

that we reform the way Washington spends money, and I want a better and more responsible America for my children and your children.

Madam Speaker, I hate the bickering that has consumed this institution. I dislike the fighting. But even more, I dislike the \$17 trillion in debt that's preventing American exceptionalism.

It is unacceptable that last year our country spent a trillion more than we had. It is unacceptable that our President does not want to talk about how we get out of the red or the fact that ObamaCare will add another \$1.3 trillion to our deficit.

We had historic spending reforms in this House and have begun the process to reprioritize how Washington spends your tax dollars. I will continue my efforts to get our fiscal house back in order. I will continue to advocate that we return to a constitutional appropriations process and begin passing all of our spending bills.

One of the most important powers the Constitution outlines is in article I. It is for Congress to control Federal spending. We must get back to that system of checks and balances that our forefathers designed and the Constitution demands.

GOVERNMENT SHUTDOWN

(Ms. KAPTUR asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Ms. KAPTUR. Madam Speaker, I want to apologize to the people of southern Ohio in Pike County at the uranium enrichment facility for not being able to be with them today. We did not anticipate that our schedule would be completely disrupted by the shenanigans here due to the GOP shutdown of our departments of government, which is so unnecessary and so absolutely discourteous to the people of this country.

Initially, when this happened, the calls that came into our office were calls of dismay and shock and upset about the inability of this Congress to reach agreement because of a very reckless faction on that other—majority's side of the aisle.

The calls have changed. Now we're getting calls from people who've gone to apply for Social Security benefits and there's nobody there to take their application. Now we're getting calls from veterans who are returning from theater and there is nobody there to process their benefit claims.

We have over 800,000 people furloughed from the Federal Government. Guess what? One of my communities had sent officers for training at one of the FBI academies, and they're riding back home right now because that training was not available.

Madam Speaker, our responsibility is to provide a stable government that gives confidence to the people of this country, advances economic growth, and meets our responsibilities. All Republicans have to do is send a clean

continuing resolution to the floor and this could end.

GOVERNMENT SHUTDOWN

(Mr. GRIFFITH of Virginia asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. GRIFFITH of Virginia. Madam Speaker, I did not plan to take the floor today, but I was receiving a call this afternoon from Felecia Shelor, who runs the Poor Farmers Market in Meadows of Dan. She was calling both on her behalf and on behalf of her friends who run Mabry Mill, an establishment just off the Blue Ridge Parkway.

She told me that they were having similar problems to what we've read about with Mt. Vernon being closed down, even though it's not run by the Federal Government and isn't owned by the Federal Government. Mabry Mill is not a Federal facility, but it's just off the Parkway. We know in North Carolina there was a facility where they blocked the parking. We don't have the ability to do the regular things, but we can block the parking of businesses.

Ladies and gentlemen, this is a tragedy. Sixty-some employees in the various businesses there may be affected negatively by the actions of the park service. I call your attention to this. I ask you if you're in the neighborhood, go to the Blue Ridge Parkway, travel down it, go to Mabry Mill, shop the stores nearby. They need you to show that they're not going to allow the government to play cheap tricks, as one park ranger said they were doing in an article in the Washington Times today:

We've been told to make life as difficult for people as we can. It's disgusting.

That's what an angry park ranger said.

Everyone, Madam Speaker, in this country should be angry, and they should go out to the Parkway.

GOVERNMENT SHUTDOWN

(Ms. SHEA-PORTER asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Ms. SHEA-PORTER. Madam Speaker, it's very clear to The Wall Street Journal, it's clear to the Chamber of Commerce, it's clear to USA Today, and it's clear to the American public that the Republican right wing, the Tea Party, has shut down the government.

Now I find out that we're going home. Speaker BOEHNER has decided that Congress will go home tomorrow. How can we possibly go home? There are people who are not being paid, people here who are not being paid. The police were not paid that work here every day. Across this country, people are not receiving what they paid for, and we're going home. I'm embarrassed about this.

We should stay here. If they can't agree to accept the fact that they lost the vote on the health care law again and again, if they can't agree to that, can they at least agree to work on jobs? There's plenty of work to do in this country, and we have no right to go home until we get this job done.

□ 1830

OBAMACARE

(Mr. MARINO asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. MARINO. Madam Speaker, my colleague who just spoke failed to tell the American people that we're going home tomorrow after we get our morning work done to hug our children, see our spouses, and we're going to be back here Monday.

So with that said, several years ago, before ObamaCare was implemented, or right after it was, the media asked the other side of the House, What's in it? And the other side of the House responded, Well, we don't know. We have to pass it to see what's in it. To see what the language says, the people are going to have to read it.

So now we are reading it. Big business is reading it; they don't like it. Unions are reading it; they don't like it. Most Americans don't like it.

So what does that mean? When ObamaCare was passed, it was supposed to cost \$900 billion and some change and cover 60 million people for 10 years. The latest numbers today, it may cover 24,000 people at a cost of just shy of \$2 trillion. Every year, this country is spending \$1 trillion more than we bring in. Who's going to pay for it? Where are we going to get the money? Borrow it from the Chinese? Or put it on the backs of the hardworking middle class taxpayers? It has to stop.

LET'S TALK

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 3, 2013, the gentlewoman from Missouri (Mrs. HARTZLER) is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the majority leader.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mrs. HARTZLER. Madam Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material on the subject of my Special Order.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentlewoman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

Mrs. HARTZLER. Madam Speaker, today is a historic day. It is the fourth day of the Democrats' government shutdown. There is a profound difference of opinion on not just ObamaCare but on the size and role of government in our lives. The future course of our country and what we look like hangs in the balance. Will we continue down the path of a bigger government that takes more of our hard-

earned money, inflicts a substandard health care system on us, and tramples our rights? Or will we be a Nation of the people, by the people, and for the people that protects our rights, ensures our liberties, and allows us to keep our hard-earned money? These are big decisions. And America is watching how we, as leaders, solve these problems and come to a resolution.

As Republicans, we have been here and have put forth proposal after proposal to fund the government and keep it open and protect the American people from this onerous health care law. We have sent over to the Senate numerous proposals to keep the government open while ensuring no one gets special treatment under ObamaCare. Unfortunately, HARRY REID and the Senate Democrats rebuffed every attempt to negotiate and slammed the door to talking.

They went home last weekend. We stayed here and worked. They tabled each of our proposals. We appointed conferees. HARRY REID refused to appoint conferees. He has slammed the door to reopening government by refusing to talk.

President Obama called Speaker BOEHNER to the White House yesterday. We were encouraged. Sadly, the message was, I've called you here to tell you I'm not going to talk. I'm not going to talk. I'm not going to talk. Good-bye.

You can't negotiate if you won't talk.

My mother is a pretty special lady and a pretty wise woman. When I was a little girl, she knew how to get my sister and I talking again when we were mad after a fight. She'd make us sit in a room together for half an hour. We hated it. It was uncomfortable at first. We didn't want to make eye contact or communicate. But by the end of 30 minutes, we were always talking again, and we were ready to set aside our differences and move forward. That's what needs to happen here.

I have got a poster here. Let's talk. That's what we need to do. But instead, the President has resorted to tactics and over-the-top political stunts that are not only harmful to moving the discussion forward but are harmful to American citizens. He furloughed defense civilians and Reserve personnel. This is in spite of the legislation we passed and he signed to prevent that.

The Pay Our Military Act appropriates funds to our military and allows all defense workers to remain on the job, but the President has decided to furlough workers anyway. As a result, over 150,000 Army civilians and 75,000 Navy civilians were sent home. Reports are coming in that long overdue maintenance at shipyards is being delayed and not completed. Our national defense is jeopardized because our Commander in Chief has sidelined our military.

But that's not all. The President has chosen to try to inflict as much public pain as possible to get his way. For the

first time in history, he has closed the U.S. memorials in Washington, D.C., and around the world. Despite many of these memorials being open air venues with 24/7 access 365 days out of the year, he has spent precious tax dollars renting barricades to close them.

Earlier this week, President Obama ordered the National Park Service to close the World War II Memorial despite the fact that numerous World War II veterans had been planning for months to travel to D.C. to visit the iconic memorial as part of the Honor Flight program.

Here's a picture of what they were greeted with: instead of being greeted like heroes, these veterans came to D.C. to see metal barriers surrounding the monument in the middle of the Mall erected to honor their service and their sacrifice. There was no need to ever close the World War II Memorial other than to make a political point, as keeping these monuments open would not cost a thing and were funded primarily through private donations by those wishing to honor these veterans.

When I went down Wednesday morning to help remove the barriers for veterans from Missouri so they could see their memorial, I was ashamed of the President's action and continuous lack of respect for the men and women who fought and died for our country. The unprecedented action of closing monuments has never been authorized during any previous government shutdown by any other President, including President Clinton, and underscores this President's desire to purposely do everything in his power to make Americans suffer from his political games.

The President has since seen the public outcry and opened the World War II Memorial but only to veterans. Unfortunately, it remains barricaded to the general public and all other war memorials. President Obama has also barricaded other venues in D.C., such as the FDR Memorial, the Lincoln Memorial, and the new Martin Luther King, Jr., Memorial. Here they are in this poster doing that.

He, himself, dedicated this memorial in 2011. And during his dedication speech, he referenced many important milestones in the life of Dr. King and made reference to the fact that this monument was meant for all who seek freedom and testament to the numerous—and here are the President's words—"the numerous barricades that have fallen since Dr. King started his fateful journey to push for social justice."

However, the President has chosen to needlessly punish Americans who travel to D.C. to pay homage to the monument and has literally erected barriers to keep out those visitors.

In that same 2011 speech, the President points out that if Dr. King were alive today, "He would want us to know that we can argue fiercely about the proper size and role of government without questioning each other's love for this country—with the knowledge

that in this democracy, government is no distant object but is rather an expression of our common commitments to one another. He would call on us to assume the best in each other, rather than the worst, and challenge one another in ways that ultimately heal, rather than wound."

I sincerely wish the President would heed Dr. King's wise words and sit down with us so we can work out our differences instead of needlessly punishing Americans for his inability to find common ground and civilly pass legislation.

Let's talk.

Now I want to give my colleagues an opportunity to share their thoughts about this important time in history. So I yield to my good friend from Tennessee, DIANE BLACK.

Mrs. BLACK. I thank the gentlelady for yielding.

Madam Speaker, ObamaCare is having disastrous effects on Americans across this country. And in my home State of Tennessee, premiums are rising by as much as 190 percent. And now schools are being forced to reduce hours for substitute teachers.

Every day, constituents contact my office with stories about how this devastating law is hurting them. Louis in Hendersonville told me that his premiums are going up, and I quote:

We do not know how to address this huge additional burden. Please help.

Tracy in Smithville wrote to me and said:

I will have to close my business due to ObamaCare. I'm a veteran, and I have spent 21 years building this business. It's a shame that it has come to this. Everything that I have worked for will be gone because of this bill.

Jeffrey in Goodlettsville is a small business owner who wrote to me:

Please continue fighting back against this law.

My constituents and Americans across the country never supported this law that is being rammed down their throats by the President and Senate Democrats. My House Republican colleagues and I have repeatedly worked to try to protect them from the law's disastrous effects. But instead of listening to the American people, the Senate Democrats have shut down the government to protect their own ObamaCare carve-out. Madam Speaker, this is shameful. And it's past time that HARRY REID negotiate with this House to address the concerns of the American people over this disastrous law.

Mrs. HARTZLER. Thank you, Diane, for those great words.

Now I yield to the gentleman from Florida, Mr. RON DESANTIS, who knows a little bit about serving his country in multiple ways, including being a part of the Navy.

Mr. DESANTIS. I thank the gentlewoman for yielding.

I just want to address some things that I have been hearing out there that just strike me as wrong. The President

said that ObamaCare has nothing to do with the budget. Now that is very rich, considering it was passed using budget reconciliation in order to ram it through the Senate with less than 60 votes. So it was a budget issue then. Somehow it's not now. Of course the individual mandate has been ruled a tax by the Supreme Court, and it authorizes trillions of dollars in new spending.

Now some say ObamaCare is the law and, therefore, cannot be changed. Well, this body has the constitutional authority to legislate. We can always amend or change the laws. But I would also say, if this particular law is somehow so special and sacrosanct, then why isn't the President enforcing it, as written? Indeed, he has given waivers and exemptions to politically connected entities, including a bailout for Members of Congress, giving them relief from the text of the very law that they passed without reading.

I think ObamaCare is dangerous in terms of how it's going to impact economic growth and medical care in the country. But just in terms of good government, this really is a recipe for institutionalized cronyism. You have burdens imposed on society. And then those who have political connections can get those burdens removed.

So employers can get it removed. We know there will be something for labor unions at some point. But if you are an individual, well, you've still got to abide by ObamaCare's dictates.

Some say doing individual bills is simply cherry-picking, we can't pass individual spending bills, which the House has been doing very resolutely over the last several days.

Big omnibus CRs, that is not the way business is supposed to be done. You are packing all the departments into one big bill. You are forfeiting Congress' ability to make good spending choices, forfeiting Congress' oversight authority, locking in bad policy. We haven't done appropriations bills in this House for years. A lot of this stuff that's locked into these CRs was done when we had the previous Speaker of the House. So individual bills are better. The Senate should absolutely act on our bills.

And then just finally, I would say, before I yield back to the gentlewoman from Missouri, ObamaCare is the only major piece of legislation that's passed in the last 80 years that had zero support from the other party. Social Security had 80 percent of the Republicans in the House; the Civil Rights Act had 80 percent of the Republicans in the House; Reaganomics, the Reagan economic program, had 78 percent of Democrats in the Senate. So typically, these big laws have broad bipartisan support. This one didn't. And we have a lot of constituents who didn't want it to begin with and don't like living under it now.

Mrs. HARTZLER. I thank the gentleman. I think that is very true. It shows that we are here fighting for a

bunch of people in this country whom it's hurting. And that's why we need to repeal it or amend it or do something to stop this onerous law that's hurting people. So thanks for bringing that up.

Now I yield to my good friend from Colorado, DOUG LAMBORN.

Mr. LAMBORN. I thank the gentlewoman for yielding.

I want to talk about negotiations. The President, unfortunately, has said he's not going to negotiate on the debt ceiling. And HARRY REID has said, he's not going to send negotiators to sit down with Republicans and talk about the continuing resolution and the government shutdown.

But that begs the question: Who does the President negotiate with? Well, take a look here. Bashar al-Assad, the dictator of the regime in Syria, who has used poison gas on his people about 15 times; 100,000 people have died in that civil war. And after the latest explosion of poison gas, the civilized world was outraged that 1,500 people were killed. And John Kerry now has entered into negotiations, with the Russians acting as intermediaries.

□ 1845

So the Russians are going to help negotiate with the Syrians. This has the blessing of the President. I wish them success on this venture. I hope the negotiations come to something, but they are willing to negotiate with these reprehensible dictators from around the world, and that includes Iran. Iran now has entered into discussions with the State Department and the President. The President has talked to the President of Iran, Hassan Rouhani, and I wish success upon these negotiations. They are trying their best.

But when you think about these characters around the world, and in some cases evil regimes that the President is negotiating with, who is he not negotiating with? The Republicans in the House.

JOHN BOEHNER is the Speaker of the House, and the Republicans in the conference represent over half the people in America. Over half of Americans are represented by Republicans here in Congress, over half the country; and yet the President won't even negotiate. HARRY REID, the Senate majority leader, won't even send negotiators to talk to House negotiators. I think this is wrong. I think we should have some negotiations. I think we should have some discussions. If these people merit negotiation and discussion, certainly half of the country, the Republicans here in the House who represent half of the country, should enter into negotiations.

So I call on the President to negotiate with the Speaker and House Republicans on the debt ceiling. I call on HARRY REID to send negotiators to meet with House Republicans to talk about the government slowdown or shutdown or whatever you want to call it.

We need to negotiate, Mr. President. We need to negotiate, Mr. REID.

Mrs. HARTZLER. Thank you, Doug. What great points. We have extended our hand to the Senate and to the President this entire time, and yet we have had the door slammed in our face. But you're right, he has negotiated with others. It's time for him to negotiate with us. Thank you for bringing up those excellent points.

Now I yield to the chairman of the Financial Services Committee, the gentleman from Texas (Mr. JEB HENSARLING).

Mr. HENSARLING. I thank the gentlelady for yielding. I especially thank her for her leadership on this Special Order, and her leadership on behalf of all of our men and women who serve in uniform, many in her district. And she is well respected within this institution for what she has done for our military.

Madam Speaker, I know the American people occasionally get somewhat confused by what is going on in Congress. Here's what's easy to understand: House Republicans have put not one offer on the table, not two, not three, but four; four different offers to negotiate with the President and the Democrats. What do we hear from the President? What do we hear from HARRY REID, no negotiations.

You know, I still recall vividly my mother-in-law who has a saying, the least you can do in life is show up. President Barack Obama and HARRY REID have not shown up. Now I know that the President says at one time in his life he taught congressional law. Some of us find that somewhat ironic because if the President actually knew the Constitution, then he would know that it is the Congress that has the power of the purse. It is Congress that appropriates funds. Nowhere will you find in the Constitution that Congress is relegated to the power of the rubber stamp. So we know that the President and HARRY REID want us to rubber-stamp the health care policies of this administration that we hear about every single day. Every single day I'm hearing from one of my constituents, Congressman HENSARLING, they just cut me back to 29 hours because of ObamaCare. Congressman HENSARLING, my health care premiums are going up \$1,500 because of ObamaCare. And yet we're told by the President, it's the law, don't touch it. Well, it's a law that he has already changed seven times, and it is a law that's hurting our constituents. And, no, Republicans are never, never, never going to give up on our quest to have patient-centered health care that's right for our families and doesn't harm our economy and is not an affront to our freedom. So we'll never give up on that.

Madam Speaker, we know that the President is not going to sign away his signature item, and we know since so much of this spending is what we call mandatory spending, automatic spending, we know that the President is not going to cooperate to repeal it or defund it, and we'll never give up our

quest. But, Madam Speaker, all we're asking for now is if ObamaCare is going to be imposed on the American people, then it ought to be imposed equally—none of these special interest deals, none of these sweetheart deals. You know what, if it's good enough for the American people, it ought to be good enough for the President.

Why wasn't he the first one, the very first one signing up for this? Why wasn't there a line at the White House? Well, I can tell you why, Madam Speaker, because, guess what, they exempted themselves. The American people are tired of Washington elites passing laws that the rest of us are supposed to live under. That's not what the American people expect, and so Republicans are asking one thing: if ObamaCare is going to be imposed on America, no special deals for big business, no special deals for big labor. If they are going to get a 1-year reprieve, then working Americans ought to get a 1-year working reprieve. And if it's good enough for working Americans, it ought to be applied to the President, his Cabinet, and everyone in the White House and the Congress.

Listen, I don't want to put my family in the exchanges. I don't want to lose the employer contribution that the taxpayers have so generously given us, but we're not going to have the President act like he can make the law. No Member of Congress, no one in the White House is above the law. So that's what we're trying to do. We want negotiations. If we're going to get stuck with ObamaCare while the President is the President, then let it be applied equally; but this is bigger than this.

Millions and millions of our fellow countrymen are either unemployed or underemployed. They need our help. This is a spending bill. The President's economic policies have failed. We want fundamental tax reform. We want to get rid of the red tape burden. We want to take our Nation off the road to bankruptcy. I say this not just as a Member of Congress, but as the father of a 10-year-old son and an 11-year-old daughter. So somehow when the President says you can't mess with this spending bill and we want you to rubber-stamp the debt ceiling, the Republicans say, no, no, no, Mr. President. We will negotiate with you in good faith and maybe the electorate gave you the White House and the Senate, but the American people gave the House to the Republican Party, and we will not sit idly by while men and women are unemployed and underemployed, wondering how they're going to feed their families. We're not going to sit idly by while he bankrupts this Nation for future generations.

No, no, no, we will not sit idly by. We are ready to negotiate, but we are through negotiating with ourselves, and the American people will demand ultimately that the President and HARRY REID negotiate and we work together to get this economy back and put us on a road to fiscal solvency so

that our best days will once again be ahead of us.

Mrs. HARTZLER. Thank you, so much. What wise words about what this fight is about for the future generations of our country and how we are fighting for a better health care system and a government that lives within its means. It's time to do that, and it's time to negotiate for the President and the Senate to come and talk to us. So let's talk.

I am glad to have a friend of mine, the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. WENSTRUP). We have the honor of serving together on the Armed Services Committee, and I really respect him and his views not only as a patriot and a member of the Armed Services Committee, but also as a doctor. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. WENSTRUP. I thank the gentlelady for yielding.

This slowdown, shutdown has taken on many particular angles and a lot of accusation and a lot of discussion; but as we get to this point, although ObamaCare isn't driving the shutdown, it isn't merely about the millions who will still be uninsured, and its not merely about the 50 percent or more of this country who will be on Medicaid where access to care is extremely limited, and it's not only about rates going up. It is about that health care is going backwards in America, not forward. The government shutdown is not only about the fact that in Ohio we passed a constitutional amendment that made the mandate in Ohio, only to be overturned by the Supreme Court. Sixty-six percent of the people in Ohio did not want this law, and I'm from Ohio and I'm here to continue to fight for that.

I'm bothered as we go through this and I hear the arguments and I hear people referred to "terrorism," "jihad" and "bombs strapped to their chest." Well, as someone who served in Iraq as a combat surgeon during the bloodiest time of the war, 2005–2006, I guarantee you what's taking place here is not that, and it's shameful when people use those types of references. And I bet those who have served in war understand that's not appropriate.

We are here to negotiate, we're here to discuss, and we're here to represent the American people. Really, I thought when I came here, I'm new, I'm a freshman—I thought that fair treatment for all Americans would be something that's common ground for all of us. I thought that having special subsidies for Members of Congress would be something that we would all disagree with, and that would be another area of common ground.

Those are the basic premises that are driving this shutdown right now, because we have passed continuing resolutions that would fund the government completely if we would just sit down and agree that these portions of this law are wrong and they go against what we as Americans believe in, that we're to be treated fairly, that there is

no special premise for one group over the other. I thought those would be areas of common ground, and I'm surprised that this still goes on.

We'll continue to fight over things we disagree with within ObamaCare and try to improve our health care system as we go along; but it interests me when people say it's the law, get over it. Well, it's not the law that was passed when you're changing things, and that's the problem.

I wonder sometimes if the Presidential election was different. Say, for example, Mitt Romney had won and he went into the Presidency and said, I'm going to exempt this group and I'm going to exempt that group. I'm going to change the law and provide a subsidy for those it's not written into the law for. What would the outcry be? The outcry would come from me because I believe in the rule of law, and I believe in fairness under the law.

We need to sit down and figure this out. The President is the President, and he has the seat at the head of the table; but he was not the only one elected. We've all been elected to represent the people, and we all have a seat at the table, and that's what needs to take place.

I hear arguments from the other side talking about while we're passing these resolutions, you're picking and choosing now. That's exactly what ObamaCare has done. Throughout that law, there is picking and choosing. So when I hear the other side say we're picking and choosing, I say thank you for making our argument because that's what we're having problems with.

I pray for a better day. And Lord willing, we'll all sit down at the table and get these things figured out on behalf of the American people. That's what we were sent here to do, and I hope we can get that done, and I urge those who will not come forward to think about it and to come forward and sit and talk with us.

With that, I appreciate the gentlelady putting this Special Order together for us to have a chance to discuss these issues.

Mrs. HARTZLER. I thank you very much. You've really spoken to the heart of this whole issue. We want fair treatment for all. The President has given over 2,000 waivers from this law to special interests and to certain groups, given special treatment to Members of Congress and their staff and has said that businesses and large corporations don't have to comply for a year. But yet he has been unwilling to give a 1-year extension to the hard-working families in my district and your district and individuals who work so hard and the ones that we're hearing about, so that's not fair.

So we hope—I hope—that the President and the Senate will listen to your words tonight and be willing to come forward and to sit down with us and find that common ground, and where we can delay this for a year and move

forward as a country. Thank you for bringing up those great points.

I am very happy tonight to yield to a friend of mine from Missouri, Representative JASON SMITH. He is here and he's doing a fantastic job, and I'm very honored to serve with you. The people of the Eighth District of Missouri know that you're doing a fantastic job on their behalf. I would love to hear your thoughts at this historic time about the matters before us.

□ 1900

Mr. SMITH of Missouri. Thank you very much. It's a great honor to be here this evening to talk about the effects that ObamaCare has on the folks in rural Missouri. I also want to thank my colleague and my neighbor just west of me in Missouri, Congresswoman VICKY HARTZLER, for having us and for putting on this Special Order.

Just over a week ago, I posted a question on my Facebook page asking the folks back home to give me examples and comments of how ObamaCare has affected them. It's amazing. We were inundated with people and just different story after story. I want to share a few of those stories of real families that are facing the struggles of ObamaCare back home.

We have folks all the time that ask, Is the fight worth it? Is the fight worth defunding and delaying ObamaCare? And I'll let you all decide. But let me give you a few examples.

Paul from East Prairie, down in Missouri County, in Missouri, wrote on Facebook that he checked to see what his insurance premiums would be next year after ObamaCare completely goes into effect. Paul and his family would be forced to pay \$1,035 a month, with a sky-high deductible of \$12,700. Paul said he could get coverage from his wife's employer—his wife is a teacher—but with increased costs. The employer's insurance for their family plan would take his wife's entire paycheck because of the new regulations under the Affordable Care Act, which is everything but affordable.

Madam Speaker, I ask, Is the fight to defund ObamaCare worth it?

Let me give you another example. Another constituent, Noel, said he has worked for 35 hours every year for the last 12 years. But, guess what, his employer now has changed it to where he only works 28 hours a week. Guess why? Because of the new regulations under ObamaCare.

Is the fight worth it for Noel?

Donald from Festus, Missouri, just south of St. Louis, told me that his health care premiums are rising from \$480 to \$740 per month. He went on to say that because of his increased insurance costs, he will be contributing \$3,000 less a year to our Nation's economy.

Madam Speaker, do you think fighting ObamaCare is worth it?

These are just a few examples of my constituents. These are real people, President Obama. These are people

that are affected and are required to be in this program, which you are not required to be a part of, which the Vice President of the United States is not required to be a part of, which NANCY PELOSI and HARRY REID are not required to be a part of. This is wrong, folks. This is completely wrong.

In the last week, this body has voted to defund and to delay ObamaCare because it is worth the fight. Democrats in the United States Senate must now justify to the American people why the individual mandate is too harmful for businesses and unions, but should still be forced on families and individuals. The Senate must justify why special interests are eligible for waivers and delays while average Americans will be hit with an ObamaCare's tsunami of mandates, fines, and confusion.

Madam Speaker, the fight to defund ObamaCare is a good fight to have, and I will keep fighting until folks in my district are treated the same way as big businesses and special interests.

Madam Speaker, this fight is about fairness. The fight is about families in my district who are seeing skyrocketing insurance premiums and lost wages and lost jobs.

Madam Speaker, this is a fight worth fighting for.

Mrs. HARTZLER. Thank you very much for those excellent comments.

This is about fairness. Fair treatment for all. That's all we're asking. That's something that Americans everywhere can agree on. So as the Senate and as the President hear these words, I hope they will come and let's talk and let's move forward with this.

Now I'm happy to yield time to my friend from south of Missouri, in Oklahoma, a fantastic representative and leader here, JAMES LANKFORD.

Mr. LANKFORD. I thank the gentle lady for hosting this time to be able to talk about some of the serious issues.

Madam Speaker, I want to bring to our attention tonight something that we're trying to bring up over and over again. It is a simple injustice and an absolute avoidance of the law.

A week ago, this body, Republicans and Democrats together, agreed unanimously to make sure that the United States military, civilians, and all civilian contractors would be exempt in case there was a shutdown.

The United States military has taken the brunt of the sequestration, and in bases all over the country and all over the world they have suffered. They have stopped training missions, they slowed down the process, as they've rapidly try to adjust to very fast-moving furloughs and sequestration. But they have. They've done what they've been asked to do.

So we make sure as a body, Republicans and Democrats together, that in case we got to a government shutdown, the United States military, all civilians, and the civilian contractors that serve with them would not be affected.

We passed it. We sent it to the Senate. The Senate approved it unani-

mously. The President of the United States signed it. That's a done deal.

We are dealing with every other aspect of the shutdown or what really is to be better described as a slowdown of the United States Government, which is serious. But we knew at least the United States military would not be affected by this. They were held entirely exempt.

There were three aspects of this law. You can look it up. It's H.R. 3210.

Aspect number one: all title X individuals, all active duty military, without exception, would be held exempt from this.

Number two: all civilians that support them—all of them—if they're connected in any way as a civilian to supporting our military, they were to be held exempt from this and the government shutdown would not apply to them.

Number three: all civilian contractors.

It's a 1-page bill with very broad language giving authority to the Secretary of Defense to say whoever you determine in any area supports in any way military, they should not be affected by the government shutdown. It's clear. It's plain language.

And then it went to the United States Pentagon; and in the Secretary of Defense's office, they have a group of lawyers. And those lawyers say they're studying the law to see who it applies to and who it doesn't apply to.

For this entire week they have studied the law to see who it applies to and who it doesn't apply to, and our members of the United States military and the civilians that serve with them are on furlough this week—against the law.

Republicans and Democrats agreed 100 percent in the House and the Senate, and the Pentagon lawyers can't decide how this should work. A first-year law student could read that bill and could tell it applies to all military title X, all civilians that support them in any way, and all contractors. It's not hard language.

It is time for the Secretary of Defense to turn to the lawyers in his office and say, Release those folks. The law is clear.

Our own Defense Department is violating the law. The President is allowing it. It's time to get on with this. Why are we holding them back?

Well, the President stands up and says the Republicans are holding America hostage. The Defense Department really is holding their folks hostage, in clear violation of the law.

Let's fix it. This is not something that's hard for us. It's already been passed. Let's get on with it.

Mrs. HARTZLER. I thank the gentleman. What a great point. It is unbelievable that the Commander in Chief of this country has sidelined his own men and women in uniform and the civilians that support and defend this country.

Thank you for bringing that up. I agree with you, we have done everything we can. When this first happened,

we signed a letter and sent it to the President. We said, We did not intend for you to be able to furlough these people. We want everyone back on the job.

So far, we haven't heard a thing. As Representative LANKFORD said, they're still studying the issue.

Well, I call on the Commander in Chief of this country to step forward and be a Commander in Chief and to put that order out to bring them back for the good of our country.

And now I am pleased to yield to my friend from Minnesota, the wonderful lady, MICHELE BACHMANN.

Mrs. BACHMANN. I want to thank Representative HARTZLER for her wonderful leadership this afternoon. We've heard wonderful comments about why we're here and why this is so important.

People all across the United States want us in to get our act together in Congress and with the White House and put this country back in the position we've always been in—the greatest economic and military superpower that the world has ever known. But we can't be that superpower, as Representative LANKFORD of Oklahoma said, if our Commander in Chief is illegally furloughing employees who are civilians actively supporting our defense initiative when we need them at this critical time in world history.

And I want to bring attention to one particular area and underscore what Representative LANKFORD said, because this is so extremely important. It was highlighted today by one of our Members, Representative LEE Terry of Nebraska. What he told the Republicans today at the microphone was chilling. A story is written about it today in Breitbart.com by Ben Shapiro.

In the article it says President Obama is illegally furloughing civilian defense employees at STRATCOM. What is STRATCOM? STRATCOM, Madam Speaker, is where thousands of people work to deal with missile defense in the United States. That would include nuclear missile defense.

Madam Speaker, we are being told that upwards of 60 to 70 percent of the civilian employees, which are thousands of individuals, have been illegally furloughed. Their job is to secure the safety of the missile defense system in the United States and the nuclear defense system in this United States.

The most important title of the President of the United States is to be Commander in Chief because the number one duty of our government is national security.

There can be politics played in this town. We get that. You never, ever, ever, ever play politics with missile defense and nuclear defense and the safety and national security of the American people.

Madam Speaker, I call on the President of the United States, before the clock strikes midnight tonight, if nothing else, put these civilian employees

back in place at STRATCOM. The American people and the world need to know that our missile defense and nuclear defense system is at 100 percent capability.

Mrs. HARTZLER. Thank you.

I now would like to yield to the gentleman from Oklahoma, JIM BRIDENSTINE. I not only serve on the Armed Services Committee with him, but he has a very good perspective on all these issues.

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Mr. BRIDENSTINE. I just wanted to take a moment because there's a lot of information out there, Madam Speaker, about what's going on in our country right now—and a lot of misinformation. I thought it would be appropriate just to set the record straight.

A little over a week ago we sent a bill to the Senate. That bill funded the entire government. It kept the government open and it defunded ObamaCare in its entirety. Senator HARRY REID and the Senate Democrats stripped from that bill the defunding mechanism and they sent it back to the House. So we looked at it and we said, What can we do that they might agree to?

Well, the President has already unilaterally delayed major provisions of ObamaCare, including the employer mandate. He did that because he saw the jobs report. People were being forced from full-time work to part-time work. Many of them were being forced out of a job. In my district, I talked to an employer that has 57 employees; they're trying to get down to 49. And guess what they did. This is happening across our country. So the President unilaterally decided he's going to delay the employer mandate.

So we said, okay, if he wants to delay that for 1 year, let's give him an opportunity to delay the entire ObamaCare for 1 year. So we passed a bill that funded the government, kept the government open, and we sent it to the United States Senate with a 1-year delay of ObamaCare. We did that at about 1 o'clock in the morning.

Interestingly, the next day, the Senate Democrats took the day off, and the day after that they didn't even show up until 2 in the afternoon. This was my first indication—as somebody who's new to Congress, I've seen a lot of crazy things—it was my first indication that maybe they wanted a government shutdown. Astonishingly, they just didn't show up. When they did show up, they tabled it.

So then we said, okay, well, what if we just delay the individual mandate? He has already given multibillion-dollar corporations a 1-year reprieve. He's given Members of Congress a subsidy. It's not written in the law; in fact, it's illegal. He had a meeting with HARRY REID and NANCY PELOSI, and the next thing you know Members of Congress get a subsidy.

So we said, look, if Members of Congress are going to get a subsidy and

multibillion-dollar corporations are going to get a break, why don't we give hardworking Americans a 1-year reprieve? So we passed a bill that funded the government, kept the government open, and delayed the individual mandate for only 1 year. Of course HARRY REID took that bill and he immediately moved to table it.

So then at about 1 o'clock in the morning we decided, okay, let's just ask for a conference so that we can have some people from our side and some people from their side get together and work this out. Astonishingly, they didn't even want that. If you can imagine that, they didn't want to sit down and talk to Members of Congress.

Interestingly, the President called on the Speaker of the House, JOHN BOEHNER, to go to the White House, and he went and he talked to the President. Guess what the President told him? The President said, We're not going to negotiate. He said, We're not going to negotiate on the continuing resolution to fund the government, nor are we going to negotiate on the debt ceiling.

This is not how it's supposed to work in our constitutional Republic in split government, but that's where we are. This is indicative of the fact that this is HARRY REID's shutdown. This is President Barack Obama's shutdown. This is not the Republican shutdown. We have done everything we could to keep this government open, and HARRY REID and President Barack Obama have shut it down.

But here's the good thing. Here's what we have done: We passed a bill, and that bill said we're going to fund the troops. We passed it unanimously in the House of Representatives. We passed it unanimously in the Senate. The President signed it into law. That's a good thing.

Then we had another bill. We thought we could pass it under suspension, so it would require a two-thirds vote. That bill was to fund the veterans of the United States, the Veterans Administration. Interestingly, Members of this body on the other side of the aisle killed it, if you can imagine that. It is every bit as indefensible to kill funding our veterans as it is to not fund our troops, every bit as indefensible.

Then, after that occurred, we wanted a bill that would fund our National Guard and our Reserve. I'm a reservist. I've been on Active Duty. I've been a reservist. I can tell you firsthand that reservists serve this country every bit as honorably as those on the Active Duty side. So we wanted to fund them. And guess what? We brought up a bill. We passed it under a rule so it only required a simple majority, and we passed it. We sent it to the Senate, and they haven't done anything with it.

This is where we are. HARRY REID and Barack Obama are holding our veterans hostage and they're holding the National Guard and our reservists hostage to ObamaCare. It's that simple.

And, by the way, it's not just to ObamaCare. It's one very simple provision that is only a 1-year delay of the individual mandate. When you think about it, it's really they're holding it hostage to having a meeting. At the end, we just said, Okay, let's have a meeting. They said, No, we're not going to have a meeting, and, oh, by the way, we're shutting down the government.

That's where we are.

So I just wanted to clarify that for my constituents back home. We are opening the government one bill at a time, and we're being blocked by the Senate. Certainly it's in nobody's best interest in this country to have a government shutdown. It's nothing any of us wanted. Yet HARRY REID and Barack Obama gave it to us.

Mrs. HARTZLER. Thank you, gentleman.

I think that was very helpful to review all the steps of what we have done to keep this government open, and how each one of our attempts has been rebuffed and how the door has been slammed in our face time and time again. But we are still here. We are still working. We're not going to give up. We want to talk. We want to negotiate. And we're going to continue to put forth proposals to fund different aspects of government to make sure that people aren't harmed in this whole process.

So thank you for coming today and sharing those thoughts.

I would like to yield now to my good friend from Kansas (Mr. HUELSKAMP) just across the way here, a fellow farmer. I look forward to hearing your thoughts on this very important time.

Mr. HUELSKAMP. I thank my colleague from the East and also my colleague from the South for their comments.

I'd like to follow up first on Congressman BRIDENSTINE's laying out the record of what has occurred. Here you see a list of the votes the House has taken since the government shutdown began.

First, as was mentioned, the Senate refused to negotiate, sit down and actually talk. That happened at 1 a.m. on October 1. Senator HARRY REID said, We're not going to talk; we're not going to negotiate.

Since then, we've gone to work. The U.S. House, House Republicans said we're going to try to take care of the veterans. Let's try to take care of funding our national parks. Let's take care of funding the NIH, cancer research for our children. Let's take care of making certain that folks that serve at FEMA are taken care of—a list of vote after vote after vote for the last 4 days.

And Congresswoman HARTZLER, I appreciate you being here to take the opportunity so that we can show we are at work. We would like to open up the government. The Senate does not.

But I'd like to point out how busy the Senate has been for the last 4 days.

This, Madam Speaker, is a list of all the votes the U.S. Senate has taken since the shutdown occurred:

October 1, the first day of the Harry Reid shutdown, no votes. Day two in the U.S. Senate, no votes. Day three in the United States Senate, not a single recorded vote. Day four—they must be getting tired over there—not a single recorded vote in the U.S. Senate. The entire week.

Now, don't forget, the weekend before, the U.S. Senate took the weekend off. HARRY REID came back into session on Monday to make certain the U.S. Government would be shut down to the applause of the White House. That was Monday. Tuesday, no vote; Wednesday, no vote; Thursday, no vote; Friday, no vote. They're home on vacation again. We're going to go back to work tomorrow, and we're going to send another bill to the U.S. Senate.

It's clear to me, Madam Speaker, it's clear to me the Senate does not want to open up the U.S. Government, but we cannot give up.

One other item I would like to mention—and the Congressman from Oklahoma has made it very clear—that under ObamaCare, every Member of Congress, every Member of the U.S. Senate, everyone in this body, under ObamaCare, is required to sign up for ObamaCare.

Monday afternoon, as the government was about ready to close, almost the last thing the President did before they locked the doors on the Federal Government is they issued a special rule to allow Members of Congress to ignore ObamaCare, to create our own health care system just for U.S. Senators and Members of Congress and our staff. The last bill we sent over said, HARRY, you know what? We're not going to take part in ignoring ObamaCare. That's the very last thing the President did before they shut down the doors.

One thing I've done personally is say, You know what? I don't accept that. I will not accept the President of the United States saying that Members of Congress and Members of the U.S. Senate—indeed, Kathleen Sebelius and the entire Cabinet—should be exempt from ObamaCare. If it's good enough for all of America, it should be good enough for them.

I went online, as many of us have done, and started to do my responsibility—I don't know if any Member has done that—and said I'm going to sign up for ObamaCare. At 12:01 a.m., when the government shut down, the Senate's going home, I'm going to sign up for ObamaCare. Madam Speaker, I've been trying to sign up for ObamaCare on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday. Here we are Friday, 91 hours later, and I still am on virtual hold.

You've seen the pictures. Go on and look it all up yourself. You can't get online. It's an absolute failure. But I will say I am absolutely required under the law, Mr. President, despite your regulations that were inspired and re-

quested by the former Speaker of this body and the current leader of the Senate, we are not exempted.

Members of Congress, Members of the U.S. Senate, Members of the Cabinet, the President himself, sign up for ObamaCare. Lead by example and do the right thing. We can open the doors of this government, put Congress back out of the role of a privileged class.

And again, one thing I'd like to remind this body, the first individual in the entire United States of America that signed up for ObamaCare, the very first individual who was willing to lead by example was a man by the name of Harry Truman.

Mr. President, if you are listening, if you have any convictions of leadership, if you have any integrity you would like to show us, sign up for the D.C. exchange; be the next person to sign up online. Hopefully it won't take you 91 hours to get through, but lead by example. No gilded class. No special rights and privileges. The Constitution says "no nobility clause." I agree with that.

I want to thank the Congresswoman from the East, my fellow sophomore, VICKY HARTZLER, for her leadership on this issue.

So let's talk. Let's have some action. And, oh, by the way, I'm confused. Was the Senate on furlough all last week, all this week? Get back to work, HARRY. I appreciate you joining the battle to open this Federal Government.

Mrs. HARTZLER. Thank you, gentleman.

I think that shows that the Senate has been, it seems like, on furlough. It's too bad they didn't have time to vote on the NIH funding bill that we sent over there that would ensure that money goes and continues for very vital research, such as cancer and Alzheimer's and diabetes and heart disease. We sent them that bill to make sure that research continues and it's fully funded, but it's just sitting over there. They haven't voted on it.

We passed a bill dealing with veterans, to make sure the Veterans Administration, everything remains open. But they haven't voted on it; it's just sitting over there.

We passed a bill to ensure the memorials stay open, to clarify and make sure the President isn't able to close them down and barricade them like he's doing now. But they're not voting on them.

This has got to stop. It's time for us to get together and talk.

I appreciate all of my colleagues who have come here tonight to share their thoughts at this very historic time in our country's history, first of all, to let people know why we are fighting. We're fighting for our families, and we're fighting for quality health care in this country, and we're fighting for fairness. We believe in fair treatment for everyone.

It's not right that the President says this health care law isn't good enough

for corporations, and I'm going to grant over 2,000 waivers for my special interest groups, but yet you, as an American family, hardworking family, you have to comply. And then I thank the gentleman for bringing up the point that, even as the law went into effect, it's unworkable; people can't even sign up.

Do you know that the President has had over half of his deadlines he hasn't been able to meet in this law, he's had to extend them? So that's why we're fighting. Let's wait just at least a year and not force every person in this country to comply.

I'm from Missouri and I know Harry Truman, and he said, "The buck stops here." The buck should stop here with the Commander in Chief when it comes to him allowing the civilians in the military to be furloughed in this country. That has got to stop.

I appreciate my colleagues who brought up this excellent, excellent point about what has happened and the travesty and the injustice and the danger that this Commander in Chief is putting our country in. It's wrong and it needs to stop.

He also needs to open up the memorials. We all understand we have differences of opinion here. We all understand we have to talk about policy. But no President ever has closed open-air memorials in this town that are open 24/7, 365 days a year. But this President has chosen to barricade not only the World War II Memorial, but also the Martin Luther King Memorial and all the others here in Washington, D.C.

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We have learned today that they have even closed Normandy. Around the world they are closing the veterans cemeteries. This has got to stop. We can discuss the policy, but these tactics have got to change.

We want everyone in America to know tonight that Republicans, we are here willing and ready to keep working and to talk. It is time for the President and HARRY REID to negotiate, to meet with us, and to discuss our differences and come to an agreement that will result in less government—it will keep our government open though—spend less money, and protect the American people from this onerous health care law.

We can do it. The American people do it every day. We do it in our families. If we have a disagreement, we sit down and talk. My sister and I did it when we were little girls. My mom made us talk. It works.

So let's sit down, let's talk, let's work this out. Let's get our government back open, let's get all the military reinstated, let's reopen the memorials here around this country, and let's put the American people first. We can do it.

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

GOVERNMENT SHUTDOWN

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 3, 2013, the gentleman from California (Mr. PETERS) is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the minority leader.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. PETERS of California. I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to revise and extend their remarks.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. PETERS of California. Madam Speaker, I appreciate the chance to hold this Special Order with some of my freshman colleagues.

I heard some discussion from yesterday, and even some tonight, and thought that it would be appropriate for some of the freshman who just got here and don't have some of the perspective that has pervaded some of the discussion, haven't been here for a lot of the most bitter battles, maybe have a little bit more of a problem-solving attitude, to give our perspective on some of these things and maybe have a constructive discussion of the government shutdown and also the debt ceiling, which I think is a very, very serious thing to discuss as part of a negotiation.

The news today in San Diego will be about the cancellation of the Miramar Air Show that was to take place this weekend. This is a great tradition for our community, an important fundraiser for military families, and really a sad casualty of the current shutdown.

I would like to start my comments by highlighting a more hidden and much more serious effect of the shutdown, just by sharing a couple of emails I received from constituents in the last 3 days. First:

I am an engineer that has supported the Navy and Marine Corps for 26 years and have always given 100 percent to ensure that our military has the best capabilities in the world. Most of the people I work with have gone above and beyond to give the Navy and USMC our very best, especially during the many years of wartime.

Due to sequestration and previous furloughs, I have already lost \$10,000 of income this year and completely depleted my family's savings account. Now I am being furloughed again and this follows 3 years of frozen pay. I am worried for my wife and two young children because I cannot pay the bills if this shutdown continues.

I do not blame one party or the other. I am sure they both think they are doing the right thing. But I worry that they do not know the pain they are causing for the families of dedicated and hardworking civil servants.

A second one:

I am writing to you today concerning our government shutdown. I am an Active Duty spouse of 15 years with two children.

We recently moved to Coronado from Naples, Italy. I have made several sacrifices over the years to follow my husband's career. I have always felt that my husband's job as an officer in the United States Navy was worthy of my sacrifices. I have stood proud by his side.

We have moved 11 times within our 15 years of service, and as always we have budgeted our housing allowance, cost of living, and pay. Today, as I read all the negative comments on social media threads, I feel as though I have wasted 15 years of my life.

I almost fell off the treadmill on the base gym this morning when it hit me: all of the holidays my husband has missed—the birthdays and the anniversaries spent alone—for what reason? For 535 of you to shut us down? Thank God I did not fall off the treadmill this morning, as now our medical staff is on furlough and the area is severely understaffed.

Finally, I am a proud American and that is why I proudly work at the Naval Medical Center in San Diego as a nurse practitioner with the Department of Surgery. I have already endured one furlough. This resulted in a 20 percent pay reduction this summer. I was grateful it ended earlier than planned, but now I am furloughed with a 100 percent loss in pay. It has to stop.

As a San Diego resident, I know you are aware that your mortgages are higher than most. I am also a single mother of two wonderful girls. This makes the additional furlough that much harder to swallow.

Please work with your fellow Representatives to make this government shutdown end as soon as possible. It is hurting the average American much more than D.C. seems to understand.

If our elected officials were forced to take a 20 percent pay reduction and have that followed by a 100 percent pay loss, I am sure the budget would be fixed. I just want to continue to do my job and would appreciate being allowed to do just that. If this continues further, I will be forced to seek other employment.

My faith in our government is failing quickly. Again, please work together to end this situation.

There are stories like that from all these Federal workers. More than 800,000 Federal workers are out of work during the government shutdown. It is not just the D.C. metro area that is affected, as you've heard. From Hawaii to Georgia, workers in regions all over the country rely heavily on the Federal Government. San Diego is the seventh-ranked city with a high share of Federal employees. We have 151,000 workers—10.9 percent of our workforce is affected by this government shutdown.

Obviously, the same is true in Colorado Springs, which is number one; Virginia Beach; Honolulu; the D.C. region; Ogden-Clearfield, Utah; El Paso; Augusta, Georgia; San Diego; and Charleston. Every one of those places has thousands of stories, just like the ones I have told.

It is important for us in D.C. to remember the effect that we are having in the real world. That has often been the biggest surprise for me, that when I leave my district and I've heard these stories and I come here, and we hear that people are talking in these terms of blame and calling each other names and not really doing credit to this institution, and far from solving the problems that have gotten us here.

I have heard a lot of people say: We don't want to shut the government down. Well, we don't have to. I have heard a lot of finger-pointing about who caused it.

But the fact is that today the power to reopen this government rests solely