

including my former colleagues from the Texas Senate. This administration is seeking any funds or any means to go around Congress to build his wall.

Congress is a coequal branch of government, Madam Speaker, with a duty to appropriate funds for Hurricane Harvey. Any action to delay or divert those funds puts lives at risk and potentially displaces people from their homes, many in my own district in Houston.

We must do more to mitigate the damages caused by flooding. Diverting disaster funds to pay for a wall will not accomplish that goal.

I am proud of the bipartisan opposition to this effort, and I hope that we can work together in that same spirit to end this Trump shutdown.

#### OPEN OUR GOVERNMENT

(Mrs. LAWRENCE asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mrs. LAWRENCE. Madam Speaker, day 25. There is no reason for President Trump to keep the government shut down over his demands for an ineffective border wall.

On day one, the Democrats passed legislation to reopen our government. Today, we are taking further action, bringing forward a continuing resolution to fund the government through February 1, giving the President and the Senate GOP yet another opportunity to end the shutdown, while allowing time for us to do our work and negotiate.

President Trump should stop holding the health, the safety, and the paychecks of the American people hostage.

We need border security, and Democrats stand strong on that issue, but we will not waste taxpayers' dollars. We will not waste billions of taxpayer dollars on an ineffective wall.

Mr. President, Congress, open our government.

□ 1600

#### END THE SHUTDOWN

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 3, 2019, the gentleman from California (Mr. GARAMENDI) is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the majority leader.

Mr. GARAMENDI. Madam Speaker, I think I just heard that we are in the 25th day of the shutdown. I see some of my good Republican friends over there, and perhaps we ought to engage in a debate about the wisdom of this shutdown.

Can anybody find any good reason for the shutdown?

Mr. MEADOWS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GARAMENDI. At the moment, Mr. MEADOWS, perhaps I would yield and you can give me a 30-second explanation of why the shutdown makes sense, but let's talk about the shutdown.

Let's talk about the reality that the President proposed in his budget for 2019 that we should spend somewhere around \$1.6 billion for border security, not specifying walls or all of it, but just border security.

We, of course, do what we always do. We took that, and we put it through the ringer. We came out with \$1.6 billion for border security, including some wall in there.

But we didn't finish the task, so we did a continuing resolution last September and kicked the ball down the road, which is what we really do best, boom, boom, boom, bounce down the road until right after Thanksgiving.

Then we hadn't quite completed it, so in a day when none of us were here, by unanimous consent, again, we kicked the ball down the road until December 11.

Then the Senate sent over a piece of legislation that was unanimously passed in the Senate by voice vote, and it wound up over here the next day. Sometime between that evening when it passed the Senate and it wound up over here, the President decided that he needed \$5 billion for a border wall.

Now, perhaps there was a discussion of appropriations sometime during that process. I don't know. But in any case, it was in none of the bills. Suddenly, we had a \$5 billion addition to border security. All of that happened overnight.

At the same time, the President calls into his Oval Office the leadership, and he says that he will shut down the government, and he will take the mantle of the shutdown.

So, my good friends from the Republican side of this aisle, here we are on day 25.

A lot of things are going on out there. There is not much going on around here, unfortunately. But what is going on out there?

I got a phone call from a mayor of one of the small cities that I represent down in the agricultural part north of Sacramento. He said: Can you help us? One of the veterans in my district, a World War II veteran, is in hospice, and, over the years, he lost his Purple Heart for injuries that he suffered in World War II. We would like to get that back for him before he dies, but we can't. We can't help him.

We can't get that Purple Heart back before this veteran dies because the National Archives is shut down. Normally, we could. We would make our request, and we would go to the National Archives. Somehow we would find the record, and we would get a replacement Purple Heart. We can't do that now. The National Archives is shut down.

Another one of my constituents wants to start a new business in one of the towns that I represent west of Sacramento. It is a little restaurant coffee shop. He needs an SBA loan. He worked it all through the bank. The bank is ready to make the loan. The papers can't be signed. SBA is shut down.

How long can he hang on? How long will that escrow remain open before this deal tanks? Well, it is 25 days thus far. Apparently, the deal is still in place. But businesses all across this Nation are not moving forward.

Recent estimates show that two-tenths of a percent of the economic growth of this Nation in this 25-day shutdown has been removed from this economy. We are looking somewhere just north of 2½, 3 percent, in that range, but two-tenths of that is now gone as a result of this shutdown.

Let us remind ourselves: This is entirely the making of the President who parachuted—no, bombed into our negotiation process here, \$5 billion in the 12 hours between the passage of a compromised, unanimous vote by the Senate to keep government going and the arrival and the vote on that bill here on this floor.

Madam Speaker, I will also state that our Republican colleagues accommodated the President and put the \$5 billion into the legislation and sent it back to the Senate, and there it sat, sine die. That legislation is gone.

However, we want to open government. We think it is really important that those veterans across this Nation who want to get their records are able to do so, and those men and women who want to start a small business are able to get their Small Business Administration loans approved.

How about Foreign Service officers? Oh, yes, the State Department isn't funded. Foreign Service officers are not able to get the training that they need. They go through a whole course before they are sent off to some part of the world—language, culture courses. None of that is happening, to say nothing of the fact that about a third of the appointments in the State Department have never been filled to begin with.

Department of the Interior? Some of us stuck around here over the weekend. Normally, we would go down to the Smithsonian and take a look, or the National Museum of African American History and Culture, or maybe the National Museum of American History. Maybe we would go watch one of the presentations that are made at the national parks. No, that doesn't happen either. Woe on us here in Washington, but all across this Nation, the national parks are shut down.

Fish and wildlife, now, we have a real problem here. The fish and wildlife refuges in California are shut down, and we are approaching the end of duck season. Oh, my goodness. You mean we can't go duck hunting, as we might want to do, at the fish and wildlife refuges? That is right. You are not going to go duck hunting at the fish and wildlife refuges, as you have normally done, even though you put your bid in and you had January 15 for your date to hunt ducks at the refuge. Nope, can't do that.

Transportation, the Department of Transportation is shut down.

You tell me it is a small portion of the Federal Government. Well, it is a

small portion of the budget, but it is 85 percent of the activities of the Federal Government that are shut down: Department of the Interior, Department of Agriculture, Department of Homeland Security, Department of Housing and Urban Development, Department of Transportation, and the Internal Revenue Service.

Don't worry, we can't collect taxes. That is a good thing, right? My conservative friend says you can't collect taxes, and that is all right. No, I want my tax refund, and I can't get that either.

EPA, there are those who would argue that that is all good. Well, I don't think so, not if you are concerned about air and water, the ability to swim in the rivers or to drink the water.

Let's just say you are going out for your first tranche of funding. You need SEC approval. Well, you are not going to get it. The Securities and Exchange Commission is shut down also.

Eighty percent or more of the activities of the Federal Government are shut down.

There was a big headline in *The New York Times*, the failing *New York Times*, about the President and whether he is compromised. Well, I don't know. That will prove itself out one way or the other with the Mueller investigation and all that is going on.

But I do know this, that if Putin wanted to harm America, he would shut down the American Government. That is precisely what the President did. He shut down the American Government for 25 days. What greater gift would Putin want than an American Government that is not functioning?

Oh, the military is still there, but the fifth branch of the military is the Coast Guard with 40,000-plus Coast Guard members who are out there on the water protecting the borders of America. By the way, the Coast Guard has confiscated 10 times the amount of drugs that are confiscated on the Mexican border. They are working without pay. Essential services, yes, they are.

But the back-office services are not working. They are laid off. Contractors who have contracts to get a paycheck from the Department of Transportation on the road that they are supposed to be building or have built, it is not going to happen.

It is time for us to open this government. It is time for us to open the government and put America back to work. Put the essential services back to work.

The Food and Drug Administration is shut down. Who is checking? Many of my colleagues here have young grandchildren, infants. Who is checking the quality, the safety, of infant formula? The answer: No one.

Here we are. We are for border security. We Democrats are for border security. We have been for more than 20 years now. We voted for walls in the past. We voted for improving the security of the border in every way possible, and we will continue to do so.

But to hold America hostage, to hold our government hostage, to hold 800,000 government employees and 40,000-plus coastguardsmen and -women without pay? No way.

To simply come in at the very last moment in a negotiation that had been settled and drop a \$5 billion—excuse me, it is \$5.7 billion now; there seems to have been an escalation—a \$5.7 billion border wall on our process, it is unconscionable.

We can open the government. Bills have been passed here, not with the help of our Republican friends, but with the new majority. We have passed legislation day after day after day to fund the government. Some of it is short term, as we did just an hour ago here on the floor, a short-term CR to open government until February 1 to get people back to work and negotiate, negotiate border security.

The President wants a wall. Where does he want the wall? What kind of a wall does he want: cyclone fence, steel spikes, concrete? Where? For what purpose? What is its effectiveness? What is he trying to stop? Where is he trying to stop that incursion into America? None of that is available today.

I have been on the Armed Services Committee for 8 years, 9 years now. We would not build a hangar for the Air Force unless we knew what its purpose was, unless we knew where it was, what it would cost, why it was necessary. But the President wants a \$5.7 billion slush fund to build a wall somewhere along the 1,900 miles of the border.

Now, a couple of my colleagues were here a few moments ago talking about the President's desire to have a national emergency. Well, he sure as hell created one. But I think he is talking about those young children who are climbing over the fences in diapers. I suppose those are the terrorists he is talking about.

□ 1615

Madam Speaker, let's talk about what he proposes to do about it. He would call for a national emergency which gives him—he believes, we don't—but he believes the power to appropriate funds. The Constitution is very, very clear. There is only one part of our government that has the power to appropriate funds. It is us. It is the Congress. But apparently the President thinks he can declare a national emergency and acquire the appropriation power of Congress.

What does he intend to appropriate for his purposes of the border wall?

America has had some flooding in some of the districts of some of my colleagues that I see here on the floor. We passed the emergency legislation to deal with that. California has its droughts, but it also has its rain. This is the Oroville Dam. It is not subject to the emergency appropriations for disaster recovery. But the levees downstream from the Oroville Dam are subject to one of the appropriations in the disaster recovery bill. If Oroville Dam

had broken, within 1 hour a city of 40,000, Oroville, would be under 30 feet of water.

The levees downstream from Oroville on the Feather River are in the process of being repaired. Further downstream as you get to Sacramento, Madam Speaker, the American River and the Sacramento River, major levee projects, is the most flood-prone part of America. I know there are some friends from the Southeast here who would debate that point. But let's just say there is a lot of America that is subject to flooding.

This is a dangerous one. Money in these supplemental appropriation bills for disaster relief is designed to shore up the levees of America.

Now, some folks would argue, yeah, but it is not going to rain this year. Maybe. Maybe it makes no difference. But if it does rain, the repair of that levee makes all the difference.

Here is a place that a lot of our friends don't care much about: Puerto Rico. In the emergency disaster relief legislation that the President wants to raid is the repair of dams just upstream from San Juan, Puerto Rico. This is what happened during the hurricanes, and that dam spillway needs to be repaired.

The communities in Texas, California, the Carolinas, Florida, and the Gulf Coast don't want this to happen again.

How do we save them from this ever happening again?

It is to use the money that we have appropriated for disaster relief to repair the levees so that flooding is less likely to happen. But the President decides that he is going to create an emergency declaration, and he is going to go into the Army Corps of Civil Works programs that were allocated as a result of the appropriations from last spring's disaster relief legislation and rip \$2½ billion out of those appropriations.

Some of us have reason to suspect with some evidence that he intends to go after Puerto Rico and California. It turns out that the projects in California may be of interest to some of my Republican friends, particularly the minority leader, because one of the projects is Lake Isabella just upstream from Bakersfield, California.

So, Madam Speaker, we say to the President: A, there is no emergency; B, the shutdown of government is one of your own making; and C, you don't have the power to appropriate money yourself. Particularly, it is shameful to take money that we have allocated to protect Americans in Florida, Texas, California, Puerto Rico, the Carolinas, and even Missouri so that their levees and so that their flood control projects can be updated and improved and so the safety of those communities can be enhanced.

Here is what we want: we want government opened. It is inexplicable that after 25 days this government is shut

down because the President is demanding \$5.7 billion for a border wall without even telling us where that is going to be built. Oh, excuse me. That is a misstatement. It is going to be built on the Mexican-American border.

Where?

Is it going to be built where there is a real need?

What kind of a wall will it be?

That seems to change every 12 hours because there are no plans worthy of our—we are presumably responsible for the taxpayer dollars—consideration as to where, what the effectiveness would be, what the usefulness would be, what the cost would be, or even what the color will be.

Open our government. Pass the legislation in the Senate. The President said he will veto it. Okay. Put it on his desk. Let him veto it. He already says he is wearing the mantle of the shutdown. Let him put on another coat, another mantle of a veto, so that the American public knows precisely who is responsible for this shutdown.

We have done our job here. We have passed the legislation to fund this government—all but one department—for the remainder of this fiscal year until September 30, 2019. We have done that multiple times now, and we have left the issue of the Department of Homeland Security in which the issue of the border fence resides on a short-term leash so that all of us would be forced to come back to negotiate border security.

Democrats would undoubtedly go for improvements in the ports of entry. One out of five cars is not checked at the border. Maybe we ought to deal with that. Only a few of the containers arriving at our ports are checked. Most are not. Maybe we ought to deal with that. Maybe we ought to look at our airports where we know most presumed terrorists arrive.

So what are we doing here?

We are shutting down—we. Excuse me. We are not shutting down. The President is shutting down this government for 25 days.

I can only imagine the joy in the Kremlin. Consider for a moment Mr. Putin, saying: Oh, my God. The American Government is shut down.

He couldn't do it by himself. Only our President would do it to us.

We have got things to do here.

I notice one of my colleagues, Mr. LEVIN, has arrived, and I know he wants to join us on this issue in a few moments. In the meantime, I have got a few more things to say.

To my Republican colleagues who will soon follow me on this floor when this hour is done, I can get pretty heated about some things, and maybe I have been, but I want them to think about what is actually happening here in America and why we are in this situation.

My Republican colleagues had the power over the last 2 years to build any wall they wanted to build anywhere they wanted to build it—Canadian bor-

der, Mexican border. They had the power. They didn't do it. Excuse me. That is not right. I think 22 miles of new wall have been built in the last 3 years. That is okay. I think the appropriation was somewhere less than \$50 million for that. Now here we are.

I would love to hear my Republican colleagues explain to the American public how it came about that we are in this situation when they had 2 years to build whatever wall they thought the President might want to build. It didn't happen.

I heard a wonderful and foolish—a wonderful argument, because it was so foolish—that gee whiz, \$5.7 billion is just a very small part of the total American budget for expenditures.

That is true. It is a small part. That is \$5.7 billion.

Madam Speaker, \$5.7 billion would provide a year and a half of funding for all of the tuition for every student at the University of California and the 23 State universities in California—more than 1 million students. Madam Speaker, \$5.7 billion is no small amount of money.

How many kids could you educate?

How much relief could we supply to people who are hungry here in America or some part of the world?

By the way, my Republican friends did create a massive deficit when they passed the tax bill last December—a massive deficit. It will approach over \$900 billion this year. It just about doubled the annual deficit with that piece of legislation. I used to say the deficit hawks migrate in December. My guess is they are going to come back as we deal with the new appropriation bill, and as we do that, I would hope they would keep in mind the \$5.7 billion for an unspecified wall in an unspecified location of an unspecified height to carry on an unspecified purpose—5.7 billion.

So let us continue for a moment. I want to deal with one other thing. This is the kind of thing that probably, Madam Speaker, you have to see this picture. This picture is worth maybe 500 words, but nevertheless I am going to use 250 of them.

This is a picture of the President of the United States and the Governor of California at the Paradise fire. Somewhere around 16, 17,000 homes were destroyed. Eighty-seven American citizens were killed in that fire. An entire community of some 25, 30,000 people is gone. It just doesn't exist anymore. It is gone. It is ash. It is rubble.

Fortunately, Madam Speaker, the American Government, you and I and others and those who preceded us, developed a program called the Stafford Act which provides the generosity of Americans to help rebuild families and communities such as Paradise, California; or Redding, California which also suffered a few thousand homes burned and destroyed, not nearly as many deaths fortunately.

□ 1630

So the Stafford Act is what we know as FEMA, Federal Emergency Manage-

ment Agency, the declaration at the county level and at the State level of a disaster, then at the Federal level of a disaster, and then a presidential declaration of a disaster.

The Federal Government then steps in and begins to provide funding to rebuild, to help the individuals who have lost everything, through the Small Business Administration and some direct grants, and to help communities put back in place their infrastructure. It is a wonderful expression of America's empathy and generosity.

Two weeks ago my colleague Mr. LAMALFA's constituents, who has the district just north of me, many of whom now live and have found housing in my area just south of Paradise, were greeted with a tweet from the President.

I am going to paraphrase what the tweet said; I don't have it with me right now. It basically said: I will stop all FEMA funding until the State of California properly manages its forests.

Madam Speaker, I must tell you, we have seen tweet after tweet, and they range from disgusting to awful and occasionally one that you go: "Okay." But with this one we said: What in the world are you talking about, Mr. President? What are you tweeting about?

You are going to deny these people—you were there, Mr. President. You were there. You saw the devastation.

We counted the 87 people who died, and they are still sifting through the remains of these houses and may find even more. You were there. And you say you are going to cut off support until California manages its forests properly. You know not what you talk about or tweet about, Mr. President.

The fact of the matter is that the Federal forests which you oversee, Mr. President, are the ones that are mismanaged, for a whole variety of historic reasons, many of which we have actually made steps to improve here in legislation.

So what is with this man that he would wake up one morning and say: No more help from the Federal Government.

Does he think everything is about leverage? Is that what he thinks, that he could use his power, awesome as it is, to leverage something?

That is precisely what he is doing with the wall. That is precisely what he is doing with 25 days of this Nation's government shutdown. He is using the citizens of America as leverage. He is using the 800,000 employees, the Department of Interior, the Department of the Treasury, the IRS, the EPA, the Department of Transportation, the Coast Guard, as leverage for his border wall promise.

It is despicable. It has got to end.

I need time to cool off.

Madam Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. LEVIN), my colleague, who comes from an extraordinary family.

And another generation has joined us.

Mr. LEVIN of Michigan. Madam Speaker, I appreciate Mr. GARAMENDI's leadership on this issue.

I don't think there is—I have not been able to find—another democratic nation in our world that shuts down its government over policy arguments, wasting \$1.2 billion of GDP a week for no purpose.

Madam Speaker, I want to share a few stories of the impact of this senseless shutdown on workers, on people in my home State.

When we went home on Friday, I organized a meeting at our airport, Detroit Metropolitan Airport, with a range of Federal workers who have been affected. We just wanted to listen to them and hear their stories.

We invited FRED UPTON and my Democratic colleagues from Michigan, and those who traveled home were able to make it.

I just want to share a few of those stories.

There is Dave, a biologist at the NOAA research lab in Ann Arbor. He has been furloughed, not getting paid. They study the water currents in the Straits of Mackinac.

Line 5, our locally famous pipeline that literally just goes in the water in the bottom of the Great Lakes underneath the Mackinac Bridge, if that breaks or has a rupture, the research of this group is what determines how we would fight that oil spill, which would devastate the economy of the Great Lakes.

That supercomputer is shut off. It is just not working. And if we have that, if there was an accident there, the whole Midwest would be out of luck.

They run an experimental weather computer that supplements the basic work of the National Weather Service and contributes to our weather forecasting. God forbid we have a huge storm somewhere in the United States where we get it wrong because they are not doing their work; they are not able to work. Just imagine some huge pile-up of cars on one of our interstates that happens because we are not doing our best weather forecasting.

We heard from Mark, who is the president of his local. He works at the EPA lab in Ann Arbor. That lab is shut down.

They are the ones who determine the fuel efficiency of the cars you buy. Our auto companies right now are not able to move their cars forward toward the market because they cannot begin to sell a car until it has the EPA rating.

That EPA lab also does enforcement of fossil fuel companies in our region. That is not happening.

We heard from Wanavira, a TSA agent for the last 2½ years. She is a veteran. So many of these people were veterans. She is a veteran. She was a Detroit cop for 10 years, and now she is a TSA agent.

She had to go to the food bank to make sure she had food for her family because she is not getting paid. She is being forced to work without pay.

We heard from Jennifer, another TSA agent. She and her husband—I forget which was which—one of them is 11 years and one of them is 16 years working for TSA. Friday was a pay-less payday for the whole family, no income coming in at all.

Her comment was: We have got this week figured out. But next week—meaning, the week we are in right now—they don't know how they are going to put food on the table.

We heard from Youssef, who works for the Customs service. He said his friends think he is on vacation because he has been furloughed by our government. But his comment was that he didn't think a vacation included calling your mortgage lender and your car loan creditor to beg for a month of forbearance. He never thought that he would get rich as a public servant, but he also didn't think he would have trouble buying formula for his 5-month-old daughter.

We heard from Angel, a computer programmer for the IRS. She has twin girls in college. They just started a new semester. She has no money to buy their books. She has no money to buy their other supplies. She is another veteran.

She herself has student loans. She tried to go on edu.gov to figure out if she could get a month off. Website closed.

So we need to work hard to break through to the Secretary of Education to work with her to give forgiveness for student loans for Federal employees who are affected by this.

And, finally, I have got to share the story of Tim. It is a frightening one because he inspects our planes, and half of them are working and half of them are furloughed, and they are not inspecting our planes to the extent that they normally do.

This is no joke. I do not want this shutdown to end because our friends finally come to their senses after some horrible thing happens to a plane, our cars, or our food supply or something that isn't being inspected.

But Tim is a Navy vet who went to work for General Motors. He lost his job in the Great Recession.

Madam Speaker, in a previous life, I created and ran something called No Worker Left Behind. I ran the workforce system of the State of Michigan, and I created, essentially, the largest experiment by any State in actually putting workers back to school who were unemployed or underemployed.

We put 162,000 Michiganders back to school. This gentleman, Tim, was one of them. He studied IT. And out of that program in Oakland County, Michigan, he got a job with the FAA. And here he is, working without a paycheck now. And so many of his coworkers are furloughed.

He just wants to serve his country. He has two kids in college, again, and they need funding for tuition, books, and so forth.

Madam Speaker, there is no reason that 820,000 Federal workers are forced

to work for no pay or are simply off without their livelihood. And so many more government contractors are being victimized, and so many small businesspeople who run a restaurant or a barbershop near a government facility are robbed of their income.

The economic effects are devastating. There is no reason for it.

I appreciate Mr. GARAMENDI's leadership on this. I just wanted to come down and join him in calling on our colleagues in the Senate to join with us in voting to reopen our government right now. After all, we passed what they had passed, what our Republican friends had passed. It is not our appropriations, how we would want them, as Democrats. We passed their appropriations.

And in a bipartisan spirit, let's reopen our government, and we can have all the negotiations we want over policy matters.

Mr. GARAMENDI. Madam Speaker, I thank the gentleman for bringing our attention to the real-life problems that these employees have personally and that are being created for Americans, whether it is the weather or a broken pipeline or an airplane that wasn't inspected. It is very important that we all know those things. I thank the gentleman for joining us.

Madam Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. BRENDAN F. BOYLE), my colleague, and ask him to please share with us his thoughts on the government shutdown.

Mr. BRENDAN F. BOYLE of Pennsylvania. Madam Speaker, I applaud the gentleman from California for leading on this issue.

I find that there is a false perception when it comes to Federal workers that they are all based in the Washington, D.C., area. We even heard some comment to that effect from the President not so long ago.

In fact, so much of our Federal workforce is spread throughout the country. In the Philadelphia metro area that I represent, we have the fifth highest number of Federal workers in the country. Furthermore, there are all those who actually are impacted in some way by this government shutdown, not just the 800,000-plus who are going right now without a paycheck.

My ask is very simple. I want the Senate majority leader to allow a vote on the same bill that passed unanimously—unanimously—in the Senate just a few weeks ago.

On that Wednesday, it passed on voice vote unanimously in the Senate. We were here on Thursday morning, prepared to vote on that same legislation.

But what happened between Wednesday afternoon and Thursday morning? The President received a great deal of criticism from his base, and then suddenly the bill that passed unanimously from the Senate less than 24 hours prior was not good enough, and now here we are, stuck in the longest government shutdown in American history.

I also want to make this point, because all of us in government so often have gone from crisis to crisis to crisis. This is a real systemic problem in which we—all of us, regardless of party—are shooting ourselves in the foot and actually reducing now the economic projection of our GDP growth over the next year, completely needlessly. Almost every Western democracy does not do it this way.

Once we get beyond the shutdown, a bipartisan group of legislators should look for a systemic fix to this and the other sort of major way in which we shoot ourselves in the foot, which is when we actually come into danger of not raising the debt ceiling and playing really with fire.

These are mechanisms that most other Western democracies don't have. They certainly have their partisan fights; only, instead of two parties, often, it is more than two major parties.

□ 1645

So I do think that once we get beyond this crisis, we do need to figure out a way to prevent this from ever happening again.

There are going to be different legislators in these seats, inevitably all of us will be gone. There will be the switch of party control that has happened multiple times in this century and will continue to happen.

We need to figure out a way to avoid these needless government shutdowns in the future that are only costly. They hurt real people who are living paycheck to paycheck—people, by the way, who are Democrats, Republicans, Independents, and nonvoters. And there is really nothing to be gained out of these government shutdowns.

So let us work together to end this government shutdown. It is completely unnecessary. It could end tomorrow if there were willingness in the White House and on the Senate side. And then let's also work together to ensure that this is not only the longest government shutdown in American history, but also the last.

Mr. GARAMENDI. The gentleman is quite correct about the nature of the shutdown and the impact that it has on Americans.

Can I be optimistic and encourage him to figure out how to stop these from ever happening again? And when he grows a very gray head of hair and a gray beard, perhaps he will have figured it out. It just hasn't happened.

I was around for the 1995 shutdown. I was the Deputy Secretary at the Department of the Interior, number two, and that massive Department which I spoke of earlier, the parks, the Fish and Wildlife services, all of those organizations—gone.

At that time, we did not have the requirement that essential services would be provided; there was just nobody working. And that went on for, I think, 23 days, which until this week was the longest. It was a long time ago,

and here we are once again and in between. I think there are ways.

I notice many of my colleagues on the Republican side are here, will soon have the opportunity to take the floor and will probably debate many of the points or disagree with many of the points that I have made earlier today. I saw a few jaws clenching, biting down on their teeth, just wanting to get in the mix of it.

Mr. MEADOWS asked for time, and I didn't really want to hear that, but the gentleman will have time in just a moment. I am not sure what he is going to argue, but I would be pleased to hear why this shutdown is good, why it is necessary to keep the government of America, the essential parts of the government—not the military. The Medicare checks continue to go out, and that is happening. The military, Department of Defense, we funded that earlier, and that continues, and thankfully so.

But the Treasury Department, SEC, EPA, Agriculture—I didn't even get into agriculture, although I have a \$4.5 billion farm gate agricultural district. They are hurting.

The crop checks that they need and the assurance they need to their lenders that they will be able to plant their crops when the rainy season is over in a few weeks, it is not happening now, so that is delayed. And it may be, if it goes much longer, they will miss their planting opportunities.

Food stamps will soon be unavailable, and millions of Americans may, under that circumstance, be very, very hungry. Why is it worth it? Why is it worth it?

Why don't we start up government, pass the legislation that is over in the Senate, encourage, cajole, browbeat a few Senators to pass the legislation, put it on the President's desk, and then he can have that mantle of shutting down the government once again very clearly?

We will deal with border security. We have over the years, and recently we have done that and we will do it again. But that is a negotiating process. We negotiate on virtually everything around here.

I have yet to get my way; but then, I am one of seven children. I learned very, very early, I don't get my way very often. I would like to participate in that process of give-and-take.

And for proper comprehensive border security, we know—I won't speak names. Perhaps that will get me in trouble here. But more than one of you sitting there and I have had conversations about border security, about immigration and how we could solve that problem. That is going to take some time, and surely there are places for a fence or a wall or concrete or steel or whatever, those places for improved ports of entry, more personnel.

I haven't even started to talk about the children that were separated. That will get me off on another thing that wouldn't be helpful now. But that

takes time, and you and I know that we need to solve that problem.

So let's start our government today, tomorrow. Let's prove to the world that it really is an American Government—not shut down but operating, all of its good and all of its extraordinary work and, occasionally, the mistakes that it makes. But it is not operating now.

And then let's take the time over the next 30 days, 60 days, whatever you want to put on it, to negotiate real border security, dealing with the immigration issues, dealing with DACA, dealing with fences and border ports of entry, the kind of technology that is necessary to know what is inside that container, the kind of technology that is necessary, and the kind of personnel necessary to check not one of five cars but every car and every truck and every plane and every ship. We ought to do that. But right now we are in the heat of this, and we are not getting anywhere.

So as he takes the floor in the next hour, I will listen and our team will listen. I would ask him to encourage his colleagues, our colleagues in the Senate, to pass the legislation that has been sent to them, which is actually the Republican appropriations bills, take a very significant major step towards reopening government, and then let's take the time to thoughtfully, properly address a very complex, very long-lasting problem in America: immigration, border security. I know most of them, and I think that is what they would really like to do.

Madam Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Members are reminded to direct their remarks to the Chair and avoid engaging in personalities toward the President.

#### THE CRISIS AT THE BORDER

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 3, 2019, the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. PERRY) is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the minority leader.

Mr. PERRY. Madam Speaker, I rise to speak about the crisis at the border, what is happening now, and what we can expect if we don't resolve this issue.

I can't help but comment on a few things that my good friend, the gentleman from California, said. And just in case he wasn't paying attention, we are talking about 234 miles of border security fencing or wall or barrier of some sort as enumerated by the Secretary of Homeland Security—not the President; the Secretary of Homeland Security.

So when he says it is unspecified where it will be and what it will be, it is very closely and very particularly specified by the Secretary, not by the President, and it is the 10 worst sites along the border where there is no barrier now.