

NOTICE: REGISTRATION OF MASS MAILINGS

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APPOINTMENT

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair, pursuant to Public Law 115-232, on behalf of the Democratic Leader of the Senate and the Vice Chairman of the Select Committee on Intelligence, appoints the following individual as a member of the National Security Commission on Artificial Intelligence: Christopher A. R. Darby of New Hampshire.

MEASURE READ THE FIRST TIME—H.R. 266

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, I understand that H.R. 266 has been received from the House and is at the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The leader is correct.

Mr. MCCONNELL. I ask for its first reading.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will read the title of the bill for the first time.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (H.R. 266) making appropriations for the Department of the Interior, environment, and related agencies for the fiscal year ending September 30, 2019, and for other purposes.

Mr. MCCONNELL. I ask for a second reading and object to my own request.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Objection having been heard, the bill will receive its second reading on the next legislative day.

CONGRATULATING THE NORTH DAKOTA STATE UNIVERSITY FOOTBALL TEAM FOR WINNING THE 2018 NATIONAL COLLEGIATE ATHLETIC ASSOCIATION DIVISION I FOOTBALL CHAMPIONSHIP SUBDIVISION TITLE

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the immediate consider-

ation of S. Res. 17, submitted earlier today.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the resolution by title.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

A resolution (S. Res. 17) congratulating the North Dakota State University football team for winning the 2018 National Collegiate Athletic Association Division I Football Championship Subdivision title.

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the resolution.

Mr. MCCONNELL. I ask unanimous consent that the resolution be agreed to, the preamble be agreed to, and the motions to reconsider be considered made and laid upon the table with no intervening action or debate.

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

The resolution (S. Res. 17) was agreed to.

The preamble was agreed to.

(The resolution, with its preamble, is printed in today's RECORD under "Submitted Resolutions.")

ORDERS FOR TUESDAY, JANUARY 15, 2019

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate completes its business today, it adjourn until 10 a.m., Tuesday, January 15; 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; finally, that the Senate recess from 12:30 until 2:15 to allow for the weekly conference meetings.

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

ORDER FOR ADJOURNMENT

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, if there is no further business to come before the Senate, I ask unanimous consent that it stand adjourned under the previous order following the remarks of our Democratic colleagues.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Colorado.

GOVERNMENT FUNDING

Mr. BENNET. Mr. President, over the weekend, as you may have heard, our government set a new record. It wasn't for the number of roads being built or repaired in this country. It wasn't for higher math scores or graduation rates for kids in the United States of America. It wasn't for passing the most bills or investing the most dollars in our future. It wasn't for paying attention to the next generation of Americans. It was for the longest shutdown in the history of the United States—a selfish act taken by partisan politicians that

is an embarrassment to our country and to our future.

It has been 24 days. We have Federal employees all over the State of Colorado and I am sure the State of Alaska, the Commonwealth of Virginia, as we heard before, who are out of work because of what Washington has done to them. It is nothing they have done. They have fulfilled their end of the bargain. But because we have a screw loose around here because we are the only modern, industrialized country in the world that shuts down its government for politics—our allies don't shut down their government for politics, and our foes don't shut down their government for politics. No local government shuts down its government for politics. No school district shuts down its government for politics. No State would ever think of doing it. No elected official at any level of those governments would show their face in the grocery store on the weekend after they shut down the government and said to the citizens of Alamosa or the citizens of Durango or the parents in Denver public schools: Sorry. Your kids can't come to school today because we are shutting down the government for politics.

It is ridiculous.

I met an air traffic controller today who got her check on Friday after she worked through the entire holiday. She had a kid. I don't know how old he was, but he was a baby who had to be carried. She worked the entire holiday, was separated from her family, got her check on Friday, and it was for 77 cents. The people in this body might as well be standing outside and lifting their middle finger at her and at the TSA workers who were there today at Denver International Airport making sure that we were safe, that the traveling public was safe, and who were not getting paid, unlike the people here during this shutdown.

By the way, that airport, which we are very proud of in Denver and in Colorado, the Denver International Airport, is the newest airport that has been built in the United States of America, and it was built almost a quarter of a century ago because we are not making the investments that anybody else in the world is making.

As I said, no other advanced country in the world shuts down its government for politics. I expect us to have disagreements. We should have disagreements, but we shouldn't shut down the government over this disagreement. It has been 24 days.

While we were shut down, other countries were actually investing in their future.

In the last 24 days, South Korea broke ground on an expanded bullet train outside their capitol of Seoul.

While we were shut down, Canada announced support for a new 5-megawatt geothermal plant—the first of its kind in that country.

India issued tenders to set up 7.5 gigawatts of new solar capacity.

New Zealand announced millions in new resources to improve the safety of rural highways.

You should see our rural highways. And it is not just this shutdown; it is a decade—a decade of fiscal fights made in the name of fiscal responsibility that have put us in the position for the first time since the Vietnam war and before the Vietnam war to see our unemployment rate falling and the deficit going up.

This same wrecking crew who called Barack Obama a Socialist and a Bolshevik and was incapable of bringing themselves to help at a moment when our unemployment rate was at 10 percent and we were at the depths of the worst recession since the Great Depression has now closed the government and given us a \$1.5 to \$2 trillion deficit while the unemployment rate is falling. And every one of them promised their constituents and my constituents that these tax cuts would pay for themselves.

God knows, when they add it up, what this shutdown is going to cost the American people. It is not saving them money.

Vietnam opened a new international airport near Halong Bay to attract tourists and boost the economy.

Singapore is preparing an Underground Master Plan to maximize its urban space by moving things like data centers, utilities, and water reservoirs below ground.

A new report shows that for the first time ever, Germany drew more energy from renewable sources than coal in 2018.

Ireland, in contrast to what I was just saying about the United States of America, ended the year with a budget surplus. Imagine the flexibility it gives legislators and policymakers there to think, what are we going to do with this surplus? How are we going to invest in the next generation? How are we going to shore up our equivalent of Social Security? Maybe we can have a real middle-class tax cut or lift some people out of poverty in our country. We can't ask those questions today because of our fiscal imbalance and because the Government of the United States is shut down.

While we were shut down, other countries moved forward with a trade partnership that excludes the United States. Once it is fully in place, it will represent a trading block of nearly half a billion consumers whom our manufacturers should be selling to and our small businesses should be exporting to.

Not surprisingly, China has been extremely busy over the last 24 days while we have been shut down. While we have been shut down, China landed a spacecraft on the dark side of the Moon. That has never happened before in human history. There was a time in our history—you will remember it—when the Russians launched Sputnik. That caught our imagination. John F. Kennedy said: We are going to put a

man on the Moon within the decade. That is what he said. That is what we did. Now, because of the fecklessness of this Congress, did you know that America cannot send an astronaut into space without asking the Russians for permission to ride on one of their rockets?

A whole generation of Americans that I was part of was inspired by the space mission that NASA led. Unfortunately, in my case, it did not lead me to understand anything about mathematics or science, but it inspired us as Americans to have a big vision for what our country could do and for what our country could do in competition with our adversaries around the world.

Do you think the Chinese are not observing what we are doing while they are putting a rocket, a spaceship on the dark side of the Moon for the first time in human history—something they will always be able to claim; something we will never be able to claim? Do you think the Russians know that we can't put somebody up on the space station if we want to, that we have to wait for them to let us do it? Just after they put that spaceship on the other side of the moon, China announced that it is planning another mission to the moon by the end of the year and a mission to Mars by as early as 2020.

It announced that it is planning to invest in 4,200 miles of new railway lines this year, including almost 2,000 miles of high-speed rail. Do you know how many more that is than we have? About 2,000, and that says nothing about the investments that they have already made.

They have begun operating new high-speed rail lines in East China and Northern China with initial speeds of 155 miles per hour while our government is closed. That is another plan; that is another set of tracks. China has plans for a 6-gigawatt wind farm on the border with Mongolia that, once completed, would become the largest in the world. China continues its pursuit of a vast space-based communications network that will cover every inch of the Earth. If we are not careful—if we are not careful—they are going to deploy 5G a lot more quickly than we will. That is what the rest of the world is doing while we are shut down.

My view of this is that we don't need to wait for the President on this. That is what the majority leader keeps saying. He keeps saying: Well, I can't pass something the President will veto because it will not become law.

I don't understand the logic of that, speaking of math. We passed a bill in this Senate—this Republican-controlled Senate; I think it was virtually unanimously—to keep the government open. The House of Representatives passed a very similar bill to keep the government open, and in the middle of this, in the midst of all of this, President Trump said: I am not going to accept that because I am going to use this moment to extort Congress for \$5 billion for my wall.

He said to the people he refers to as "Chuck and Nancy": Give me the \$5 billion.

They said: Why don't you just open the government? The Senate has passed it almost unanimously, and the House has passed it.

His answer was "because I will lose leverage," meaning: I will not have the misery I am creating for the Federal workforce. I will not have people who can't pay their mortgage, who can't pay for their early childhood education, who can't pay for their education. I will not have their misery to use to extort Members of Congress into giving me \$5 billion for my wall.

This is notwithstanding the fact that he promised over and over and over again when he was running for President that Mexico would pay for the wall. That is not my talking point; that is not my coming out here and being unfair and trying to exploit a weakness or a misstatement. I think it is fair to say that almost all of his campaign was based on the idea that there was going to be a wall and that Mexico was going to pay for the wall. He could not have been clearer about that.

Now he's trying to shut down the government because he knows that Mexico will not pay for the wall. The rest of us knew the whole time he was telling America untruths about it. He has now turned, instead, to the American taxpayer to say: OK. I wasn't telling the truth about it then, but don't pay any attention to that. You now have to pay for the wall.

Our first response to that is: No, you haven't even spent the money that has been appropriated for the wall to date. He has not built an inch of the wall. Look it up.

The second problem is that anybody who has studied this question for any moment of time knows that his proposal is a waste of money for the United States. I am not going to be lectured by anybody on the other side about the need for border security. I was part of the Gang of 8 that negotiated the immigration bill in 2013. That was a bill that had not \$5 billion of border security in it, not \$2.3 billion of border security in it, but \$46 billion of border security. It got 68 votes in the Senate, never went to the House, was never allowed to have a vote because of the tyranny of the so-called Hastert rule, which requires people not to vote their conscience but to vote only along party and partisan lines—another disgraceful chapter in modern American political history. That \$46 billion in that bill doubled the number of security agents at our border. It built 350 miles of what the President now refers to as steel slats, as if he invented that idea. It made sure we could see every single inch of our border.

If the Chinese are going to be able to see every single inch of the world, the least we could do is see every inch of our border, and in that bill we were able to do that.

Meanwhile, he tells his base—and FOX News repeats it every single night—that Democrats are for open borders; Democrats are for terrorists pouring in over the southern border.

I have become convinced—and we spent years working on immigration, years working on border security, years working with my most cherished Republican colleagues on this issue in a bipartisan way—that the President doesn't want the wall. He wants the entertainment of the wall. He wants to rally his base around the wall. Meanwhile, he is taking the leading economy in the world, a country with the largest capacity for self-defense in human history, and he has shut down its government over a \$5 billion, phony wall. It is a disgrace.

It is a disgrace for all hard-working Federal workers—and their families who depend on them—who are out of work, who are being furloughed, who aren't being paid. It is a disgrace for every person who works in State and local governments and in school districts all across this Nation, who would never think about shutting down their government but who understand what they possess as civil servants is a sacred trust to their community and to the next generation of Coloradans or of folks from New Hampshire or of Alaskans or of Americans.

We can't wait for the President—and I will finish with this—because he either doesn't want the wall or he doesn't have the capacity to get to a solution to it.

So we have to do our work as Senators. We have to vote to reopen the government. If that were put on the floor tomorrow, it would pass, and I will bet that it would pass with a veto-proof majority. Why? Because the constituents of everybody in this place would say: Are you out of your mind? Don't come back here and have another townhall and explain why you shut down the government over politics.

Instead, Democrats and Republicans should come together in this Chamber and set an example for the American people and say: All is not lost. This exercise in a democratic Republic is going to live to fight another day. We have come to our senses. We are not going to beat our own constituents to death for the purpose of empty partisan slogans or ideas that aren't going to advance the interests of the next generation of Americans.

I worry every night that I am here about what kind of history the next generation of Americans is going to write, about what we did when it was our responsibility to make sure that we fulfilled our commitment to them, the same ones that generation after generation after generation of Americans have fulfilled for people who came after them. That is what it means to be a citizen in a Republic like ours.

We are violating every norm of that approach to the work and allowing our competitors around the world to create advantages for themselves and poten-

tial liabilities for us. We shouldn't let this thing go into the 25th day or 26th day or 27th day. We should end it now. I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Hampshire.

Ms. HASSAN. Mr. President, I rise today to join my Democratic colleagues in sharing stories of what we are hearing from our constituents who are being impacted by this government shutdown.

I want to take a minute to thank my friend and colleague from Colorado for his thoughtful and comprehensive and passionate remarks about where we are and why. This is a needless and terrible exercise in politics, and we need to reopen the government.

This senseless shutdown has been dragging on now for weeks, affecting vital government services and leaving many Federal workers without pay. With every day that passes without a resolution, hard-working people are dealing with greater uncertainty, and many are facing tough choices in order to protect their families and the way of life they have worked so hard to build. Like many of my colleagues, I have heard from a number of people throughout my State who have been affected by this shutdown.

On Friday, I visited two nonprofits in New Hampshire, the Nashua Soup Kitchen and the Community Action Partnership—most of us know it as CAP of Strafford County—which provides vulnerable people with shelter, food, and support. They are now in danger of being unable to provide services that are a critical part of our safety net. They also fear an increase in demand for those services because unpaid Federal workers will be turning to them for help.

Federal employees and others affected by the shutdown in New Hampshire have also written to my office to describe the hardships they are facing and to urge us to reopen the government. One of those Granite Staters has been an air traffic controller for close to 19 years. Sadly, on Christmas Eve, her mother passed away, leaving her with a terrible loss but also with the stress and expenses of a funeral, all while having to work Christmas Eve and Christmas Day. On top of that, now she has not received a paycheck for that work.

She wrote:

The government shutdown has been the last thing on my mind. But now the realization of not being able to pay my mortgage, credit cards from Christmas-time, and now this funeral is too much to bear.

She put it simply, saying:

My colleagues and I deserve better.

I also heard from a Granite Stater who works for the IRS. He wrote to me saying:

The prospect of not having a paycheck for an extended time is causing sleepless nights, and I am recovering from an extended bout of pneumonia that ended up putting me in the hospital right before Christmas. . . . My wife is worried about the bills for that. Last

night, I worked pushing out the car payments. Today I applied for unemployment for the first time in 25 years, and talked to my mortgage company.

He continues:

All this was under control a month ago, but now has me worried, and is costing me charges and interest.

He also detailed his concerns about a coworker who is terrified of losing her home if she is not able to pay her mortgage and of another who is waiting to address a health issue until she has a paycheck again. He said of him and his fellow Federal workers:

We are hardworking, dedicated employees. Our jobs involve long hours, nights away from home, and risks to our health and safety. . . . All I want is to do my job and be paid fairly for it.

Finally, I heard from a Granite Stater whose husband is in the Coast Guard and recently relocated to New Hampshire. She said:

To say this shutdown is impacting us is an understatement.

She wrote that she and her husband recently relocated to New Hampshire and spent every last penny purchasing a home in the State where they first met.

She said:

We knew it was going to be tight with our two paychecks, but we would have enough to make ends meet. . . . That all changed after Christmas when we were informed that our President was prepared to shut down the government over a wall.

Since then, she and her husband have watched, hoped, and prayed that funding would come because now they fear they are going to have to call family members to beg and to borrow money to pay their mortgage and not go in default.

As bad as the direct impact of this situation is on Federal workers and on some of our most vulnerable and on people and small businesses who rely on government services, the shutdown also has ripple effects on other people and businesses across our State.

We must do better. The President's politically motivated crisis is devastating for too many hard-working families in New Hampshire and across the country. They deserve better than being used as pawns for a campaign slogan created by President Trump.

It is time for these games to stop, for the President's shutdown to end, and for our government to reopen. We need a vote on the floor of the Senate on the bipartisan bills that we already passed that would reopen this government with a veto-proof majority.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Pennsylvania.

Mr. CASEY. Mr. President, I rise tonight to speak about the shutdown. I know the hour is late. I will cut short my remarks.

But we are now, as you heard and as many Americans know, in day 24 of the shutdown. This is a shutdown that the President, a number of weeks ago, said that he—I am not quoting him exactly,

but he seemed to want to have a shutdown, and then he went forward and executed it even after this body, the Senate, voted unanimously just before Christmas to extend funding for the government until February so we could continue debates until then. But he chose to upend that and now we have this shutdown lasting not just 24 days but now the longest in American history. That is not a distinction any President or administration or Congress—especially the majority here in the Senate—should be proud of.

I think it is very clear that there is a way out of this, and the way out of this would not foreclose—in fact, it would enhance—the chances that we can have a fulsome, thorough, policy-oriented debate on border security, which we should have. We should actually enlarge that to speak to or debate a lot of major immigration issues and maybe come up with a bipartisan bill like we had in 2013, where 68 votes brought forward a bill out of the Senate that had probably the best border security provisions in recent American history. It had a pathway to citizenship. It was a long and arduous path but a pathway, nonetheless. As well, it had guest worker provisions so that employers could have order, rules, and certainty as to their workforce and our immigration system.

We have a very broken system that we would have been 5 years, at least, into the fixing of or the repair of if we had passed that bill—or if the House had passed that bill. It had 68 votes in the Senate, but it died in the House. We haven't seen a bill like that since—certainly, not any bill that was as comprehensive.

Here we are with 24 days of government employees being held hostage by the administration. I think there is some complicity here in the Senate, as well, because we know there is a bill that would open eight of the nine agencies. That bill is here in the Senate. We could pass it tonight, tomorrow morning, or tomorrow afternoon. We could pass it very quickly because—remember, the first act of a Democratic-majority House was to pass Republican appropriations bills—they are bills that sailed through the Republican-majority Senate with little to no opposition.

That is where we find ourselves, with a way out of this predicament, which I believe would not only open up the government—which would be good for the whole country and for both parties all across the country and, especially, for the people mostly adversely affected—but it would also isolate the issue. Right?

The President says that he wants to have changes made, and he has a different view than I do, but let's have weeks of debate on border security or everything else he wants to talk about. Let's bring in the experts. Let's have a dueling set of experts. Let's see whom the American people support. Do they support one point of view that says we

want border security or the other point of view that says that you want a wall or some steel barrier? That is kind of the choice. Do you want real border security or something else? We should have a debate about that.

If anything, the debate about the shutdown would be set aside because it would be over. The government would be opened. The country, the press, the Senate, and the House would naturally focus then on issues of dispute. That would isolate the issue.

But it is very difficult to maintain an argument or a reasoned debate—a debate based upon facts and policy and law, and, I hope, on the advice and consultation of border security experts, not just politicians. We have a lot of smart people in the Congress, but very few, if any of them, are border security experts. Let's listen to the experts. Let's take testimony from them like they had back in 2013, which ungirded the bill that got 68 votes. That would be a way to isolate and focus on the issue, instead of bringing misery to what is now hundreds of thousands of Americans—soon to grow to millions and, then, tens of millions—because those who miss paychecks today are a very big number. That number will grow when it starts to affect government services, which I will outline rather quickly because of the hour.

We have a lot of men and women in the country now working without pay or being furloughed, worrying about whether they can make a mortgage payment, put food on the table, or pay their heating bill. They don't have a choice. They can't just say: Well, sir, I can't pay the bill today because the government shut down. So just wait and you will be just fine.

No, they have to pay the bill. Thank God we passed legislation for backpay, but for some of these folks, backpay will not be enough because their credit will be adversely impacted. Their credit may be destroyed even if they get the backpay.

On Friday, 820,000 Federal workers, including 14,000 in my home State of Pennsylvania, missed a paycheck—more than 1,300 Department of Agriculture employees, 990 Department of Interior employees, 1,200 Federal Bureau of Prisons employees, 775 FAA and TSA employees, 700 EPA employees, as well as assistant U.S. attorneys in different parts of Pennsylvania.

I will share a small part of a longer letter that I got from a constituent. This constituent said:

I am currently a furloughed U.S. State Department employee and one of your constituents. I will soon miss a paycheck and, with car payments, student loan payments, et cetera, on the horizon, my family of five will likely suffer. Beyond our personal hardship, this shutdown is both expensive and counterproductive to border security.

I couldn't agree more with that constituent and with the argument that constituent makes, but what is even more compelling, of course, is not the argument about the policy debate here

in Washington. The more compelling part of that, of course, is missing car payments, student loan payments, and a family of that size suffering. That is real life. That is not just a Washington theoretical debate. That is real life for that family.

How about farmers? These are people who are not Federal Government employees, but they are affected by the fact that Federal Government employees are not at their desks or not in the field. Farmers can't visit their local Farm Service Agency office to get assistance.

We have a new farm bill. It is one of the great bipartisan achievements. Democrats and Republicans, House and Senate, came together for a big farm bill. That is great. I am glad we got that done at the end of 2018.

The bad news is that some of that requires advice, consultation, and engagement with Farm Service Agency offices. They are not able to give that assistance.

How about seniors who rely upon transportation services and nutrition services provided by the Enhanced Mobility of Seniors and Individuals with Disabilities Program? That and the Commodity Supplemental Food Program, also known as the Senior Food Box, are now at risk of being isolated. These seniors are now at risk of being isolated at home and without food.

Approximately 2,400 units of low-income housing in Pennsylvania are in jeopardy because the Department of Housing and Urban Development will not be able to renew a contract. More than two-thirds of the people who receive this type of assistance are seniors and people with disabilities. The people who benefit from this type of housing assistance have average incomes of less than \$13,000.

Two million Pennsylvanians receive food assistance. It is actually about 1.8 million, but it is almost 2 million Pennsylvanians who receive assistance through the SNAP program, or the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program. We used to call it food stamps. They may lose access if the shutdown drags on much longer.

I know the administration says: Don't worry. Everything is OK for February.

That is, in essence, what the administration said, and they haven't given us a definitive word about March.

So of those 1.8 million Pennsylvanians, a huge share of them have a disability, and a huge share of them are children in households who can't support themselves and can't afford food on their own because they are children. They benefit, as well. They are part of the 1.8.

A lot of them, of course, are seniors who deserve this program because that is what we do in America. We try to help people who need food assistance. That is called being America—being the strong country that we are, showing how strong we are not just by virtue of our military and our GDP—everyone knows that. No one comes close

in the world. But we are also strong because we say we care about people with disabilities. We want to make sure if they need Medicaid, they get that kind of healthcare. If they need food assistance, we will get that for them. We care about our seniors, too, because we are America and we are strong, and it is an American value.

These programs are important. When they are shut down, that is not an American value being upheld. When we talk about these programs and about food assistance, this is also real life—literally, today or the day when you lose food assistance. Why should that assistance even be the subject of uncertainty—uncertainty because someone doesn't get their way on a policy matter here in Washington?

I guess it is OK for any Member of Congress because we are a coequal branch of government. It is not like the President is higher than the Congress. We are coequal. I guess because the President wants to shut the government down to make a point about a policy matter, I guess that should be an option that any Member of the House or the Senate should exercise. So the next time, it will be a Member of Congress, when you lose a battle on a policy matter or you don't propose the funding on time, which is what happened here. They didn't ask for the money at the beginning of the year. So they tried to shoehorn it in at the end of the year. I guess if you lose the policy debate or your bill doesn't pass, you vote to shut the government down—take action to shut the government down like the President did.

I don't think that is the way any party or any country should operate. So 200,000 Pennsylvanians may lose access to the Women, Infants, and Children Program, which provides critical nutritional support to mothers and young children—200,000.

So there are the 2 million I talked about. There are 1.8 million people who are getting the benefits of the SNAP program, which, by the way, helps all Americans. People ask: What do you mean by that? It does. If you spend a buck on SNAP, you get \$1.80 back in economic activity because people have to eat, and they tend to spend that money quickly. It helps everybody. So the SNAP program is not just a nice thing to do for people who have disabilities or for seniors or children; the SNAP program helps all of us because it helps to stimulate the economy.

Even if you are disinterested in supporting this program but are interested in having your own American economy grow, you should support the SNAP program. It is also the right thing to do because it is a darned good program. When you add 1.1 million people who are getting SNAP and then 200,000 people who benefit from the WIC Program, you will have gotten over 2 million just in one State.

These programs are not out of money this week or in the month of January or in the month of February, but we don't know about March yet. We haven't gotten any guarantees about March. Even if we get a guarantee about March, what about April? That is far from guaranteed. So that is what we are talking about here. Why should these people have to wait? Why should a farmer have to wait weeks or months to talk to a Farm Service Agency office? Why should families who have food insecurity as part of their lives not be able to get something to eat because we are having a policy debate here? Why shouldn't we give them the certainty that they vote for us to ensure?

It is unconscionable and unacceptable, and I wish I could come up with better words than that because they are not at all adequate. It is unconscionable that children and moms and hungry Americans will suffer because of this shutdown.

The President says he is concerned about crime and the flow of dangerous drugs into the country. I agree with him. A lot of Americans do, of course. Yet the shutdown is significantly impairing the FBI and the DEA's law enforcement efforts. These are part of the list of Agencies that are impacted. Agents are still doing their work to keep the public safe. They are dedicated, and they are going to do their work no matter what.

Yet, with many analysts on furlough, it is getting harder and harder to work effectively to keep the public safe. I want an FBI that has all of the resources it needs, with everyone on duty, with everyone working. If the FBI is undermined because of the shutdown, we are less safe. If the DEA, the Drug Enforcement Agency, is undermined because of the shutdown, we are less safe. You don't have to be a law enforcement expert to say that.

It goes on from there. I have more, but I will not because of the hour. I will go back to the beginning.

There are adverse impacts today with people not being paid as of Friday. That alone is compelling and urgent and insulting, frankly, to us as Americans and is directly insulting to those families who don't deserve this. It is going to get a lot worse, though. That number is going to grow and grow, not just with those who are directly affected with their paychecks and in their livelihoods and their credit ratings and all of that but with people who depend upon the Federal Government for help when they are vulnerable, when they are hungry, when they want an answer to a question, when they want to close on a mortgage or do a long list of other things.

For the life of me, I do not understand why we would not pass a bill that is sitting in this Chamber that would open eight of the nine Agencies—that are closed—until the end of the fiscal year, September 30, so the shutdown will be over for those eight agencies. Then you would have one Agency, Homeland Security, that would get short-term funding, which would be another reason we could continue the debate and another way to focus attention on border security and anything else anybody wants to talk about here. It would focus the attention on that issue and remove the issue that is in front of all of us, which is that 25 percent of the government—and a lot of it affecting a lot of people—is closed, shuttered, not working, not effective, not delivering on results.

There is an easy solution here that not only does not close the debate on border security—effective, expert-recommended border security—but, if anything, enhances the possibility that there will be a more engaged debate on border security. As I said, I hope it will grow into a larger immigration debate.

I yield the floor.

ADJOURNMENT UNTIL 10 A.M.
TOMORROW

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. DAINES). Under the previous order, the Senate stands adjourned until 10 a.m. tomorrow.

Thereupon, the Senate, at 7:50 p.m., adjourned until Tuesday, January 15, 2019, at 10 a.m.