr. LEAHY, Ms. KLOBUCHAR, Mr. MANCHIN, Mr. MERKLEY, Mr. REED, Mrs. SHAHEEN, Ms. SMITH, Ms. STABENOW, Mr. UDALL, Mr. VAN HOLLEN, Ms. WARREN, and Mr. WHITEHOUSE):

S. 97. A bill to amend the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act to allow for the importation of affordable and safe drugs by wholesale distributors, pharmacies, and individuals; to the Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions.

By Mr. JOHNSON (for himself, Ms. BALDWIN, and Mr. CORNYN):

S. 98. A bill to authorize the President to award the Medal of Honor to James Megellas, formerly of Fond du Lac, Wisconsin, and currently of Colleyville, Texas, for acts of valor on January 28, 1945, during the Battle of the Bulge in World War II; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. SANDERS (for himself, Mr. BOOKER, Mrs. GILLIBRAND, Ms. HARRIS, Mr. LEAHY, Mr. REED, Ms. SMITH, and Ms. WARREN):

S. 99. A bill to amend title XVIII of the Social Security Act to provide for the negotiation of lower covered part D drug prices on behalf of Medicare beneficiaries and the establishment and application of a formulary by the Secretary of Health and Human Services under Medicare part D, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. THUNE (for himself and Mr. ROUNDS):

S. 100. A bill to direct the Secretary of Agriculture to transfer certain National Forest System land to Custer County, South Dakota; to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

By Mr. KING (for himself and Ms. COLLINS):

S. 101. A bill to clarify the boundary of Acadia National Park, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

By Mr. SANDERS (for himself, Mr. BOOKER, Mr. BLUMENTHAL, Mrs. GILLIBRAND, Ms. HARRIS, and Ms. WARREN):

S. 102. A bill to significantly lower prescription drug prices for patients in the United States by ending government-granted monopolies for manufacturers who charge drug prices that are higher than the median prices at which the drugs are available in other countries; to the Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions.

By Mr. CRAPO (for himself and Mr. RISCH):

S. 103. A bill to authorize an additional district judgeship for the district of Idaho; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. PORTMAN (for himself, Mr. ENZI, Mr. RISCH, Mr. BARRASSO, Mr. LEE, Mr. GRASSLEY, Mr. DAINES, Mr. ISAKSON, and Ms. MURKOWSKI):

S. 104. A bill to amend title 31, United States Code, to provide for automatic continuing resolutions; to the Committee on Appropriations.

By Mrs. BLACKBURN (for herself, Mr. BLUNT, Mr. RISCH, Mr. SASSE, Mr. COTTON, Mr. RUBIO, Mr. DAINES, Mrs. HYDE-SMITH, Ms. ERNST, Mr. ROBERTS, Mr. LANKFORD, Mrs. FISCHER, Mr. CRUZ, Mr. PAUL, Mr. INHOFE, Mr. KENNEDY, Mr. CRAMER, Mr. WICKER, Mr. LEE, Mr. ROMNEY, Mr. CASSIDY, and Mr. THUNE):

S. 105. A bill to amend title X of the Public Health Service Act to prohibit family planning grants from being awarded to any entity that performs abortions, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions.

By Mr. BLUNT (for himself, Ms. STABENOW, Mr. SULLIVAN, Mr. CARPER, Mr. GARDNER, Mr. CARDIN, Ms. MURKOWSKI, Ms. BALDWIN, Mrs. CAPITO, Mr. MENENDEZ, Mr. CORNYN, Mr. MANCHIN, Mr. WICKER, Mr. TESTER, Ms. COLLINS, Mr. KING, Mrs. HYDE-SMITH, Mr. PETERS, and Mr. JONES):

S. 106. A bill to reauthorize and extend funding for community health centers and the National Health Service Corps; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. RUBIO (for himself and Mrs. FEINSTEIN):

S. 107. A bill to provide any State with a child welfare demonstration project that is scheduled to terminate at the end of fiscal year 2019 the option to extend the project for up to 2 additional years; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. PORTMAN (for himself and Mr. MORAN):

S. 108. A bill to provide deferred action for certain individuals brought to the United States and to establish a border security trust fund, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Appropriations.

By Mr. WICKER:

S. 109. A bill to prohibit taxpayer funded abortions; read the first time.

By Ms. COLLINS (for herself and Ms. CANTWELL):

S. 110. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to provide for a permanent extension of the lower income threshold for the medical expense deduction; to the Committee on Finance.

By Ms. MCSALLY:

S. 111. A bill to make continuing appropriations for certain employees of the Department of Homeland Security and the Department of Justice in the event of a shutdown of the Federal Government; to the Committee on Appropriations.

SUBMISSION OF CONCURRENT AND SENATE RESOLUTIONS

The following concurrent resolutions and Senate resolutions were read, and referred (or acted upon), as indicated:

By Mr. MENENDEZ (for himself and Mr. RUBIO):

S. Res. 14. A resolution affirming that the Government of Cuba's foreign medical missions constitute human trafficking; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

By Mr. GRAHAM (for himself and Mr. SCOTT of South Carolina):

S. Res. 15. A resolution commending the Clemson University Tigers football team for

winning the 2019 College Football Playoff National Championship; considered and agreed to.

By Mr. GRASSLEY (for himself, Ms.

ERNST, Mr. ALEXANDER, Ms. BALDWIN, Mr. BARRASSO, Mr. BENNET, Mrs. BLACKBURN, Mr. BLUMENTHAL, Mr. BLUNT, Mr. BOOKER, Mr. BOOZMAN, Mr. BRAUN, Mr. BROWN, Mr. BURR, Ms. CANTWELL, Mrs. CAPITO, Mr. CARDIN, Mr. CARPER, Mr. CASEY, Mr. CASSIDY, Ms. COLLINS, Mr. COONS, Mr. CORNYN, Ms. CORTEZ MASTO, Mr. COTTON, Mr. CRAMER, Mr. CRAPO, Mr. CRUZ, Mr. DAINES, Ms. DUCKWORTH, Mr. DURBIN, Mr. ENZI, Mrs. FEINSTEIN, Mrs. FISCHER, Mr. GARDNER, Mrs. GILLIBRAND, Mr. GRAHAM, Ms. HARRIS, Ms. HASSAN, Mr. HAWLEY, Mr. HEINRICH, Ms. HIRONO, Mr. HOEVEN, Mrs. HYDE-SMITH, Mr. INHOFE, Mr. ISAKSON, Mr. JOHNSON, Mr. JONES, Mr. KAINE, Mr. KENNEDY, Mr. KING, Ms. KLOBUCHAR, Mr. LANKFORD, Mr. LEAHY, Mr. LEE, Mr. MANCHIN, Mr. MARKEY, Mr. MCCONNELL, Ms. MCSALLY, Mr. MENENDEZ, Mr. MERKLEY, Mr. MORAN, Ms. MURKOWSKI, Mr. MURPHY, Mrs. MURRAY, Mr. PAUL, Mr. PERDUE, Mr. PETERS, Mr. PORTMAN, Mr. REED, Mr. RISCH, Mr. ROBERTS, Mr. ROMNEY, Ms. ROSEN, Mr. ROUNDS, Mr. RUBIO, Mr. SANDERS, Mr. SASSE, Mr. SCHATZ, Mr. SCHUMER, Mr. SCOTT of Florida, Mr. SCOTT of South Carolina, Mrs. SHAHEEN, Mr. SHELBY, Ms. SINEMA, Ms. SMITH, Ms. STABENOW, Mr. SULLIVAN, Mr. TESTER, Mr. THUNE, Mr. TILLIS, Mr. TOOMEY, Mr. UDALL, Mr. VAN HOLLEN, Mr. WARNER, Ms. WARREN, Mr. WHITEHOUSE, Mr. WICKER, Mr. WYDEN, and Mr. YOUNG):

S. Res. 16. A resolution relative to the death of John Chester Culver, former United States Senator for the State of Iowa; considered and agreed to.

ADDITIONAL COSPONSORS

S. 1

At the request of Mr. RUBIO, the name of the Senator from Mississippi (Mrs. HYDE-SMITH) was added as a cosponsor 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. 24

At the request of Mr. CARDIN, the names of the Senator from New Jersey (Mr. BOOKER), the Senator from Montana (Mr. TESTER), the Senator from Connecticut (Mr. MURPHY) and the Senator from Nevada (Ms. ROSEN) 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. 39

At the request of Mr. BRAUN, the names of the Senator from Wyoming (Mr. BARRASSO), the Senator from North Carolina (Mr. BURR), the Senator from New Hampshire (Ms. HASSAN) and the Senator from Arizona (Ms. MCSALLY) were added as cosponsors of 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.

S. 71

At the request of Mr. GRAHAM, the names of the Senator from Maine (Ms. COLLINS) and the Senator from California (Mrs. FEINSTEIN) were added as cosponsors of S. 71, a bill to ensure independent investigations and judicial review of the removal of a special counsel, and for other purposes.

S. 72

At the request of Mr. SCHATZ, the names of the Senator from Minnesota (Ms. KLOBUCHAR), the Senator from Virginia (Mr. KAINE), the Senator from New York (Mr. SCHUMER) and the Senator from Connecticut (Mr. BLUMENTHAL) were added as cosponsors of S. 72, a bill to suspend the enforcement of certain civil liabilities of Federal employees and contractors during a lapse in appropriations, and for other purposes.

S.J. RES. 1

At the request of Mr. DAINES, his name was added as a cosponsor 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.

S.J. RES. 3

At the request of Mrs. HYDE-SMITH, the names of the Senator from Florida (Mr. RUBIO) and the Senator from Iowa (Mrs. ERNST) were added as cosponsors of S.J. Res. 3, a joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relative to balancing the budget.

STATEMENTS ON INTRODUCED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS

By Mrs. FEINSTEIN (for herself and Ms. HARRIS):

S. 93. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to convey certain land and facilities of the Central Valley Project; to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

Mrs. FEINSTEIN. Mr. President, today I am pleased to introduce the Contra Costa Canal Transfer Act, a bill that will assure the health and safety of the residents of Contra Costa County while also providing for the efficient delivery of water from the Bay Delta to the customers of the Contra Costa Water District (CCWD). Senator HARRIS is joining me in cosponsoring the bill, and I understand that Representatives MARK DESAULNIER, JERRY MCNERNEY, and MIKE THOMPSON are introducing a House companion measure today as well.

I will be brief in explaining the reasons I support the bill, which I introduced with Senator HARRIS. The bill would transfer title to the Contra Costa Canal from the United States to Contra Costa Water District ("District"). The District has fully paid off

the capital debt for constructing the canal, so it is financially reasonable to transfer the 48-mile long canal to it. There is no known opposition to the bill, and several good reasons to support it.

The District would like to convert the existing open earthen canal to a closed pipe at an estimated cost to the district ratepayers of \$650 million. The District understandably wants to take title to the facilities to have collateral for issuing bonds to cover the expense of the conversion.

There are a number of good reasons to convert the existing canal to a pipe:

First, 82 people have drowned in the earthen canal despite protective fencing in the 70 years since the Canal began operation. This is about a death per year on average, which would be completely prevented if the canal were converted into a pipe. Tragically, there was another drowning in the canal just last year.

A second reason is water conservation. Drought is always an issue in California, and water is becoming more and more expensive. About 6% of the canal's water is lost through evaporation and seepage. A pipeline would eliminate these losses.

A third reason is avoiding flood risk from the earthen canal. When the canal was built 70 years ago, much of the surrounding land was farming country, but more recently homes have been built around it. These homes are at risk from the types of floods that earthen canals periodically experience.

Finally, the 70-year old canal is nearing the end of its lifespan and needs a major facility upgrade or replacement. Replacement with a pipeline is the best option, for all the reasons set forth above.

Besides the advantages of the bill, there is no known opposition to it. The District has reached an MOU with East Bay Regional Parks District to continue the existing recreational uses of the adjoining parks it manages. In addition, the District has received letters of concurrence from the City Managers of Walnut Creek and Antioch regarding the smaller parks managed by the cities along the route of the existing canal. Like East Bay Regional Parks, these cities agree the bill would preserve the existing recreational uses of the adjoining lands.

The bill would not just transfer title to Contra Costa Canal, but would also authorize the transfer of the Rock Slough intake and fish screen, one of Contra Costa's diversion points from the Delta. This transfer will not affect the applicability of the various biological opinions that apply to the facility. As I understand it, because the bill will not affect the environmental management of the canal, and because the District has paid off its capital debt, the environmental groups NRDC and the Defenders of Wildlife will not oppose the bill.

In summary, this bill has no known opposition and good reasons to support.

I ask my colleagues to join me in supporting this bill. Thank you, Mr. President, and I yield the floor.

By Mr. THUNE (for himself and Mr. ROUNDS):

S. 100. A bill to direct the Secretary of Agriculture to transfer certain National Forest System land to Custer County, South Dakota; to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

Mr. THUNE. 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. 100

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 "Custer County Airport Conveyance Act".

SEC. 2. DEFINITIONS.

In this Act:

(1) COUNTY.—The term "County" means Custer County, South Dakota.

(2) FEDERAL LAND.—The term "Federal land" means all right, title, and interest of the United States in and to approximately 65.7 acres of National Forest System land, as generally depicted on the map.

(3) MAP.—The term "map" means the map entitled "Custer County Airport Conveyance" and dated October 19, 2017.

(4) SECRETARY.—The term "Secretary" means the Secretary of Agriculture, acting through the Chief of the Forest Service.

SEC. 3. LAND CONVEYANCE.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Subject to the terms and conditions described in subsection (b), if the County submits to the Secretary an offer to acquire the Federal land for the market value, as determined by the appraisal under subsection (c), the Secretary shall convey the Federal land to the County.

(b) TERMS AND CONDITIONS.—The conveyance under subsection (a) shall be—

(1) subject to valid existing rights;

(2) made by quitclaim deed; and

(3) subject to any other terms and conditions as the Secretary considers appropriate to protect the interests of the United States.

(c) APPRAISAL.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 60 days after the date of enactment of this Act, the Secretary shall complete an appraisal to determine the market value of the Federal land.

(2) STANDARDS.—The appraisal under paragraph (1) shall be conducted in accordance with—

(A) the Uniform Appraisal Standards for Federal Land Acquisitions; and

(B) the Uniform Standards of Professional Appraisal Practice.

(d) MAP.—

(1) AVAILABILITY OF MAP.—The map shall be kept on file and available for public inspection in the appropriate office of the Forest Service.

(2) CORRECTION OF ERRORS.—The Secretary may correct any errors in the map.

(e) CONSIDERATION.—As consideration for the conveyance under subsection (a), the County shall pay to the Secretary an amount equal to the market value of the Federal land, as determined by the appraisal under subsection (c).

(f) SURVEY.—The exact acreage and legal description of the Federal land to be conveyed under subsection (a) shall be deter-

mined by a survey satisfactory to the Secretary.

(g) COSTS OF CONVEYANCE.—As a condition on the conveyance under subsection (a), the County shall pay to the Secretary all costs associated with the conveyance, including the cost of—

(1) the appraisal under subsection (c); and

(2) the survey under subsection (f).

(h) PROCEEDS FROM THE SALE OF LAND.—Any proceeds received by the Secretary from the conveyance under subsection (a) shall be—

(1) deposited in the fund established under Public Law 90-171 (commonly known as the "Sisk Act") (16 U.S.C. 484a); and

(2) available to the Secretary until expended, without further appropriation, for the acquisition of inholdings in units of the National Forest System in the State of South Dakota.

SUBMITTED RESOLUTIONS

SENATE RESOLUTION 14—AFFIRMING THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF CUBA'S FOREIGN MEDICAL MISSIONS CONSTITUTE HUMAN TRAFFICKING

Mr. MENENDEZ (for himself and Mr. RUBIO) submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations:

S. RES. 14

Whereas, in 2015, the Government of Cuba maintained more than 50,000 Cuban doctors and medical personnel in foreign medical missions in 67 countries under conditions that represent forced labor;

Whereas the Department of States' 2018 Trafficking in Persons (TIP) report noted that Cuban authorities coerced some participants to remain in the foreign medical missions, including by—

(1) "withholding their passports [and] restricting their movement";

(2) "using 'minders' to monitor participants outside of work";

(3) "threatening to revoke their medical licenses";

(4) "retaliat[ing] against their family members in Cuba if participants leave the program"; or

(5) "impos[ing] exile if participants didn't return to Cuba as directed by government supervisors";

Whereas, between 2013 and 2018, more than 20,000 Cuban medical professionals served in Brazil and had their salaries garnished, movement restricted, and family visits limited by the Government of Cuba;

Whereas investigative reporting by the digital platform *Diario de Cuba*, through an access to information request, revealed that Brazilian diplomatic cables detailed the terms of the Government of Cuba's medical missions to Brazil;

Whereas, in early 2012, the Government of Cuba proposed to the Government of Brazil the establishment of a program to send Cuban doctors to geographic regions of Brazil that had an insufficient number of medical personnel;

Whereas, during subsequent negotiations, the administration of former Brazilian President Dilma Rousseff proposed an agreement between the two governments to be implemented through coordination with the Pan American Health Organization (PAHO) in order to avoid oversight by the National Congress of Brazil;

Whereas the Government of Cuba stated that implementing the agreement through

the United States headquarters of the Pan American Health Organization would present risks for potential violations of United States sanctions;

Whereas, in July 2013, the Government of Cuba, acting through the for-profit Cuban Medical Services Trading Corporation (Comercializadora de Servicios Médicos Cubanos, Sociedad Anónima, or CMS), signed an agreement with the Brazilian Ministry of Health to formalize a commercial arrangement for Cuban doctors to provide medical services in Brazil;

Whereas the agreement between the Government of Cuba and the Government of Brazil established—

(1) that the administration of former Brazilian President Dilma Rousseff would pay the Pan American Health Organization a monthly fee, which would then pay the for-profit Cuban Medical Services Trading Corporation (CMS) for the medical services provided by each Cuban doctor serving in Brazil;

(2) that the for-profit Cuban Medical Services Trading Corporation (CMS) would pay each Cuban doctor approximately 25 percent of the monthly payment received from the Pan American Health Organization;

(3) that the Government of Cuba, acting through the for-profit Cuban Medical Services Trading Corporation (CMS), would retain approximately 75 percent of the monthly payment received from the Pan American Health Organization; and

(4) restrictions preventing participating Cuban doctors from seeking employment in Brazil outside of the formal structure of the program;

Whereas, in July 2013, the Government of Brazil announced the creation of the Mais Medicos program, which included the participation of Cuban doctors and doctors of other nationalities;

Whereas the for-profit Cuban Medical Services Trading Corporation (CMS) commenced contracting Cuban doctors for the Mais Medicos program, and the first Cuban medical professionals arrived in Brazil in August 2013;

Whereas Cuban doctors were the only medical professionals participating in the Mais Medicos program to have their salaries directly garnished by their government, and doctors of other nationalities serving in Brazil received the full amount of their salary;

Whereas Cuban doctors participating in the Mais Medicos program faced severe limitations on their ability to travel inside Brazil and a prohibition on travel to neighboring countries;

Whereas Cuban doctors participating in the Mais Medicos program were prohibited from having their families accompany them while stationed in Brazil;

Whereas the Cuban doctors frequently had their passports taken by Government of Cuba officials present in Brazil in order to limit their ability to travel;

Whereas the Department of State's 2018 Trafficking in Persons (TIP) report documented how the Government of Cuba also confiscated Cuban doctors' passports in other countries, and stated that "the Cuban government acknowledges that it withholds passports of overseas medical personnel in Venezuela";

Whereas the Pan American Health Organization's external auditor, the Spanish Court of Audit—

(1) stated in its January 2018 report that 198 Cuban doctors have presented 159 legal challenges in the Brazilian court system since the start of the program in July 2013 demanding extra free time in their contracts and equal working conditions as doctors of other nationalities participating in the Mais Medicos program; and

(2) stated in its April 2014 report, in recognition of the legal risks associated with the Mais Medicos program, that it would be "prudent that PAHO set a contingency plan to face possible negative statements of [the] lawsuits";

Whereas the Government of Cuba has stated that Cuban doctors unwilling to return to the country after their participation in foreign medical missions will not be permitted to return to their homeland for eight years;

Whereas the Government of Cuba directly profits from exporting the services of Cuban professionals, having earned more than \$8,000,000,000 from their work in 2016, of which foreign medical missions represent the majority of the income; and

Whereas the term "severe forms of trafficking in persons" is defined under section 103(9)(B) of the Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000 (22 U.S.C. 7102(9)(B)) as "the recruitment, harboring, transportation, provision, or obtaining of a person for labor or services, through the use of force, fraud, or coercion for the purpose of subjection to involuntary servitude, peonage, debt bondage, or slavery"; Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That it is the sense of the Senate that—

(1) the Government of Cuba subjected Cuban doctors and medical professional participating in the Mais Medicos program to state-sponsored human trafficking;

(2) Cuban doctors participating in the Mais Medicos program should have been permitted to work under the same conditions as all other foreign doctors participating in the program;

(3) the Government of Cuba should compensate Cuban doctors that participated in the Mais Medicos programs for the full amount of wages that were garnished by the Government of Cuba;

(4) foreign governments that sign agreements with the Government of Cuba or the for-profit Cuban Medical Services Trading Corporation (CMS) or other companies affiliated with the Government of Cuba to procure the services of Cuban professionals directly assume risks related to participation in forced labor arrangements;

(5) the Pan American Health Organization must immediately provide greater transparency about its participation in the Mais Medicos program and its agreement with the Government of Cuba and the for-profit Cuban Medical Services Trading Corporation (CMS);

(6) the United States Department of State must downgrade Cuba to Tier 3 in its annual Trafficking in Persons (TIP) report, given new evidence on Cuba's foreign medical missions and the Government of Cuba's longstanding failure to criminalize most forms of forced labor; and

(7) the Department of State must reestablish the Cuban Medical Professionals Parole (CMPP) program.

SENATE RESOLUTION 15—COM- MENDING THE CLEMSON UNI- VERSITY TIGERS FOOTBALL TEAM FOR WINNING THE 2019 COLLEGE FOOTBALL PLAYOFF NATIONAL CHAMPIONSHIP

Mr. GRAHAM (for himself and Mr. SCOTT of South Carolina) submitted the following resolution; which was considered and agreed to:

S. RES. 15

Whereas, on Monday, January 7, 2019, the Clemson University Tigers football team won the 2019 College Football Playoff National Championship (in this preamble re-

ferred to as the "championship game") by defeating the University of Alabama by a score of 44 to 16 at Levi's Stadium in Santa Clara, California;

Whereas the Tigers finished the championship game with 482 yards of total offense on 63 plays;

Whereas the victory by the Tigers in the championship game—

(1) made Clemson the first Football Bowl Subdivision (FBS)-level team to finish a season 15–0 since the University of Pennsylvania in 1897; and

(2) marked the second time in 3 years that Clemson won a National Championship game;

Whereas the head coach of Clemson, Dabo Swinney, has been an outstanding role model to the Clemson players and the Clemson community;

Whereas Trevor Lawrence, the first true freshman starter to win a national title since 1985, gave an outstanding performance by throwing for 347 yards and 3 touchdowns;

Whereas Travis Etienne had 14 carries for 86 yards including 2 rushing touchdowns and a passing touchdown;

Whereas the Clemson University football team displayed outstanding dedication, teamwork, and sportsmanship throughout the 2018 collegiate football season in achieving the highest honor in college football; and

Whereas the Tigers have brought pride and honor to the State of South Carolina: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Senate—

(1) commends the Clemson University Tigers for winning the 2019 College Football Playoff National Championship;

(2) recognizes the on-field and off-field achievements of the players, coaches, and staff of the Clemson football team; and

(3) respectfully requests that the Secretary of the Senate transmit an enrolled copy of this resolution to—

(A) the President of Clemson University, James P. Clements; and

(B) the head coach of the Clemson University football team, Dabo Swinney.

SENATE RESOLUTION 16—REL- ATIVE TO THE DEATH OF JOHN CHESTER CULVER, FORMER UNITED STATES SENATOR FOR THE STATE OF IOWA

Mr. GRASSLEY (for himself, Ms. ERNST, Mr. ALEXANDER, Ms. BALDWIN, Mr. BARRASSO, Mr. BENNET, Mrs. BLACKBURN, Mr. BLUMENTHAL, Mr. BLUNT, Mr. BOOKER, Mr. BOOZMAN, Mr. BRAUN, Mr. BROWN, Mr. BURR, Ms. CANTWELL, Mrs. CAPITO, Mr. CARDIN, Mr. CARPER, Mr. CASEY, Mr. CASSIDY, Ms. COLLINS, Mr. COONS, Mr. CORNYN, Ms. CORTEZ MASTO, Mr. COTTON, Mr. CRAMER, Mr. CRAPO, Mr. CRUZ, Mr. DAINES, Ms. DUCKWORTH, Mr. DURBIN, Mr. ENZI, Mrs. FEINSTEIN, Mrs. FISCHER, Mr. GARDNER, Mrs. GILLIBRAND, Mr. GRAHAM, Ms. HARRIS, Ms. HASSAN, Mr. HAWLEY, Mr. HEINRICH, Ms. HIRONO, Mr. HOEVEN, Mrs. HYDE-SMITH, Mr. INHOFE, Mr. ISAKSON, Mr. JOHNSON, Mr. JONES, Mr. KAINE, Mr. KENNEDY, Mr. KING, Ms. KLOBUCHAR, Mr. LANKFORD, Mr. LEAHY, Mr. LEE, Mr. MANCHIN, Mr. MARKEY, Mr. MCCONNELL, Ms. MCSALLY, Mr. MENENDEZ, Mr. MERKLEY, Mr. MORAN, Ms. MURKOWSKI, Mr. MURPHY, Mrs. MURRAY, Mr. PAUL, Mr. PERDUE, Mr. PETERS, Mr. PORTMAN, Mr. REED, Mr. RISCH, Mr. ROBERTS, Mr. ROMNEY, Ms.

ROSEN, Mr. ROUNDS, Mr. RUBIO, Mr. SANDERS, Mr. SASSE, Mr. SCHATZ, Mr. SCHUMER, Mr. SCOTT of Florida, Mr. SCOTT of South Carolina, Mrs. SHAHEEN, Mr. SHELBY, Ms. SINEMA, Ms. SMITH, Ms. STABENOW, Mr. SULLIVAN, Mr. TESTER, Mr. THUNE, Mr. TILLIS, Mr. TOOMEY, Mr. UDALL, Mr. VAN HOLLEN, Mr. WARNER, Ms. WARREN, Mr. WHITEHOUSE, Mr. WICKER, Mr. WYDEN, and Mr. YOUNG) submitted the following resolution; which was considered and agreed to:

S. RES. 16

Relative to the death of John Chester Culver, former United States Senator for the State of Iowa.

Whereas John Chester Culver was born in Rochester, Minnesota and grew up in Cedar Rapids, Iowa;

Whereas John Chester Culver graduated from Harvard University and Harvard Law School;

Whereas John Chester Culver served his country in the United States Marine Corps from 1955-1958;

Whereas John Chester Culver was elected to the United States House of Representatives in 1964 and served 5 terms as a Representative from the State of Iowa;

Whereas John Chester Culver was elected to the United States Senate in 1974 and served the people of Iowa in the Senate with honor and distinction for 1 term;

Whereas as a Senator, John Chester Culver spearheaded a commission to modernize the procedures of the Senate, including an increased use of computerized floor status updates and committee schedules;

Whereas John Chester Culver was known for his hard work and independence; Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow and deep regret the announcement of the death of the Honorable John Chester Culver, former member of the United States Senate.

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Senate communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit an enrolled copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

Resolved, That when the Senate adjourns today, it stand adjourned as a further mark of respect to the memory of the Honorable John Chester Culver.

AUTHORITY FOR COMMITTEES TO MEET

Mr. THUNE. Mr. President, I have a request for one committee to meet during today's session of the Senate. It has the approval of the Majority and Minority leaders.

Pursuant to rule XXVI, paragraph 5(a), of the Standing Rules of the Senate, the following committee is authorized to meet during today's session of the Senate:

COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES

The Committee on Armed Services is authorized to meet during the session of the Senate on Thursday, January 10, 2019, at 9:30 a.m., to conduct a hearing.

PRIVILEGES OF THE FLOOR

Mr. WHITEHOUSE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Ryan

Edwards and Kim Binsted, AAAS fellows in my office, be granted floor privileges for the remainder of this Congress.

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

COMMENDING THE CLEMSON UNIVERSITY TIGERS FOOTBALL TEAM FOR WINNING THE 2019 COLLEGE FOOTBALL PLAYOFF NATIONAL CHAMPIONSHIP

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of S. Res. 15, submitted earlier today.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the resolution by title.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

A resolution (S. Res. 15) commending the Clemson University Tigers football team for winning the 2019 College Football Playoff National Championship.

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the resolution.

Mr. MCCONNELL. I ask unanimous consent that the resolution be agreed to, the preamble be agreed to, and the motion to reconsider be considered made and laid upon the table with no intervening action or debate.

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

The resolution (S. Res. 15) was agreed to.

The preamble was agreed to.

(The resolution is printed in today's RECORD under "Submitted Resolutions.")

RELATIVE TO THE DEATH OF JOHN CHESTER CULVER, FORMER UNITED STATES SENATOR FOR THE STATE OF IOWA

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the immediate consideration of S. Res. 16, submitted earlier today.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the resolution by title.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

A resolution (S. Res. 16) relative to the death of John Chester Culver, former United States Senator for the State of Iowa.

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the resolution

Mr. MCCONNELL. I ask unanimous consent that the resolution be agreed to, the preamble be agreed to, and the motion to reconsider be considered made and laid upon the table with no intervening action or debate.

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

The resolution (S. Res. 16) was agreed to.

The preamble was agreed to.

(The resolution is printed in today's RECORD under "Submitted Resolutions.")

APPOINTMENTS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair, on behalf of the Majority Leader, pursuant to the provisions of Public Law 99-93, as amended by Public Law 99-151, appoints the following individuals to serve as members of the United States Senate Caucus on International Narcotics Control for the 116th Congress: The Honorable JOHN CORNYN of Texas, Chairman; The Honorable CHUCK GRASSLEY of Iowa; The Honorable JAMES RISCH of Idaho; The Honorable DAVID PERDUE of Georgia.

The Chair, pursuant to the provisions of section 1501 of Public Law 115-254, on behalf of the Majority Leader of the Senate and the Chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, appoints the following individual as a member of the Syria Study Group: Chris Tuttle, of Virginia.

MEASURE READ THE FIRST TIME—S. 109

Mr. MCCONNELL. 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. 109) to prohibit taxpayer funded abortions.

Mr. MCCONNELL. I now ask for its 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. Objection is heard.

The bill will receive a second reading on the next legislative day.

ORDERS FOR FRIDAY, JANUARY 11, 2019

Mr. MCCONNELL. Now, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate completes its business today, it adjourn until 10 a.m., Friday, January 11; 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; finally, that following leader remarks, the Senate resume consideration of the motion to proceed to S. 1.

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

ADJOURNMENT UNTIL 10 A.M. TOMORROW

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, if there is no further business to come before the Senate, I ask unanimous consent that it stand adjourned under the provisions of S. Res. 16 and do so as a further mark of respect to the late John Culver, former Senator from the State of Iowa.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under 2019, and does so as a further mark of Thereupon, the Senate, at 5:59 p.m., the previous order and pursuant to S. respect for the late John Chester Cul- adjourned until Friday, January 11, Res. 16, the Senate stands adjourned ver, former Senator from Iowa. 2019, at 10 a.m. until 10 a.m. on Friday, January 11,