Fitzpatrick Lewis (MN) Fleischmann Lieu, Ted Flores Lipinski Fortenberry LoBiondo Foster Loebsack Lofgren Frankel (FL) Long Loudermilk Frelinghuysen Fudge Love Lowenthal Gabbard Lowey Gaetz Gallagher Lucas Gallego Luetkemeyer Lujan Grisham, Garrett Gianforte M. Luján, Ben Rav Gibbs Gomez Lynch Gonzalez (TX) MacArthur Goodlatte Malonev. Carolyn B. Gosar Gottheimer Maloney, Sean Gowdy Marchant Graves (GA) Marino Graves (LA) Marshall Graves (MO) Mast Matsui Griffith McCarthy McCaul Grothman Guthrie McClintock Gutiérrez McCollum Hanabusa McEachin Handel McGovern Harper McHenry Harris McKinley Hartzler McMorris Hastings Rodgers McNerney Heck Hensarling McSallv Herrera Beutler Meadows Hice, Jody B. Meeks Higgins (LA) Meng Mitchell Hill Holding Moolenaar Mooney (WV) Hollingsworth Hoyer Moore Moulton Hudson Huffman Mullin Murphy (FL) Huizenga Hultgren Nadler Hunter Napolitano Hurd Neal Newhouse Jackson Lee Noem Norcross Jayapal Jenkins (WV) Norman Johnson (GA) Nunes Johnson (LA) O'Rourke Johnson (OH) Olson Jordan Palazzo Joyce (OH) Pallone Kaptur Palmer Katko Panetta Keating Pascrell Kelly (IL) Kelly (PA) Paulsen Pavne Kennedy Pelosi Khanna Perlmutter Peters Kihuen Kildee Peterson Pingree Pittenger Kilmer Kind King (IA) Pocan Poe (TX) Kinzinger Poliquin Knight Krishnamoorthi Polis Price (NC) Kuster (NH) Kustoff (TN) Quigley Labrador Raskin LaHood Ratcliffe LaMalfa Reed Lamborn Renacci Rice (NY) Lance Langevin Rice (SC) Larsen (WA) Richmond Larson (CT) Robv Roe (TN) Latta Lawrence Rogers (AL) Lawson (FL)

Rooney, Thomas Ros-Lehtinen Rosen Roskam Ross Rothfus Rouzer Roybal-Allard Rovce (CA) Ruiz Rush Rutherford Ryan (OH) Sánchez Sanford Sarbanes Schakowsky Schiff Schneider Schrader Scott (VA) Scott, Austin Scott, David Sensenbrenner Serrano Sessions Sewell (AL) Shea-Porter Sherman Shimkus Shuster Sinema. Sires Slaughter Smith (MO) Smith (NE) Smith (NJ) Smith (TX) Smith (WA) Smucker Soto Speier Stefanik Stewart Stivers Suozzi Swalwell (CA) Takano Taylor Tenney Thompson (CA) Thompson (MS) Thompson (PA) Thornberry Tipton Titus Tonko Torres Trott Tsongas Turner Upton Valadao Veasey Vela Visclosky Wagner Walberg Walden Walker Walorski Walters, Mimi Walz Wasserman Schultz Watson Coleman Weber (TX) Wenstrup Westerman Williams Wilson (FL) Wilson (SC) Wittman Womack Woodall Yarmuth

NOT VOTING-53

Yoder

Zeldin

Young (IA)

Rogers (KY)

Rohrabacher

Rokita

Levin

Duncan (TN) Abraham Chu, Judy Amodei Clay Dunn Barton Correa Garamendi Blackburn Cummings Gohmert Curbelo (FL) Bridenstine Granger Davis, Danny Green, Gene Buck Castor (FL) DeSantis Grijalva

Higgins (NY) Himes Jeffries Jenkins (KS) Johnson, E. B. Johnson, Sam Jones Kelly (MS) King (NY) Lewis (GA) Massie

Messer Nolan O'Halleran Pearce Perry Posev Reichert Rooney, Francis Ruppersberger

Meehan

Scalise Schweikert Simpson Vargas Velázquez Waters, Maxine Webster (FL) Welch Yoho Young (AK)

□ 1245

The SPEAKER pro tempore. On this roll call, 377 Members have recorded their presence.

A quorum is present.

RECESS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 12(a) of rule I, the Chair declares the House in recess subject to the call of the Chair.

Accordingly (at 12 o'clock and 46 minutes p.m.), the House stood in recess.

□ 1601

AFTER RECESS

The recess having expired, the House was called to order by the Speaker pro tempore (Mr. WOMACK) at 4 o'clock and 1 minute p.m.

REPORT ON RESOLUTION WAIVING A REQUIREMENT OF CLAUSE 6(A) OF RULE XIII WITH RESPECT TO CONSIDERATION OF CERTAIN RESOLUTIONS REPORTED FROM THE COMMITTEE ON RULES. AND PROVIDING FOR CONSIDERATION OF MOTIONS TO SUSPEND THE RULES

Mr. SESSIONS, from the Committee on Rules, submitted a privileged report (Rept. No. 115-521) on the resolution (H. Res. 708) waiving a requirement of clause 6(a) of rule XIII with respect to consideration of certain resolutions reported from the Committee on Rules. and providing for consideration of motions to suspend the rules, which was referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed.

WAIVING REQUIREMENT OF Α CLAUSE 6(a) OF RULE XIII WITH RESPECT TO CONSIDERATION OF CERTAIN RESOLUTIONS R.E. PORTED FROM THE COMMITTEE ON RULES, AND PROVIDING FOR CONSIDERATION OF MOTIONS TO SUSPEND THE RULES

Mr. SESSIONS. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rules, I call up House Resolution 708 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. RES. 708

Resolved, That the requirement of clause 6(a) of rule XIII for a two-thirds vote to consider a report from the Committee on Rules on the same day it is presented to the House is waived with respect to any resolution re-

ported through the legislative day of January 29, 2018.

SEC. 2. It shall be in order at any time through the calendar day of January 28, 2018, for the Speaker to entertain motions that the House suspend the rules as though under clause 1 of rule XV. The Speaker or his designee shall consult with the Minority Leader or her designee on the designation of any matter for consideration pursuant to this section.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Texas is recognized for 1 hour.

Mr. SESSIONS. Mr. Speaker, for the purpose of debate only, I yield the customary 30 minutes to the gentlewoman from New York (Ms. SLAUGHTER), pending which I yield myself such time as I may consume. During consideration of this resolution, all time vielded is for the purpose of debate only.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. SESSIONS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members have 5 legislative days to revise and extend their remarks.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. SESSIONS. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of this rule and the underlying legislation.

resolution, which present today, is necessary. It is necessary to provide the House with the flexibility necessary to address Senate Democrat's inaction while they continue to impede funding the United States Government and the important instruments of government.

Mr. Speaker, last evening, Senator CHUCK SCHUMER from New York and Senate Democrats made what I consider to be a reprehensible decision to allow the United States Government to shut down. By voting against the bill that funds our military and the pay of men and women in uniform, they voted against a bill that would extend children's healthcare for 6 years, not because they opposed anything in the bill, because you would really be hard pressed to be opposed to anything that was in this legislation. They voted against the bill to manufacture a crisis in a purely political move based upon an unrelated issue that is not facing an imminent deadline.

I would like to thank the five Senate Democrats and six House Democrats who voted with Republicans to keep the government open.

Senator SCHUMER should have headed the rest of his Democrats and encouraged them to do what he did even back in 2013, when he said:

We—and I say "the Democrats" could say we are shutting down the government. We are not. We are going to raise the deficit ceiling until you pass immigration reform. It just would be government chaos not to do the right thing and open up the govern-

Yet, Mr. Speaker, these wise words heeded more than ever now; this is just a political game. As President Trump

said last evening, Senate Democrats own this. It is a Schumer shutdown.

They put politics above national security.

Mr. PERLMUTTER. Mr. Speaker, point of order.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Texas will suspend.

The gentleman from Colorado will state his point of order.

Mr. PERLMUTTER. The gentleman is referring to Members of the Senate, which I believe is out of decorum and out of order by name.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is the gentleman from Colorado demanding that the gentleman from Texas' words be taken down?

Mr. PERLMUTTER. Yes, sir.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Texas will be seated.

The Clerk will report the words.

Mr. PERLMUTTER. Mr. Speaker, I withdraw my point of order, and I withdraw my request that the gentleman from Texas' words be taken down.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Will the gentleman clarify that his request is that the demand for the words of the gentleman from Texas to be taken down be withdrawn?

Mr. PERLMUTTER. Yes.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The demand is withdrawn.

The gentleman from Texas is recognized.

Mr. SESSIONS. Mr. Speaker, I think Republicans are on the floor of the House today to show what we are attempting to offer to the American people. Mr. Speaker, things are sensitive here on both sides. The government shut down.

Republicans are going to offer, today, advice to the American people about where we stand about getting this back to where we not only open up the government, but doing it in a way that is favorable, not only to the American people, but favorable to the people who protect this great country, including those children of this country who need healthcare, which Republicans had attempted to pass in the House and the Senate.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

I thank the gentleman for yielding me the customary 30 minutes.

Mr. Speaker, today is the 1-year anniversary of a complete Republican control of Washington. The majority runs the White House, the Senate, and the House of Representatives. And what do we have to show for it?

First, a tax bill for corporations and the wealthy. Now, the great Government of the United States is closed for business.

The impacts will be severe. Just look what happened during the last Republican shutdown in 2013, which cost our economy an estimated \$24 billion:

We lost progress on reducing the massive backlog of veterans' disability claims.

Two-thirds of the Centers for Disease Control and three-fourths of the National Institutes of Health were furloughed:

Flu season surveillance and monitoring was severely limited, and we are in a crisis, this year, with the flu where more than 20 children have died:

Lifesaving FDA food safety inspections were delayed:

1.2 million private sector loans to individuals and small businesses were disrupted:

Billions in tax refunds were delayed; Head Start centers serving 6,300 children were closed; and

120,000 private sector jobs were destroyed.

Why is the government shut down today?

Because the majority was so obsessed with handing out tax breaks to the wealthy and corporations that they ignored their responsibility to the American people. They failed to renew, before they expired, community health centers.

They failed to permanently renew the Children's Health Insurance Program, which the CBO—Congressional Budget Office—had found would save the government over \$6 billion over 10 years.

That is despite the fact that the majority made their tax cuts for corporations permanent.

That was a tax bill, by the way, that was sold as a middle class tax cut. But we know today that it was anything but. It is a tax cut for big corporations and the superwealthy, and it seems designed to target blue States. I live in one.

Action on these items shouldn't be some extraordinary exercise. Republicans and Democrats agree that we need to address them. But the majority has been missing in action.

All the while, we have been forced to limp along, funding the government in month-long tranches. That is no way to run a business, and it is certainly no way to run the Government of the United States of America.

President Trump tweeted last May: "Our country needs a good 'shutdown."

In 2011, years before he assumed office, President Trump said, during an interview, as another Republican shutdown loomed: "If there is a shutdown, I think it would be a tremendously negative mark on the President of the United States. He's the one that has to get people together." We would like to have him do that and play that role now.

The President should not treat this like a reality show, and the majority should stop treating government like a game where the truth is so easily discarded.

The majority's short-term CR failed last night in the other body because it didn't get the job done. It was written behind closed doors without a single bit of input from the minority party.

Democrats weren't alone in making clear that this continuing resolution was unacceptable.

Members of the majority's own conference voted against it on both sides of the Capitol.

If I were in the majority's shoes with 51 seats in the other body, and I had to get to 60 votes, I would want Democrats to be in on it with me. To do that, we need to be in on it at all steps, not just at the time of the vote.

The majority is quick to invoke the name of my State Senator—that I think will not cross my lips because of what we just went through—but let me say that that Senator from the State of New York earned perfect scores on his SATs, was heard one Saturday morning on NPR on two different subjects, and I don't believe anyone could honestly say that he ever misunderstood what the President said during a meeting, or that he would leave a meeting in any way confounded or confused.

They were apparently close to a deal to avert a shutdown.

The problem is that this President apparently thinks one thing at 10 a.m. and another one at noon—somewhat like Alice in Wonderland—and that makes reaching an agreement extraordinarily difficult.

Even the Senate majority leader from my other home State of Kentucky, Senator MITCH MCCONNELL, said this week: "I'm looking for something that President Trump supports. And he's not yet indicated what measure he's willing to sign."

So the majority in both Chambers should try something new for a change: we call it bipartisanship.

I am here today ready to craft a compromise that addresses the needs facing the American people. So are my Democratic colleagues.

To the majority, I say this with all of my heart: Work with us for the good of this country, and let us end this shutdown before Monday.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. SESSIONS. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentlewoman for her comments.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. THORN-BERRY), the distinguished chairman of the Armed Services Committee.

Mr. THORNBERRY. Mr. Speaker, I thank the chairman for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this rule, which will help give the House the flexibility it needs to respond appropriately to whatever the Senate may be able to pass.

I think it is important to remind everyone that the House has done its work. We passed every one of the appropriations bills before the fiscal year began in October. And, on Thursday, we passed a bill to continue government funding until February 16. Now we are waiting to see what the Senate may be able to pass, and this rule enables us to respond to that.

But I want to focus my comments on the effects that this budget drama is having on the United States military.

Mr. Speaker, the first job of the Federal Government is to defend the country. We have to do that before we do

anything else. There are more than 2 million men and women who have volunteered to risk their lives to help keep us safe. Some of them are stationed, this very minute, all around the world. Every single one of them and their families depend upon us for the support they need to do the job that the country has asked them to do.

As a matter of fact, Mr. Speaker, the Constitution is very explicit, saying it is Congress' responsibility to raise and support, provide and maintain, the military forces of this Nation.

But at this moment, those men and women, wherever they are around the world, doing their job, are not getting paid. They will still do their job, but now they have an additional concern to worry them.

There are other consequences.

All of the civilians who work at the Department of Defense are also not getting paid. On Monday, about half of them will be told not to come to work. The work on weapons maintenance activities, largely, will be stopped. New contracts for support and other activities will not be allowed to proceed. Many medical procedures at military treatment facilities will not take place. And the Pentagon will not be able to pay any of its bills, whether that is money that is owed to a family who has lost a loved one in the line of duty, or whether it is paying a doctor to take care of a servicemember.

\Box 1630

Mr. Speaker, it is absolutely true that every day that we force the military to live under a continuing resolution, it does damage to the military. The damage that is being done now under this shutdown is far worse.

Truthfully, we have not fulfilled our responsibility to the troops or to the Constitution for some time. As the world grew more dangerous over the last 8 years, we cut the military budget about 20 percent. No other portion of the Federal budget—no other significant portion, at least, of the Federal budget has undergone those kinds of cuts, and now we do this.

Mr. Speaker, there is an even more disturbing problem here. Too many people want to use our constitutional duty to the troops as leverage for some other issue.

Mostly everyone on both sides of the Capitol agree that we need to spend more on defense, and that is reflected in the votes we have had on defense issues over the past year, but some have now made actually spending that money that the troops need conditional on getting their way on some other extraneous, unrelated issue.

Mr. Speaker, I would suggest that we ought to support the military funding on its own merits and not tie it to any other issue, and then we can look at those other issues on their own merits, too.

Using support for our military as a hostage to try to get political advantage on some other issue—really on

any other issue—is wrong and it ought to stop.

We need to set our troops free from this political drama. The time to do that is now.

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. McGovern), a distinguished member of the Rules Committee.

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentlewoman for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, this is day one of the Trump shutdown. What a sad day it is for this institution and what an incredibly sad day this is for our country.

This Republican-controlled government is incompetent. It takes my breath away. You control the House, the Senate, and the White House, and this is what we get, one continuing resolution after another, and now a Trump shutdown. You should be fired. This is so incredibly wrong.

You say you want Democrats to support your spending bills, yet you won't work with us, you won't even talk to us. Negotiating bills in back rooms with only Republicans is not how you get a bipartisan vote. This my-way-orthe-highway approach undermines our democracy and results in lousy bills that do not serve the interests of the American people.

The Republican leadership promised regular order. They promised to respect the views of everybody, including the views of the minority. They promised a more open process. That has turned out to be a big, fat lie.

I hear from my Republican friends that they care about the DREAMers. We all know that if the Dream Act was brought before this House, it would pass with a bipartisan vote, but the Republican leadership around here is so pathetically terrified by the most hateful, xenophobic, and bigoted elements of their base that they would rather shut down the government than put a bipartisan bill on the floor.

Î would have thought that once the Republican leadership got the one thing that gets them out of bed in the morning—massive tax cuts for hedge fund managers and multinational corporations—that they would be willing to actually govern. I guess not.

We need a permanent fix to CHIP, which has been expired for 112 days because the Republicans have refused to reauthorize it, but we need to fund community health centers, medical research, and veterans' health. We need funds to deal with the opiate crisis. We need to support our men and women in the armed services. We desperately need to invest in our aging infrastructure.

What we don't need are more and more short-term CRs that fail to address so many urgent needs in this country.

My colleagues, today, millions of Americans, led by fed up women, are marching in cities and towns all across the country and they have a message. They don't like the way you are governing and they are not going to take it anymore.

So to my Republican friends, ask yourselves if you want to keep following Trump and the most extreme elements of your party off a political cliff, because that is where they are taking you. If you keep following them, history will not be kind.

So stop the nonsense, stop the obstructionism. Do your job and work with Democrats for the good of our country. The American people are watching.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Members are advised to direct their remarks to the Chair.

Mr. SESSIONS. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself as much time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, there was a question about the President. The President does not vote in the House or the Senate. Those people who voted "yes" were for funding the government, those who voted "no" were for shutting down the government.

The President of the United States, through what is called a Statement of Administration Policy, advised the Rules Committee on January 17 that he would be signing the bill. The President said he was for the bill.

Mr. Speaker, the Armed Forces Network is operated by the U.S. Armed Forces, which broadcasts popular television programs to the United States Government, civilians, and their families, especially those at bases and overseas, including ships at sea.

Because of the Schumer shutdown, Armed Forces Network services will go off the air. That means that tomorrow—the NFL championship Sunday—our servicemen all around the globe will be unable to participate in the things that we do here in the United States, yet another example of why a "yes" vote would have been for the men and women of our military.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from California (Mr. McCarthy), the distinguished majority leader.

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, the Nation finds itself in a grave situation. Our government has shut down. Military men and women in Afghanistan, in Iraq, and around the world are still risking their lives for our country and are not being paid. Opioid treatment centers have had their funds cut off. Children in States across America will start losing their health insurance.

How did we get to this place?

The Nation assumes there must be a good reason. The House passed a bill—a clean government funding bill with no strings attached and no gimmicks because States are running out of money. We even included funding for a bipartisan extension of the Children's Health Insurance Program for 6 years without any offsets that our Democratic colleagues have objected to in the past, the longest that CHIP has ever been reauthorized for.

So we passed that bill and it went to the Senate. We all know the rules, but, Mr. Speaker, at times it sounds like some people need a little greater knowledge of how the system works. It is incorrect to claim otherwise.

Republicans may have majorities in both houses, but it takes 60 votes in the Senate to move legislation. That means the Senate needs Democrat votes to keep our government funded, but Senate Democrats said no, just as more than 90 percent of those on the other side of the aisle in this House did as well. Senate Democrats shut this government down. This is a Schumer shutdown.

Once upon a time, CHUCK SCHUMER called shutting the government down a "politics of idiocy."

Senator FEINSTEIN even said: "Shutting down the government is a very serious thing."

You know what she said?

She said: "People die. Accidents happen. You don't know. Necessary functions can cease."

So how did they change their minds? Why did they do it?

I would like to know, because nobody knows.

It wasn't the bill. The funding bill is clean.

It wasn't CHIP. The children's health insurance legislation we passed came straight from the bipartisan deal in the Senate.

They say it is about immigration, about DACA. They are shutting down the government, cutting off funds for our troops, cutting off funds to opioid treatment centers, and cutting off health insurance for American children over immigration, over something that has nothing to do with this funding bill or with putting the American people first.

So I think that it is only reasonable that we ask: What exactly are their demands? Why are they holding our government, our troops, and American children hostage?

Why would you hold it hostage over DACA if the President brought the House, the Senate, the Republicans, the Democrats together?

I was in that meeting.

Do you know who else was in that meeting?

The American public, because the President allowed the media to be there.

Do you know what happened at the end of that meeting?

Based upon the President's leader-ship, he brought us together and we all decided we would focus just on four ideas—DACA, border security, chain migration, and the lottery—because we wanted to solve the problem, but we didn't want to have to come back to it a few years from now.

We took the President's lead.

Do you know what?

Every day we have been having those meetings.

Do you know how I know?

Because I am in those meetings and they are in my office.

Just a day before we shut down, the quote from those on the other side of the aisle and even in the Senate was:

This is the most productive meeting we have had.

So why shut it down now? Why even shut down the meetings by shutting down the government?

If they want something different than a bipartisan deal, if they want to force one-sided immigration policy through Congress that the American public doesn't want, then they should have the courage to say it straight, have the courage to say that they are shutting down our government to make the illegal immigration situation in this country worse instead of making the hard choices to fix it.

Mr. Speaker, the American people don't want to see temper tantrums. They don't want to see anyone stomping their feet demanding they get their way. That is not just an embarrassment, it has profound consequences for good people across this country.

Now, this House stands ready to pass another clean spending bill. And, yes, Mr. Speaker, if this side of the aisle has to do it alone, like we have done it in the past, we will.

We stand ready to keep our government open and pay our troops with no strings attached, but we will not negotiate a bad deal for America, especially not when Senate Democrats are holding our government hostage.

This is too important. History is watching. History will not be kind to those who put themselves above the American people.

Ms. SLÂUĜHTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 30 seconds.

I am sorry that the majority leader didn't mention it, but were there any Democrats in those meetings in his office?

Mr. Speaker, I yield $1\frac{1}{2}$ minutes to the gentleman from Vermont (Mr. Welch), a former member of the Rules Committee.

Mr. WELCH. Mr. Speaker, I want to acknowledge that we are all fortunate in this House and in this country to have the chairman of the Armed Services Committee that we do, the gentleman from Texas (Mr. THORNBERRY).

He identified a problem. When we are operating by continuing resolutions, no one has any certainty or stability, particularly the military. This is the fourth continuing resolution in the fourth month of the budget year.

Give us a budget, a year budget. That is what we need and that is what the military needs.

Secondly, to the majority leader, my friend, if we are going to have Democrats involved, they have to be at the table. And there has been a decision made that to get to 218 votes, it is going to be the Tea Party that has the final say, not Democratic participation. Let's change that.

Third, the budget issues are not all that difficult. They have been mentioned: DACA, to be sure. It is the opioid crisis. It is veterans funding. It is community health centers.

Then, finally, on DACA, let's have an open rule. Let's bring to the floor the Goodlatte bill. Many favor it on your side. Let's bring to the floor the Hurd-Aguilar bill. It is bipartisan. Let's promise to put on the floor whatever bill may be passed in the Senate. That is called an open process. It is called taking accountability.

We are in a situation of our own making. None of us want to be here. We all know it is wrong for the American people and it is bad for the reputation of the government.

Let us have an open process, an open rule, and we will set America free.

Mr. SESSIONS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Fairhope, Alabama (Mr. Byrne), a member of the Rules Committee.

Mr. BYRNE. Mr. Speaker, this is a shame. It is a shame that we find ourselves in this position all because Senate Democrats think they can hold the Federal Government hostage until they get their way on immigration issues. There is no way around it.

□ 1645

That is exactly what is happening here. A majority in the House and a majority in the Senate have voted to prevent this shutdown and keep the government open.

POINT OF ORDER

Mr. PERLMUTTER. Mr. Speaker, point of order.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Colorado will state his point of order.

Mr. PERLMUTTER. Mr. Speaker, the point of order is that poster that is being brought is disparaging of a Member of the Senate.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman will suspend.

The Chair requests that the poster be presented to the Chair for his observation.

The gentleman from Colorado raises an objection to the use of an exhibit in debate. Under the rules of the House, the Chair may submit the question of its use to the House or make a judgment on its use as a matter of decorum.

The Chair has examined the exhibit and finds that it does not constitute a breach of decorum.

Mr. PERLMUTTER. Mr. Speaker, I move to appeal the ruling of the Chair.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is, Shall the decision of the Chair stand as the judgment of the House?

MOTION TO TABLE

Mr. COLE. Mr. Speaker, I move to lay the appeal on the table.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion to lay the appeal on the table.

The question was taken; and the Speaker pro tempore announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

RECORDED VOTE

Mr. PERLMUTTER. Mr. Speaker, I demand a recorded vote.

A recorded vote was ordered.

DeLauro

Rice (NY)

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—ayes 224, noes 173, answered "present" 2, not voting 31, as follows:

[Roll No. 40] AYES-224

Aderholt Goodlatte Nunes Allen Gosar Olson Amash Gowdy Palmer Graves (GA) Amodei Paulsen Arrington Graves (LA) Pearce Babin Graves (MO) Perry Bacon Griffith Pittenger Banks (IN) Grothman Poe (TX) Barletta Guthrie Poliquin Barr Handel Posey Bergman Harper Raskin Biggs Harris Ratcliffe Bilirakis Hartzler Reed Bishop (MI) Hensarling Renacci Herrera Beutler Bishop (UT) Rice (SC) Hice, Jody B. Black Roby Blackburn Higgins (LA) Roe (TN) Blum Hill. Rogers (AL) Holding Bost Rogers (KY) Brady (TX) Hollingsworth Rohrabacher Hudson Brat Rokita. Brooks (AL) Huizenga Rooney, Francis Brooks (IN) Hultgren Rooney, Thomas Buchanan Hunter Bucshon Hurd Ros-Lehtinen Budd Issa. Ross Jenkins (KS) Burgess Rothfus Byrne Jenkins (WV) Rouzer Royce (CA) Calvert Johnson (LA) Johnson (OH) Carter (GA) Rutherford Carter (TX) Jordan Sanford Joyce (OH) Chabot Schweikert Cheney Katko Kelly (PA) Scott, Austin Cicilline Sensenbrenner King (IA) Coffman Sessions King (NY) Collins (GA) Kinzinger Shimkus Collins (NY) Knight Simpson Kustoff (TN) Sinema Comstock Labrador Smith (MO) Conaway LaHood Smith (NE) LaMalfa Cook Smith (NJ) Costello (PA) Lamborn Smith (TX) Cramer Lance Smucker Crawford Latta Stefanik Lewis (MN) Culberson Stewart Curbelo (FL) LoBiondo Stivers Curtis Long Taylor Loudermilk Davidson Tennev Davis, Rodney Love Thompson (PA) Denham Lucas Thornberry Luetkemever Dent Tipton DesJarlais MacArthur Trott Diaz-Balart Marchant Turner Doggett Marino Upton Donovan Marshall Valadao Duffv Mast Wagner Duncan (SC) McCarthy Walberg Duncan (TN) McCaul Walden McClintock Dunn Walker McCollum Emmer Walorski Estes (KS) McGovern Walters, Mimi Farenthold McHenry Weber (TX) Faso McKinley Webster (FL) Ferguson McMorris Wenstrup Fitzpatrick Rodgers Westerman Fleischmann McSally Williams Flores Meadows Wilson (SC) Fortenberry Messer Mitchell Wittman Foxx Frelinghuysen Moolenaar Womack Mooney (WV) Woodall Gaetz Gallagher Mullin Yoder Young (AK) Garrett Newhouse Gianforte Noem Young (IA) Gibbs Norman Zeldin

NOES-173

Adams Brownley (CA) Clyburn Aguilar Bustos Connolly Barragán Butterfield Cooper Bass Capuano Correa. Beatty Carbajal Costa Cárdenas Courtney Bera Beyer Cartwright Crist Bishop (GA) Castor (FL) Crowley Blumenauer Blunt Rochester Castro (TX) Cuellar Davis (CA) Chu, Judy Clark (MA) Bonamici DeFazio Brady (PA) Clarke (NY) DeGette Cleaver Delaney Brown (MD)

Larsen (WA) DelBene Larson (CT) Richmond Demings Lawrence Rosen Roybal-Allard DeSaulnier Lawson (FL) Deutch Lee Ruiz Dingell Levin Ruppersberger Doyle, Michael Lewis (GA) Rush Ryan (OH) Lipinski Ellison Loebsack Sánchez Engel Lofgren Sarbanes Lowenthal Schakowsky Eshoo Espaillat Lowey Schiff Lujan Grisham, Schneider Esty (CT) Evans Ň. Schrader Luján, Ben Ray Foster Scott (VA) Frankel (FL) Scott, David Lynch Fudge Maloney, Serrano Sewell (AL) Gabbard Carolyn B. Gallego Maloney, Sean Shea-Porter Garamendi Matsui Sherman McEachin Gomez Sires Gonzalez (TX) McNerney Slaughter Gottheimer Meeks Smith (WA) Green Al Meng Soto Grijalva Moore Speier Gutiérrez Moulton Suozzi Swalwell (CA) Murphy (FL) Hanabusa Hastings Takano Nadler Heck Napolitano Thompson (CA) Himes Neal Thompson (MS) Hoyer Nolan Titus Huffman Norcross Tonko Jackson Lee O'Rourke Torres Jayapal Pallone Tsongas Kaptur Panetta. Veasey Vela Keating Pascrell Kelly (IL) Payne Velázquez Kennedy Pelosi Visclosky Perlmutter Walz Khanna Wasserman Kihuen Peters Kildee Peterson Schultz Pingree Waters, Maxine Kilmer Watson Coleman Kind Pocan Krishnamoorthi Polis Welch Price (NC) Wilson (FL) Kuster (NH) Langevin Quigley Yarmuth

ANSWERED "PRESENT"-2

Cohen Lieu, Ted

NOT VOTING-31

Abraham Gohmert Meehan Barton O'Halleran Granger Green, Gene Boyle, Brendan Palazzo F. Higgins (NY) Reichert Bridenstine Jeffries Roskam Johnson (GA) Buck Russell Carson (IN) Johnson, E. B. Scalise Clay Johnson, Sam Shuster Cummings Jones Kelly (MS) Vargas Davis, Danny Yoho DeSantis Massie

□ 1711

Mr. LOEBSACK, Ms. JUDY CHU of California, Messrs. RUSH, BROWN of Maryland, and GOTTHEIMER changed their vote from "aye" to "no."

Mr. CICILLINE changed his vote from "no" to "aye."

So the motion to table was agreed to. The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION

Mr. YOHO. Mr. Speaker, I was unavoidably detained. Had I been present, I would have voted "yea" on rollcall No. 38 ordering Call of House, "pres" on rollcall No. 39 Call of House, and "yea" on rollcall No. 40 Tableing appeal.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Alabama (Mr. BYRNE) has 1½ minutes remaining in his remarks.

Mr. BYRNE. Mr. Speaker, where was I before my poster of Senator SCHUMER was ruled in order? Oh, yes, government shutdowns have devastating implications on so many different areas, especially when it comes to our Nation's military.

All Active-Duty military personnel will come to work, but they cannot be paid. Critical maintenance operations and training that are not directly related to ongoing military operations are forced to stop, all because of the Schumer shutdown.

Mr. Speaker, the government funding bill in question also includes 6 years of funding for the Children's Health Insurance Program, known as ALL Kids in Alabama, but Minority Leader Pelosi recently said that the efforts to fund the government and fund CHIP are like a bowl of doggy-doo. I can assure the minority leader that funding for ALL Kids in Alabama isn't doggydoo to the over 150,000 children in my State who receive insurance through the program.

Mr. Speaker, I have a message to my colleagues in the Senate: Enough is enough.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman will suspend.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Georgia.

Mr. LEWIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I ask that the words of the gentleman be taken down.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Alabama will be seated.

The Clerk will report the words.

Mr. LEWIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I realize that this is a very difficult time for all of us, but we all need to be a little more human and a little more patient.

Mr. Speaker, in order to have civility among all of us, I withdraw my objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The demand has been withdrawn by the gentleman from Georgia.

The gentleman from Alabama, who has 40 seconds remaining, is recognized.

Mr. BYRNE. Stop with these political stunts that put our military at risk. Stop with the reckless antics that create uncertainty for families across the country. Stop playing to the resistance base.

Stop with the games, and let's get our Federal Government back open for business.

Enough is enough.

Mr. Speaker, I encourage adoption of this rule, and I yield back the balance of my time.

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. HOYER), who is the Democratic whip.

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Speaker, let me say at the outset, we ought to both put sanctimony aside. Both sides are accusing one another of closing down the government.

Mr. Speaker, you voted to close down the government, and then you voted against opening it up.

Both sides have accused the other of doing what they have done.

Now, the fact of the matter is, Mr. Speaker, we are here because we have not succeeded in passing the appropriations bills and sending them to the President. That is why we need a continuing resolution.

My Republican friends are in charge of the House. My Republican friends are in charge of the Senate, and they are in charge of the White House. We have not passed a single appropriations bill.

My view is, we have not done so because we have been unwilling to compromise. That is what this is about. It is about Republicans, frankly, being unwilling, in our opinion, to work together to get to agreement.

We don't want this shutdown. Our Republican friends say they don't want the shutdown, and we have said from the beginning that we are ready to work across the aisle to prevent it. In fact, the Republicans have had four opportunities. One hundred percent of the Democrats voted for a 90-day CR to give us time to get to agreement on appropriations bills and a level of funding

Mr. Speaker, you know that. We have been talking about that for some time. We have not come to agreement. Therefore, we find ourselves here, notwithstanding the fact that we agree on a lot. We have asked to adhere to parity. Mr. Speaker, as you know, it is the process that you agreed with Senator MURRAY that we have followed for the last 4 years. All we are asking is, let's follow it again. That is why we are here, because we have not been able to get such an agreement.

We have also asked that we be able to protect—at the request of the President of the United States—DREAMers, put something on the floor, as he said, and send it to him, and he would sign it. We want to reauthorize the CHIP program, the community health centers, and other health programs. We agree on that.

The American public has got to be so distressed that they see this going on on this floor of the House.

We want to provide disaster relief to those in Texas, those in Florida, those in Puerto Rico, those in the Virgin Islands, and, yes, those who have been subjected to fires in the West.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield the gentleman from Maryland an additional 1½ minutes.

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Speaker, I urge my Republican colleagues who are in the majority and control the legislative process: end this shutdown. Use the authority you are asking for under this rule to bring to the floor the items on which we agree.

□ 1730

Mr. Speaker, you have said you would do that, take the tough issues head-on one at a time. I admired that statement. I will tell my friend, the Speaker of the House, that I will admire even more the performance.

Speaker RYAN said, in 2012: "We will not duck the tough issues. We will not kick the can down the road. We will lead. We will not blame others . . . "

Mr. Speaker, I ask you to do just that. Stop ignoring your responsibility as the majority party to keep the government open and serve the American people.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to bring up H.R. 4872, the End the Shutdown Act of 2018, a continuing resolution through Tuesday that would immediately reopen the government while negotiations continue on a budget agreement that adheres to parity, reauthorizing the Children's Health Insurance Program and other critical healthcare programs, addressing the issue of DREAMers as was requested by the President of the United States, and providing assistance to Americans impacted by natural disasters.

Mr. MEADOWS. Mr. Speaker, I object.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time yielded in this debate was for debate purposes only.

The Chair must inquire whether the manager, the gentleman from Texas, will yield for that purpose?

Mr. SESSIONS. Mr. Speaker, I will

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Texas does not yield, and, as such, the request cannot be entertained.

PARLIAMENTARY INQUIRY

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Speaker, parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Maryland will state his parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Speaker, I am stretching the parliamentary inquiry, the nature of this, but did the Speaker hear Mr. MEADOWS objecting to my unanimous consent request?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The request was not even entertained.

Mr. SESSIONS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Hood River, Oregon (Mr. WALDEN), who is the chairman of the Energy and Commerce Committee.

Mr. WALDEN. Mr. Speaker, let's set the record straight about the Children's Health Insurance Program, funding for community health centers, stopping the cuts on our low-income hospitals, and extending the Special Diabetes Program for Native Americans.

As chairman of the Energy and Commerce Committee, I can tell you that we did our work. We held hearings, we held markups, we brought a package to the floor and approved it on November 2. Tragically, only one dozen or so Democrats voted for that package at that time. It was fully funded. Community health centers would have 2 years of funding, the Children's Health Insurance Program 5 years, and the largest funding amount ever accorded to CHIP. The Special Diabetes Program was funded.

We care about these programs as a conference, yet it was a partisan divide, tragically, and it went to the Senate where they couldn't find the votes to pass it.

So we have come back consistently thereafter to approve children's healthcare. The Children's Health Insurance Program provides insurance coverage for 9 million American children and pregnant women. We all support that as a Congress.

We have had to emergency extend the funding in various continuing resolutions, most of which my colleagues on the Democratic side have opposed.

Today, we find ourselves with seven States about to run out of money and cancelation notices going out to about 2 million people. This is unnecessary, it is unconscionable, and it should not happen, but it is. That is why the Children's Health Insurance Program now can be funded for 6 years in the CR we all voted on, and nearly every Democrat voted against; but we can do 6 years of funding for CHIP, and with the changes in other law in the Tax Code, we did not have to identify ways to pay for it. That is already taken care of.

That is why it is troubling to me to hear the remarks of some of my colleagues who say they are all for this, and they want to vote for this when we have given the entire House this opportunity on numerous occasions to fund the Children's Health Insurance Program, to fund community health centers, and to fund the Special Diabetes Program.

We didn't have to be here, and you sure as heck didn't have to shut down the government. Our choice yesterday was vote to fund the government or not and vote to fund children's health insurance for 9 million children. By the way, in States like mine, that also includes DACA kids. So when you voted against that yesterday, you voted not to provide insurance to children and pregnant women in our States. That is wrong. We are here to govern. We are governing as Republicans, we will get this government up and running, and we will take care of those children.

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 30 seconds to the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. HOYER).

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentlewoman for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, if we had entertained my unanimous consent request, we could have accomplished all that the gentleman from Oregon, the chairman of the committee, just discussed.

I will remind you that the reason Democrats voted against it was because you took the money for children's health out of children's health. You decreased the prevention trust fund by some \$6 billion which had, in part, inoculation for children against disease. We thought robbing from Peter to pay Paul was not a good policy to pursue.

Mr. SESSIONS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Hood River, Oregon (Mr. WALDEN), who is the distinguished chairman of the Energy and Commerce Committee.

Mr. WALDEN. Mr. Speaker, I am happy to have this discussion because the prevention fund, which the gentleman from Maryland referenced, is a

very important fund—to do what? Provide preventive healthcare.

What do you think children's health about? Providing insurance is healthcare.

So you don't think providing insurance for pregnant women and children is about good health? Holy smokes. No wonder vou voted "no." No wonder vou voted "no."

You have used the prevention fund in the past.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman is reminded to direct his remarks to the Chair.

Mr. WALDEN. I thought I was, Mr. Speaker. I guess I was just steering a little to the left.

Both parties have used the prevention fund to do things they thought were important. I can't think of anything more important than to use a portion of the fund that gets replenished by \$2 billion every year. The appropriators—God bless them—decide how those funds get appropriated every year. We thought it made sense to use a portion of that fund for children's health. There was still going to be an enormous amount of money left to be appropriated.

We also thought that people on Medicare making \$500,000 a year-\$40,000 a month roughly—could pay \$137 more for their Medicare so we could take care of pregnant women and children and keep our health centers open. That was one of the pay-fors. We were open to negotiating because we knew we would have to in the Senate on how

else we pay for it.

But the long and the short of it is: Why are they pitting one group of kids in America against another?

Governor Sandoval from Nevada said

as much. He supports what we did yesterday. Governor Charlie Baker of Massachusetts-I talked to him yesterday-wants the CHIP bill funded.

Can't we put the politics behind us and take care of America's children?

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Mr. Speaker, I vield 30 seconds to the gentlewoman from Connecticut (Ms. DELAURO).

Ms. DELAURO. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Oregon does not know what the Health and Prevention Fund is all about. It is more than children's health. It is vaccines: it is insulin: it is lead paint protection programs. Know what it is. This is the majority who has spent the better part of the year decimating an Affordable Care Act and not caring a wit about what was happening to children and their healthcare.

We do not fund community health centers, and children who are eligible for CHIP will not be able to get the help they need because they can't go a community healthcare center. And if you are really concerned about the children of this Nation and their healthcare, bring a clean CHIP bill to this floor and let's make it permanent. Don't hide. Don't hide behind the children of this country.

Mr. SESSIONS. Mr. Speaker, we know who voted "yes" and we know who voted "no."

Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Oregon (Mr. WALDEN) to defend the Republican position.

Mr. WALDEN. Mr. Speaker, I appreciate my colleague from Connecticut's strong words.

Here is the deal. The Democrats have used money out of the Prevention Fund to fund tax cuts over time. That is a true statement.

They have used it for all kinds of things. But the long and short of it is that we brought two clean CHIP bills; one that fully funded community health centers and the Special Diabetes Program, and teaching hospitals that stopped—vou know the only thing that did against ObamaCare that I think a lot of you wrote and asked me to do?

We turned off the cuts to DSH hospitals.

That is a requirement under the existing ObamaCare law.

You told us: You got to turn off these cuts to our hospitals that serve the low-income people.

We said: You know, you are right.

That is actually bipartisan. Most of what we did was bipartisan that you all and we all agreed on.

Then, when they didn't like thatand I think only 15 Democrats voted for that whole package. They are all for community health centers; they are all for the Special Diabetes Program; they are all for turning off the DSH cuts; they are all for CHIP, until they have an opportunity to vote for it, and then they voted "no."

And then we brought a clean CHIP bill to the floor as part of keeping the Federal Government open, and they didn't like that. They were for a 5-year CHIP bill until they wanted 10. We gave them 6. They can't figure out how to vote "yes." They vote "no."

What is it we have to do here to get this done, to get you on board to stop the partisan politics?

Mr. Speaker, you know this. You are on appropriations. This is important work. Seven States, including my own, are on the cusp of running out of funds. Two million Americans are about to get notices from insurers that this cannot be extended because the money is running out. We have performed as Republicans. We should perform as Republicans and Democrats. We should put the health of America's children first, and they never should have shut down the government.

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. PALLONE), the distinguished ranking member of the Committee on Energy and Commerce.

Mr. PALLONE. Mr. Speaker, you know, I respect my colleague from Oregon, but you have done nothing over the last year but sabotage the Affordable Care Act and sabotage healthcare in this country. The fact of the matter is that the only reason you are willing to bring up this CHIP bill as part of the CR is because you put in a tax plan that eliminates the mandate for health insurance, which means 13 million peo-

ple are not going to have health insurance in this country over the next few years, and the money that would have subsidized their premium now does not have to be paid.

So all of a sudden you say: Okay, we will put a 6-year CHIP bill on the floor. The pay-fors were not only from the

Prevention Fund. The pay-fors also said that if somebody didn't pay their health insurance within 30 days, they were going to lose their health insurance. And the CBO said that another 500,000 people would lose their health insurance.

Everything that this majority has done since day one of this session has been to sabotage the ACA and not allow people to even know that they can buy insurance through the exchange, taking away their cost-sharing subsidies. The list is endless.

And for you to come up here today and suggest that somehow you care about the kids and you are going to have CHIP continue for the next 6 years, where are those kids going to go?

You haven't done anything about community health centers. Forty to fifty percent of them have to use community health centers because people won't take CHIP. You haven't done anything about the hospitals, the disproportionate share hospitals that many of them have to go to. That is not addressed in this legislation.

So the only reason that you have brought this bill and put it on the CR is because of the fact that you have sabotaged health insurance for millions of Americans. So don't stand up here and tell me that somehow the Republican Party cares about the kids. They don't. And you also know that this was not going to pass. You know that it wasn't going to pass.

□ 1745

You are not trying to act in a bipartisan, bicameral way. You know that this is going nowhere. You are responsible for the shutdown, and putting CHIP in the bill is part of that responsibility that you have created here today. So don't go on and on and on about how the Republican Party cares about the kids. The Republican Party does not.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. All Members are reminded to direct their remarks to the Chair.

Mr. SESSIONS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Lewisville, Texas (Mr. Burgess), the distinguished chairman of the Subcommittee on Health of the Energy and Commerce Committee, and from the Rules Committee.

Mr. BURGESS. Mr. Speaker, a quick history lesson: CHIP, 1996, a bipartisan offering; a

Democratic President, Bill Clinton; a Republican Speaker of the House, Newt Gingrich; as part of welfare reform, we are going to move people from welfare to work

But what do we do about the chil-

If those parents are moved into employment, they are going to lose their Medicaid. Their children will be lost at sea. So CHIP was created. CHIP was created as a block grant program, maximum flexibility to the States. It was authorized for 10 years.

Then when the Affordable Care Act passed, CHIP was authorized for 10 years; funded for 5 years, but authorized for 10 years. We are finishing up that tenth year of authorization with this bill. I actually wanted only a 2-year bill as we started. I compromised. Committee Democrats wanted a 5-year bill. Senate Democrats, Senate Republicans wanted a 5-year bill. We gave you a 5-year bill.

We funded community health centers. We delayed the DSH cuts that were part of the Affordable Care Act that our hospitals back home were saying we can't manage.

Remember, everyone was supposed to be able to lay down in the Elysian Fields of ObamaCare, except they are not, so our hospitals are tasked with taking care of uninsured and underinsured patients. We need to delay those DSH cuts.

But here is the thing that really strikes me. We passed a 5-year bill through this House. Two dozen Democrats voted for it. And then the Congressional Budget Office, between then and the end of the year, said: With the repeal of the individual mandate, it just got a lot less expensive; and, in fact, if you will broaden it out to a 6-year window, you will return money to the Federal Treasury.

What that tells me is that ObamaCare is so bad and makes everything so expensive and the States can do it cheaper.

Okay. The CBO put it on sale, and we should buy. And we brought it back to you on the floor, and the 2 dozen of you who said, "We liked it before when it cost more," said you didn't like it when it actually returned money to the Treasury.

I don't know how we can intuit what you will take. We gave you a good bill. It was part of a 3- or 4-week continuing resolution. It is not that hard. Let's pass it. Let's do the right thing for America's children, our military, and Federal workers across this country.

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Colorado (Mr. Polis), a distinguished member of the Rules Committee.

Mr. POLIS. Mr. Speaker, you know, I am hearing Republicans blame Democrats, Democrats blame Republicans, people blaming the President, but you know, I have great respect for the intellectual abilities of everybody in this body, my colleagues on both sides.

And I think you all know—I certainly know, Mr. Speaker—that the American people blame all of us for this dysfunction and for the Federal Government closing. Of course they blame the President, of course they blame Republicans, and, yes, they also blame Democrats.

Yet here we are continuing to play into the worst fears and partisanship of the American people, rather than talking about the path forward. I think we all know what the issues are that separate us, and they are not that great.

Of course we want to fund the Children's Health Insurance Program. We heard that from both sides. Let's figure out the plan to do it. Of course we want to fix deferred action because the President has canceled the program in March, and we want to find a way to rise to that challenge, to find a way that aspiring Americans can stay here and work. Let's do it.

The budget caps and the timing are very important. I understand that Republicans want to spend more on the military than many Democrats do. And I have been a constant supporter of trying to find resources that we don't need in our defense and direct them other ways. Let's compromise and find a way to do it, but let's not do it while the government is closed.

Why don't we find a way to do a 2- or 3- or 4-day extension, or at least get to work, rather than blaming one another on actually solving these issues, which won't go away?

That is why you find the hesitancy of many of us to say let's just wait 3 weeks or 4 weeks and hash out the same exact issues that we all have our opinions on today, because that is much more uncertainty for the U.S. military, for the American people, for those who rely on basic government services.

So it is time to actually work together in good faith, to rise to the responsibility of the office that the American people placed us in, to find a commonsense way forward that respects our values as an institution, and to make sure the people are proud of Democrats, proud of Republicans, and, yes, I dare to say, even proud of the President of the United States if he plays a constructive role in reopening the government and solving these pressing issues that face us right here.

Mr. SESSIONS. Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. KILDEE).

Mr. KILDEE. Mr. Speaker, I appreciate the opportunity to speak.

I just want to point out the position we are in. We hear that Republicans and Democrats in the Senate can't come together because Democrats are holding up this bill in the Senate. Well, let's just examine that for a moment.

Why is it that Leader McConnell can't even get a simple majority in the Senate for the legislation that this body sent over there with 5 Democratic votes?

It is because the legislation that was passed here was not constituted of a majority position who support DACA, who support helping those DREAMers; not constituted of a majority of this body who want to see not only community health centers funded, but also see

CHIP continued, and who want to see pension protection come to this floor.

I believe that there is a majority in this body that is not constituted of just 218 Republicans that can come together around these issues. And as long as the leadership continues to not seek a majority that could deliver legislation through this body but also has the chance to gain support in the Senate, we are going to continue to find ourselves unable to govern.

There is a majority that can work together on these issues. We ought to seek that majority.

Mr. SESSIONS. Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Mr. Speaker, if we defeat the previous question, I will offer an amendment to the rule to bring up H.R. 4871, the Pay Our Military Act, to guarantee pay and death benefits for our military.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to insert the text of the amendment in the RECORD, along with extraneous material, immediately prior to the vote on the previous question.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentle-woman from New York?

There was no objection.

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2½ minutes to the gentlewoman from Minnesota (Ms. McCollum) to discuss our proposal.

Ms. McCollum. Mr. Speaker, the

Ms. McCOLLUM. Mr. Speaker, the failure of President Trump and the Republican-controlled Congress to do their work on time and in good faith has serious consequences for our country and for our national security.

The Republican approach of governing by short-term continuing resolution deprives our military of long-term budget certainty that they need to keep our country safe.

President Trump's Secretary of Defense has warned of the severe harm operating under continuing resolutions and the harm that it has done to our military readiness.

Mr. Speaker, it is time for the President and for Republicans to end this chaos and to work with us on a long-term budget deal that reopens our government, adequately funds our military, and upholds our commitments here at home.

Sadly, the government shutdown that began at midnight means that hundreds of thousands of government employees who serve in critical roles keeping us safe will now be forced to work without pay. We all thank them for their service.

As the President himself has acknowledged, the Republican-inflicted shutdown means that our active military will not get paid, causing serious repercussions for their families.

I grew up in a military family and I understand the sacrifices our service-members and their families make. And I know all of us, as Democrats and Republicans, agree that it is just plain wrong to ask our servicemen and -women in uniform to put their lives on the line without pay.

That is why we have introduced the Pay Our Military Act of 2018. This bill provides for both pay and death benefits for our servicemen and -women during this government shutdown. It includes pay and support for the Army, Navy, Marines, Air Force, and the Coast Guard. This bill ensures that our military is able to perform their duties during any shutdown this fiscal year without worrying about the financial security of their families.

Should one of our servicemen or -women take and make the ultimate sacrifice, this bill ensures that their family will be taken care of by our country. That is the least we can do.

There is a strong precedent for this bill. This House passed similar legislation unanimously—unanimously—during the last government shutdown in 2013. This morning, President Trump tweeted that our country needs to do even better by our military. The Pay Our Military Act fulfills this mission.

I urge a "no" vote on the previous question so we can bring up this bill and pay our troops.

Mr. SESSIONS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Butler, Pennsylvania (Mr. Kelly).

Mr. KELLY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, we are locked in a debate today over something that we don't have to be locked in a debate about.

Our friends on the other side know that everything that was in our proposal, you agreed with. There was nothing in that proposal that you were against. I hear you talked tonight about all the things that you are still in favor of. Those were the same things that we had in our bill the other day, but you voted against it.

We are now in the middle of a Schumer shutdown, not because of what the House didn't do, but because of what the Senate refuses to do. Dates have importance. We knew the government would shut down if we did not fund it yesterday.

We know that DACA has until March 5 to be addressed. Yet, today, we come here with this phony argument that somehow we are on the same page, we are trying to do the same things. But do you know what? We just can't vote that way to get there.

America is watching, and America is understanding right now that this is the Schumer shutdown. Let there be no question about who it is that has failed the American people.

Let there be no question that when it comes to CHIP and all of those bleeding hearts that say, "You need to do this, you need to do this," and say, "We did it for 5 years, now we want to do it for 6 years," you are still saying, "Not quite good enough for me to vote on."

And when you talk about our military and how much you admire what 1 percent does to protect the rest of the 99 percent of the country, and then you stand up here and say, "I would have voted for it except for one thing, it doesn't include DACA."

There is no legislation for DACA right now. It was never in jeopardy. We have until March 5 to get it straightened out. But we do not have any more time to sit here and not open up this government.

My friends, please, abandon the Gruber effect and tell the truth and know that America is watching, and America understands that this shutdown is based on Mr. Schumer's inability to get his people on board, people who aren't necessarily needed to be involved.

We know we can't do it with 51 votes. We need to do it with 60 votes. Please look in your civics book and find out how it works. Let's vote tonight. Let's walk out of here tonight united as an American House of the people.

My time may be expired, but do you know what? Americans' patience is getting more and more expired.

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from Texas (Ms. Jackson Lee).

Ms. JACKSON LEE. Mr. Speaker, maybe my good friend was not able to keep his eyes awake last night to see that a bipartisan group of Members in the other body voted resoundingly to defeat this insignificant and this shallow CR that you sent to the other body. Maybe you were not able to see that.

So what I will say to you is that I join with my whip in a 4-day CR, because maybe you have just forgotten the fact that the most catastrophic storm hit Texas, and then others went on to Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands and Florida.

□ 1800

No one has heard one word about those who are suffering with housing that still looks like this, or those houses that are under water. Maybe you don't know that the children who need children's health insurance need the clinics that you gutted.

I would ask you, if you really have any kind of compassion, to read Mr. Steele's comments, who indicated, as a former chair of the Republican National Committee, that those who are at fault for shutting down the government is a Republican President, Republican House, and Republican Senate.

You can't do your job. Democrats are trying to do their job for the American people. You shut the government down. Worry about those who are suffering from hurricanes.

Where is your compassion?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Once again, the Chair reminds Members to please address their remarks to the Chair and not to one another.

Mr. SESSIONS. Mr. Speaker, I would remind the gentlewoman from Texas that this body passed the bill, this body did its work, and this body got its work done.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from Wyoming (Ms. CHENEY).

Ms. CHENEY. Mr. Speaker, I understand why our colleagues on the other

side of the aisle are having a hard time keeping track of their arguments.

We watched yesterday the distinguished minority whip stand up and say that we ought to do our work, and then move to adjourn.

Mr. Speaker, we watched today, repeatedly, while our colleagues on the other side of the aisle claim that they believe in providing funding for the Children's Health Insurance Program, yet they voted against it.

We have watched repeatedly, Mr. Speaker, our colleagues on the other side of the aisle go down the list of all of the damage that is being done by this shutdown, but they won't end the shutdown.

We agree, the shutdown is absolutely unconscionable in these circumstances. Every time, Mr. Speaker, a Member on the other side of the aisle—who failed to vote for all 12 of those appropriations bills that we put on the floor and we passed through this House—stands up and talks about us doing our job needs to look in the mirror, Mr. Speaker, because we have done our job.

In particular, Mr. Speaker, when it comes to the defense of this Nation, we have no higher obligation or sacred duty or responsibility in this House than to provide funding for our men and women in uniform.

With all due respect, Mr. Speaker, when I hear my colleagues on the other side of the aisle say things like, "Our military will be just fine under this shutdown," I would remind them that we have young men and women in uniform on the front lines right now, who are putting their lives on the line for all of us, and they are not getting paid because Chuck Schumer and the Democrats in the Senate are refusing to be in a position where they will let this government reopen.

Now, I am sure that our colleagues don't want us to remember and remind the American people what they have done or what their leaders have said, but we will do it every single time until this absolutely unconscionable, complete dereliction of our duty stops.

End this shutdown and fund our troops.

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. AL GREEN).

Mr. AL GREEN of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I rise to explain why there is a government shutdown.

There is a government shutdown because the self-proclaimed great dealmaker breaks more deals than he makes. Just ask the Americans who are going to pay for the wall he said Mexico would pay for. Just ask the Senators who took him the deal that he asked for.

Mr. Speaker, when you break more deals than you make, you are not a great dealmaker; you are a great deal breaker. We have a great deal breaker in the White House. That is why we have a shutdown.

Mr. SESSIONS. Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1 minute to the gentle-woman from California (Ms. PELOSI), the minority leader and our great friend and a woman we are very happy about.

Ms. PELOSI. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentlewoman for yielding and for her leadership. I also thank all of the members of the Rules Committee for the time that they put in bringing rules to the floor that relate to a vast array of legislation that we deal with here.

Today, we are talking about martial law so that we will be prepared to take up something that will open up the government and meet the needs of the American people.

It is interesting to see the enthusiasm on both sides on these subjects because we have a long history on some of these issues. We have a long history and a commitment to CHIP. When we brought it to the floor when I was Speaker, when we first had a Democratic President who would sign the bill, 144 Republicans voted against that bill. But that is then. This is now.

I think that now we are closer than the debate here would indicate. I think there is a path forward. I think that is how we have to be thinking about what is next.

We all have our, shall we say, reputations for where we have been on certain votes about CHIP, about shutting down the government, and the rest, but let's put that aside. The challenge that we have right now is what is that path.

That path has four corners to it. One of them is the caps parity. We have talked about parity. Other Members have talked about it. I am sure Mr. HOYER did again today. It is about parity. If you are going to have increases in defense, we need the same increases in domestic. If that is what the Defense Department decides its missions require, then we want to be respectful of that.

But we also know that in the domestic budget, one-third of the budget—34 percent—are security functions: Homeland Security, antiterrorism activities at the Department of Justice, Veterans Affairs, the Department of State. That is 34 percent of the domestic budget.

We are saying that the strength of our country is not measured just in our military might—as important as that is and respectful of it that we are—but also in these security functions in the domestic budget. In addition to that, in the health, education, and well-being of the American people, which are also on the domestic side.

So I think on the caps, we just have to get in a room and make those decisions. The challenge that I see is that it has been reported to me that there are those on the Republican side who have some unease in increasing the domestic budget because they know that they already had a big increase in the deficit in the tax bill and are reluctant to add any more investments for fear that it would increase the deficit.

However, these investments in research and development, in education, and in infrastructure, really bring revenue to the Treasury, so they help decrease the deficit. In fact, I think most economists will tell you that nothing brings more money to the Treasury than the investments in education, early childhood, K-12, higher education, postgrad, and lifetime learning for our workers.

So in that spirit of saying they want more in defense, and we are respectful of that, we need more in domestic, and hopefully you will be respectful of that. I think that we can come to terms on that.

And then there is the question of pay-fors: How is that—or is it—paid for?

So that is one thing. That is just you sit down, you negotiate, and you get it done.

I am not an appropriator. Mr. Hoyer is an appropriator; Mr. Clyburn is an appropriator; Mrs. Lowey, as our ranking member with such distinction; and Mr. Frelinghuysen on your side. Appropriators know how to get it done. They know the numbers. They can do the math, left to their own devices. It is when other factors weigh in that it becomes more challenging.

Let's just say: let's see if we can get that done, because that will be more dispositive of shortening the time between where we are now and if we get a solution.

The DREAMers are a value to us. We told the President right from the start that it is not an issue, it is not a bill, it is a value of who we are as America. I think that we can come to terms on that subject as well.

But make no mistake, if there never were one DREAMer in our country, we still would have this challenge on the money side of the debate. Let's not try to assign responsibility to the DREAMers for the fact that we don't have the increase in defense. We are willing to go to that place as we go, honoring parity. That is what we agreed to in the budget agreement. That is what the Speaker agreed to as chair of the Budget Committee.

Why are we departing from that and then blaming it on the DREAMers?

And the security, we all believe in securing our borders, North and South. We can come to terms on that, if we really believe that we should.

None of us believes in a—well, I can only speak for our side of the aisle—shutting down the government. We believe in a government role in meeting the needs of the American people. We subject any initiatives to do that to the harshest scrutiny because we know that the American people need effective initiatives to meet their needs.

Let's take a deep breath. Let's calm down.

Now, for example, Mr. Welch led the way with a large number—100-some Members of the House—signing a letter to the President.

I think it is really important for you to realize this. When we said we wanted more domestic investment, here is what we were talking about. We were very clear to choose only those initiatives that are bipartisan that would pass on the floor with strong bipartisan support.

That means preserving the Bipartisan Budget Act, as I discussed, and delivering urgently needed resources to communities fighting the opioid epidemic. That is what we said to the President. This is one of the increases on the domestic side: addressing the opioid epidemic.

Rescuing heroic veterans, who are facing a dire shortfall at the VA.

Opioids. Veterans.

Supporting access by funding CHIP, community health centers, medical education for primary care doctors—the package that always went together.

Preserving America's endangered pensions. We had bipartisan support for that. That needs more discussion, but we want to do it.

Providing additional disaster recovery for Puerto Rico, the U.S. Virgin Islands, Texas, Florida, California—States impacted by wildfires.

There is nothing partisan about this, in addition to protecting our DREAMers, which, again, has bipartisan support in the House and in the Senate. We would want to pass the Dream Act, as well as then engage in the discussion on the borders, which we are completely open to.

This is not a: Just give us some money. It is shared values—Democrats and Republicans—and we are saying to the President: Help us on this money side of the debate because it is so very important.

We can talk all day about who said what about what and all the rest of that. I don't think shutting down the government is cool, as Mr. Mulvaney said, but let's leave him to that.

We do know that government by CR is not the best way to go.

I think that we could take one day—take this evening—sit down: Caps parity; pay-fors—probably easy; there is not a whole lot of opportunity there, but whatever it is—and DACA, the DREAMers.

Again, if there never were one DREAMer, we would still be having this discussion about the money side of it.

My view—and correct me if I am wrong—is that there is a resistance on the Republican side of the House—I can't speak for the Senate, and I haven't seen evidence of the Senate—to resist parity when it comes to increasing funding, even for these priorities that we spelled out, because it will increase the deficit, which has been greatly increased by the tax bill.

□ 1815

So I would see, for some remaining, if existing, deficit hawks, that you might have that concern.

Let me just also add that if there were not one DREAMer in America,

America would be at a loss. These young people have come to this country with their parents. They have made us so proud with their diligence, with their attendance at school, service in the military, working. I have heard from champions of industries, many of whom celebrated the passage of the tax bill, saying: The people who work in our firms are exemplary. They are stars in our company.

So why don't we not use them as an excuse not to face the reality that we have domestic responsibilities that we must deal with.

But there is a path. Our appropriators are used to working together. The leadership has to make these decisions. There is no reason we shouldn't be able to do this by tomorrow and then give the appropriators the time to write it up, but to come to those terms.

So let's all take a deep breath, let's understand our responsibilities to the American people. Let us withhold, as I have done, some of the—I have curbed my enthusiasm about certain other things I have heard said and done here. I haven't even brought the President's picture out saying, on his one-year anniversary: "What this country needs is a good 'shutdown."

He said it earlier, but now he got one for his anniversary. Well, it didn't completely curb my enthusiasm in that regard, but I do say that we have more common ground than is reflected in how this has proceeded.

Let us find a better course so that we can stay on that course as we meet other challenges that face our country.

God has blessed us with the privilege to serve here. We respect each other. If we don't respect each other, respect the people who sent us here. We owe them a lot more than the government being shut down.

So let's take a path to open it up, understanding that it will involve compromise. It is going to involve bipartisanship, transparency, and openness in how we get it done, but in a way that brings unity to our country. I think that that is something we all subscribe to. I certainly hope so.

I call upon my colleagues to join us in sitting down and getting it done. I call upon the Speaker to be willing to bring some legislation to the floor that will do this and which would have bipartisan support.

Mr. Speaker, I thank my colleagues for their attention

Mr. SESSIONS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Sunnyside, Washington (Mr. Newhouse), the gentleman from the Rules Committee.

Mr. NEWHOUSE. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank the good gentleman from the Rules Committee for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, in this most interesting debate on the rule that I have ever seen, I rise in support of restoring a fully functioning Federal Government.

I, along with most all of my colleagues, supported the continuing resolution keeping the Federal Government open, keeping funding for our military, reauthorizing the Children's Health Insurance Program.

Senate Democrats rejected that solution. They voted against keeping the Federal Government open, fully funding CHIP, against giving certainty to the more than 60,000 low-income children in my own State of Washington.

Now, our military professionals are working to reduce the impacts to national security due to the government shutdown. Secretary Mattis himself is giving shutdown guidance to the men and women in uniform, saying: "Steady as she goes. Hold the line. I know the Nation can count on you. Stay alert."

His message speaks to the admirable professionalism of our troops. These men and women deserve their pay, and their families should not have to worry about their paychecks. In no way does shutting down the Federal Government serve them or us.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. SESSIONS. Mr. Speaker, I yield the gentleman an additional 15 seconds.

Mr. NEWHOUSE. Mr. Speaker, in my district, important work like the Hanford cleanup and our national laboratory must continue.

Today, I find myself, as well as many, frustrated. As a supporter of the President's call for Congress to act to work on a bipartisan solution on DACA, let's reopen the government and continue our negotiations.

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from Florida (Ms. WASSERMAN SCHULTZ).

Ms. WASSERMAN SCHULTZ. Mr. Speaker, what we are witnessing here today on the one-year anniversary of President Trump's inauguration is a complete failure by the majority in leadership and governance.

For the first time ever, we have a shutdown where one party controls the White House and both houses of Congress, and Federal employees will risk being sent home and losing pay.

Not a surprise, given the twisted, upside-down priorities that dominate the Republican agenda.

Instead of expanding health coverage, Trump and Republicans have been focused on taking it away. Instead of providing responsible tax relief focused on America's middle class, Republicans passed a huge tax scam that produced handouts to corporations and the wealthy and explodes the deficit.

Now, rather than passing a responsible long-term spending plan, we have another shortsighted budget Band-Aid and the historic Trump budget shutdown.

Our colleagues have clearly been reading from their alternative facts dictionary today, because it does not pass the straight-face test in any corner of this country that Republicans actually care anything about people's healthcare. Please, give me a break.

Let's end the Trump shutdown by

Let's end the Trump shutdown by working together and focusing on bi-

partisan progress. Americans deserve at least that much from this body.

Mr. SESSIONS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. MESSER).

Mr. MESSER. Mr. Speaker, the Schumer shutdown is proving, once again, that the U.S. Senate is broken.

The House did its job and voted to keep the government open. Now both Republicans and Democrats in the Senate need to do their job, too.

Unfortunately, because of the filibuster, the Senate is being governed by a liberal minority that would rather shut down the government and play politics than pass President Trump's agenda and listen to the will of the American people.

If they don't want to do their jobs, then we need to move on without them. It is time to end the fillbuster in the U.S. Senate. The American people demand it. The Senate needs to change its rules.

If there was no filibuster, this government shutdown would already be over, because the bill for government funding got 50 votes in the Senate last night.

So let's stop the political games. End the filibuster, open our government, and put the American people back in charge.

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Washington (Mr. SMITH).

Mr. SMITH of Washington. Mr. Speaker, I have an enormous amount of respect for the chairman of the Armed Services Committee, but I would remind everybody that, back in September, he and a majority of the Armed Services Committee Republicans voted against the CR, in September, 4 months ago. Why? Because at the time, he said: A CR is devastating for our military. It is the worst possible thing to do to our military.

Four months ago, he said that, and now he says that we should vote for a CR.

Think about it. Unless that vote, back in September, was simply hollow and hypocritical, he was prepared to shut down the government in September rather than continue to fund our military, and, by the way, the rest of the government, with a CR.

He was right in September, but it took Democrats to actually have the courage of that conviction to say: No, we are not going to continue to gut the military drip by drip by drip, CR by CR. We are going to stand up and say, no. Pass appropriations bills.

That is why we are doing this.

I would also point out that five Republican Senators voted against the House bill. It is not a filibuster. They don't have 50 votes in the Senate for what you guys want to do.

MAC THORNBERRY was right, back in September. A CR is terrible for the military. Don't support a CR. Fund the military.

Mr. SESSIONS. Mr. Speaker, MAC THORNBERRY is right. The chairman of

the Armed Services Committee cares very much about the men and women, not only of the military, where my son serves in Pearl Harbor in the United States Navy, but about every one of our people.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Clarendon, Texas (Mr. Thornberry), the distinguished chairman of the Armed Services Committee.

Mr. THORNBERRY. Mr. Speaker, I have consistently said, and I continue to say, that every day under a continuing resolution does damage to the United States military. There is no question about it. I also have said today that a government shutdown does more damage to the United States military.

I want to just make one other point. I think we can have debates about the proper level and the proper way to fund the military, but what is completely unacceptable is to hold the United States military hostage for some other political agenda that has nothing to do with them, and that is what has been going on.

Mr. Speaker, this House passed a defense appropriations bill for the full year back before October 1. That needs to pass now. Get the military out of this political drama and set them free.

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. PRICE).

Mr. PRICE of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, we are 3½ months into the fiscal year without a budget. Republicans are proposing to lurch along another month with no resolution in sight and no commitment to address critical investments. Democrats will not be a party to further delay.

It is not a great mystery how to deal with this. We have done it each of the last 4 years. We must have a year-long budget in place with a bipartisan agreement to adjust the defense and nondefense caps so that we can pass our 12 appropriations bills. Democrats have been willing to enter into such agreement for at least 6 months.

Republican leaders need to reject their Tea Party extremists and conclude a budget agreement across the aisle.

We also must be assured of progress toward resolving the status of DREAMers, the 800,000 young people who were brought here as children and have known no other country. President Trump created a crisis in removing the DREAMers' protection. He asked Congress to devise a long-term solution; he then blew up the solution. They are dangerously exposed. We must address their dilemma.

Mr. SESSIONS. Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself the balance of my time.

Mr. Speaker, this is the fifth Republican government shutdown in the last 30 years. It is the first shutdown in modern history when one party held the House, the Senate, and the White House.

During the 2013 government shutdown, the economy lost \$1.5 billion a day. I am sure it is even more now.

We need to work across the aisle, and the majority needs to work with us, and let's solve this problem.

Mr. Speaker, I urge a "no" vote on the previous question and the rule, and I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. SESSIONS. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself the balance of my time.

Mr. Speaker, we know why we are here. We are here because Republicans respectfully passed a bill that responsibly took items before the American people and answered the question—we answered the question about funding the government; we answered the question about the Children's Health Insurance Program. We made sure that we did not have a tax on medical devices that hurts so many people and so many seniors. We have made sure that we delayed for yet another year the devastating effects that would be mostly on union workers' paychecks related to the Cadillac plan.

□ 1830

We further, then, said, "We are going to delay the \$70 insurance tax that would be on every single American."

Mr. Speaker, the Republicans did this because we considered this to be the right thing to do. But most importantly, what we have done is passed our bill. We convinced our body that it was important to avoid shutting down the government.

We voted "yes." It was real simple: either "yes" or "no." Mr. Schumer made sure that the answer from the Senate would be "no."

Mr. Speaker, I want you to know that we deeply believe not only in what we are doing, but we are going to stand for the people in the United States military.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to support this rule.

Mr. SESSIONS. Mr. Speaker, I include in the RECORD the following statement of Administration Policy:

STATEMENT OF ADMINISTRATION POLICY

H.J. RES. 125—EXTENSION OF CONTINUING AP-PROPRIATIONS ACT, 2018—REP. FRELING-HUYSEN, R-NJ

The Administration supports passage of H.J. Res. 125, the Extension of Continuing Appropriations Act, 2018.

This legislation funds the Federal Government at current spending levels through February 16, 2018, providing more time for the Congress and the Administration to reach a longer-term funding agreement. The Administration supports the bill's multiyear funding extension of the Children's Health Insurance Program (CHIP). It also supports the legislation's delay of harmful Obamacare tax increases, including the medical device tax.

The Administration believes that looming defense spending cuts are harmful to our national security and military readiness, and supports responsible efforts to undo the defense sequestration in the context of a two-year budget agreement. As funding discussions continue, the Administration will continue to reject arbitrary demands for lower priority domestic funding that jeopardize critical defense funding.

The safety and security of our Nation depends on a strong military. Short-term funding measures are not ideal, but a lapse in funding for the Federal Government would be even more harmful for our military and our national security.

If H.J. Res. 125 were presented to the President in its current form, his advisors would recommend that he sign the bill into law.

The material previously referred to by Ms. SLAUGHTER is as follows:

AN AMENDMENT TO H. RES. 708 OFFERED BY Ms. SLAUGHTER

At the end of the resolution, add the following new sections:

SEC. 3. Immediately upon adoption of this resolution the Speaker shall, pursuant to clause 2(b) of rule XVIII, declare the House resolved into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for consideration of the bill (H.R. 4871) making continuing appropriations for military pay and death benefits in the event of a Government shutdown. The first reading of the bill shall be dispensed with. All points of order against consideration of the bill are waived. General debate shall be confined to the bill and shall not exceed one hour equally divided and controlled by the chair and ranking minority member of the Committee on Appropriations. After general debate the bill shall be considered for amendment under the fiveminute rule. All points of order against provisions in the bill are waived. At the conclusion of consideration of the bill for amendment the Committee shall rise and report the bill to the House with such amendments as may have been adopted. The previous question shall be considered as ordered on the bill and amendments thereto to final passage without intervening motion except one motion to recommit with or without instructions. If the Committee of the Whole rises and reports that it has come to no resolution on the bill, then on the next legislative day the House shall, immediately after the third daily order of business under clause 1 of rule XIV, resolve into the Committee of the Whole for further consideration of the

SEC. 4. Clause 1(c) of rule XIX shall not apply to the consideration of H.R. 4871.

THE VOTE ON THE PREVIOUS QUESTION: WHAT IT REALLY MEANS

This vote, the vote on whether to order the previous question on a special rule, is not merely a procedural vote. A vote against ordering the previous question is a vote against the Republican majority agenda and a vote to allow the Democratic minority to offer an alternative plan. It is a vote about what the House should be debating.

Mr. Clarence Cannon's Precedents of the House of Representatives (VI. 308–311), describes the vote on the previous question on the rule as "a motion to direct or control the consideration of the subject before the House being made by the Member in charge." defeat the previous question is to give the opposition a chance to decide the subject before the House. Cannon cites the Speaker's ruling of January 13, 1920, to the effect that "the refusal of the House to sustain the demand for the previous question passes the control of the resolution to the opposition" in order to offer an amendment. On March 15, 1909, a member of the majority party offered a rule resolution. The House defeated the previous question and a member of the opposition rose to a parliamentary inquiry, asking who was entitled to recognition. Speaker Joseph G. Cannon (R-Illinois) said: "The previous question having been refused, the gentleman from New York, Mr. Fitzgerald, who had asked the gentleman to

yield to him for an amendment, is entitled to the first recognition.'

The Republican majority may say "the vote on the previous question is simply a vote on whether to proceed to an immediate vote on adopting the resolution [and] has no substantive legislative or policy implications whatsoever." But that is not what they have always said. Listen to the Republican Leadership Manual on the Legislative Process in the United States House of Representatives, (6th edition, page 135). Here's how the Republicans describe the previous question vote in their own manual: "Although it is generally not possible to amend the rule because the majority Member controlling the time will not yield for the purpose of offering an amendment, the same result may be achieved by voting down the previous question on the rule. . . . When the motion for the previous question is defeated, control of the time passes to the Member who led the opposition to ordering the previous question. That Member, because he then controls the time, may offer an amendment to the rule, or yield for the purpose of amendment."

In Deschler's Procedure in the U.S. House of Representatives, the subchapter titled "Amending Special Rules" states: "a refusal to order the previous question on such a rule [a special rule reported from the Committee on Rules] opens the resolution to amendment and further debate." (Chapter 21, section 21.2) Section 21.3 continues: "Upon rejection of the motion for the previous question on a resolution reported from the Committee on Rules, control shifts to the Member leading the opposition to the previous question, who may offer a proper amendment or motion and who controls the time for debate thereon.'

Clearly, the vote on the previous question on a rule does have substantive policy implications. It is one of the only available tools for those who oppose the Republican majority's agenda and allows those with alternative views the opportunity to offer an alternative plan.

Mr. SESSIONS. Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time, and I move the previous question on the resolution.

PARLIAMENTARY INQUIRY

Mr. CICILLINE. Mr. Speaker, I have a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Rhode Island will state his parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. CICILLINE. Mr. Speaker, has debate concluded on the rule?

Mr. SESSIONS. Mr. Speaker, I yielded back the balance my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. All time for debate on the rule has expired.

Mr. CICILLINE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to bring up H.R. 4872, the End the Shutdown Act of 2018, a continuing resolution through Tuesday that would immediately reopen the government while negotiations continue on a budget agreement that adheres to parity, reauthorizing the Children's Health Insurance Program and other critical healthcare programs, addressing DREAMers, and providing assistance to Americans impacted by natural disasters.

Mr. Speaker, I am asking unanimous consent to bring this bill up to reopen the government. To all the claims my Republican colleagues just made about opening the government, here is their chance.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under guidelines consistently issued by successive Speakers, as recorded in section 956 of the House Rules and Manual, the Chair is constrained not to entertain the request unless it is cleared by the bipartisan floor and committee leaderships.

Mr. CICILLINE. Mr. Speaker, I appeal the ruling of the Chair.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. There is no ruling before the House.

The gentleman is no longer recog-

The question is on ordering the previous question.

The question was taken; and the Speaker pro tempore announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the year and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 9 of rule XX, the Chair will reduce to 5 minutes the minimum time for any electronic vote on the question of adoption of the resolution.

The vote was taken by electronic device. and there were—yeas 224, nays 180, not voting 26, as follows:

[Roll No. 41]

YEAS-224

	11110 221	
Aderholt	Dunn	Kustoff (TN)
Allen	Emmer	Labrador
Amash	Estes (KS)	LaHood
Amodei	Farenthold	LaMalfa
Arrington	Faso	Lamborn
Babin	Ferguson	Lance
Bacon	Fitzpatrick	Latta
Banks (IN)	Fleischmann	Lewis (MN)
Barletta	Flores	LoBiondo
Barr	Fortenberry	Long
Bergman	Foxx	Loudermilk
Biggs	Frelinghuysen	Love
Bilirakis	Gaetz	Lucas
Bishop (MI)	Gallagher	Luetkemeyer
Bishop (UT)	Garrett	MacArthur
Black	Gianforte	Marchant
Blackburn	Gibbs	Marino
Blum	Gohmert	Marshall
Bost	Goodlatte	Mast
Brady (TX)	Gosar	McCarthy
Brat	Gowdy	McCaul
Brooks (AL)	Graves (GA)	McClintock
Brooks (IN)	Graves (LA)	McHenry
Buchanan	Graves (MO)	McKinley
Bucshon	Griffith	McMorris
Budd	Grothman	Rodgers
Burgess	Guthrie	McSally
Byrne	Handel	Meadows
Calvert	Harper	Messer
Carter (GA)	Harris	Mitchell
Carter (TX)	Hartzler	Moolenaar
Chabot	Hensarling	Mooney (WV)
Cheney	Herrera Beutler	Mullin
Coffman	Hice, Jody B.	Newhouse
Cole	Higgins (LA)	Noem
Collins (GA)	Hill	Norman
Collins (NY)	Holding	Nunes
Comer	Hollingsworth	Olson
Comstock	Hudson	Palazzo
Conaway	Huizenga	Palmer
Cook	Hultgren	Paulsen
Costello (PA)	Hunter	Pearce
Cramer	Hurd	Perry
Crawford	Issa	Pittenger
Culberson	Jenkins (KS)	Poe (TX)
Curbelo (FL)	Jenkins (WV)	Poliquin
Curtis	Johnson (LA)	Posey
Davidson	Johnson (OH)	Ratcliffe
Davis, Rodney	Jordan	Reed
Denham	Joyce (OH)	Renacci
Dent	Katko	Rice (SC)
DesJarlais	Kelly (MS)	Roby
Diaz-Balart	Kelly (PA)	Roe (TN)
Donovan	King (IA)	Rogers (AL)
Duffy	King (NY)	Rogers (KY)
Duncan (SC)	Kinzinger	Rohrabacher
Duncan (TN)	Knight	Rokita
	-	

Rooney, Francis Rooney, Thomas J. Ros-Lehtinen Roskam Ross Rothfus Rouzer Royce (CA) Rutherford Sanford Schweikert Scott, Austin Sensenbrenner Sessions Shimkus Shuster Simpson Smith (MO)

Smith (NE) Smith (NJ) Smith (TX) Smucker Stefanik Stewart Stivers Taylor Tennev Thompson (PA) Thornberry Tipton Trott Turner Upton Valadao Wagner Walberg Walden

Walker Walorski Walters, Mimi Weber (TX) Webster (FL) Wenstrup Westerman Williams Wilson (SC) Wittman Womack Woodall Yoder Yoho Young (AK) Young (IA) Zeldin

NAYS-180

Adams Gonzalez (TX) Panetta Aguilar Gottheimer Pascrell Barragán Green, Al Payne Bass Grijalva Pelosi Beatty Gutiérrez Perlmutter Bera. Hastings Peters Beyer Heck Peterson Bishop (GA) Himes Pingree Blumenauer Hover Pocan Blunt Rochester Huffman Polis Bonamici Jackson Lee Price (NC) Brady (PA) Javanal Quigley Brown (MD) Johnson (GA) Raskin Brownley (CA) Kaptur Rice (NY) Bustos Keating Richmond Butterfield Kelly (IL) Rosen Capuano Kennedy Roybal-Allard Carbajal Khanna Ruiz Cárdenas Kihuen Ruppersberger Kildee Carson (IN) Rush Cartwright Kilmer Rvan (OH) Castor (FL) Kind Castro (TX) Krishnamoorthi Sánchez Kuster (NH) Sarbanes Chu. Judy Cicilline Langevin Schakowsky Clark (MA) Larsen (WA) Schiff Larson (CT) Clarke (NY) Schneider Cleaver Lawrence Schrader Lawson (FL) Clyburn Scott (VA) Cohen Lee Scott David Connolly Levin Serrano Lewis (GA) Cooper Sewell (AL) Correa Lieu, Ted Shea-Porter Costa Lipinski Sherman Courtney Loebsack Sinema Lofgren Crist Sires Crowley Lowenthal Slaughter Cuellar Lowey Smith (WA) Davis (CA) Lujan Grisham, Soto DeGette M Speier Luján, Ben Ray Delanev Suozzi DeLauro Lynch Swalwell (CA) DelBene Maloney Takano Carolyn B. Demings Thompson (CA) Maloney, Sean DeSaulnier Thompson (MS) Deutch Matsui Titus McCollum Dingell Tonko Doggett McEachin Torres Doyle, Michael McGovern Tsongas McNerney Veasey Ellison Meeks Vela Engel Meng Velázquez Eshoo Moore Visclosky Espaillat Moulton Murphy (FL) Walz Esty (CT) Evans Wasserman Nadler Frankel (FL) Napolitano Fudge Neal Gabbard Nolan Gallego Norcross Welch Wilson (FL) Garamendi O'Rourke Gomez Pallone Yarmuth

Schultz Waters, Maxine Watson Coleman

NOT VOTING-

Abraham DeFazio Barton DeSantis Boyle, Brendan Foster Granger Bridenstine Green, Gene Buck Hanabusa Higgins (NY) Clay Cummings Jeffries Johnson, E. B. Davis, Danny

Johnson, Sam Jones Massie Meehan O'Halleran Reichert Russell Scalise Vargas

\Box 1848

So the previous question was ordered.

Young (IA)

Zeldin

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. question is on the resolution.

The question was taken; and the Speaker pro tempore announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and navs.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. This is a 5-minute vote.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 235, nays 170, not voting 25, as follows:

[Roll No. 42] YEAS-235 Aderholt Goodlatte Nunes Allen Gosar Olson Amodei Gottheimer Palazzo Gowdy Graves (GA) Arrington Palmer Babin Panetta Bacon Graves (LA) Paulser Banks (IN) Graves (MO) Pearce Griffith Barletta Perry Guthrie Peters Bera Handel Pittenger Bergman Harper Poe (TX) Harris Poliquin Biggs Bilirakis Hartzler Posey Ratcliffe Bishop (MI) Hensarling Bishop (UT) Herrera Beutler Reed Black Hice, Jody B. Renacci Blackburn Higgins (LA) Rice (NY) Blum Hill Rice (SC) Holding Roby Roe (TN) Bost. Brady (TX) Hollingsworth Brat Hudson Rogers (AL) Brooks (AL) Huizenga. Rogers (KY) Brooks (IN) Rohrabacher Hultgren Buchanan Hunter Rokita Rooney, Francis Bucshon Hurd Rooney, Thomas Budd Jenkins (KS) Burgess Jenkins (WV) Ros-Lehtinen Byrne Johnson (LA) Calvert Carbajal Johnson (OH) Roskam Carter (GA) Jordan Ross Carter (TX) Joyce (OH) Rothfus Chabot Katko Rouzer Kelly (MS) Royce (CA) Cheney Coffman Kelly (PA) Russell Rutherford Cole King (IA) Collins (GA) King (NY) Sanford Collins (NY) Kinzinger Schneider Comer Knight Schweikert Comstock Kustoff (TN) Scott, Austin Conaway Labrador Sensenbrenner Cook LaHood Sessions Correa LaMalfa Shimkus Costello (PA) Lamborn Shuster Cramer Lance Simpson Crawford Latta Sinema Lewis (MN) Culberson Smith (MO) Curbelo (FL) LoBiondo Smith (NE) Curtis Loebsack Smith (NJ) Davidson Long Loudermilk Smith (TX) Davis, Rodney Smucker Denham Love Stefanik Dent Lucas Stewart DesJarlais Luetkemever Stivers Diaz-Balart MacArthur Taylor Donovan Marchant Tenney Duffy Marino Thompson (PA) Duncan (SC) Marshall Thornberry Duncan (TN) Mast Tipton McCarthy Dunn Trott McCaul Emmei Turner McClintock Estes (KS) Unton Farenthold McHenry Valadao Faso McKinley Wagner Ferguson McMorris Walberg Fitzpatrick Rodgers Walden McSally Meadows Fleischmann Walker Walorski Flores Fortenberry Walters, Mimi Messer Weber (TX) Webster (FL) Mitchell Foxx Frelinghuysen Moolenaar Gabbard Mooney (WV) Wenstrup Gaetz Mullin Murphy (FL) Westerman Williams Gallagher Wilson (SC) Gianforte Gibbs Noem Wittman Gohmert Norman Womack

Yoho Young (AK)

Woodall

Yoder

Ellison

Engel

Eshoo

Evans

Foster

Fudge

Espaillat

Esty (CT)

Frankel (FL)

NAYS-170

Adams Gallego Norcross Garamendi O'Rourke Aguilar Amash Gomez Gonzalez (TX) Pallone Barragán Pascrell Green, Al Bass Pavne Grijalva Beatty Pelosi Bever Gutiérrez Perlmutter Bishop (GA) Hanabusa Peterson Blumenauer Hastings Pingree Blunt Rochester Heck Pocan Bonamici Himes Polis Brady (PA) Hoyer Price (NC) Brown (MD) Huffman Quigley Brownley (CA) Jackson Lee Raskin Bustos Jayapal Richmond Butterfield Johnson (GA) Rovbal-Allard Capuano Kaptur Ruiz Cárdenas Keating Ruppersberger Carson (IN) Kelly (IL) Rush Kennedy Cartwright Ryan (OH) Castor (FL) Khanna Sánchez Castro (TX) Kihuen Sarbanes Chu, Judy Kildee Schakowsky Cicilline Kilmer Schiff Clark (MA) Kind Schrader Krishnamoorthi Kuster (NH) Clarke (NY) Scott (VA) Cleaver Scott, David Clyburn Langevin Serrano Sewell (AL) Cohen Larsen (WA) Connolly Larson (CT) Shea-Porter Cooper Lawrence Sherman Costa Lawson (FL) Sires Courtney Lee Slaughter Crist Levin Smith (WA) Lewis (GA) Lieu, Ted Crowley Soto Cuellar Speier Davis (CA) Lipinski Suozzi DeFazio Lofgren Swalwell (CA) DeGette Lowenthal Takano Delaney Lowey Thompson (CA) DeLauro DelBene Luján, Ben Ray Thompson (MS) Lynch Titus Demings Maloney, Tonko DeSaulnier Carolyn B. Deutch Maloney, Sean Torres Dingell Matsui Tsongas Veasey Doggett McCollum Vela Doyle, Michael McEachin McGovern Velázguez

McNerney

Meeks

Meng

Moore

Nadler

Nolan

Moulton

Napolitano

Visclosky

Wasserman

Schultz

Wilson (FL)

Yarmuth

Waters, Maxine

Watson Coleman

Davis (CA)

DeFazio

DeGette

Davis, Rodney

Jeffries

Jenkins (KS)

Johnson (GA)

Johnson (LA)

Walz

Welch

NOT VOTING—25		
DeSantis	Jones	
Garrett	Lujan Grisham	
Granger	M.	
Green, Gene	Massie	
Grothman	Meehan	
Higgins (NY)	O'Halleran	
Jeffries	Reichert	
Johnson, E. B.	Scalise	
Johnson, Sam	Vargas	
	DeSantis Garrett Granger Green, Gene Grothman Higgins (NY) Jeffries Johnson, E. B.	

□ 1854

So the resolution was agreed to. The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

HOUR OF MEETING ON TOMORROW

Mr. SESSIONS. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to clause 4 of rule XVI, I move that when the House adjourns this legislative day, it adjourn to meet at 2 p.m. on Sunday, January 21, 2018.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion.

The question was taken; and the Speaker pro tempore announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

RECORDED VOTE

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Speaker, I demand a recorded vote.

A recorded vote was ordered.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—ayes 394, noes 0, not voting 36, as follows:

[Roll No. 43]

AYES-394

Adams Delaney Johnson (OH) Jordan Joyce (OH) Aderholt DeLauro Aguilar DelBene Kaptur Allen Demings Amash Denham Katko Amodei Dent Keating Arrington DeSaulnier Kelly (IL) Babin DesJarlais Kelly (MS) Bacon Deutch Kelly (PA) Banks (IN) Diaz-Balart Kennedy Barletta Dingell Khanna Barr Doggett Kihuen Barragán Donovan Kildee Bass Beatty Doyle, Michael Kilmer Kind King (IA) Bera Duffy Bergman Duncan (SC) King (NY) Beyer Duncan (TN) Kinzinger Ellison Knight Biggs Bilirakis Emmer Krishnamoorthi Bishop (GA) Engel Kuster (NH) Bishop (MI) Eshoo Kustoff (TN) Bishop (UT) Espaillat Labrador Estes (KS) LaHood Black Blackburn Esty (CT) LaMalfa Blum Evans Lamborn Blumenauer Farenthold Lance Blunt Rochester Faso Langevin Bonamici Ferguson Larsen (WA) Fitzpatrick Larson (CT) Bost Brady (PA) Fleischmann Latta Brady (TX) Flores Lawrence Fortenberry Brat Lawson (FL) Brooks (AL) Foster Lee Brooks (IN) Levin Foxx Brown (MD) Frankel (FL) Lewis (GA) Brownley (CA) Frelinghuvsen Lewis (MN) Buchanan Lieu, Ted Fudge Gabbard Lipinski Budd Gaetz LoBiondo Gallagher Burgess Lofgren Loudermilk Gallego Garamendi Butterfield Love Lowenthal Byrne Garrett Calvert Gianforte Lowey Capuano Carbajal Gibbs Lucas Gohmert Luetkemeyer Gomez Gonzalez (TX) Cárdenas Lujan Grisham, Carson (IN) M Carter (GA) Goodlatte Luján, Ben Ray Gosar Gottheimer Carter (TX) Lynch MacArthur Cartwright Castro (TX) Graves (GA) Maloney, Carolyn B. Chabot Graves (LA) Graves (MO) Malonev. Sean Chenev Cicilline Green, Al Marchant Clarke (NY) Griffith Marino Marshall Cleaver Guthrie Clyburn Hanabusa Mast Coffman Handel Matsui Cohen McCarthy Harper Cole Harris McCaulCollins (GA) Hartzler McClintock McCollum Collins (NY) Hastings McEachin Comer Heck Hensarling Comstock McGovern Herrera Beutler McHenry Conaway Connolly Hice, Jody B. McKinley Cook Higgins (LA) McMorris Cooper Hill Rodgers Himes McSally Correa Holding Costa Meadows Costello (PA) Hollingsworth Meeks Courtney Hoyer Meng Cramer Hudson Messer Crawford Huffman Mitchell Moolenaar Mooney (WV) Crist Huizenga Crowley Hultgren Cuellar Hunter Moore Culberson Curbelo (FL) Moulton Mullin Hurd Issa Curtis Jackson Lee Murphy (FL) Davidson Jayapal Nadler

Napolitano

Newhouse

Neal

Noem