

baseline going to the majority for administrative expenses. However, regardless of the party division of the Senate, the minority share of the majority and minority salary baseline will never be less than 40 percent, and the majority share will not exceed 60 percent. It is my intent that this approach will continue to serve the Senate for this Congress and future Congresses.

Mr. SCHUMER. Mr. President, this approach met our needs for the last three Congresses, and I too would like to see it continue. In addition, special reserves have been restored to its historic purpose. We should continue to fund special reserves to the extent possible in order to be able to assist committees that face urgent, unanticipated, nonrecurring needs. Recognizing the tight budgets we will face for the foreseeable future, it is necessary to continue to bring funding authorizations more in line with our actual resources while ensuring that committees are able to fulfill their responsibilities. I look forward to continuing to work with the majority leader to accomplish this.

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a joint leadership letter be printed in the RECORD.

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

WE MUTUALLY COMMIT TO THE FOLLOWING FOR THE 116TH CONGRESS: The Committee on Rules and Administration is to determine the budgets of the committees of the Senate. The budgets of the committees, including joint and special committees, and all other subgroups, shall be apportioned to reflect the ratio of the Senate as of this date, including an additional ten percent (10%) from the majority and minority salary baseline to be allocated to the chairman for administrative expenses.

Special Reserves has been restored to its historic purpose. Requests for funding will only be considered when submitted by a committee chairman and ranking member for unanticipated, non-recurring needs. Such requests shall be granted only upon the approval of the chairman and ranking member of the Committee on Rules and Administration.

Funds for committee expenses shall be available to each chairman consistent with the Senate rules and practices of the 115th Congress.

The division of committee office space shall be commensurate with this funding agreement.

The chairman and ranking member of any committee may, by mutual agreement, modify the apportionment of committee funding and office space.

SENATE RESOLUTION 13—TO CONSTITUTE THE MINORITY PARTY'S MEMBERSHIP ON CERTAIN COMMITTEES FOR THE ONE HUNDRED SIXTEENTH CONGRESS, OR UNTIL THEIR SUCCESSORS ARE CHOSEN

Mr. SCHUMER submitted the following resolution; which was considered and agreed to:

S. RES. 13

Resolved, That the following shall constitute the minority party's membership on

the following committees for the One Hundred Sixteenth Congress, or until their successors are chosen:

COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE, NUTRITION, AND FORESTRY: Ms. Stabenow, Mr. Leahy, Mr. Brown, Ms. Klobuchar, Mr. Bennet, Mrs. Gillibrand, Mr. Casey, Ms. Smith, Mr. Durbin.

COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS: Mr. Leahy, Mrs. Murray, Mrs. Feinstein, Mr. Durbin, Mr. Reed, Mr. Tester, Mr. Udall, Mrs. Shaheen, Mr. Merkley, Mr. Coons, Mr. Schatz, Ms. Baldwin, Mr. Murphy, Mr. Manchin, Mr. Van Hollen.

COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES: Mr. Reed, Mrs. Shaheen, Mrs. Gillibrand, Mr. Blumenthal, Ms. Hirono, Mr. Kaine, Mr. King, Mr. Heinrich, Ms. Warren, Mr. Peters, Mr. Manchin, Ms. Duckworth, Mr. Jones.

COMMITTEE ON BANKING, HOUSING, AND URBAN AFFAIRS: Mr. Brown, Mr. Reed, Mr. Menendez, Mr. Tester, Mr. Warner, Ms. Warren, Mr. Schatz, Mr. Van Hollen, Ms. Cortez Masto, Mr. Jones, Ms. Smith, Ms. Sinema.

COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE, SCIENCE, AND TRANSPORTATION: Ms. Cantwell, Ms. Klobuchar, Mr. Blumenthal, Mr. Schatz, Mr. Markey, Mr. Udall, Mr. Peters, Ms. Baldwin, Ms. Duckworth, Mr. Tester, Ms. Sinema, Ms. Rosen.

COMMITTEE ON ENERGY AND NATURAL RESOURCES: Mr. Manchin, Ms. Cantwell, Mr. Wyden, Mr. Sanders, Ms. Stabenow, Mr. Heinrich, Ms. Hirono, Mr. King, Ms. Cortez Masto.

COMMITTEE ON ENVIRONMENT AND PUBLIC WORKS: Mr. Carper, Mr. Cardin, Mr. Sanders, Mr. Whitehouse, Mr. Merkley, Mrs. Gillibrand, Mr. Booker, Mr. Markey, Ms. Duckworth, Mr. Van Hollen.

COMMITTEE ON FINANCE: Mr. Wyden, Ms. Stabenow, Ms. Cantwell, Mr. Menendez, Mr. Carper, Mr. Cardin, Mr. Brown, Mr. Bennet, Mr. Casey, Mr. Warner, Mr. Whitehouse, Ms. Hassan, Ms. Cortez Masto.

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS: Mr. Menendez, Mr. Cardin, Mrs. Shaheen, Mr. Coons, Mr. Udall, Mr. Murphy, Mr. Kaine, Mr. Markey, Mr. Merkley, Mr. Booker.

COMMITTEE ON HEALTH, EDUCATION, LABOR, AND PENSIONS: Mrs. Murray, Mr. Sanders, Mr. Casey, Ms. Baldwin, Mr. Murphy, Ms. Warren, Mr. Kaine, Ms. Hassan, Ms. Smith, Mr. Jones, Ms. Rosen.

COMMITTEE ON HOMELAND SECURITY AND GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS: Mr. Peters, Mr. Carper, Ms. Hassan, Ms. Harris, Ms. Sinema, Ms. Rosen.

SELECT COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE: Mr. Warner (Vice Chairman), Mrs. Feinstein, Mr. Wyden, Mr. Heinrich, Mr. King, Ms. Harris, Mr. Bennet, Mr. Reed (ex officio), Mr. Schumer (ex officio).

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY: Mrs. Feinstein, Mr. Leahy, Mr. Durbin, Mr. Whitehouse, Ms. Klobuchar, Mr. Coons, Mr. Blumenthal, Ms. Hirono, Mr. Booker, Ms. Harris.

COMMITTEE ON THE BUDGET: Mr. Sanders, Mrs. Murray, Mr. Wyden, Ms. Stabenow, Mr. Whitehouse, Mr. Warner, Mr. Merkley, Mr. Kaine, Mr. Van Hollen, Ms. Harris.

COMMITTEE ON RULES AND ADMINISTRATION: Ms. Klobuchar, Mrs. Feinstein, Mr. Schumer, Mr. Durbin, Mr. Udall, Mr. Warner, Mr. Leahy, Mr. King, Ms. Cortez Masto.

COMMITTEE ON SMALL BUSINESS AND ENTREPRENEURSHIP: Mr. Cardin, Ms. Cantwell, Mrs. Shaheen, Mr. Markey, Mr. Booker, Mr. Coons, Ms. Hirono, Ms. Duckworth, Ms. Rosen.

COMMITTEE ON VETERANS' AFFAIRS: Mr. Tester, Mrs. Murray, Mr. Sanders, Mr. Brown, Mr. Blumenthal, Ms. Hirono, Mr. Manchin, Ms. Sinema.

SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON AGING: Mr. Casey, Mrs. Gillibrand, Mr. Blumenthal, Ms. Warren, Mr. Jones, Ms. Sinema, Ms. Rosen.

JOINT ECONOMIC COMMITTEE: Mr. Heinrich, Ms. Klobuchar, Mr. Peters, Ms. Hassan.

SELECT COMMITTEE ON ETHICS: Mr. Coons (Vice Chairman), Mr. Schatz, Mrs. Shaheen.

COMMITTEE ON INDIAN AFFAIRS: Mr. Udall (Vice Chairman), Ms. Cantwell, Mr. Tester, Mr. Schatz, Ms. Cortez Masto, Ms. Smith.

PRIVILEGES OF THE FLOOR

Ms. ERNST. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that privileges of the floor be granted to the following member of my staff: Heidi Steele, a fellow in my office, during the pendency of the 116th Congress.

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

Mr. REED. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Dimitrios Meritis, a fellow in my office, be granted privileges of the floor for this session of Congress.

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

MEASURES READ THE FIRST TIME—H.R. 251, H.R. 264, AND H.R. 269

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, I understand there are three bills at the desk, and I ask for their first reading en bloc.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will read the titles of the bills for the first time en bloc.

The bill clerk read as follows:

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

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

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

Mr. MCCONNELL. I now ask for a second reading, and I object to my own request, all en bloc.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Objection is heard. The bills will receive their second readings on the next business day.

ORDERS FOR THURSDAY, JANUARY 10, 2019

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate completes its business today, it adjourn until 10 a.m., Thursday, January 10; further, that following the prayer and pledge, the morning hour be deemed expired, the Journal of proceedings be approved to date, the time for the two leaders be reserved for their use later in the day, and morning business be closed; further, that following leader remarks, the Senate resume consideration of the motion to proceed to S. 1; finally, notwithstanding the

provisions of rule XXII, the cloture vote with respect to the motion to proceed to S. 1 occur at 1:45 p.m.

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

ADJOURNMENT UNTIL 10 A.M.
TOMORROW

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, if there is no further business to come before the Senate, I ask that it stand adjourned under the previous order, following the remarks of Senator MERKLEY.

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

The Senator from Oregon.

DEMOCRACY

Mr. MERKLEY. Mr. President, the most important words in our Constitution are the first three: "We the People." With these three simple words, our Founders laid out the mission for our government; that is, a government to produce a form of legislation that reflects the will of the American people or, as Lincoln summarized it, a government of, by, and for the people.

That mission is being corrupted and damaged in a significant and extensive fashion. It is being damaged with a goal of converting this vision of "We the People" to a government by and for the powerful and the privileged. That corruption, that fundamental corruption of our government, comes in many forms, but it certainly includes gerrymandering, voter suppression, voter intimidation, and dark money in our campaigns flooding our system with unidentified resources to serve the powerful and the privileged rather than the people.

We in this Chamber, having taken an oath of allegiance to our Constitution, ought to be defending it, but we are not. The result is, we see many challenges facing our Nation unaddressed: stagnant wages and soaring income inequality, huge wealth inequality; skyrocketing healthcare costs; unaffordable higher education and homeownership; rent so high they drive people to live in tents; catastrophic climate chaos wreaking havoc on our planet with uncontrolled carbon pollution.

We have been paralyzed on these issues because of this corruption of our Constitution, because of the gerrymandering, because of the voter suppression intimidation, because of the dark money. It has allowed the hijacking of our Constitution, and we need to end it. It has been hijacked by corporate and Wall Street executives swimming in recordbreaking profits and trillion-dollar tax breaks, shuttering American factories and shipping jobs overseas. It has been hijacked by fossil fuel barons who exhibit a greed for profits that trumps the direct damage—or concern about the direct damage they are inflicting on our beautiful blue-green planet. It has been hijacked

by cabals of shadowy organizations, using vast sums of dark money, no identified source, to influence and buy elections, undermining our institutions at every level and driving massive cynicism among our youth.

Our youth look at our government, and they see those beautiful words: "We the People," and then they see the corruption, the corruption this body is doing nothing to address—not the gerrymandering, not the voter suppression, not the dark money. It is time to change that.

I have laid out a blueprint for our "we the people" democracy. I unveiled this document last week. I am happy to provide copies to anyone. It is available on the web. It is a blueprint for restoring our democracy that takes on the corrupting influence of dark money, takes on the corrupting influence of gerrymandering, takes on the corruption of voter suppression to ensure equal representation for every American.

Let's start by looking at dark money. We need to pass Senator UDALL's constitutional amendment that overturns Citizens United and thereby end the corruption of the unlimited dark money.

According to one analysis, the top 15 dark money groups in America has spent over \$600 million on campaign-related activities in the last few years. That is just the top 15 groups, writing check after check to drown out the voice of the people. It is kind of like the dark money is a stadium sound system cranked up to the top volume so voices and concerns of millions of ordinary Americans are wiped out, unheard, unlistened to; thus, driving decisions of this body in favor of the powerful instead of the people.

It is why we need to give Congress the ability to set reasonable limits on campaign spending and donations through that constitutional amendment. That is why we need to increase transparency on all money in the campaign system through Senator WHITEHOUSE's DISCLOSE Act. His act calls for robust disclosure for corporate union, PACs, 501(c)(3)s that contribute over \$10,000. It is why we need transparency through Senator KLOBUCHAR's Honest Ads Act, which addresses the transparency of online ads, which are becoming a bigger and bigger part of our dialogue over campaigns in this country, the social media side. It requires those who purchase and publish those online ads to publicly disclose their financing.

Thomas Jefferson laid out how important an equal distribution of power is among the voters. He called it his equal voice principle, and he said this: "[A] government is republican in proportion as every member composing it has his equal voice in the direction of its concerns"—equal voice. He said in this letter, after he was President, that if we lose this, which he called the mother principle of our democracy, we would not have laws that reflect the will of the people.

So here we are with the mother principle—a distribution of power among voters, a distribution of voice among voters. That, as the securing factor for government, reflects the will of the people.

This is in complete opposition to the concentration of power through Citizens United.

Let us turn to the corruption from gerrymandering. Now, there is a bit of a challenge to define what gerrymandering is, but let's try putting it this way: the drawing of funny-shaped districts in order to unbalance fair representation of voters in a State.

Now, here are some of the warning signs if you want to say it is gerrymandered. First, look to the districts and see if they are of funny shapes like these—like Nebraska, like the Fifth Congressional District in Florida, like the Seventh Congressional District in Pennsylvania, like the Maryland Third Congressional District, like the North Carolina First District, and the Texas Thirty-third District—blue States, red States, all exhibiting varieties of gerrymandering.

Another way to look at gerrymandering is to look at an imbalance in wasted votes. That is, you take the number of votes required to elect someone in a particular congressional district and add up the surplus of those votes, and you add those up on the Democratic side and you add those up on the Republican side, and if there is a huge imbalance in the wasted votes, then probably these districts have been drawn to unbalance fair representation for people in the State.

A third way to look at gerrymandering is to look at whether the congressional representation in the House of Representatives is proportional to the popular vote totals in a State.

So those three things are warning signs.

How should this be addressed? It should be addressed through having national standards for independent redistricting commissions so that the citizens of the United States across the entire United States get fair representation in Congress and for the ridding of gerrymandering in the United States of America.

In 2016, North Carolina Republicans had 53 percent of the State's popular vote in House races but 77 percent of the congressional seats. That is a sign of gerrymandering. The same year, Pennsylvania Democrats won 48 percent of the popular vote in their State but only had 27 percent of the House seats.

So these are signs of a rigged system, and if you want to drive cynicism, keep a rigged system.

The House of Representatives is supposed to stand for equal representation for people, not for a biased, corrupted, rigged system that we get from gerrymandering.

So we need to take the power for redistricting out of the hands of partisan