

By the way, the Trump administration has not even spent the border security funding allocated by Congress last year.

The wall is wrong. It is ineffective; it is expensive; Mexico will not pay for it; there is no plan to deal with eminent domain; and they haven't even spent the border security funding allocated last year.

One more point for so many Americans: We do not want the wall to be a symbol of America. We much prefer the Statue of Liberty be that symbol. The symbolism is bad for the country, for our economy, for our security, and for our ability to get along in the world.

Democrats certainly support strong, effective border security: fencing, drones, technology, roads, what the experts say will actually work—not a wall. We totally disagree on that. But even with that disagreement, I repeat, there is no reason to keep unrelated parts of the government shut down because of those disagreements.

If Leader MCCONNELL, tonight, would put the bill that is passing the House on the floor, it would pass. After all, it was crafted by Republicans, especially those on the Appropriations Committee. So they are not opposed to it.

Yesterday at our meeting, I asked the President on multiple occasions to give me one good reason he should keep large portions of the government shut down while we have a separate debate about the border. He couldn't name one. He kept coming back and talking about the border. I said: No, Mr. President, these six bills have nothing to do with the border. Why can't we pass them? Why must we hold millions of Americans who depend on the services of these Agencies that are closed—hundreds of thousands of workers who get paid by these Agencies—why must we hold them hostage? Why must a temper tantrum determine how we vote and what happens in this government? Everyone can shut down the government on anything—any leader, any President. It is not the way to do things.

The President couldn't name a single reason that made any sense about why he should keep the other Agencies closed—not Homeland Security, but the others, and that is the best indication of why there is a shutdown. President Trump is holding the government hostage over his wall, using the well-being of millions of Americans as hostage in a futile attempt to get what he wants: a concrete border wall.

Where do we go from here? Well, we have a new Congress and several new Senators were just sworn in. The House of Representatives, of course, will change control, and Democrats will see a healthy majority. The new House majority is poised tonight to pass the two bills we offered the President. Leader MCCONNELL ought to take it up here on the floor of the Senate.

Let me be clear about a few points. The six-bill minibus is completely silent on the issue of border security. It would solely fund the eight Cabinet De-

partments not named Homeland Security at levels agreed to by both parties and signed off on by the overwhelming majority of Republicans on both the Appropriations Committee and in the Senate. There is absolutely nothing in those six bills that my Republican friends oppose. Let me repeat: There is nothing in those six bills that Senate Republicans oppose. All but six voted for the four of them that came to the floor, and every single Republican on the Appropriations Committee, including Leader MCCONNELL, voted for them in the Appropriations Committee.

When Leader MCCONNELL calls this some Democratic proposal, he is absolutely wrong. Leader MCCONNELL voted for it; Leader MCCONNELL supported it on both the floor and in the Appropriations Committee. It is not a Democratic proposal. In fact, the House Democrats went out of their way to pass a proposal that Republicans supported, and Senators GRAHAM, MORAN, LANKFORD, and MURKOWSKI voted for those bills as chair of their Appropriations Committees. They put them together.

Even if there are disagreements about border security, why not pass the six noncontroversial bipartisan bills? That is the question I would ask every one of my Republican colleagues. That is the question the American people are asking every one of my Republican colleagues. Above all, they are asking that of President Trump. What is the rationale for keeping eight Cabinet Departments shuttered for an unrelated dispute over the wall? There is none.

We can continue to debate the best way to secure our border. We have disagreements on those, but let us reopen these Cabinet Departments and ensure hundreds of thousands of Federal workers receive their paychecks and, even more importantly, that these Departments get back to work for the American people.

As I mentioned, the House will also pass a 30-day continuing resolution for the Department of Homeland Security. Again, there is nothing in that bill that Senate Republicans don't support. The Senate passed it unanimously before Christmas break. The only thing that has changed between now and then is that we will have a House Speaker who will pass this bill, as well, and once the House passes these two bills, Leader MCCONNELL should put them on the floor where I believe they will receive strong bipartisan majorities. It is going to be very hard for a lot of Republicans to vote no on the same bills they supported just a few months ago.

The leader says that he is waiting for White House approval. Unfortunately, the White House is all over the map. We don't know where the White House stands on any of these things. Yesterday, President Trump publicly rejected an offer made to Democrats a week ago by his own Vice President. There is no telling where the President will come down on any given day. Surely, Leader

MCCONNELL knows—after passing a CR through this Chamber, thinking it had the President's support—that if we rely on the President alone, we can be shut down for a long time. At this point, we need to take the lead here in Congress in the hope that we can show President Trump the sweet light of reason.

We have given our Republican colleagues a way out of the shutdown based on Republican-approved proposals. All Leader MCCONNELL needs to do to reopen the government is to bring to the floor the legislation that he and nearly every other Republican Senator already support.

I yield the floor.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The senior assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

#### GOVERNMENT FUNDING

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, I want to talk about what is happening in Congress. We are in the 13th day of the Trump shutdown—13 days that 9 of 15 Federal Departments and dozens of Agencies have shut their doors; 13 days in which hundreds of thousands of Americans have been furloughed or are working without pay; 13 days that Americans have been denied government services on which they rely and for which they pay taxes.

The President is holding Federal Government funding hostage in an attempt to force American taxpayers to pay for an ineffective and expensive wall on the southern border that he promised over and over again Mexico would pay for. Everybody knows that is not true. Mexico will not pay for President Trump's wall. Unfortunately, the American people are paying the price of the Trump shutdown, and, frankly, he does not seem to care. Let me give some examples.

Since the shutdown began, our national parks—the treasure of this country—have been left largely un supervised. The welcome centers are closed. Park Rangers have been furloughed. There are few emergency or law enforcement personnel left to police the parks or rescue injured guests. That affects visitor safety, it reduces public access, and it threatens national and cultural resources in national parks in every part of our country. We are already receiving reports of damage to sensitive lands and national treasures—campgrounds littered with trash, overflowing toilets, locked restrooms. Even where parks remain open, campgrounds and other sites are beginning to close because of the obvious health and safety reasons.

Aside from government, businesses and gateway communities surrounding

our parks—taxpaying businesses—are also paying the price of lost sales, rentals, and empty storefronts, as families cancel their plans to visit because the shutdown drags on and on and on.

Because of the Trump shutdown, the U.S. Forest Service has curtailed forest thinning and fire-prevention projects. Just think of that. Within months of when the Nation was reeling from and dealing with a record-setting fire season, we cannot do the things that might prevent these devastating fires—we cannot get in there and work on them.

Just a few days ago, the Farm Service Agency shut their doors. That is the Agency that supports farmers and rural communities across the country. We came together—Republicans and Democrats—and passed a 5-year farm bill. I was proud to be one of the conferees of that farm bill. I saw both parties work together. We passed it. It is a complex and important bill, but farmers and ranchers need information from that bill right now.

Every farmer and rancher will tell you they are planning for the growing season: What can they plant? What should they buy? What should they do? They don't know how the laws will affect their operations heading into the planting season. Why? Because no one is in the office or staffing the phones, answering these questions or signing up producers for new programs. There is nobody there. Farmers will also not be able to apply for much needed loans that they count on to get started in the year and pay back as a result of their labor during the season.

Many farmers, like those in my home State of Vermont, face financial hardship due to the dramatic drop in commodity prices brought on by President Trump's tariffs. They need these loans to help pay their bills, stay afloat through the winter and prepare for the spring planting. With banks not willing to lend to them and not knowing what is going to happen, many rely on the U.S. Department of Agriculture as their lender of last resort. But the doors are closed, and there is nobody home.

While the President loudly proclaimed he would provide assistance through the Market Facilitation Program to help farmers mitigate the financial losses caused by his tariffs, as of December 28, there is no one there to process any new applications for these payments. The bottom line? The President put the tariffs in, but now they are told to fend for themselves because the President is holding the Department of Agriculture and its safety nets hostage to secure funding for his border wall. The Department of Agriculture has nothing to do with President Trump's border wall. It could not fund it if they wanted to. Yet virtually every farmer of every kind in this country is going to be affected by it.

In addition to government services that have ground to a halt, an estimated 450,000 employees are working,

but they are working without pay. That includes 41,000 Federal law enforcement and correctional officers at the Department of Justice—ATF agents, FBI, U.S. marshals, and DEA agents. They are not getting paid, but their mortgages still come due. The tuition payments for their children's education comes due. If they have healthcare costs, that comes due. They are told: You show up for work. Maybe we will get around to paying you and maybe we will not.

Then, you have 380,000 Federal employees who also have children, families and bills who have been furloughed. They have no guarantee that they will receive back payment when they return to work. Let me give you an idea of who some of these people are. They are 96 percent of our employees at NASA. I suppose they can sit at home and watch China land their satellite on the back side of the Moon.

Who else does it include? It includes 80 percent of the National Park Service, 60 percent of the Department of Commerce, and 33 percent of the Forest Service. In addition, many Federal contractors have discontinued their services, which leaves thousands of employees without work and without a paycheck.

This doesn't affect the President, but many of our dedicated Federal employees work every day to serve our country, and they live paycheck to paycheck: custodial workers, cafeteria workers, telephone operators, contract specialists, customer service representatives. These are the people the taxpayers can call when they have a question, and now they get no answer. They are people who have mortgages to pay. They have families to take care of. This financial disruption comes on the heels of the holiday season, when so many families' budgets are tight, it is even harder to fathom. It is even harder to justify. In fact, I will say it cannot be justified.

Most of these Federal employees who are without a paycheck have absolutely nothing to do with border security. That is the worst part about it. They are not the ones involved with border security, but they are casualties of President Trump's single-minded obsession of walling off our southern border. The President has repeatedly said: This is all about border security.

Really? Really? Come on. Give me a break. His actions caused the very Department in charge of securing our borders to be cut off from all the funding. Eighty-eight percent of the Department of Homeland Security employees are working without pay. They have to think about how they are going to pay their mortgage, their bills. They are working without pay. That includes 54,000 Customs and Border Patrol agents who protect our southern border and our northern borders. Many of them are veterans.

As of January 1, roughly 42,000 hard-working, dedicated members of our Nation's Coast Guard will be protecting

our country without pay. TSA officers screened over 2 million passengers and their bags per day through the holidays, but they are not being paid. I talked to some when I flew back from Vermont. It is hurting. One has healthcare bills. Another has a mortgage. They don't know how they are going to pay it.

Last week, House Democrats put forward a commonsense path to end the Trump shutdown. They introduced a minibus comprised of six bipartisan appropriations bills and a continuing resolution for the Department of Homeland Security to keep it up and running through February 8.

The House is going to vote on both these bills this evening. I expect they will pass. After all, just a few weeks ago, the same bills passed this Republican-controlled Senate unanimously. We know the votes are there to pass.

I urge my friend, the majority leader, Senator MCCONNELL, and Senate Republicans to take up these bills expeditiously. The six-bill minibus is not controversial. Senator SHELBY is chairman of the Appropriations Committee, I am vice chairman of the Appropriations Committee, and we both voted for them, as have virtually all members of the Appropriations Committee. There is wide bipartisan support in this Chamber. In fact, four of the six bills passed the Senate 96 to 6. The other two reported out of the Appropriations Committee were nearly unanimous votes. Why? Because they are a product of bipartisan compromise. They provide billions of dollars in new resources to address critical needs of the American people and to protect the U.S. national security.

It is irresponsible for the President to hold these six bills hostage in order to compel taxpayers to pay for his wall, a wall he falsely promised Mexico would pay for. If he would stop holding them hostage, we could pass these bills and send them to the President for signature. That would get the vast majority of the Federal Government back open for the good of the American people. We ought to do that.

It also makes sense to pass a continuing resolution for the Department of Homeland Security through February 8. We should not shut down the very Agency responsible for securing our borders over a fight for what is the best way to secure our border.

I will tell you what is not the best way, to furlough everybody, stop paying them, close down the government. Does that make us secure? Of course, it does not. Everyone agrees—Republicans and Democrats alike—we need to keep our borders safe and secure. Let's have smart border security, border security that works—new technologies proven to work on the border and our ports of entry, new air and marine assets, and additional personnel where needed. We do not need a 30-foot medieval wall. I visited that border. I know from the professionals who are there

what they need. They need a lot of resources, the very last of which would be a wall.

Let's recall, before the holidays, the President said he would sign a continuing resolution through February 8. We had a path forward. We all relied on the President's word. After 24 hours of FOX News and rightwing pundits criticizing him, the President's ego was so bruised he reversed course and broke his word. Here we are, 13 days into a Trump shutdown.

It has to end. We have a clear, sensible, responsible path forward. I strongly urge the Senate Republicans to support and pass this bipartisan compromise. After all, almost every Republican and every Democrat has voted for these bills. Let's vote for them again and tell the President we will work on what is needed for border security. We all agree on the need for border security. Let's work on what is the best way forward, but let's not close down the Department of Agriculture. Let's not close down all these other Departments that American taxpayers rely on.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Ms. COLINS). The Senator from Texas is recognized.

#### GOVERNMENT FUNDING

Mr. CORNYN. Madam President, the first order of business for the 116th Congress is to finish the business of the 115th Congress, just concluded. As we all know, one of the most important responsibilities of Congress is to fund the vital services provided by our government and in so doing provide paychecks to the hard-working public servants who keep the cogs of government turning.

While, as the distinguished Senator from Vermont recognized, we were successful in a bipartisan way to pass 75 percent of those funding bills, we know the remaining 25 percent is being held hostage over the issue of border security. That equates to hundreds of thousands of Federal workers and their families who don't know how or if they can make their rent this month or buy groceries or keep the lights on. They simply don't know when that next paycheck will be deposited in their bank account or how long the standoff will last. That is unfair, and it is unacceptable collateral damage.

It is our collective responsibility to fund the remaining seven Departments and Agencies and to do so soon. Unfortunately, over the holidays, not much progress seems to have been made. Really, what it amounts to is a debate over semantics: Is it a fence? Is it a wall? Is it border security? What is it? The semantic debate has led us to a partial government shutdown, now 13 days in and without a clear end in sight. We know Washington, DC, where the blame game is a world-class sport, where everybody is on the battlefield pointing fingers of blame any way they can.

Later, the House Democrats will consider a wholly unserious proposal that funds the remaining portions of government without a significant investment in border security. I believe that is a nonstarter. They know it, and we know it. The President won't sign it, and so the majority leader has said it will not be considered here in the Senate.

My constituents, as well as the Presiding Officer's constituents in Maine and Americans living in Tennessee, are not interested in show votes; they want real border security—something our Democratic colleagues used to support and have voted for time and again. But the debate has somehow shifted from "How do we solve this problem?" to "Who is going to win?" No longer is it a search for solutions; it is about embarrassing your political opponent and scoring points.

Yesterday on CNN, Alexandra Pelosi, the daughter of incoming Speaker NANCY PELOSI, made a comment about her mother's leadership style. She said: "She'll cut your head off and you don't even know that you are bleeding." Kind of shocking comments coming from a daughter. It is not something I necessarily would consider a compliment, but the left appears to believe that it is a commendable trait, and they are eager to hand her the Speaker's gavel.

It seems the desire to cultivate a reputation for ruthlessness—win at all costs—has replaced an appetite to actually get things done. Rather than working with those with whom we occasionally disagree, Members are resorting to guerilla warfare—almost literally the law of the jungle. This practice is not only unproductive, it prevents us from securing the border and getting those workers impacted by this partial shutdown back to work.

Of course we know what it is going to take. It is going to take a negotiated agreement between the parties—between the Houses of Congress and the President. It is a challenging task, but it is not impossible. In fact, we have done it often.

My friends, contrary to what you have seen in the news or may read on social media, bipartisanship is not an antiquated or quaint idea, and you don't have to look very far back to see how we have been able to make bipartisanship work for the benefit of the American people. The 115th Congress was marked by major bipartisan accomplishments.

Just 2 weeks ago, the President signed legislation to overhaul our criminal justice system. This bill was a result of a lot of hard work and tough negotiations between Democrats and Republicans on both ends of the Capitol, as well as the leadership at the White House. Bipartisan work has allowed us to pass bills to tackle the substance abuse epidemic in this country, which claimed more than 70,000 lives last year alone. It has allowed us to fight human trafficking together and

to reduce gun violence and other violent crime. Together, we have supported America's military and delivered reforms to veterans' benefits and provided a pay raise to our troops. We reauthorized the Federal Aviation Administration, modernizing airport security for the air-traveling public. We eliminated the gag clause to ensure drug price transparency. Those are just a few of the things we have done together in a bipartisan way.

Working with those you disagree with isn't something to be ashamed of—it is actually how we turn good ideas into good laws and in so doing, govern.

I am glad to see him on the floor because I was going to mention the great example from our friend from Tennessee, Senator ALEXANDER, who wrote an op-ed in the Washington Post today about the importance of finding common ground. He gave an object lesson of how working together on very potentially polarizing legislation can be accomplished in a way that produces a result from which the American people benefit. Of course, that was a lesson he said he learned from negotiating with President Obama while working on the Every Student Succeeds Act.

He wrote:

Why, as a Republican, did I agree to a Democratic president's request with which I did not concur? Because I have read the Constitution, and I understand that if the President doesn't sign legislation, it does not become law.

Well, regardless of which party controls the Senate or the House or occupies the White House, that remains a constant. It is the distilled essence of our constitutional system. Democrats in the House should take our colleague's wise words to heart and return to the negotiating table with the President.

I believe there are a lot more productive ways to spend our time in Congress than ruthlessly attempting to annihilate our political opponents—people we disagree with. We can, we have, and we should strive to do better. So it is time to wash off the war paint. We know how to solve problems when we want to, and as we begin a new Congress, I urge all of our colleagues, both Republican and Democratic, to stop trying to score political points and start being productive and in so doing, govern.

Madam President, I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Tennessee.

#### GOVERNMENT FUNDING

Mr. ALEXANDER. Madam President, I appreciate the comments of the distinguished senior Senator from Texas. I am glad to know that at least one person read my article in the Washington Post this morning, and I appreciate his mentioning it.

I think we should be blunt about this. There is never an excuse for a shutdown of the federal government. There