

civilians from buying and selling enhanced body armor. It protects communities as well as law enforcement answering the call when public safety is at risk.

Mr. Speaker, I ask my colleagues to join me in supporting this commonsense safety bill for the Buffalo community and for the many others who have forever been changed by mass shootings.

□ 1115

SECURE THE BORDER ACT OF 2023

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. ELLZEY). Pursuant to clause 1(c) of rule XIX, further consideration of the bill (H.R. 2) to secure the borders of the United States, and for other purposes, will now resume.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from California (Mr. MCCLINTOCK) and the gentleman from New York (Mr. NADLER) each will control 60 minutes.

The chair recognizes the gentleman from California (Mr. MCCLINTOCK).

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

Mr. Speaker, on Inauguration Day, our border was secure. The Trump policies had slowed illegal immigration to a trickle. That afternoon, Joe Biden reversed these policies, and in the last 27 months the Democrats have deliberately admitted into our country more than 2.1 million illegal aliens.

Now that is larger than the entire population of the State of Nebraska, and while the Border Patrol was overwhelmed, more than 1½ million known got-aways entered as well. That is an additional population larger than that of Hawaii. All of this occurred in 27 months.

As we can see at this very moment, this was only a prelude to the mass invasion now unfolding before our eyes. The Border Patrol Union warned us yesterday: "Field reports from agents across the southern border verify the enormity of this tidal wave of illegal aliens coming now. Huge groups are overwhelming stations, and it is completely out of control. Massive releases beginning and it's going to get much worse."

Now for Americans, this means classrooms packed with non-English speaking students, hospitals flooded with illegals demanding uncompensated care, violent criminal cartels and gangs introduced into our communities, fentanyl killing an average of 300 Americans every day, suppressed wages for working Americans, and the collapse of the social safety net that was supposed to take care of Americans in need.

For the millions of illegal migrants, it means exposure to hazardous conditions that have claimed 2,000 lives that we know of. Many arrive sick, traumatized, starved, brutalized, raped, and deeply in debt to the cartels.

These are not asylum seekers. Asylum is a specific refuge for those singled out by their government for persecution because of race, religion, or political beliefs. Asylum is achieved by crossing the first international border that separates you from that government. Asylum is not an open invitation to bum-rush our borders, but the Democrats have made it precisely that.

If you make a fraudulent asylum claim, you are now guaranteed to receive immediate admission into our country, you get cash, a range of free goods and services, indefinite residency, and indefinite work authorizations. Then, when your claim is ultimately rejected by a clogged court system years in the future, you will not be deported, and you only need to wait for the next amnesty.

This makes a mockery of legitimate asylum, the sovereignty of our Nation, and the rule of law. Our bill removes the incentives to break our laws by reinforcing the existing requirement that forbids releasing asylum claimants into the country until their claim is resolved.

This bill also returns unaccompanied minors safely home as we already do with children from Mexico or Canada, but this administration sends all other children to poorly vetted so-called sponsors in this country with little concern or follow-up over the conditions into which we have abandoned them. Many become indentured servants, slaves to the cartels and their gangs, forced into sex trafficking, labor trafficking, and drug trafficking under horrific conditions.

The only way to stop this trafficking is to return these children safely home. The cartels are paid thousands of dollars to bring them to the United States, and that will stop the moment we return these children to their homes. Every Border Patrol agent I have talked to tells me that this is the only way to stop this heartbreaking tragedy.

For those crossing as families, this measure keeps them together. It allows them to make their asylum claim and then to wait in Mexico or in a family residential center until their claim is heard.

This measure removes the incentives for cartels to traffic children to pose as families in order to be automatically released into our country as the Democrats are doing.

Mr. Speaker, I thank Mr. BIGGS, Mr. ROY, Mr. CALVERT, Mr. CARTER of Texas, Mr. JOHNSON of Louisiana, Mr. TIFFANY, and Mr. MORAN for their work that comprises the judiciary section of this bill and my thanks to the many Members who helped craft it into its current form.

Yes, we are a nation of immigrants. We are also a nation of laws. Millions of immigrants come to our country legally every year. They obey our laws. They wait patiently. They do everything our country asks of them. Meanwhile, millions of illegal immigrants

are cutting in line in front of them aided, abetted, encouraged, and rewarded by Democrat officials.

It has been said that this bill has no chance in the Senate and if it did pass that it would be vetoed by the President. Well, that is a question that the American people must ultimately decide before it is too late.

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

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

Mr. Speaker, today, the majority has brought forward a cruel, extreme, and unworkable piece of legislation, which would wreck our economy, destroy the asylum system, criminalize visa overstays, send unaccompanied children back to dangerous situations, and jail children indefinitely.

Once again, my Republican colleagues show us that they are not interested in finding real solutions to tough issues. This bill attempts to combine a variety of different bills, each one more cruel and heartless than the last into one contradictory and overlapping mess. This bill has no chance of being enacted into law and it is nothing more than pure political theater.

My Republican colleagues are trying to take us back to the failed, illegal, and immoral policies of the Trump administration. Former President Trump's radical, inhumane, and racist immigration actions weakened the U.S. economy, undermined our moral standing in the world, and did not make us any safer.

While trampling on some of our most deeply held American values, his erratic approach also failed to stem the flow of migrants across our border. Let's be very clear about what this legislation would do. When taken together, this bill serves as a wholesale ban on asylum. No one would be able to seek asylum in the United States if they cross between ports of entry or if they had or could have had even temporary status in a third country.

Let me give you an example of what this means. If the Russian dissident Aleksey Navalny, who Putin attempted to poison twice, was somehow released from his prison in Siberia and took a flight to seek political asylum in the United States, but the plane touched down for refueling in Bulgaria, he would have to stay in Bulgaria. He couldn't come to the United States.

During the Judiciary Committee's markup, Democrats offered a variety of amendments to exempt the most vulnerable from some of these draconian requirements. This included those fleeing Communist and totalitarian regimes and unaccompanied children, but the majority was not even willing to exempt children under a year old.

The one place where we were able to make some bipartisan headway was on the issue of E-Verify. E-Verify is an electronic employment eligibility verification system that began as a voluntary pilot program and is currently

used by a small percentage of the Nation's employers.

This bill would make that system mandatory for all employers in the United States. Without providing other reforms, however, including any meaningful opportunity for undocumented workers to regularize their status, this title would damage the U.S. economy, harm American workers, and result in billions of dollars in lost government revenue.

In particular, mandatory E-Verify would decimate the agriculture industry, putting U.S. farms out of business, shipping millions of American jobs overseas, and increasing U.S. reliance on imported food. Mandatory E-Verify would result in hundreds of thousands of unfilled farm jobs and would leave unpicked crops rotting in the fields as we saw in Georgia in 2011 when a mandatory E-Verify law in the State resulted in over 11,000 farm jobs going unfilled during the peak harvest season.

Unfortunately, it appears that some of my Republican colleagues with significant agricultural interest in their districts are now willing to support this draconian legislation. Despite sincere concerns about how this provision would affect their constituents, they have caved to Republican leadership with the mere addition of a sense of Congress. That is pathetic.

I have only scratched the surface of the many problems contained in this legislation. I have not even mentioned how this bill strips all protections from unaccompanied children and requires all families who come to our borders seeking protection to be detained indefinitely or the extreme lengths to which it goes to narrow the eligibility grounds for asylum or how this bill would severely restrict this and any future administration's ability to parole individuals into the United States, even going so far as to end the current parole initiatives for Ukrainians fleeing Russia and for certain military families.

What this means is that no Ukrainians fleeing the war with Russia would be allowed into this country. It also means that all Ukrainians here after a certain time would have to return to Ukraine, even if the war is still going on.

Mr. Speaker, immigration reform is a complicated problem that requires complicated solutions, and an enforcement-only strategy simply doesn't work. Democrats have put forward real proposals, and we stand ready to work with serious Republicans to pass meaningful solutions.

Democrats take this humanitarian crisis seriously. Our proposals address the root causes of migration, improve border security, and create additional legal pathways for people to enter the United States lawfully.

□ 1130

But Republicans have chosen a narrow path that imposes extreme pain

and hardship on the most vulnerable people, while doing nothing to actually solve the problem.

I encourage my colleagues to oppose this wrongheaded bill, and I ask the majority to go back to the drawing board.

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

Mr. McCLINTOCK. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from Florida (Ms. LEE).

Ms. LEE of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of H.R. 2, the Secure the Border Act, which is the most comprehensive border bill to reach the House floor in modern history.

The Biden administration's border policies have led to a national security and humanitarian crisis at our southern border, turning every community into a border community.

This administration's failure to secure the border has led to a record amount of illegal drugs, both around the border and in our communities, and has enabled human trafficking and the exploitation of children.

Recently, law enforcement in my community announced that they have seized enough fentanyl to kill every Floridian.

In addition to the drugs flowing into our communities, we have seen a tragic flow of unaccompanied minors across our border, which has led many of them to fall victim to human trafficking, abuse, and mistreatment.

A grand jury in Florida recently uncovered alarming details about Federal agencies losing track of more than 20,000 children, and failing to perform background checks on minors' sponsors, again, leading to incidents of trafficking, exploitation, and abuse. An open border is not humanitarian. When we fail to control our borders, the drug cartels will.

House Republicans know that border security is national security, and that is why we must pass the Secure the Border Act. This legislation will increase the number of Border Patrol agents, strengthen current law to protect unaccompanied children, and bolster our border's infrastructure.

We have a constitutional duty to secure our border and to ensure our communities back home are kept safe. I urge my colleagues to vote "yes" on this bill.

Mr. NADLER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the distinguished gentlewoman from Texas (Ms. ESCOBAR).

Ms. ESCOBAR. Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to H.R. 2, a shameful, unserious bill that would shutter our country's asylum system and make the situation at the border much worse.

For decades, Congressional Republicans have blocked efforts to reform outdated immigration laws, choosing to focus only on the border, believing that if we can be cruel enough, that would deter desperate people from seeking asylum at our Nation's front door. That hasn't worked, and H.R. 2 is more of their same failed approach.

We all want an orderly, well-managed border, especially those of us who live and raise our families on the border, but there is a critical difference that exists from there.

Many of my Republican colleagues want no immigration at all, and many believe cruelty is an effective deterrent. But my Democratic colleagues and I and, indeed, most Americans, know that we must and should have legal pathways coupled with enforcement and strategic investment in order to achieve a functional system.

This bill is an extremist Republican wish list that caters to the party's most warped values by jailing children and families and extinguishing asylum. The cruelty, unfortunately, is the point. It is no wonder that this bill has been called un-Christian.

I represent El Paso, Texas. I am a proud third-generation El Pasoan, and it is where I raised my two children. My community has been at the forefront of immigration for decades, and El Pasoans have always stepped up to help migrants.

Our local governments and NGOs work alongside U.S. Customs and Border Protection to provide migrants with food, a place to sleep, and assistance finding transportation to their next destination. We collaborate the best we can, united in our shared humanity.

In 2019, for the first time, local partners became eligible to receive Federal funding for this work, and that has been critical to El Paso and other border communities.

H.R. 2 will bring that funding to an end and would make it illegal for NGOs to provide any services, from a bottle of water to a safe place to sleep.

Let me remind you of Matthew 35:36, "For I was hungry and you gave me something to eat, I was thirsty and you gave me something to drink, I was a stranger and you invited me in, I need clothes and you clothed me, I was sick and you looked after me."

This bill would decimate the systems that border communities have built and would literally, by design, create a humanitarian catastrophe.

Because of this and many other shameful provisions, I urge my colleagues on both sides of the aisle to stand against this bill and work with those of us who are committed to a real bipartisan solution.

Mr. McCLINTOCK. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Alabama (Mr. MOORE).

Mr. MOORE of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, today I rise to make it clear that Biden's border policies are anything but compassionate.

Nearly 300 suspected terrorists have been caught trying to cross our border this year, and those are just the ones we caught. How many actually made it through?

As we speak, American border towns are being flooded with unvetted migrants that have nowhere to go. City streets are becoming homeless encampments. Farm land is being trampled.

Migrants from over 100 countries, including China and Russia, are paying up to \$15,000 a piece to be smuggled across our border by criminal cartels. If they can't pay, migrants are forced to work off their debt. The administration is creating a program of either drug mules or indentured servants.

Many of these migrant children are brought here by false advertisements of free passage in their countries. The Biden administration has lost 85,000 children. This is unacceptable. These are the things that should keep Americans awake at night.

Our border is dangerous, not only for the American people whose communities are being pumped full of drugs and crime, but also those seeking to cross illegally who turn into slaves or drug mules.

The numbers are clear: 85,000 children have been lost; 1,000 migrant bodies found along the southern border; 120,000 fentanyl deaths in our country, and the numbers continue to rise. Where is the compassion in that?

President Biden and Secretary Mayorkas must answer for the fentanyl deaths, the illegal encounters, and the unaccompanied children we have lost.

A closed border is a compassionate border, and this week, Republicans have brought a real solution to the table by introducing H.R. 2. I urge all my colleagues to vote in favor of this bill.

Mr. NADLER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from California (Ms. LOFGREN).

Ms. LOFGREN. Mr. Speaker, there is lots wrong with this bill, as has been mentioned by others, turning children back to their smugglers at the border and the like, but I will focus on the issue of those fleeing communist oppression.

For years, we had bipartisan agreement. We welcomed those who flee communist oppression. Today is Vietnam Human Rights Day and it reminds us that we welcomed a million refugees fleeing communism in Vietnam. We welcomed Cubans fleeing Fidel Castro. We welcomed Nicaraguans and Venezuelans who fled communist oppression.

This bill would upend that tradition. It would turn away people who are fleeing oppression from communist and totalitarian persecution.

Now, there was a time when both sides of the aisle opposed communism and welcomed people who were fleeing communist oppression. What happened to you?

I stand on the side of political dissidents who believe in freedom and who are fleeing communist oppression.

There is one more thing. This bill would cripple American agriculture. I realize there was a fig leaf added about an assessment on ag. We all know that will.

The bipartisan Farm Workforce Modernization Act, which this House passed twice, had E-Verify in the bill, but only with the reforms for ag. I be-

lieve our laws ought to be enforced, but we need laws that can work, and that is what our bipartisan farm workforce bill did. This bill doesn't do that.

An estimated half of farm workers in America are undocumented. Kick them out of the fields, and farmers are going to hurt big time. The cost of food will skyrocket. This is a very poor idea.

I will just say this: All of us want to have an orderly system. The disorder is obvious at the border, but this bill is mean, and it won't fix it.

We have a variety of proposals to reform the immigration laws. We are still working on the outline from the 1965 act. It is a small wonder that it doesn't work very well for America in 2023.

I urge a "no" vote on this bill, and I urge all of my colleagues to work with us together to craft measures in immigration and immigration enforcement that will actually work for the United States. This bill doesn't do that.

Mr. McCLINTOCK. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Florida (Mr. DIAZ-BALART), the sponsor of H.R. 2.

Mr. DIAZ-BALART. Mr. Speaker, in just a few hours, the Biden administration will end the enforcement of title 42. This administration estimates that we could see 13,000 immigrant encounters per day at the border.

So clearly, allowing title 42 to end with no plan to secure our border is not only negligent, but it severely jeopardizes the national security interests of our country.

But you see, the cataclysm facing our border is not just due to the end of title 42, Mr. Speaker, but also to this administration's complete abdication to do even the bare minimum to secure our southern border.

It is negligence and incompetence, Mr. Speaker, with fatal consequences. Instead, the administration has relinquished control to the narco-terrorist cartels who now control the southern border of the United States.

The Biden administration's policies are dangerous to our national security, Mr. Speaker, but they have deadly consequences for Americans and for immigrants alike.

Heck, even The New York Times has highlighted the fact that 90,000 unaccompanied minors are unaccounted for and, frankly, are possibly being trafficked.

It is immoral, Mr. Speaker, that the Biden administration refuses to take action to end human trafficking, stop the deadly influx of drugs into the United States, confront the cartels, protect those minors that are being trafficked, and enhance our outdated asylum process.

Those, by the way, who have legitimate claims, those folks are also victims of this broken system.

However, today, this House has a solution to help take back control of our border. H.R. 2, the Secure the Border Act, which I am so proud to have sponsored with my colleague and friend,

Mr. McCLINTOCK, provides real solutions to restore order to the southern border, strengthen our national security, enhance our broken immigration system, and protect innocent minors while enforcing the rule of law, the rule of law, Mr. Speaker.

So if you are concerned about our national security, or the safety of our fellow Americans, and immigrants, the safety of our immigrants, or the rule of law, I respectfully but, frankly, strongly urge you to vote for this great bill, H.R. 2.

Mr. NADLER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Maryland (Mr. IVEY).

Mr. IVEY. Mr. Speaker, I will support legislation that fairly and appropriately addresses the serious shortcomings in our country's immigration laws, but, unfortunately, H.R. 2 is not that bill.

H.R. 2 is a false promise to the extreme Republican base. The Senate has already made it clear that this bill is dead on arrival. But even if the bill somehow passed, it does not provide funding to build a wall, nor hire more Border Patrol officers, nor retain those we already have.

A cornerstone of H.R. 2, and its first major provision, is a return to Donald Trump's quest to build a wall along our southern border. But the Republican bill doesn't even provide the money to pay for it.

The bill calls for a wall that is at least 900 miles long, but it would not stop the flow of fentanyl. The Sinaloa cartel in Mexico routinely drives by the wall that is already there, flies over the wall, and tunnels underneath it, as we learned during the DOJ takedown of the Sinaloa cartel a few weeks ago.

The wall would also be a financial disaster. H.R. 2 presumes that the wall would be funded with unspent money that has been allocated for the wall. But former President Trump siphoned away much of the unspent funds for the wall from other departments and the programs for those funds were eventually returned to them.

According to the CBO's analysis, another 160 miles of the wall would have to be built to reach the 900-mile mandate that is in the bill. In estimating these costs, CBO wrote: "CBO estimates an average cost per mile of \$25 million. . . . CBO expects that previously appropriated amounts could cover the cost of 80 miles of construction; thus, CBP would need an additional \$2 billion to complete the other 80 miles."

On top of that, the Republicans just announced that they proposed a 22 percent cut across the board for much of the government, including DHS.

In March, I joined my colleagues on a visit to the southern border. We met with Customs and Border Patrol officers. The border officers were unanimous in the need for more resources, more agents, and more technology. We took their comments to heart.

During the markup, Democrats sought to provide more immigration judges, more processing centers that combined Federal, State, and local resources, but those amendments were also voted down by Republicans.

Democrats also sought to ensure that Border Patrol officers were paid according to the established civil pay scale; expand technology to x-ray trucks at the border, where over 90 percent of the fentanyl enters the United States; boost the quantity and quality of drones used by our officers to cut the cartel's 17-1 advantage in drones they now use to traffic drugs and other contraband; and add 1,700 Border Patrol officers to manage the border and intercept the flow of illegal drugs, such as fentanyl.

□ 1145

But all of these amendments were rejected by our Republican colleagues.

Worse still, the Republican bill prohibits NGOs, like the American Red Cross and The Salvation Army, from providing essential goods and services to migrants who desperately need them.

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

Mr. NADLER. Mr. Speaker, I yield an additional 1 minute to the gentleman from Maryland.

Mr. IVEY. Mr. Speaker, this is why many groups have written letters of opposition to H.R. 2, including the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops, the AFL-CIO, Catholic Charities, and 136 humanitarian aid organizations who signed a joint letter of opposition.

For example, the bishop of El Paso and the chairman of the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops' Committee on Migration wrote: "As drafted, these provisions could even be interpreted to prevent schools, houses of worship, and other organizations from qualifying for the Nonprofit Security Grant program amid a rise in violent attacks on those places."

The bishop also noted that DHS's ability to rescue persons encountered in the desert in life-threatening circumstances and process unaccompanied children, victims of trafficking, victims of torture, and others, who even under this bill's terms would warrant such processing, could be precluded.

Mr. Speaker, for these and many other reasons, I thoroughly oppose H.R. 2.

Mr. McCLINTOCK. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Guam (Mr. MOYLAN).

Mr. MOYLAN. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H.R. 2, because protecting America's borders also means protecting my community.

Guam is geographically closer to China than any other part of the United States. For that reason, I view border security as an important piece of national security.

While securing the border, H.R. 2 also makes it easier for employers to hire

H-2A workers. I support these efforts, because the similar H-2B visa program is an irreplaceable source of labor for the Department of Defense and is absolutely necessary to supplement Guam's construction labor force, which ultimately serves the purpose of protecting our Nation.

Mr. Speaker, I thank my colleagues for their work on H.R. 2.

Mr. NADLER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from Texas (Ms. GARCIA).

Ms. GARCIA of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to H.R. 2, the Secure the Border Act of 2023, scheduled for a vote on the House floor later today. This legislation is harmful, dangerous, irresponsible, and just plain wrong.

Instead of securing the border, this bill will separate families, put human lives at risk, lead to more unlawful migration by blocking off lawful pathways to protection, and waste taxpayer dollars on an ineffective wall that can't even withstand wind much less criminal smuggling cartels.

Instead of treating this like the emergency that it is, House Republicans focus on immigration solely at the border, providing billions of dollars in so-called border security, building walls, increasing personnel, and rapid expulsion policies.

Since 1998, at least 8,000 undocumented migrants have died attempting to cross the border from Mexico to the U.S.

People are dying. They are dying every day. Children are exploited. They are exploited every day. Families are being separated. They are being separated every day.

We have all been waiting for many years, 27 years, in fact, since the last meaningful legislation on immigration reform was passed by this body.

Since then, Republicans have rejected every bill that has been proposed. This bill, again, is wrong. It is not a solution. It is a slap in the face to our immigration system.

There is no time left, Mr. Speaker. This bill is extreme, it is wrong, and what we really need is safe immigration law now.

Mr. Speaker, I urge a "no" vote on this bill.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to add the text of my amendment into the RECORD immediately prior to the vote on the motion to recommit.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. McCLINTOCK. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. MORAN), the author of one of the measures in the bill.

Mr. MORAN. Mr. Speaker, I thank the chairman of the Judiciary Committee, Mr. JIM JORDAN of Ohio, and my colleagues, Mr. DIAZ-BALART of Florida, Mr. McCLINTOCK of California, and Mr. GREEN of Tennessee, for working so diligently on this comprehensive border security package.

This package will work to physically secure our borders; protect the sovereignty of our Nation; protect the lives, livelihoods, the property of current American citizens, those that are here legally, and give hope to those from outside our country who seek to find a better life here by restoring surty and sanity to the immigration process.

The ability of our Nation to continue to be the world's haven and leader in both liberty and generosity is directly related to our ability to first preserve the rule of law here, protect the sanctity of America's geographic boundaries, and preserve the greatness of our Nation from within.

Earlier this year, in a hearing in the House Judiciary Committee, the El Paso county judge said explicitly and without reservation that there was "no crisis at the southern border," but the facts, the pictures, the videos, and the personal testimonies of those on the border tell a different story. Ironically, just last week, the mayor of the city of El Paso declared a state of emergency for the city because of this very border crisis.

For 2 years now, Secretary Mayorkas has told the American people that the Department of Homeland Security has "operational control" of the southern border. We know better.

Despite the administration sending 1,500 U.S. troops to the border just in the past couple weeks, these actions are too little, too late. More correctly, they are illusory in nature.

Though we do need additional personnel on the border, what we really need is an administration with the resolve to simply enforce the rule of law and put American families ahead of politics.

For too long, this administration has turned a blind eye to the crisis at the southern border. They have not enforced the policies and laws currently in place, and as a result, we have seen an influx of migrants crossing our border and illegally entering the United States over the last 2 years.

These eleventh-hour measures taken by the Secretary of Homeland Security will sadly have little to no effect on stopping this historic surge because there is no will, no resolve, and no determination by the administration to stop this invasion.

That is why House Republicans today are going to take decisive and historic action to do just as the American people need, and that is to secure our border.

In East Texas, we see the direct and dire consequences of nonexistent immigration policies. Many more outside Texas in the past couple of years are beginning to see this, as well. Now is the time to take action. Now is the time to act with courage and boldness. Now is the time to pass H.R. 2, the Secure the Border Act of 2023.

Mr. NADLER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from California (Mr. CORREA).

Mr. CORREA. Mr. Speaker, I thank our colleagues on the other side of the aisle for taking on such an important and difficult task: immigration reform, the refugee crisis.

My friends on the other side are absolutely correct. Title 42 is ending today. I have to remind you, when many of you voted to lift the COVID-19 emergency, you legally, effectively, voted to end title 42. Don't forget that. You voted to lift title 42.

Today, we are facing a worldwide refugee crisis, the likes that we haven't seen since World War II. In World War II, we had 60 million refugees moving throughout Europe. This is what we are facing today.

It is not only the United States. It is also Mexico, Guatemala, and Colombia, who is housing 2.4 million Venezuelan refugees. This is a challenge for all of us.

We need real solutions. Under existing laws, we do have some solutions.

I am probably the only legislator here today that went to visit the Ukrainian refugee camps in Tijuana, Mexico, about a year ago. Let me tell you what I found: Ukrainian refugees in Tijuana waiting to cross into the United States.

What did we do? We lifted title 42. We gave them temporary protective status, and walked them into the United States. Today, that refugee camp is gone. Why? Because those refugees can apply for status from Europe directly. That is a model that worked under existing laws, and the administration, this Biden administration, is implementing something very similar to that as we speak.

Your proposal, my good friends on the other side of the aisle, has some challenges. I will start by talking about the biggest one: E-Verify, mandatory E-Verify.

We have a labor shortage in this country. Every time I get the small businessmen here, the large businessmen, or the farmers especially, 50 percent of our farmworkers are undocumented today in this country. They are the ones who pick our crops. With forced E-Verify, you are essentially forcing, making small business owners criminals. They are going to have to choose between firing those employees, harvesting their crops, or becoming criminals. That is not the intent of your legislation, but that is effectively what you are doing today.

My colleague from California knows that because that is why he pushed an amendment for the farming industry, for this exact reason.

But we not only have farmers, we have small businesses as well in this country.

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

Mr. NADLER. Mr. Speaker, I yield an additional 1 minute to the gentleman from California.

Mr. CORREA. Mr. Speaker, I would say E-Verify, without true immigration reform, is not going to work.

My friends, I reach out to you across the aisle and say: Let's do this for America. Let's fix our broken immigration system, and let's address this worldwide refugee challenge right now.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. BERGMAN). Members are reminded to direct their remarks to the Chair.

Mr. McCLINTOCK. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Arizona (Mr. CISCOMANI).

Mr. CISCOMANI. Mr. Speaker, I rise today as a proud product of the American Dream. I became a U.S. citizen in 2006, and today, 17 years later, I stand here as a Member of the United States Congress.

I also stand here as a representative of southeastern Arizona. What is happening at the border is not part of the American Dream my family pursued and thousands of other families continue to pursue.

We have seen babies abandoned in rivers, migrants dying in deserts, high-speed car chases through neighborhoods, and 85,000 children disappear after being released from HHS custody.

We have a border crisis, a humanitarian crisis, and on the front lines are our border communities. Americans have been failed by the government designed to protect them.

While our country suffers because of this administration's inaction, House Republicans have proposed a solution. H.R. 2 gives our agents and officers the resources they desperately need, closes loopholes in an abused asylum system, and protects innocent children from harm.

This bill is a step away from the chaos we are seeing and a step closer to helping others achieve the American Dream I have been so blessed to live.

□ 1200

Mr. NADLER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentlewoman from Texas (Ms. JACKSON LEE).

Ms. JACKSON LEE. Mr. Speaker, it is important that we take a look at what we are doing here today. It is very obvious that we are addressing this question from the perspective of punishing families and punishing our children—yes, the children. The children are of all of us because we know that no matter what country, the children are our future.

This legislation is supposed to be a border security bill done without bipartisanship and extensively rejecting thoughtful amendments given by the members of the Judiciary Committee and the Committee on Homeland Security.

In Houston, this is to create an added nightmare in order not to be able to help those who are in need because they are coming. In fact, there are processes where they are able to access the process of asylum.

The fear that is made and given to the American people is to create hysteria rather than reason. I don't know what happened to the very reasonable, comprehensive immigration

reform led by the late John McCain. Republicans ditched it, leaving DACA recipients, people who are EMS, doctors, and lawyers, still in limbo.

Here we come again with this bill that is the child deportation bill. It says in Houston to Catholic Charities, or the National Association of Christian Churches that is helping in New York, that they will be made criminals because we will not allow them to help those who are coming forward who have status with paperwork for asylum, but yet, they are still unstatused and undocumented.

It makes it absolutely impossible to come to the border to seek asylum. It upends the process and protections in place for unaccompanied children and requires all migrants seeking admission without a visa either to be detained or subjected to a program that Trump had. We know if we have someone who is going to, in essence, pardon all the January 6 persons, that is not a reliable policy.

It is clear that mandating indefinite detention for all asylum-seeking families and children is a deportation bill for children. Allowing children to be detained in Border Patrol facilities for an entire month is a cruel and inhumane act.

Hold a 9-month-old baby in your arms who was separated from their family, and maybe then, as I did almost more than 6 years ago, almost 10 years ago—this has been ongoing through all administrations. The only reason that the past administration had a title 42 is because of the pandemic.

We need not to have that patchwork of disaster. We need to be able to ensure that we are working studiously to ensure it. Let me share with you these numbers.

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

Mr. NADLER. Mr. Speaker, I yield an additional 30 seconds to the gentlewoman from Texas.

Ms. JACKSON LEE. Mr. Speaker, people are, in fact, alarmed. They need to know that the migrants coming in are from Mexico. We do have an OTM, other than Mexican, people already going back—India, China, the Philippines, El Salvador, Vietnam, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Guatemala, and Korea. It is widely diverse, based upon the persecution that people are feeling or the economic lack of life.

As we proceeded to do this work, do you know, as I leave this podium, that if you are an overstay in a hospital, you can automatically be criminally charged? In an amendment, I said: What is the intent? Do you know whether they were in a hospital, or they had a funeral, that they were, in essence, near death? There is no mercy.

Mr. Speaker, this legislation needs to go back to the drawing board. Americans and Houstonians are asking for us to do the right thing and to get security at the border and not have a bill that does nothing. That is what it does—absolutely nothing.

Mr. Speaker, I am here today to reassert my opposition to the proposed legislation, H.R. 2—Secure the Border Act of 2023, and to again assert the need for strong reconsideration for the harm and damage this bill will do to the American people and those seeking citizenship into our country. I do believe America must have a secure border!

I, along with my colleagues, have attempted to address some of the most glaring challenges this bill poses by offering commonsense amendments, yet Republicans have continued to refuse any meaningful consideration. Let's work together for a secure southern and northern border.

H.R. 2 is in no way a serious measure that is being offered to resolve our current and ongoing dire needs to resolve immigration challenges and demands here in America.

We need the American people to understand that this is merely an unfortunate patchwork of extreme anti-immigrant proposals that would only add to more chaos at the border.

It includes a variety of illogical measures that would shut down the U.S. asylum system and target families and children for the cruelest forms of treatment.

One measure would make overstaying a visa a crime—for the first time in our history.

During the Judiciary Committee markup and the Rules Committee hearing, my Democratic colleagues and I could not get any Republican to roll back their punitive and damaging intent to harm any and all individuals seeking refuge and citizenship here in the U.S.—no matter the vulnerability of their age or their circumstances.

One of my amendments in particular would have added a mens rea requirement such that in order to be criminally liable, a person must “knowingly and willingly” overstay their visa.

It is important to remember that an individual can make an honest mistake about when they need to depart the country, be physically incapable of departing the country, or unable to return because of circumstances beyond their control in their home country.

Yet this bill has no exceptions or flexibility when it comes to overstaying a nonimmigrant visa.

For example, a person who has a medical emergency in the United States and cannot leave within 10 days of their visa expiring would violate this new law and face up to six months in prison and a fine of up to \$1,000.

Or if a natural disaster prevents an individual from returning home for more than 10 days past the expiration of their status, they would be guilty of this crime and face 6 months in federal prison.

It is also important to remember that if a person overstays their visa, they are already subject to removal.

The addition of a criminal penalty is both cruel and unnecessary.

This bill is extraordinarily punitive, with far-reaching implications that may go beyond what my colleagues intended, unless they wanted to make following current immigration a crime punishable by up to 6 months in prison and a fine of up to \$1,000.

Our immigration system needs reforms, and we are absolutely interested in bold new ideas to fix it, but this is not one of them.

That is why I also offered another amendment that would have simply created a critical exemption for Temporary Protected Status holders who overstay their visas.

If this bill had been in place last year, a Ukrainian student would have broken the law and faced a fine and jail time if they had been approved for Temporary Protected Status after Russia invaded their home, and then stayed in the US in Temporary Protected Status for longer than the validity of their student visa.

Perhaps if the majority had held a hearing on this topic, as they are supposed to under the regular order they love so much, they would understand the substantial problems with this legislation; perhaps we could have explored more realistic changes to our legal visa system.

I also offered another commonsense amendment during the Judiciary Committee Markup to the provision of H.R. 2 restricting parole.

H.R. 2 seeks to drastically limit the use of parole power but contradicts itself about how parole can be granted.

The bill claims that it limits DHS from granting parole based on eligibility criteria describing an entire class of potential parole recipients.

Immediately following this prohibition, the bill outlines the eligibility criteria for two classes of people it deems worthy of receiving parole: the spouses and minor children of active duty servicemembers and certain Cuban family members of US permanent residents.

The provision allowing parole for Cubans is modeled after Cuban Family Reunification Parole, which was created in 2007 to allow Cuban nationals with pending immigrant visa petitions to join their sponsoring family members in the United States.

This program was suspended during the Trump administration in 2017, but processing resumed in September 2022.

I am thrilled that Republicans have deemed this program worthy of keeping in place.

Their previous anti-parole bills certainly didn't seem to think it was worth saving.

However, I'm confused. There is another parole program, the Haitian Family Reunification Parole, which was created in 2014 and modeled after the Cuban program.

This program carries nearly identical eligibility requirements, with more limitations.

The Trump administration announced that it would terminate this program in 2019, about a year and a half after calling Haiti a “s---hole country.”

Fortunately, the administration was unable to do terminate the program before leaving office and the Biden administration reversed this decision.

The ongoing situation in Haiti is dire.

Earlier this month, human rights groups released figures showing that kidnappings in the country had dramatically increased in the first three months of the year.

The risk of kidnapping for Haitians is just one small piece of a wider crisis with escalating gang violence, a food shortage, a constitutional and law enforcement crisis, and a Cholera outbreak.

I cannot think of any legitimate reason why we would keep the Cuban parole program, but not the Haitian program.

My amendment simply would have added a provision to the parole section of this bill exempting this population from restrictions.

It is time we stop the negativity and counterproductive efforts that are ripping apart our country, and to instead focus on coming together to work towards sensible and effective

solutions that can work for the betterment and growth of our country.

H.R. 2 is simply just another incredibly misguided Republican bill that further includes nonsensical and harmful changes to the current system for unaccompanied children (UACs) crossing the border.

Under this bill, all unaccompanied children would be subject to a summary removal process, which would give them even fewer protections than current law provides for unaccompanied minors from contiguous countries like Mexico.

H.R. 2 would eliminate the right of many children to seek protection in immigration court from human trafficking and other dangers, leaving them with only cursory screenings by law enforcement personnel lacking child welfare expertise.

The incredulous bill would also bar existing efforts to provide government-paid counsel to unaccompanied children and subjects all unaccompanied children to an expedited screening and removal process, giving them just 14 days to prepare their case without a government-provided attorney.

Additionally, the bill prohibits anyone who entered the United States between ports of entry (unless they were interdicted at sea) from being able to seek asylum—notwithstanding the Majority's rejection of multiple amendments that would have exempted unaccompanied children from this restriction.

Whereas, Democrats have proposed a range of solutions to address the humanitarian crisis at the border and improve protections for unaccompanied children.

These proposals include increasing funding for HHS and DHS to ensure that unaccompanied children are properly cared for, and their sponsors are thoroughly vetted, expanding access to legal counsel for these children, and addressing the root causes of migration from Central America through diplomatic and development initiatives.

Democrats also support comprehensive immigration reform that would create a pathway to citizenship for undocumented immigrants and improve border security measures while respecting the rights and dignity of all individuals.

In March 2021, President Eiden signed a memorandum creating a task force to reunite families separated at the U.S.–Mexico border during the Trump administration's “zero tolerance” policy.

The task force is composed of officials from several agencies, including the Department of Homeland Security, the Department of Justice, and the Department of Health and Human Services.

Democrats have proposed legislation, such as the Dream Act and the American Dream and Promise Act, that would provide a pathway to citizenship for young undocumented immigrants brought to the U.S. as children, also known as Dreamers.

In July 2021, the House passed a bill that would create a pathway to citizenship for undocumented farmworkers and their families, called the Farm Workforce Modernization Act.

This would protect workers from exploitation and abuse and would provide stability for the agricultural industry.

Democrats have advocated for a comprehensive immigration reform package that would address the root causes of migration, improve border security, and create legal pathways for people to enter the U.S. lawfully.

In September 2021, the Biden administration announced plans to increase the number of refugees admitted to the U.S. annually, following a historic low under the previous administration.

This move would provide opportunities for people who are fleeing violence and persecution to find safety and stability in the U.S.

Over the years, the Democrat party is making sure that these unaccompanied children stay safe and have a legal documentation in the United States, while the Republican party sadly has steadfastly opposed all the legislation that benefits these children.

I ask my colleagues to come together and move past the discord and to stand true to our ideals as Americans and protect our most vulnerable—to protect all children who come to us in need.

Mr. MCCLINTOCK. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. JORDAN), the chairman of the House Judiciary Committee.

Mr. JORDAN. Mr. Speaker, since Joe Biden took office: 5 million illegal border crossings have been encountered, another 2 million illegal aliens have been released into the country, and over 370,000 unaccompanied alien children have been encountered on the border. The Biden administration has lost track of 85,000 kids of that number. Nearly 200 on the terrorist watch list have been encountered on our border. At midnight tonight, it gets worse. It gets worse tonight.

Here is the kicker. It has all been done intentionally. Day one, January 20, 2021, Joe Biden said: No more wall. No more remain in Mexico. If you get to the border, you get released into the country.

Well, shazam, everyone is going to come. That is exactly what has happened. They are all coming. Tonight, it gets worse.

It was done in a premeditated fashion, deliberate fashion, purposely. It was all done intentionally. I cannot figure out why they would do this.

Who seized on this? The cartels. They are making tons of money exploiting people and kids. It is terrible.

This bill, the strongest immigration enforcement legislation in modern times, does all kinds of good things on E-Verify, visa overstay, parole authority, the Flores decision, unaccompanied alien children, and asylum reforms.

The best part of this bill, the key component of this bill, is where we say that if you come to our country, you will get, according to the law, to file your asylum claim. We are going to follow the law, but you will be detained or returned while your claim is adjudicated.

We changed the incentive. If you don't do that, you never solve this problem. That is what this legislation does.

Mr. Speaker, I thank the leadership of our Conference, the Speaker, the leader, the whip, and the Conference chair, their staff, Andrea Loving and her staff for doing an amazing job.

Mr. Speaker, I thank Mr. BIGGS, Mr. BENTZ, Mr. ROY, Mr. TIFFANY, Mr. CAL-

VERT, Mr. JOHNSON, Mr. CARTER, Mr. MORAN, Chairman GREEN, and Mr. DIAZ BALART, who sponsored the legislation.

The guy who deserves the most thanks is the chairman of the Subcommittee on Immigration Integrity, Security, and Enforcement. Without his work, his effort, and how he has stuck to this issue and got it done, this doesn't happen.

This is a good day for the country. Let's hope that the Senate will take up this bill after we pass it. This is the only thing that will help stop the craziness that, for 28 months now, has been going on, on our southern border.

Mr. NADLER. Mr. Speaker, when I hear the rhetoric on the other side, it is one of the very few times I say to myself: Thank God for the existence of the United States Senate.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentlewoman from Washington (Ms. JAYAPAL).

Ms. JAYAPAL. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong opposition to H.R. 2, the Secure the Border Act.

From day one, Republicans made clear that they would pursue an unworkable enforcement-only approach. I was encouraged when I saw some of my Republican colleagues courageously standing up to their caucus to fight to protect access to asylum.

Yet, here we are today, debating a cruel, extreme, and unworkable bill that guts asylum for everyone who does not live in a neighboring country or cannot afford to fly directly to the United States to seek protection.

It is a bill that bars anyone who seeks protection by entering the country between ports of entry from ever being able to obtain asylum, even if they are an unaccompanied child or fleeing from a totalitarian dictatorship.

It is a bill that decimates Customs and Border Protection's ability to process people for asylum at ports of entry.

It is a bill that mandates indefinite family detention and the detention of children.

One Republican colleague told us that "trying to ban legitimate asylum claims . . . is very anti-American." His words, not mine.

Another Republican said: "It will never pass the Senate if we are only talking border security."

Yet another Republican cautioned against only moving border security legislation, saying: "It is immoral. . . . And it is wrong that we as a society allow for millions and millions of people to live in the shadows."

Mr. Speaker, I was encouraged by those comments because it showed me that there were people on the other side who understood, at least at some level, that what happens at the border is simply a symptom of an improper immigration system that desperately needs to be modernized to meet the needs of our economy and our families.

I thought that perhaps we would be able to work together in a bipartisan

way on those pieces instead of trying the same 30-year-old failed strategy of cruel enforcement-only methods that can continue to destroy legal pathways and violate our values. We all know those simply don't work.

Unfortunately, it sounds like the Speaker has tempted those individuals who were talking with their values to now vote "yes" with a few meaningless concessions and promises. Their constituents will still know exactly what they are doing when they vote "yes" on this bill.

The bill before us today has only gotten more extreme than when those initial comments were made. It still ends asylum. It still strips protections for unaccompanied children. It still mandates the detention of families and children. It will still wreck our economy.

What Democrats are committed to, what our families and our country need, is to have an updated, orderly process for people to come to America, to stay, to work here, to be with their families and their loved ones, to have the ability to travel back and forth, to be seen in a country that too often uses immigrants without giving them full dignity and respect.

The immigration system is made up of many different legal pathways—whether you are a refugee fleeing war and economic devastation, an asylee who is fleeing persecution, or a worker who is seeking to come here and work in the many fields that demand immigrant labor and skills, from agriculture to healthcare; whether you are a child, a parent, or a sibling who seeks to be reunited with your immediate family; or whether you are somebody who wants to start a small business or lead a major company.

Unfortunately, the previous administration stripped so many of those pathways, decimated the funding to process those who seek to come in, and did nothing for those who have been here often for 15 years or more.

That is why Democrats have put forward real, bipartisan solutions to humanely fix and modernize the immigration system, including the recently introduced comprehensive bill by LINDA SÁNCHEZ to reform our immigration system in a humane way.

Immigration has been the unique genius of America's history, necessary to our economic vitality, necessary to the success of the country.

We know what we need to do to fix the system, Mr. Speaker. That is not a question in terms of policy. In fact, just 10 years ago, a bipartisan, comprehensive immigration bill passed the U.S. Senate with 68 bipartisan votes only to come to this floor, the floor of the House, where the Republican majority refused to bring it to a vote. Why? Why, Mr. Speaker, did it not come to a vote in the House with that huge of a bipartisan majority in the Senate? Because Republicans in the House knew that it would pass in a bipartisan way, and somehow my friends

on the other side think that it benefits them to have an immigration system that is broken so they can continue to vilify and demonize immigrants who are here and stop them from doing the work they need to do and from being respected. We need to call this hypocrisy out over and over again.

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

Mr. NADLER. Mr. Speaker, I yield an additional 1 minute to the gentlewoman from Washington.

Ms. JAYAPAL. Mr. Speaker, the American people support immigration. We are ready to work with serious Republicans to pass meaningful reforms, not an enforcement-only strategy that will continue to be a failed strategy no matter who is in the White House, but actually a strategy that allows people to come to this country that upholds our values and that is not un-American but is the very essence of what America stands for, for so many people around the United States, including me, somebody who came here at 16 years old by myself to this country.

Now, after so many years of fighting for this country, I am able to be here as a United States Congress Member. Those are the values that we need to remember.

Vote “no” on this extreme, unworkable, cruel bill. It is a patchwork of overlapping and contradictory bills that are just about enforcement only, not about real solutions.

Mr. Speaker, it is clear that my friends on the other side do not have real solutions to this issue and just want to keep this out there so we can continue to demonize immigrants. Democrats will not stand for it. Vote “no.”

Mr. McCLINTOCK. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. NEHLS).

Mr. NEHLS. Mr. Speaker, let’s be clear. We are here today because Joe Biden opened his mouth.

When Joe Biden took office, he had to do nothing. He had to do nothing to secure our southern border. All he had to do was keep President Trump’s policies in place. Instead, he halted the construction of the Trump border wall and left over 150 miles of planned border wall unbuilt.

□ 1215

As I stand here today, materials are lying at our border, they are lying on the ground, and they are rusting in the sun as hundreds of thousands of illegal aliens wait to flood into our country.

To date, Mr. Speaker, over 5 million illegal aliens have invaded our border, and an additional 1.5 million of them, the bad hombres, have evaded capture since Joe Biden took over.

This historic legislation restores Trump-era immigration policies that prioritize the safety of the American people, take away the incentives that the Biden administration created to encourage illegal aliens to enter our country, defend our brave Border Pa-

rol agents, and, of course, reform the asylum process.

H.R. 2 criminalizes those who overstay their visas, stops the abuse of parole authority to bypass immigration law, and helps employers to ensure that the workers they are hiring are legal and authorized to work in the United States.

It is past time we restored law and order at our southern border. We cannot continue to allow illegal aliens to infiltrate our country, kill American citizens, rob hardworking Americans of healthcare and other services, increase housing costs, crowd our Nation’s public schools, and create a country filled with chaos.

Mr. Speaker, if you think the homeless problem is bad now, just wait. The Biden administration has failed to prioritize the safety of our country, our families, our livelihoods, and our children’s future.

House Republicans are committed to securing the border and ending the national security crisis that the Joe Biden administration has created and ignored.

Mr. Speaker, I encourage my colleagues to vote “yes” on this legislation. Let’s take back control of our southern border and restore the rule of law.

Mr. NADLER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Texas (Mr. DOGGETT).

Mr. DOGGETT. Mr. Speaker, rain can be a blessing or a curse depending on whether we get too much or too little. Like water, America can sustain our prosperity and our strength by the flow of people who want to come here, if they can come here legally. What Republicans rave about as a crisis, if properly addressed, represents a great opportunity for our country.

By overcoming Republican opposition last year, we have achieved the lowest unemployment in America in 50 years. If every single American who is reported as unemployed today were to take a job, we would still have millions of unfilled jobs in this country.

Our economy is crying out “help wanted” to which Republicans respond, “keep out,” and “let’s build a wall to wall us off from the rest of the world.”

We have a serious worker shortage. Our economic growth today is being slowed because so many businesses cannot find the workers they need to fulfill the needs of their customers.

Yet, just across our border are a host of people who are looking for a job. We need construction workers. We need workers to care for the old, the ill, and the young, and restaurant and other service jobs. Some of them are very highly skilled, and some of them are hardly skilled.

If some immigrants could work in this country and come here legally and go home when they need to, then they wouldn’t be risking their lives in deserts, dying in dangerous rivers, and sitting on the streets of our border communities.

Certainly, we cannot take everyone who wants to come here. We need rules for orderly immigration and for fairness. They are the rules that Republicans have blocked in this Congress for years. So long as they see any immigrant hysteria as more valuable to them politically than finding a solution, then we are not going to get there. Today’s vote represents just their latest refusal to accept reality and another refusal to enact a comprehensive and reasonable system for legal entry for workers.

There is, of course, a humanitarian aspect. Our Dreamers, who were brought here as little children and many of whom are now adults, are facing years of uncertainty. A nurse, a Travis County prosecutor, a teacher, and many students whom I have met personally, still don’t know how long they can tell their employer they can work. There is so much they have to contribute. Multiple studies show they will only strengthen our economy.

There are other families in Texas border towns today who have risked everything to escape oppression and corrupt and authoritarian governments like Venezuela. Many of them have legitimate claims for political asylum, but the Republicans have abandoned the promise of our Statue of Liberty.

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

Mr. NADLER. Mr. Speaker, I yield an additional 30 seconds to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. DOGGETT. America’s strength has always been found in our diversity. Let’s overcome the fearmongering and the anti-immigrant hysteria and do the serious, hard work of passing genuine comprehensive immigration reform. Let’s turn immigration into a true win for the American people.

Mr. McCLINTOCK. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from California (Mr. KILEY).

Mr. KILEY. Secure the border. Mr. Speaker, this isn’t something we should have to insist upon. It shouldn’t be controversial. It shouldn’t be a source of partisan contention. It is a basic and foundational responsibility of government, and one that is currently being neglected like never before with devastating consequences all across the country.

Perhaps the worst of those consequences is the fentanyl crisis. We are seeing staggering amounts of fentanyl pour across the southern border, flooding our communities with illicit and lethal pills killing tens of thousands of Americans every year.

We know exactly where these drugs are coming from. The Biden administration’s own Drug Enforcement Agency admits that Mexican-based cartels are responsible for the vast majority of fentanyl and meth that is killing Americans. Just over the past year alone, the DEA seized 193 million deadly doses of fentanyl. This is now the leading cause of death for young people

in our country—more than car accidents and more than suicides—more than anything.

It is affecting every community in our country, including my own. During the State of the Union, I was honored to have as my guests two of the Nation's leading advocates for fentanyl awareness, and those are the parents of a young man named Zach Didier, who tragically lost his life. He was a senior at Whitney High School, a standout student with no history of drug use, and from one pill, he tragically lost his life. His parents had to go through the gut-wrenching experience of seeing him get letters in the mail accepting him to some of our Nation's leading universities after he had passed away.

There simply can be no doubt—it is beyond doubt—that the current failure to secure our border is resulting in tragic and avoidable loss of life every day.

Today, we have a chance to do something about it by passing H.R. 2. This is one of the most important bills that will be considered in the 118th Congress. It is one of the most important pieces of legislation that we will ever vote upon.

It is a comprehensive border security package, Mr. Speaker, and I urge an “aye” vote.

Mr. NADLER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from Oregon (Ms. BONAMICI).

Ms. BONAMICI. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong opposition to H.R. 2—this harmful, partisan, Republican legislation—for many reasons, but especially because it will endanger people seeking asylum.

This bill takes us backwards after years of acknowledging the need for comprehensive immigration reform. The expansion of family detention in this bill will hurt children and families. It is costly, and it does not work as the majority claims.

Mental health and medical experts agree that jailing immigrant families exposes children to high levels of trauma and distress. We should be expanding effective programs like Family Case Management, but this bill guts the program and will undermine its proven record of close to 90 percent compliance.

We live in a country of immigrants, and our Nation is stronger because of its diversity.

I urge all of my colleagues to oppose building walls and detention centers and support comprehensive, humane immigration reform that will strengthen our economy, enhance our security, and reflect our core values as Americans.

Mr. Speaker, I include in the RECORD an article from Social Science & Medicine about the high levels of mental health distress experienced by children who are held in immigration detention.

[From Social Science & Medicine, Apr. 29, 2019]

MENTAL HEALTH OF CHILDREN HELD AT A UNITED STATES IMMIGRATION DETENTION CENTER

(By Sarah A. MacLean, Priscilla O. Agyeman, Joshua Walther, Elizabeth K. Singer, Kim A. Baranowski, Craig L. Katz)

1. INTRODUCTION

Immigrant children who are newly arrived in the United States demonstrate more positive developmental outcomes, such as resiliency and positive academic attitudes, than their U.S.-born peers (Marks et al., 2014). However, several environmental factors could contribute to the development of psychological distress in these children and their families once in the U.S. In addition to exposure to acculturation stressors (Alegria and Woo, 2009; Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orovco, 2001), immigrants may also encounter deleterious medical and mental health outcomes associated with perceived discrimination (Pascoe and Smart Richman, 2009). Latinx immigrants also face health disparities driven by state-level immigration policies (Philbin et al., 2018). Furthermore, immigration policy and fears associated with deportation may increase the risk of emotional distress among immigrants who enter the U.S. without inspection or who remain without a valid visa (Cavazos-Rehg et al., 2007; Martinez et al., 2015). The forced displacement from family, communities, and employment associated with deportation from the U.S. is also related to negative mental health outcomes (Bojorquez et al., 2015; Morris and Palazuelos, 2015).

Beginning in 2014, there have been significant increases in the number of individuals and their families from Guatemala, El Salvador, and Honduras seeking asylum in the U.S. (Mossaad and Baugh, 2018). Many women and children fleeing these nations have reported experiencing human rights violations in their countries of origin associated with gang-related and intimate partner violence in the context of un-responsive law enforcement and government presence (UNHCR, 2014, 2015). Asylum seekers may experience a range of mental health outcomes associated with their experiences of persecution (PHR, 2012). They may continue to be emotionally affected by trauma experienced in their home countries, as well as the dangers and violence they often encounter during migration (Temores-Alcantara et al., 2015). In addition, the very process of seeking asylum may also contribute to their psychological distress, as survivors are required to participate in potentially retraumatizing asylum interviews or adversarial immigration hearings (Schock et al., 2015).

The U.S. has also increased its capacity to detain immigrant families seeking asylum through the creation of more detention centers specifically designated for women and children over the past five years (Eagly et al., 2018). Asylum seekers in expedited removal are held in U.S. immigration detention while they await a screening interview for credible fear, where an asylum officer evaluates whether the asylum seeker has a credible fear of persecution or torture upon returning to their country of origin (HRF, 2018). This step is the first to determine eligibility for asylum. Adults and children being held in immigration detention demonstrate high rates of deleterious mental health outcomes such as depression and anxiety (Keller et al., 2003; Mares and Jureidini 2004). Studies conducted outside the U.S. have shown that detained immigrant children present with a high prevalence of depression/anxiety (10 percent) and post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD, 20 percent) (Buchmuller et al., 2018; Sen et al., 2017). Re-

search findings also indicate that children held in immigration detention settings may experience social, emotional, and behavioral difficulties at higher rates than those seen in the community (Sarkar and Gupta, 2007; Zwi et al., 2018).

To our knowledge, there have been no large empirical studies that have evaluated the mental health of children in immigration detention in the U.S. Previous studies documenting the mental health of children in U.S. immigration detention, though compelling, have been largely qualitative and anecdotal (Brabeck et al., 2014), or have been from the perspective of lawyers in the field (Bailey et al., 2014). Furthermore, experts assert that the controversial policy of forcibly separating children from their parents at the U.S.-Mexico border is detrimental to children's health and wellbeing (MacKenzie et al., 2017), therefore prospective research on the effects of this policy is needed. Given the significant environmental factors that may contribute to the development of psychological difficulties in these children, we sought to understand the current state of mental health in this population.

2. METHOD

We conducted a cross-sectional evaluation study of children held at an immigration detention center over two months in mid-2018. This center detains women who are accompanied by at least one child under the age of 18 in U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) custody. We interviewed a convenience sample of 425 mothers who presented to the visitation center of the detention center. Mothers were eligible to participate if they spoke English or Spanish and if one of their children detained with them was between 4 and 17 years of age. The purpose of the study was stated explicitly to mothers, and they were informed that their participation and responses would not impact their legal proceedings. Mothers who volunteered to participate provided informed written consent and were interviewed in private rooms or other areas of the visitation center that ensured confidentiality. Nine mothers refused to participate. During the time period of this study, 17 percent of the children included in the sample had been previously separated from their mothers. At the time of interviews, a subset of these families had been recently reunited. All consenting mothers completed a demographic survey that included items related to country of origin, age of children, and date of arrival at the detention center. Mothers were then asked questions about their eldest child with them at the detention center.

Each mother completed the English or Spanish parent-report version of the Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire (SDQ), a 25-question screening instrument widely used internationally in children age 4–17 years (Goodman, 2001) and among refugee children (Zwi et al., 2017). The survey includes items that assess the child's behavior and possible responses are recorded as “not true” (0), “somewhat true” (1), and “certainly true” (2). Based on these responses, each participant received a score indicating total difficulties and a score for the subscales of emotional problems (e.g., feeling unhappy or having excessive fears), conduct problems (e.g., being disobedient), hyperactivity (e.g., being restless or easily distracted), and peer problems (e.g., preferring to play alone). Participants also received a prosocial score, which assesses behaviors such as sharing with other children and volunteering to help others. Consistent with the scoring of the SDQ, the resulting scores were assigned to the “normal,” “borderline,” or “abnormal” category for total difficulties and each subscale. Cutoff scores were originally designed such that roughly 80 percent

of children's scores fall within the "normal" range, 10 percent within the "borderline" range, and 10 percent within the "abnormal" range (Goodman, 1997).

A subset of 150 children age 9–17 years also assessed to participate in the study following the informed written consent for their participation by their mothers. These children were part of a convenience sample of children who were in the visitation center at the time of their mothers' interviews. The children completed the UCLA Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder Reaction Index (PTSD-RI) Symptom Scale, a 27-question screening tool used widely to assess symptoms of PTSD in children (Steinberg and Beyerlein, 2013), including refugee children (Ellis et al., 2006). Children were asked how frequently they experienced core symptoms of PTSD in the past month, with possible responses of "non" (0), "little" (1), "some" (2), "much" (3), and "most" (4). A symptom was considered "present" with a rating of 3 or 4. Participants met the criterion for Category B (reexperiencing) if ≥ 1 symptom was present and for Category C (avoidance) if ≥ 1 symptom alterations in cognition and mood) if ≥ 2 symptoms were present and for Category E (increased arousal) if ≥ 2 symptoms were present. A probable clinical diagnosis of PTSD was determined by meeting the criteria for all 4 categories (Steinberg & Beyerlein, 2013). Because a clinical assessment to establish a formal diagnosis of PTSD was not included in this study, the term "probable PTSD" will be used when referring to prevalence.

We describe sociodemographic characteristics with frequencies and percentages. We examined the prevalence of outcomes for the SDQ and PTSD-RI subscales. Cronbach's alpha for the SDQ and PTSD-RI were 0.768 and 0.908, respectively. Covariates included age, gender, country of origin, and previous separation from the child's mother. We considered results to be significant if $p < 0.05$. All analyses were performed using IBM SPSS (version 22.4).

The research protocol, survey, and consent forms were reviewed and approved by the Institutional Review Board at the Icahn School of Medicine at Mount Sinai. All participants provided written, informed consent.

3. RESULTS

Most mothers were from Honduras (50 percent), El Salvador (23 percent), or Guatemala (22 percent), which is consistent with the overall population of residents at this detention center. The average age of the mothers and children were 33 ($SD = 7$) and 10 ($SD = 4$) years, respectively. At the time of interviews, families had been detained at the center for between one and 44 days, with an average detention of nine ($SD = 6$) days.

Based on their mothers' responses to the SDQ, the children in this study demonstrated high rates of emotional problems (32 percent), peer problems, (14 percent), and total difficulties (10 percent) that fell within "abnormal" range. Rates of conduct problems and hyperactivity were each 8 percent. Children did not differ significantly based on gender or country of origin. Children aged 4–8 years showed higher rates of conduct problems (15 percent), hyperactivity (14 percent) and total difficulties (21 percent) that fell within the "abnormal" range compared to older children (all $ps < 0.001$). Compared to children who never had been separated from their mothers, children who had been separated showed higher rates of emotional problems (49 percent vs. 29 percent, $p = 0.003$) and total difficulties (15 percent vs. 9 percent, $p = 0.015$) that fell within the "abnormal" range. Notably, the majority of participants' scores (98 percent) fell within the "normal" range on the prosocial scale.

Among the subset of 150 children who completed the PTSD-RI, the mean age was 13.4 ($SD = 2$) and 37 (25 percent) had been previously separated. Many met the criteria for avoidance (57 percent), reexperiencing (52 percent), negative alterations in cognition and mood (42 percent), and increased arousal (22 percent). Based on the presence of symptoms of these 4 subscales, 17 percent of the children had a probable diagnosis of PTSD. An additional 19 percent and 18 percent met two and three of the criteria, respectively. Results of the PTSD-RI did not differ significantly based on age, gender, previous separation from mother, or country of origin. Based on overall responses to both the SDQ and PTSD-RI, we found that 44 percent of children presented with symptoms that fell within the "abnormal" range on at least one of the SDQ subscales or a probable PTSD diagnosis.

4. DISCUSSION

The children of mothers who were interviewed at this detention center showed higher rates of emotional and behavior difficulties, as well as PTSD, compared to children in the general U.S. population; notably, the mean emotional symptoms subscale and total difficulties scores for the participants were higher than those seen in U.S. primary care populations (Biel et al., 2015; Simpson et al., 2005; Youthmind, 2004). While approximately 5 percent of children in the U.S. have emotional or behavioral difficulties, the rate of abnormal total difficulties in the study population was 10 percent (Simpson et al., 2005). Furthermore, the lifetime prevalence of PTSD among adolescents in the U.S. is estimated at 4.7 percent, far below the 17 percent seen in this sample (McLaughlin et al., 2013). Average total difficulty scores for the participants (8.90 [SD 5.88]) were higher than those seen in Spanish-speaking Latinx Americans who are not in detention (6.80 [SD 5.001]) (Strand et al., 2015). The high rates of abnormal emotional (32 percent) and peer problems (14 percent) seen in this sample are consistent with high rates of abnormal scores for these subscales in refugee children in Australia (23 percent) and 21 percent, respectively (Yalin Sapmaz et al., 2017; Zwi et al., 2017). The high rate of probable PTSD (17 percent) in this study group is also consistent with a high rate (20 percent) among children held in immigration detention in the United Kingdom (Sen et al., 2017). Of note, 98 percent of children had normal scores on the prosocial scale, which includes items such as being considerate of others' feelings and volunteering to help others.

Due to the cross-sectional nature of this study, we cannot draw causal connections between arrival in the U.S., time in immigration detention, and the development of behavioral or emotional difficulties. Regardless of cause, the distress seen in these children highlights the need for immediate mental health treatment, as early intervention in children who demonstrate signs of psychological difficulties is shown to improve long-term emotional health (Terr, 2013).

Of particular concern, these results demonstrate heightened distress among detained children aged 4 to 8. Young children are particularly vulnerable to the effects of their environment, and trauma experienced early in life has a significant effect on emotional and behavioral development (Oral et al., 2016). These children, especially, would benefit from early, developmentally-appropriate, and specialized interventions to address these significant stressors. Given the range of exposure to violence reported by children fleeing Honduras, Guatemala, and El Salvador (UNHCR, 2014), as well as the high rates of violence experienced by migrants from these countries during their

journey to the U.S. (MSF, 2017), it is essential that these young people receive treatment specific to ameliorating the impact of posttraumatic stress.

Children who had been separated from their mothers demonstrated a significantly greater number of emotional symptoms and total difficulties when compared to detained children who had not been separated from their mothers, suggesting that separation is associated with an increase in psychological distress. When the U.S. government began separating more migrant children from their parents in May 2018, the American Academy of Pediatrics, American College of Physicians, and American Psychological Association each released statements condemning the policy (Kraft, 2018; Lopez, 2018; Stewart, 2018). These professional organizations, as well as individual clinical practitioners, warn of the deleterious mental health outcomes associated with forcibly removing children from the security of their families in both the short and long-term (Mackenzie et al., 2017). Our results, although correlational in nature, appear to confirm these findings, at least in the short-term, and reinforce expert opinion that separating immigrant children from their parents causes emotional harm.

Current published guidelines from ICE, last updated in 2007, indicate that each person held in immigration detention should receive an intake screening and referral to a mental health provider, either in the detention center or at an outside location if deemed necessary (ICE, 2007). Given that some of the children in this study expressed severe emotional distress and anecdotally expressed difficulty obtaining further mental healthcare within the facility, current screening methods and/or current treatment services are likely inadequate in quality and scope. Therefore, further clarification from ICE is required regarding the nature of available treatment, as well as the extent to which clinicians who receive referrals have training in child psychology or psychiatry, demonstrate cultural-competence, and integrate a trauma-informed lens in their interventions. Moreover, given the continued stressors associated with detention, these children would benefit from specialized mental health treatment outside of immigration detention settings. Indeed, many experts recommend that children be placed in the community while their immigration cases proceed and we believe our findings add further credence to this position (Linton et al., 2017).

Limitations. Given the design of this study and the restrictions of conducting research in an immigration detention center, our results must be interpreted in the context of several limitations. The participants represent a convenience sample of the population of families, and only those mothers who presented to the visitation center could be recruited for participation. In addition, due to the nature of the setting, some mothers completed the SDQ in their child's presence, which may have influenced the mothers' responses. Additionally, only a subset of older children was asked to complete the PTSD-RI, as many were attending classes at the facility's school at the time of their mothers' interviews.

5. CONCLUSIONS

Despite the limitations, this is one of the first studies of the mental health of a particularly vulnerable population of children being held in immigration detention in the U.S. Our results demonstrate that detained children, and especially those previously separated from their mothers, experience significant psychological distress. Prior studies have demonstrated that detention is deleterious to the mental health of immigrants

(Keller et al., 2003; Sen et al., 2017). We theorize that the trauma in this population is observed as a continuum, involving the premigration experiences of the subjects in their countries of origin, their migration experiences, and their subsequent detention in the U.S. Against this background of trauma, detention and denial of adequate mental health treatment are detrimental to the development of these children.

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

Ms. HAGEMAN. Mr. Speaker, we have a crisis at our southern border. It is a crisis that started in earnest on the day this President was sworn into office. On day one of his Presidency, he began issuing executive orders to end the successful policies implemented by the Trump administration. In total, President Biden issued 94 executive orders related to the border within his first 100 days in office.

The results have been disastrous. Over 10 times the population of my home State of Wyoming has illegally crossed the border since Joe Biden has been President. At the same time, over 14,000 pounds of fentanyl have come across the Southwest border—enough to kill over 3.1 billion people.

Through the first 6 months of 2023, 80 people who appeared on the terrorist watch list have been caught trying to cross into the United States—more than the last 5 years combined.

How many slipped through?

We don't know.

These numbers show that without a doubt, Joe Biden has enabled the largest drug smuggling and human trafficking operation in U.S. history, and he has made our country less safe in the process.

Stopping illegal immigration is the number one issue for my constituents in Wyoming. We must fix the situation, and H.R. 2 does just that.

It is time to finish the wall, end catch and release, protect women and children from human traffickers, stop the illegal drugs flowing into the country, fix our broken asylum process, and force this administration to finally address the disaster that they have created.

Mr. NADLER. Mr. Speaker, may I ask how much time I have remaining.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from New York has 25¼ minutes remaining.

Mr. NADLER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Texas (Mr. CASAR).

Mr. CASAR. Mr. Speaker, I am the son of immigrants and proud to represent the heart of Texas here in the United States Congress. For generations, my family has moved back and forth between Texas and Mexico, Mexico and Texas. People immigrate. Sometimes they are in search of safety, and sometimes it is for economic opportunity, but always for family and a better life.

What folks aren't immigrating for is to bring fentanyl into the country as folks on the other side of the aisle have

been talking about time after time after time. In committee it was laid out very clearly that over 90 percent of folks arrested for fentanyl trafficking are U.S. citizens and lawful residents.

That is why this Republican anti-immigrant bill, H.R. 2, is cruel, extreme, and not based on fact. It would destroy the asylum system, cage children and families indefinitely, and make the situation at our border worse.

In fact, this bill would eliminate funding for much of the remaining legal immigration system that we have, leading to chaos, but chaos, unfortunately, is what top Republican officials want. They want the immigration system to stay broken so that they can blame Democrats for it. This is a case of arsonists blaming the firefighters for the flames.

For example, Congressman CASTRO and I worked with the Biden administration to expedite funding to Texas this month to ensure that migrants can sleep in a safe shelter while they process their immigration case instead of being in a tent on the border. In stark contrast, this Republican bill in front of us today would ban this source for shelters and services.

Immigrants sleeping on the streets of Texas may be a better shot for FOX News cameras, but it is a much worse deal for everyday people.

In Texas we are still mourning those killed by a mass shooter in Allen. We are seeking justice for the kids and the teachers killed in Uvalde. We haven't fixed our electric grid, and people are struggling to pay their rent and their mortgage. We need help from this Congress, but instead we get hate for immigrants. We should be creating an economy that works for everyone—immigrant and native-born.

We should be expanding our freedoms, not ripping away peoples' rights. Let's welcome asylum seekers fleeing violence and catastrophe with a safe and orderly system. Let's create pathways for legal immigration rather than the broken system today that forces people to go around the rules. Let's work toward a safer and more just and more prosperous Western Hemisphere so that we reduce those factors that are pushing mass migration.

Let's look at the role of U.S. sanctions that starve people abroad instead of feeding them. Let's recognize that immigrants are a key part of our past and our present in this country.

Many of our joint faith traditions call for us to care for our neighbors near and far. I remember when my priest told me the story of how the Holy family was persecuted by King Herod and how Jesus, Mary, and Joseph had to flee across the border into Egypt. They had to cross a big river. The priest said that he forgets whether the river was called the Nile or the Rio Grande, but that is beside the point. Today, our story is no different.

□ 1230

Mr. MCCLINTOCK. Mr. Speaker, may I inquire how much time I have remaining?

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. DUARTE). The gentleman from California has 36 minutes remaining.

Mr. MCCLINTOCK. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. TIFFANY), the author of one of the measures in this package.

Mr. TIFFANY. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this legislation, which is long overdue.

For the last 2 years, this administration has systematically and deliberately erased our border. They have unleashed a tidal wave of illegal aliens and deadly drugs into our communities.

They have enriched the cartels and human traffickers.

They have disrespected the millions of legal immigrants who followed our laws and came here the right way.

They have pushed our local hospitals and schools to the breaking point and forced you, the American people, to pick up the tab.

Mr. Speaker, that ends today. This bill would restart border wall construction, add more Border Patrol agents, crack down on people gaming our asylum laws, and end the failed policy of catch and release.

I am also pleased that this legislation includes a measure I authored to end the administration's flagrant abuse of parole.

As everyone in this Chamber knows, parole authority is limited. It allows for the admission of foreigners without a visa under very narrow circumstances for urgent humanitarian reasons on an individual case-by-case basis.

It was intended to accommodate, for example, a young child seeking immediate lifesaving medical treatment that is only available here in the United States, but that is not how President Biden has used it. Instead, he has converted this narrow avenue into an open borders superhighway, indiscriminately admitting more than 1 million illegal immigrants over just the last 2 years.

This is not just wrong, it is reckless. It is time to restore the rule of law, and it is time to restrain the dangerous impulses of this administration.

Mr. Speaker, Americans are tired of the chaos. They deserve an immigration system that puts the safety and well-being of Americans first, and that is exactly what this bill does. I ask for a "yes" vote on the bill.

I will close by thanking the gentleman from California (Mr. MCCLINTOCK), who did such a stellar job of shepherding this bill through the Judiciary Committee and now onto the House floor.

Mr. NADLER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the distinguished gentlewoman from California (Ms. CHU).

Ms. CHU. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong opposition to H.R. 2, the child deportation act.

This bill is not a serious attempt to fix our broken immigration system and to address the humanitarian crisis at

our southern border. Rather, H.R. 2 is an anti-immigrant MAGA wish list.

It would put kids in cages and allow them to be held in Border Patrol facilities for up to 30 days, 10 times longer than current law.

It would place unaccompanied children at risk of human trafficking, sexual exploitation, and violence.

It would bar nongovernmental organizations, like the American Red Cross and Catholic Charities, from working with our government to shelter immigrants, creating dangerous and inhumane conditions for our border communities.

It would decimate our asylum system by creating new and arbitrary restrictions for asylum seekers, all while gutting programs such as humanitarian parole that have been proven to reduce the number of arrivals at our border.

It would exacerbate the crisis by tearing down our humanitarian assistance programs while reassigning border agents away from stopping the transport of illegal drugs like fentanyl.

H.R. 2 will cause irreparable harm to children and families, undermine our international leadership, and hurt our economy.

Yesterday, House Democrats presented a serious framework for how to fix and modernize our immigration system. The U.S. Citizenship Act, or USCA, recognizes that a robust, humane, and efficient immigration system makes America stronger.

It would actually alleviate the humanitarian crisis at the southern border by helping the President address the root causes of migration and providing resources to humanely and efficiently process children and families who seek asylum here.

It would also reunite families, fix our visa backlog, protect immigrant workers from unscrupulous employers, and ensure no future President can ban entire groups based on religion.

I urge my colleagues to vote “no” on this bill.

Mr. McCLINTOCK. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Louisiana (Mr. JOHNSON), the author of one of the other measures in this package.

Mr. JOHNSON of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, there has been so much misinformation here on the floor today, I think we have got to set the facts straight here.

It is clear that providing refuge for individuals fleeing persecution has been a central tenet of U.S. immigration law for decades. The asylum process itself is a testament to America’s history as a beacon of hope, freedom, and opportunity for millions around the world.

However, here is the deal: Unfortunately, drug cartels, activist judges, human smuggling operations, the open borders lobby, and radical liberal administrations have worked in tandem to undermine that system, to undermine the integrity of the U.S. immigration system itself, and in the proc-

ess they have weakened protections for those who are truly seeking a safe haven from persecution by forcing them into a yearslong line in immigration court.

Look, we all agree that the current asylum system is in desperate need of repair, and the Secure the Border Act provides the necessary tools to fix it.

We are hearing all kinds of fearmongering today from the other side. It is not a surprise. There will be hand-wringing and name-calling. We hear these accusations that Republicans are anti-immigrant and inhumane. We hear grandiose pronouncements that the Democrats are pro-immigrant and pro-humanitarian values, but all of this is to try their best to distract the American people from what they are seeing with their own eyes. The chaos at the border is intentional. It is designed by this administration, Mayorkas, and Biden himself.

To my colleagues on the other side of the aisle, I ask you, what is humane about a human smuggler abandoning a 1-year-old child in a diaper at the U.S.-Mexico border?

What pro-immigrant policy is pursued with aliens suffocating to death in tractor-trailers and freight train cars?

What are the humanitarian principles behind policies that encourage child trafficking, sexual exploitation, and violence directed toward some of society’s most vulnerable people?

If you are going to be pro-immigrant and support humanitarian values, you have to fix these problems, and that is what we are trying to do here today.

Being pro-immigrant and supporting humanitarian values does not mean maintaining the disastrous status quo because all that is going to do is give us more death, more exploitation, more real tangible harm to aliens and citizens alike.

Mr. Speaker, we live in the greatest country in the history of the world; it is not even close. We are the most benevolent people in the history of the world. We have a rich history of an asylum program, protecting people who need it, but we have to fix this. These frivolous asylum claims are creating backlogs in the courts.

I drafted the Asylum Reform and Border Protection Act. It is a big chunk of this immigration package today. We are trying to fix this so that we can do our duty as the humanitarian people that we are.

Our bill necessarily codifies key terms; it makes uniform interpretations regardless of geography; and it reserves asylum for the people who truly need it. Our bill will prevent this flood of frivolous asylum applications that are running rampant and close the loopholes.

Mr. Speaker, I encourage my colleagues to support the Secure the Border Act. Our country’s stability, sovereignty, and security depend upon this. The stakes could not be any higher.

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

Mr. NADLER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentlewoman from New York (Ms. VELÁZQUEZ).

Ms. VELÁZQUEZ. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in opposition of this cruel, extreme, and unworkable policy.

The United States has long been a beacon for those coming from other countries in search of a better life. The bill before us today will end the asylum system as we know it and eliminate humanitarian protections for people coming to the United States.

Many asylum seekers are escaping conditions that we cannot fathom, yet here we are debating a measure that will subject them to more cruelty. Cruelty is the point, but cruelty will not fix our broken immigration system.

This bill will make it nearly impossible to seek asylum at the border, upend protections for unaccompanied minors, and mandate that all asylum-seeking families be detained indefinitely, regardless if they are with children.

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

Mr. NADLER. Mr. Speaker, I yield an additional 1 minute to the gentlewoman from New York.

Ms. VELÁZQUEZ. Mr. Speaker, these policies will only exacerbate the extreme suffering occurring at the southern border.

If Republicans really wanted to address this crisis, they would join Democrats to pass real, comprehensive immigration reform.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to oppose this cruel, draconian bill.

Mr. McCLINTOCK. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. GOODEN).

Mr. GOODEN of Texas. Mr. Speaker, none of us in this Chamber thought that we would have a President, even as a Democrat, that would let the country get this way. Strengthening our national security and prioritizing the well-being of the American people should be a bipartisan issue. This is the strongest border security bill to come to the House floor in decades, but my colleagues on the other side of the aisle refuse to support this commonsense legislation, instead using terms like cruel, horrible, and heartless Republicans. The American people won’t fall for that. They don’t fall for that.

The Biden administration has created a humanitarian and security crisis unlike anything we have ever seen. They have outright refused to enforce the law, prioritizing the livelihoods of illegal aliens over American citizens. Drug cartels are running rampant. NGOs are handing out debit cards and bus tickets to migrants paid for with our taxpayer dollars. Human traffickers are targeting migrant children; it is heartless to do nothing about that and let the status quo continue.

However, it gets worse tonight at midnight. When title 42 lifts tonight at midnight, we will see yet another migrant surge to add to the historic numbers this administration has already amassed.

The Secure the Border Act strengthens protections for migrant children during a time when the Biden administration is losing over 85,000 unaccompanied minor children due to foolish and reckless practices. This bill protects migrant children, American citizens, and American workers.

H.R. 2 has my full support, and I urge my colleagues on the other side of the aisle to join the American people in our fight to secure our Nation.

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

Mr. MCCLINTOCK. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. ROY), one of the moving forces behind this bill.

Mr. ROY. Mr. Speaker, we are here today because of the abject failure of the administration to do its fundamental duty to protect the United States.

We have a wide open border, empowering cartels, empowering China to the detriment of American citizens and to the migrants who seek to come here, supposedly in the name of compassion. However, that is in the false name of compassion.

Dead migrants, lying along the Rio Grande and in ranches in south Texas. The extent to which migrants suffer in the Texas heat—53 dying in a tractor-trailer last summer in San Antonio; thousands being sold into the sex trafficking trade, being used as crass political pawns by a party devoid of anything substantive to take this country forward.

Republicans are standing up strongly to make sure that this country will stand for the rule of law that sets our country apart around the globe and attracts so many to want to come here.

Border Patrol right now apprehended over 10,000 migrants on Monday and 11,000 on Tuesday, the highest single-day totals ever recorded. There were 26,000 got-aways and 660,000 migrants waiting in Mexico. The President of Guatemala has confirmed 80,000 Venezuelan migrants are traveling to the U.S. ahead of title 42's expiration; 15,000 Venezuelan migrants crossed into Brownsville; Border Patrol Chief Raul Ortiz said he estimates 60,000 to 65,000 migrants are in northern Mexico.

I got a text from local law enforcement yesterday saying: We are almost at broken arrow. Every sector is near 150 percent capacity. DHS is calling for border agents from other northern and coastal sectors to help the southern border. The first 550 in a group of 1,500 servicemembers from the Army and Marines were set to arrive. A shootout between the Mexican Army and human smugglers erupted at the Pharr-Reynosa International Bridge. Schools in El Paso are adding more security. El Paso ran out of shelter. El Paso declared an emergency. Brownsville declared an emergency. Laredo declared an emergency. San Antonio is preparing; their migrant shelters are expressing concerns about being overwhelmed. Even our Nation's Capital is

being overwhelmed. Now, the New York City mayor—a sanctuary city—criticizing bussing, is bussing migrants outside of New York City out to the suburbs because my Democratic colleagues and the Democratic administration and Democratic leaders in so-called sanctuary cities don't give a whit about migrants. It is about political power, and they are costing lives. They are endangering Americans. They are causing children to die from fentanyl poisoning, and they know it. That is what is so pathetic and sad.

Republicans offer legislation today that would force this administration to do the job it refuses to do, by ending the magnet, by stopping the releases, by forcing us to do the job we are supposed to do to protect unaccompanied children from being atop train cars, being subjected to the abuses of cartels, holding families together while we adjudicate claims of asylum, and, yes, providing for a path for asylum while making sure we don't create a magnet for the abuse of migrants in the false name of compassion.

Republicans are leading. We are doing the job that the President refuses to do. The American people know it; they see it; and my Democratic colleagues are going to suffer the consequences for this abject failure.

□ 1245

Mr. NADLER. Mr. Speaker, I now yield 3 minutes to the distinguished gentlewoman from Florida (Ms. WASSERMAN SCHULTZ).

Ms. WASSERMAN SCHULTZ. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding, and I rise in strong opposition to the child deportation act.

This effort will rip apart families, dismantle due process, and expose children to abuse and trafficking.

This bill goes further than simply demolishing legal pathways that the President has put in place. It strips back critical safeguards that protect the safety and well-being of unaccompanied minors.

Instead of getting their day in court, this bill would imprison kids for up to 30 days. Instead of reunifying children with family who are here legally, this bill would deliver them to traffickers and other bad actors. Instead of providing care and counsel to children, this bill would weaken child welfare standards and reduce vetting of sponsors, leaving children vulnerable to exploitation and abuse.

This legislation makes a mockery of our Nation's values to appeal to our Nation's worst impulses.

Mr. Speaker, this effort to block access to asylum will fuel criminal traffickers that extort desperate migrants.

To make it all very simple, this bill will plunge our border into chaos, and that is exactly what my Republican colleagues want.

They demonize immigrants, lock up kids, and defund border security just so they can blame Democrats for the crisis that they manufactured.

Let me give you an example of the Homestead migrant children detention center that existed in Homestead, Florida, back in 2019, in the previous administration.

This was a facility that warehoused unaccompanied minors. The conditions were so challenging and the kids crammed so tightly together under conditions where they were forced to literally have very little space between one another and be imprisoned, essentially, in this detention center that, eventually, it was forced to shut down.

When President Biden took action to allow Venezuelan, Cuban, and Haitian migrants to apply for humanitarian parole, reducing border encounters from these countries by over 90 percent, Republican attorneys general filed a lawsuit to stop him.

My Republican colleagues trumpet the need for oversight, but when I introduced legislation to prohibit child detention centers from refusing access to Members to conduct that oversight, deafening silence.

They scold Democrats on enforcement yet promise to slash border funding to prepandemic levels, leaving border officers without vital resources to combat fentanyl and human trafficking.

The only thing this bill will actually secure is the choke-hold grip that MAGA extremists have on the Republican Party.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to reject this legislation. It would brutally harm children for the sake of cheap political points.

Our border should be governed by laws upholding our humanity, not by demagogues promoting bigotry.

Mr. MCCLINTOCK. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1½ minutes to the gentlewoman from Arizona (Mrs. LESKO).

Mrs. LESKO. Mr. Speaker, I am from a border State, and I have been to the border multiple times. There is absolutely an invasion at our southern border.

Even worse, title 42 ends today. Without title 42, the number of illegal immigrants at our southern border is expected to skyrocket.

The Biden administration has no plan. In fact, I heard multiple times from my Democratic colleagues today how we should work together on a comprehensive plan. May I remind my Democratic colleagues that they were in total control of the House, the Senate, and the Presidency for the last 2 years, and they did absolutely nothing.

The Secure the Border Act is the solution. This bill disincentivizes illegal immigration, ends catch and release, builds the wall, and reinstates President Trump's successful remain in Mexico policy.

Republicans want secure borders. Republicans want to protect our communities from deadly fentanyl. Republicans want to protect the innocent migrant children from being sold into sex slavery, like is happening today.

It is time to pass this legislation and secure the border now because President Biden won't.

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

Mr. MCCLINTOCK. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. CARTER), the author of one of the other measures in this package.

Mr. CARTER of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H.R. 2, the Secure the Border Act.

House Republicans are fulfilling the promises to restore safety and security at our borders, furthering the goals outlined in the House Republican Commitment to America.

Included in this border package is my bill, the Protection of Children Act. We know that human traffickers, cartels, and coyotes exploit children in order to line their pockets and then abandon them at the border. These children are then subject to a very slow-moving bureaucratic system, all the while being separated from their families.

My Protection of Children Act gives these children a choice and closes loopholes to end the exploitation of children.

By returning these children to their own country quickly and safely, we prevent these children from experiencing the further trauma of detention and being released to potential strangers and a long, drawn-out adjudication process.

I thank Representative BIGGS and Representative NEHLS for cosponsoring my Protection of Children Act. I thank the House Homeland Security, Judiciary, and Foreign Affairs Committees for what they have done on this legislation.

I would like to point out something. When I was the chairman of the Appropriations Committee's Homeland Security Subcommittee, I was in Laredo in 2014 at the bus station. There were 700 people waiting to go somewhere. They told me two people spoke Spanish or English. None of the children spoke Spanish or English. They were going to be released into this country once they left Laredo with no one to help them.

We should make this thing right and do the right thing. I asked about the kids, and they said to send them back where they came from. That is how this bill got started.

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

Mr. MCCLINTOCK. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Arizona (Mr. BIGGS), one of the leaders in our Conference in confronting this crisis.

Mr. BIGGS. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for his effort on this legislation. So many have worked hard on this.

I have been listening to my colleagues across the aisle and all the gaslighting. I am reminded of the secondary output produced by many of the dairy cows in rural Arizona.

While my colleagues across the aisle are ignoring this problem, right now, record numbers of people are coming across this border.

Do you know what? In Matamoros, right there at the Rio Grande, you have

the immigration authorities of Mexico coordinating with CBP on controlled crossings of the river.

Why is that? Because title 42 has gone away today. It is going to go away tonight. The cartels control our border. We have had testimony. The Chief of CBP has said that.

When I heard some of the stuff I heard here, I said that I wonder if any of them even know where the border is. Come on down to the border. I will show you what it is like.

Do you know what CBP officials told local officials in Arizona about title 42? I am quoting here: "You are screwed."

You won't do anything to solve the border problem. This bill solves much of the border problem. I get a kick out of someone here who just made a reference to how bad things were and how we didn't do anything.

Yuma sector, 2020, apprehensions for the entire fiscal year were 8,800. Do you know what it is today, this fiscal year? Over 350,000. Do you know what it was last year? Over 300,000.

Why is that? Because what the CBP doesn't say, hey, let's do the Democrat plan. They say, can you at least let us enforce the law? This administration says no.

Thus, we have a crisis on the border. It is more than a crisis. It is cataclysmic.

In the Darien Gap in Panama, the numbers crossing, it is a 500 percent increase. The number is between 700,000 to a million people just waiting, coming on up, waiting for title 42 to go away.

Do you know what "expedited removal" means? It means expedited release into the country. It means community release.

Why is that? Because of the weak asylum enforcement laws that we have today. When you come up, if we are taking you back to the border, we are going to get you across the border, and you say, "I want asylum." It doesn't matter what your history is or anything. We are going to get you out of here and release you, community release.

Community release means, right now, you are getting released. That is what is happening. Shame on you.

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

Mr. MCCLINTOCK. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from California (Mr. ISSA), my colleague.

Mr. ISSA. Mr. Speaker, when I received my current district in redistricting, I was pleased that it was a border district, all along the Mexican border from the Tijuana area all the way through the rest of the county.

It isn't a border area today. There is no border. If there is no border with Mexico, then there is no border with America.

Every day, people pass through. Some are found. Some are not found. Some are stopped for a period of time, but few are turned away. They are not turned away because we simply have a policy of letting everyone in.

I also represent a major agricultural district with ranching and farming, and guess what? With all those millions of people who this administration has deliberately allowed to come in without having been invited, without prescreening, without an application, we still have a shortage because of the policies of simply catch and release with parole.

I will tell you what else my district is dealing with. We are dealing with enough fentanyl seized last year—117,000 pounds. If divided equally, it would kill every person in America in one dose.

Just last week, the California Highway Patrol seized \$21 million worth of fentanyl well into the United States on its way to L.A. That would be enough fentanyl to kill every San Diegan. That is what we are dealing with because we have no border.

My Democrat friends, Mr. Speaker, will tell you about how it is not good, that it is not good enough, that we need to have comprehensive reform.

Like you, Mr. Speaker, I have pushed for comprehensive reform, but comprehensive reform is not simply to normalize what is going on. Comprehensive reform has to be a balance of enforcement and fair immigration rules.

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

Mr. MCCLINTOCK. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. VAN DREW).

□ 1300

Mr. VAN DREW. I think we all know that we are a nation of immigrants, but we are also a nation of the rule of law. As President Reagan once said years ago, "A nation that cannot control its borders is not a nation." We are very rapidly moving there.

At this very moment, we don't have control of our southern border. Tens of thousands of migrants are marching, waiting, and illegally crossing our borders every day with tens of thousands more well on their way.

We are witnessing one of the worst humanitarian crises in the history of our Nation. Migrants are dying from starvation, from disease, from lack of water. Women and children are being trafficked and they are being abused.

Our administration knew this was coming, yet they have no plan.

How irresponsible is that?

With title 42 set to expire tonight and no concrete plan in place to handle this situation, we are facing a crisis of epic proportions. This crisis will result in communities suffering, migrants suffering, and our Nation suffering, but it isn't too late. It still isn't too late.

We can secure our borders and we can protect our citizens. It will take leadership and a willingness to reject talking points and a willingness to do what is best for our Nation and for our people, and right now it is the House Republicans who are standing up and they are the ones making the effort.

This bill restarts the border wall. It hires more CBP agents. It ends incentives to abuse unaccompanied minors.

It ends catch and release. It reinstates the remain in Mexico policy.

We need action from our leaders, real leaders. We need action from our elected officials and actions from those who have the power to make a difference.

Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from California for bringing this forward.

Mr. McCLINTOCK. Mr. Speaker, may I inquire as to the time remaining.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. VALADAO). The gentleman from California has 15 minutes remaining.

Mr. McCLINTOCK. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. FITZGERALD).

Mr. FITZGERALD. Mr. Speaker, I thank Chairman JORDAN, Chairman GREEN, and Chairman MCCAUL for their leadership and contributions to the bill that we see before us today.

Mr. Speaker, I will comment briefly on my experience and what I saw at the border at the invitation of members of the Judiciary Committee. I was able to kind of see, I think, two very diverse parts of the border.

First and foremost, in McAllen, Texas, where we spent a couple of days and had an opportunity not only to talk to border agents themselves, but also sat through a full presentation by Homeland Security, one of the things that struck me, and I think is very pertinent to what we are discussing today, is every time I asked a border agent or every time I spoke with someone from Homeland Security, I would say: What can we do as Members of Congress?

There are a lot of times you go on these trips and there are tours, and you feel like when you are done, it is overwhelming, and you really want to know how we can have an impact.

What made an impression on me was every person I spoke to said title 42. I don't think you could find somebody, probably at the times when I was at the border, who could really describe what title 42 meant or what the impact would be.

Guess what? Those agents knew. They knew what it meant. They knew it would be an unbelievable unleashing of many different factions of people that were immigrating for any number of reasons across the border, and they knew it was going to overwhelm them.

As we stand here today and debate this bill, when you are watching it on TV right now, quite honestly, it is overwhelming. You can see the masses of people that are gathering.

Mr. Speaker, I will, once again, thank Chairman JORDAN, Chairman GREEN, and Chairman MCCAUL for putting all this together.

Mr. McCLINTOCK. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. FRY).

Mr. FRY. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support today of H.R. 2, the Secure the Border Act of 2023. For years, we have heard from this administration, we have heard from our colleagues across the aisle that we are imagining a border crisis. There is

nothing to see. Everything is fine on our southern border.

We are not imagining an increase in human trafficking. We are not imagining the dramatic escalation of fentanyl and fentanyl poisoning in our country. We are not imagining 5 million people who have entered this country illegally, the 1.2 million got-aways, or the nearly 100 people that were on the terrorist watch list since this President took office. We are not imagining a border crisis.

Cartels are making \$13 billion a year off of smuggling people into this country. We are destabilizing an entire country because we are failing to act. This doesn't include what they are making off the drugs they smuggle either. This, quite simply, Mr. Speaker, is unconscionable.

While we are bankrolling the cartels, we are bankrupting our country. I visited the southern border, and I wish that more of my colleagues across the aisle would have done the same. Because when you go down there and you listen to farmers, ranchers, family members, hospital systems, people all over from every walk of life, they say the same thing when we asked them at our hearing: Is the border secure?

The resounding answer from the entire crowd of several hundred was no.

Do you feel safe in your community? No again.

We see this time and time again from this administration where they have failed to act and put our Nation in jeopardy. This crisis is a drain on law enforcement. It is a drain on hospitals. It is a drain on taxpayers and resources across the board.

South Carolina is 2,000 miles away from the border, but we, like every single State, are a border State. We see the fentanyl in our communities. We see what is happening on the southern border. We see what is going on in our neighborhoods across this country. Our entire Nation is dealing with the effects of Joe Biden's border crisis.

It is the Federal Government's primary responsibility to protect our Nation and secure our borders, but that is not happening.

We must resume construction of the wall. We must hire more Border Patrol agents. We must end catch and release.

Mr. Speaker, we must pass this bill.

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

Mr. McCLINTOCK. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Oregon (Mr. BENTZ).

Mr. BENTZ. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H.R. 2.

This country must have an immigration system that works.

If our Nation is going to compete with China, we have to have an immigration system that works.

If our Nation is going to continue to feed the world, we need a system that works.

If our Nation is going to continue to build its infrastructure, roads, buildings, and structures that our economy

needs, we need an immigration system that works.

If our Nation is going to take care of its elderly, sick and retired, we need a system that works.

If our Nation is going to compete at the highest level of AI and computer chip manufacturing, we need an immigration system that works.

If our Nation is to have an economy that is not starving for workers, we need an immigration system that works.

Mr. Speaker, to have an immigration system that works, we have to have a border that works, and our border is broken.

Hundreds of thousands of people coming across the border every day do not support an immigration system that works and does not reflect an immigration system that works.

Mr. Speaker, we need to fix the border first and then we can fix our immigration system.

This is the first step, the first absolutely essential and necessary step to provide a foundation for a comprehensive revision of our immigration system.

Mr. Speaker, I urge support for H.R. 2, and I will be voting for it.

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

Mr. McCLINTOCK. Mr. Speaker, I am prepared to close, and I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. NADLER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2½ minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Arizona (Mr. STANTON).

Mr. STANTON. Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to H.R. 2. I am deeply frustrated by the administration's failure to adequately prepare for the end of title 42, and my constituents in Arizona are, as well. They know that the administration could have and should have done more to prepare for this day. That is the simple truth.

The bill before us today does nothing to make the border States like mine safer. It does not ensure an orderly and humane legal asylum process, and even makes it more difficult for refugees from countries like Cuba and Ukraine to seek asylum here.

It does not stop the flow of deadly drugs like fentanyl into our communities. In fact, it diverts law enforcement resources from going after drug traffickers and smugglers.

This bill demands much more from the Customs and Border Protection officers but does not provide the necessary funding for CBP to manage the surge of traffic, leaving our ports and our Nation more vulnerable and less secure.

My colleagues on the other side of the aisle even want to eliminate Federal funding that faith-based and local aid groups depend on to shelter, feed, and clothe migrants. Without those shelters, there would be even more street releases by Border Patrol into communities like Phoenix and Tucson. That is inhumane.

My amendment to strike that part of this bill, they wouldn't even give it a

vote. Make no mistake, if signed into law, H.R. 2 would hurt our economy, especially in my home State of Arizona.

Every employer that I have met with in the district, from farmers, to contractors, to high-tech manufacturing companies, tells me that they can't find enough skilled workers. This bill does nothing to strengthen workforce pipelines. It actually makes hiring more difficult.

All of these things, Mr. Speaker, show that this proposal is not a serious one. Instead of sabotaging an already broken immigration system, I invite my colleagues across the aisle to help us modernize it.

Commonsense reforms would help us rebuild our Nation's infrastructure, invest in domestic manufacturing, create jobs, improve trade with Mexico, and combat inflation.

Now, my colleagues across the aisle say our first priority should be securing our southern border. I agree.

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

Mr. NADLER. Mr. Speaker, I yield an additional 30 seconds to the gentleman from Arizona.

Mr. STANTON. Mr. Speaker, the situation at our border is dire. There is no getting around it, and Congress and the administration must do more.

One of the things we can do to secure our border is to modernize the immigration system. These are not incompatible goals. Any serious proposal must do both.

I am ready to work in good faith to find a path forward, and I will be at the table when my colleagues across the aisle are ready to do the same.

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

Mr. NADLER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from Illinois (Mr. GARCÍA).

Mr. GARCÍA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in opposition to H.R. 2, the child deportation act.

I rise today because seeking asylum is a human right because we are a nation of immigrants.

I migrated to the U.S. when I was 9, but the same pathways to citizenship that enabled me to become a citizen and become a Member of Congress no longer exist.

Our immigration system has become more restrictive. Our border is more militarized. This Republican bill is the cruelest we have seen in a long time. It destroys asylum. It doubles down on detention. It puts kids in jail. It is a bill intended to rally the base by vilifying immigrants. It is straight out of the Tucker Carlson playbook.

Migrants make the journey through rivers and jungles, in trucks and on trains. They make the journey out of desperation and out of fear.

We need an immigration system rooted in compassion and opportunity, not like this bill.

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

Mr. NADLER. Mr. Speaker, may I inquire how much time I have remaining?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman has 11¼ minutes remaining.

Mr. NADLER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from Florida (Mr. FROST).

Mr. FROST. Mr. Speaker, I rise today because Republicans in this Chamber want to scream and shout about our broken immigration system while putting forth the most unserious, cruel bill that is effectively dead on arrival in the Senate and fixes absolutely nothing.

This bill is a rerun of Donald Trump's biggest failures at inhumane border policies. This is the child deportation act because that is exactly what this does.

It doesn't address any single issue at the border. It doesn't create pathways to citizenship for those legally attempting to receive asylum, which is a right in this country. It focuses on expediting child deportation and detaining unaccompanied minors, and even spending millions of your taxpayer dollars on a pointless border wall.

Floridians back in my home State know that this is nothing less than hateful, unserious legislation, because we are watching Governor Ron DeSantis do the same thing: spending millions to detain and fly migrants for a political show while criminalizing vulnerable people and families.

The American people sent us here to work, and instead, GOP leadership offers them pointless bill after pointless bill that only proves how hateful right-wing policy has become.

□ 1315

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

Mr. NADLER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Florida (Mr. SOTO).

Mr. SOTO. Mr. Speaker, at 11:59 tonight, we will see the end of title 42, and President Biden has been stepping up to meet the moment.

We secured additional border security patrol officers in our omnibus. We have a new parole program to help out with countries like Venezuela, Cuba, Nicaragua, and Haiti, where we are seeing a lot of folks come to the border. We also see 1,500 troops going down there.

In this moment, this body should be working together in a bipartisan fashion. We should be coming together with a supplemental to help with the funding that we need down there at the border, not a messaging bill, not a political points potshot bill at a time when the clock is ticking. This body could do so much more if we worked together.

I have been down to the border, Mr. Speaker. We know what works: sensors and technology to help make sure we have border awareness across the southern border; having more Customs and Border Protection agents to be able to work on apprehensions; and

getting civilians to do processing of asylum. We should be funding a bill that does those things.

Mr. Speaker, we don't have the southern border in Florida. We have ports, and we have had a lot of challenges with those ports. This bill doesn't do anything for our ports. It does nothing for the ports of entry, our front lines in the Sunshine State.

We see Governor DeSantis, on the other hand, has a law coming in Florida that is going to attack hospitals. It is going to attack nonprofits. It is going to hurt agriculture. It is going to hurt construction at a time when we need to lower food prices and build more affordable housing. We are already seeing crops not being picked in the field as fear comes over the Sunshine State. Construction sites are abandoned.

This isn't going to help immigration at all. What it will do is jack up inflation and food prices at a time when we need to work together.

Mr. McCLINTOCK. Mr. Speaker, I am ready to close, and I reserve the balance of my time.

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

Mr. Speaker, organizations, associations, and industry leaders from across the political spectrum oppose passage of H.R. 2, the child deportation act. They include among them the American Immigration Lawyers Association, Service Employees International Union, AFL-CIO, U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops, Kids in Need of Defense, Unidos, and National Education Association.

This bill is a microcosm of what we have seen in the first 4½ months of this new Republican majority, a chaotic majority that has no real interest in legislating or making positive change. Instead, they pass cruel and unworkable messaging bills that have no chance of becoming law and are dead in the U.S. Senate, and then they pat themselves on the back.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to oppose this draconian and unworkable bill, and I yield back the balance of my time.

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

Mr. Speaker, we know how to secure our borders and protect our country. We had done so under the Trump administration. The remain in Mexico policy slowed illegal immigration and phony asylum claims to a trickle. The border wall was nearing completion. ICE was actually enforcing court-ordered deportations.

All of that changed when the Democrats seized control of our government and reversed all of these policies, and the result we can now see all around us. It is affecting our schools, hospitals, law enforcement, working families' wages, and social services that are now strained to the breaking point and soon beyond the breaking point.

This bill simply restores those policies that worked and makes it more

difficult for a future President to refuse to faithfully execute the laws.

I ask the American people to watch the catastrophe that is unfolding right now on our collapsing southern border. What we are seeing is something historic. It is a mass, illegal migration on a scale the world has never seen and that no civilization has ever survived.

At this hour, history is screaming this warning at us that countries that cannot or will not protect their borders simply aren't around very long.

Without enforcing our immigration laws, we have no immigration laws. Without immigration laws, we have no borders. Without borders, we have no country.

Let that not be the epitaph of the American Republic, what Lincoln called "the last best hope" of mankind on this Earth.

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

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Texas (Mr. McCAUL) and the gentleman from New York (Mr. MEEKS) each will control 30 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Texas (Mr. McCAUL).

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

Mr. Speaker, in my 20 years in Congress, including when I was chairman of the Homeland Security Committee, and as a former Federal prosecutor tasked with securing our border in Texas, I have never seen our border this chaotic, this broken. What we are witnessing today is unprecedented.

Right now, as I speak, there is a tidal wave of migrants marching across our southern border. Just yesterday, CBP apprehended over 10,000 migrants—10,000 in a single day. This is the largest human trafficking crisis I have ever witnessed in my lifetime, and it is time for Congress to act and restore control to this uncontrolled border.

While the administration and DHS Secretary Mayorkas have assured us "the border is closed" and that they have operational control of the border, just last month, Border Patrol Chief Ortiz testified that DHS does not have operational control of the border because the drug cartels have operational control of the border.

I know that. I have been down there. I have seen this movie before, but this is the worst movie I have seen.

It didn't have to happen. It was a self-inflicted wound. That is because, on day one, the Biden administration rescinded the Migrant Protection Protocols, otherwise known as remain in Mexico.

In my many meetings with Border Patrol agents down on the border, they tell me very bluntly that the rescission of these policies by President Biden on his very first day in office has had a direct cause and effect on the chaos at the border.

This policy was working under the last administration. Illegal immigration was dramatically declining. However, since President Biden took office

in January 2021, we are witnessing a massive increase in illegal immigrant encounters and apprehensions at our southern border—5 million of them. The numbers don't lie.

Since President Biden took office, I repeat, there have been over 5 million migrant encounters, with at least 1.4 million known get-aways.

What is going to happen to these people? They have no legal status. They live in the shadows. The young girls are sex trafficked, and the young boys and men, their home will be MS-13.

Worse, more than 100,000 Americans have died from fentanyl flowing across the border, going from China to Mexico and across my State of Texas. That is nearly double the number of deaths in the entire Vietnam war over two decades.

Mr. Speaker, 853 migrants and counting have died trying to make the dangerous journey across the border just last year alone. This is the most recorded in history.

Thirty-five percent of women and children are raped and sexually abused throughout their journey at the hands of the brutal cartels.

What happens when they get here? We know that Mayorkas lifted the restriction so that sponsors of these children do not have to be vetted. What are we seeing?

We are seeing 10, 20, 30 children being sent to the same house, to their sponsors who have not been vetted.

This turns into a major trafficking problem right here inside the United States. When the cartels say, "You still need to pay us more money. You need to run more drugs. You need to prostitute yourself," we are creating a criminal network right now inside the United States of America.

It is only going to get worse, particularly when title 42 is lifted today, the very day we are going to pass this bill.

From my point of view, as a former chairman of the Homeland Security Committee, 98 suspected terrorists attempted to enter the homeland last year. When I chaired the Homeland Security Committee, I always asked the question: How many special interest aliens, how many on the terror watch list, have tried to get in? How many have gotten in? That is just who we know about.

Think about the threat, the national security threat to the homeland, particularly after the collapse of Afghanistan and the rise of terrorism overseas.

I would argue that President Biden and Secretary Mayorkas are complicit in this crisis. The Federal Government's job is to secure borders—air, land, and sea. Unfortunately, this administration has failed to do so. They have abdicated their solemn duty to protect the homeland, to protect the American people, to protect these children.

One rescission, one stroke of the pen rescinding the remain in Mexico policy, created this chaos at the border. Don't take my word for it. Take the

Chief of Border Patrol's word for it. Take the countless Border Patrol officers and agents I have talked to down on the border.

That is why I introduced this legislation, to compel the administration to solve this crisis once and for all. Congress is doing what the Biden administration has failed to do for the last 2½ years to fix our broken borders.

Our first priority must be to stem the massive flow of illegal aliens by reinstating and codifying the Migrant Protection Protocols known as remain in Mexico because it worked.

In my State, we have a saying: If it is not broken, don't fix it. It wasn't broken. It was working. They rescinded it, and now we have this crisis.

This legislation will also direct the State Department to renegotiate asylum cooperation agreements. These agreements prohibit migrants who travel throughout any countries with asylum agreements from eligibility for asylum in the United States.

Asylum is the magnet. It is the pull factor that is being abused by the cartels to make money off these children, women, and migrants.

□ 1330

This policy was very effective, and it worked under the prior administration. Reinstating it is a proven solution to reduce the chaos, the crisis.

By directing the Secretary of State to reauthorize and codify MPP and the ACAs, this bill bolsters the work being done on asylum reform and border security in both the House Judiciary Committee and the House Homeland Security Committee.

Finally, I would say this should not be a partisan issue. When I chaired the Homeland Security Committee, Ranking Member THOMPSON and I worked on many border security bills that were bipartisan. Many passed unanimously out of our committee. Yet, here we are on this partisan fight.

I think the American people deserve better than partisanship. They deserve solutions.

In my State, we witness this every day. Ranchers see dead bodies on their property and the drugs flowing in.

Secretary Mayorkas asked for a bill. Here it is. It is time that we reinstate the policies that have a proven track record of success.

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

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

Mr. Speaker, I rise today in strong opposition to H.R. 2. Title III of this bill happens to fall under the House Foreign Affairs Committee's jurisdiction.

There is undoubtedly a need to fix our broken immigration system. I think that we can all agree. It is undoubtedly correct that Congress needs to get involved in that. What Congress is not doing is talking about coming together for comprehensive immigration reform. If we want to get at the

heart of how to improve, in a humane way, and protect our borders, we would be locked together to talk about comprehensive immigration reform that will keep us true to who we are and our values.

Sometimes when I am listening to this debate and some of the policies that are here, I am saying: Who are we? Who are we as a people, as a nation? Do we practice what we preach, or do we say to others: Do what we say, not what we do?

American values are important here. Title III seeks to codify and reinstate the Trump administration's failed Migrant Protection Protocols, known as MPP, and remain in Mexico policy. This is a disturbing and ineffective policy that returned asylum seekers at the border of Mexico and only allowed them to enter the United States for their court proceedings. Listening to my colleague: Return them to Mexico. That is it.

Because there are thousands of backlogged cases and too few judges to effectively handle them, those that we return to Mexico, these asylum seekers, are forced to live in Mexican border towns for long periods of time. As a result of that, the exact same thing that my colleague talked about, these border towns in Mexico are the ones that are dangerous. They are the reason why people are raped. That is where the violence and the crime is. They do not have, these towns in Mexico, the capacity to safely house the thousands of people fleeing their countries of origin.

We know that migrants face violence of all kinds, including murder, rape, trafficking, and kidnapping as they await their court appearance, the very things that we do agree is happening to these individuals, but we put blinders on. Just send them back. That will solve the problem of them living in tent encampments without adequate access to the basics. Just send them back to Mexico. Let them stay there with no clean water, no sanitation, no shelter, and no health services. Send them back. We don't care.

The MPP puts tens of thousands of migrants in greater danger, including families with children who we are supposed to care about. It also puts America at odds with our regional partners in ways that were and still are a detriment to our national security and our global standing.

Like Mr. McCAUL, I have been here for 25 years. I have many families in my district who come to me all of the time with humanitarian concerns, asking for us to pass comprehensive immigration reform.

While nations like Colombia and Peru took in millions of Venezuelans crossing their border in desperate need of safety, America, the United States of America, the most resourced Nation on Earth, a Nation of immigrants, turn our backs on asylum seekers and our very own values in the name of deterrence. Turn our backs. We don't care. Send them back.

As CARICOM continues to work in a regional and multilateral way to find solutions to help Haiti, our neighbor in crisis, this body debates unilateral action that fails to see the collective challenge facing this hemisphere.

This bill is more than just shortsighted; it is cruel and harmful to our interests. We should be embarrassed, absolutely embarrassed, that Colombia's migration agency had suspended a program meant to return Colombian nationals found at the U.S. border with Mexico due to "cruel and degrading treatment." Come on now.

We are facing a regional and global migration crisis. We have strong and divergent opinions about improving an imperfect immigration process and how to address the recent surge in migration since the pandemic. But Title III of this bill seeks to codify and reinstate failed processes from the last administration that do not solve the real-life challenges regarding the movement of people, those people fleeing from instability and violence and lack of economic opportunity and education in their home countries.

Why? Because, apparently, we don't care. We don't care. Send them back. Who cares what happens to them? Send them back. We don't have comprehensive immigration reform to make sure that we are working and fixing the system because that is what we should be working on.

This isn't the first surge of migrants on our border, and it won't be the last, particularly as climate change will further limit resources and displace people across the region. To solve complex multicountry challenges, we must invest in multilateral solutions. When we invest in multilateral solutions, as we do in other parts of the world, that is how we win—not America alone, America by ourselves. That is not leadership. No one follows you if you are just by yourself, not working with others and not working with our allies.

The Los Angeles Declaration on Migration and Protection from the Summit of the Americas in 2022 included proposals for collaborative problem solving on this issue with leaders across the region to address the root causes of forced displacement and irregular migration.

Working with our allies, as we are doing in other parts of the world, as we are doing with our NATO allies, as we are doing with our EU allies, as we are doing with our Indo-Pacific allies, we should be doing the same thing with our Western Hemisphere allies.

Why? Because our strength is not rooted in the sticks that we use to coerce outcomes. It is in the depth of our relationships and collaboration across the region to address the root causes of forced displacement and a regular migration, including by combating corruption and impunity, upholding our obligations to protect refugees, and partnering to promote opportunity and prosperity for people and communities, especially those most vulnerable across the region.

When I get on my knees at night and pray, when I am in church and pray, I pray for the poor and for those who cannot care for themselves. When I read books that I believe in, they talk about taking care of the poor, taking care of those who can't take care of themselves.

When I eat my dinner, my lunch, or my breakfast and I pray, I say: Bless those who are hungry and have no food. Bless those who may have food and no appetite. Bless those who have less than me.

We are the richest country in the world. Let's work toward resolving the root causes.

This bill doesn't address the migration crisis. It only creates further chaos by shutting the door on mechanisms that reunite families. That is what I believe. That is what I pray. That is what I think mankind is all about or should be all about, keeping people safe from perilous journeys to our borders. These attempts to sow seeds of fear and distrust about migrants are as counterproductive as they are reprehensible.

Furthermore, Mr. Speaker, the broader bill undermines Congress' bipartisan work to grant humanitarian parole to hundreds of thousands of Afghans. We have been working together on that, and we should be working together to help those who are trying to cross the border from our Western Hemisphere allies. But this also prevents and goes against thousands of Afghans, Ukrainians, and others, by restricting DHS parole authority.

If we are truly interested in a constructive agenda that is aimed at providing viable and durable solutions to migration challenges, I stand ready. Democrats stand ready to collaborate on addressing the root causes of migration through congressional action, through working on comprehensive immigration reform to try to make sure that we lead by example and we live true to our values, that we become the shining example for others in other countries who are looking at us to see how we react to it.

We should do that by showing in a bipartisan way we are ready for comprehensive immigration reform. We will do it in a bipartisan way. We will do it so that we can also maintain our values and who we are—at least who we say we are—as a nation.

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

□ 1345

Mr. McCAUL. Mr. Speaker, I will state for the record that we put in this bill a provision specifically for those paroled in the United States from Afghanistan so that this would not affect their legal status and that they can stay here in the United States.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. BOST), the chairman of the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

Mr. BOST. Mr. Speaker, just last month, I went to the Del Rio sector of

the U.S.-Mexican border to visit with our dedicated Border Patrol agents. Over 15,000 frontline Border Patrol agents are veterans serving their country and communities again, working to keep America safe.

However, our Commander in Chief has failed to give them the resources and structure they need to effectively do their jobs.

They are pulling drowning children out of the river. They are finding bodies left behind that were being smuggled across and thrown into the bushes.

Mr. Speaker, these agents are fighting a new battle back at home, as well. The mental strain on them as a result of President Biden's open border policies cannot be ignored, so much so that the VA actually had to deploy a mobile veteran center to the border to offer mental health services to our veterans and even our non-veteran border agents who are there.

Mr. Speaker, I heard it firsthand from the brave men and women that need this bill. Securing our borders shouldn't be a Republican or a Democratic issue. The people who suffer the most when we make doing so hyperpolitical are the veteran law enforcement officers who are simply trying to do their jobs. That is a disservice to them.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to support this commonsense bill. It is vitally important. I have looked them in the eye, and I would advise anyone on the other side of the aisle or on my side of the aisle that has not went down and looked them in the eye, you will know what they are suffering through because we are not doing our job and the administration is not doing theirs.

Mr. Speaker, that is why I encourage the support of this bill.

Mr. MEEKS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentlewoman from California (Ms. KAMLAGER-DOVE), an esteemed member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Ms. KAMLAGER-DOVE. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to strongly oppose H.R. 2, House Republicans' child deportation act.

Yes, our immigration system is broken, but instead of productive, bipartisan legislation that would work to fix it, Republicans want to double down on immoral, cruel, and inhumane Trump-era policies that hurt children and families and stoke fear and greater division.

With title 42 set to expire today, we should take this opportunity as a chance to address the humanitarian crisis at our border by focusing on solutions that alleviate pressures at our border and fundamentally change the dysfunction and chaos that is happening.

Instead, this bill would make our immigration crisis that much worse. H.R. 2 would require expedited deportations and expanded detention for unaccompanied children; impose new restrictions on asylum while threatening to end the asylum system as we know it;

detain even more migrant families in facilities with poor and unacceptable conditions; resume President Trump's failed policy of building a border wall; and so much more.

Mr. Speaker, I hope the American people heard some of the statements made by my Republican colleagues when this bill was heard in committee.

Republicans dog whistle, fearmonger, lie, and resort to conspiracy theories about our border to hide the fact that they have no real solutions to this growing crisis. Harmful policies meant to exacerbate confusion, waste more money, and hurt people fleeing dangerous situations are not the answer. Many are fleeing war zones; areas of conflict; countries that employ torture, violence, rape, and ethnic cleansing as tactics of control.

What are we proposing to do with H.R. 2? Be a cruel neighbor and throw them back into harm's way while telling Mexico to shoulder much of this burden.

America is supposed to be a nation of immigrants. We are supposed to have compassion for those seeking asylum. Republican policies like H.R. 2 run counter to those very fundamental values.

Unlike some of my GOP colleagues, I do not for a second believe that immigrants from Mexico are a threat to us. If anything, the threats we face are homegrown. They take the form of xenophobic, transphobic, and hateful individuals who twist the meaning of the Constitution to fit their own political agendas.

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

Mr. MEEKS. Mr. Speaker, I yield an additional 30 seconds to the gentlewoman from California.

Ms. KAMLAGER-DOVE. Mr. Speaker, as for the drug myth, over 80 percent of drugs smuggled into our country are done by Americans, not immigrants.

Let's get serious and talk about meaningful steps toward immigration reform that include what it means to be a global partner in this space, not this wildly inappropriate and ineffective bill.

Mr. MCCAUL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from Missouri (Mrs. WAGNER), the vice chair of the Committee on Foreign Affairs and the chair of the Committee on Financial Services' Subcommittee on Capital Markets.

Mrs. WAGNER. Mr. Speaker, I thank Chairman MCCAUL for yielding, and I thank him for his leadership.

Mr. Speaker, in just 2 years, over 5 million illegal migrants have crossed our southern border, in addition to over 1 million known got-aways. That is equal to the entire population of my home State of Missouri.

Among other malfeasance, it is undeniable that the Biden administration has created an appalling humanitarian crisis in the United States. I want to talk about what often goes unspoken

and unseen: the trafficking and exploitation of children.

In February, The New York Times exposed that the Biden administration had lost 85,000 unaccompanied children released into the U.S. by the Department of Health and Human Services. These children were forced to work in dangerous conditions to pay off debts to their smugglers and cartels and, even more horrifically, their HHS-designated sponsors.

Despite child welfare agencies sounding the alarms on trafficking and labor exploitation, the Biden administration continued to facilitate this abuse. In fact, HHS Secretary Becerra reportedly threatened to fire his subordinates if they refused to accelerate these cruel and dangerous releases, showing no regard for the children's safety.

H.R. 2, the Secure the Border Act, addresses this catastrophe head-on, and it ensures that this can never happen again.

Mr. Speaker, I urge all of my colleagues to support this legislation.

Mr. MEEKS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. DAVIS).

Mr. DAVIS of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I rise to express concern with H.R. 2, legislation that would place at risk United States agriculture.

H.R. 2, with the E-Verify provision in particular, does not address the workforce crisis and could cause a \$60 billion drop in production, resulting in a 5 to 6 percent increase in prices at the grocery store when many families across America are still struggling to make it from week to week.

We must develop real solutions to the labor crisis facing our farmers, ranchers, and growers. During a tour at Warren Farms, and speaking with farmers across eastern North Carolina, this is what they are telling me: Enough is enough. People are fed up with divided D.C. politics.

Our government must get out of the way of hardworking people. We should take H.R. 2, as drafted, off the table so our farmers can continue putting food on the table for households across this great country.

Congress' inaction to address the labor crisis will result in farmers losing their livelihoods.

I am here. I am right here to work with anyone who wants to make life better for eastern North Carolina, rural America, and the American people. We can secure the border. However, we cannot secure the border while creating so much insecurity for our farm families.

Mr. Speaker, I am standing with American farmers.

Mr. MCCAUL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Tennessee (Mr. BURCHETT), a member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Mr. BURCHETT. Mr. Speaker, Americans are sick and tired of seeing the Biden administration spend millions of their taxpayer dollars to fund and enable an invasion of our southern border.

This administration is using non-governmental organizations, NGOs, to push illegal immigrants all over the country. A report by The Heritage Foundation found that these illegal aliens were shipped to 431 out of 435 congressional districts. This report also shows the overwhelming number of resettled illegal immigrants were sent to, oddly enough, Republican districts. This is a massive resettlement program, Mr. Speaker.

Under President Biden, the number of illegal immigrants entering the U.S. exceeds the population of some U.S. States.

We have had over 5 million illegal crossings plus over 1.3 million got-aways.

Title 42 ends tonight, as we all know, and the flood will get worse. We have seen the pictures, Mr. Speaker. We have no idea who these people are, where they are going, or what they will do. The situation will take a huge toll on our Nation and touch every community in every State.

We have caught people in the past that have been on the terrorist watch list. We have Communist Chinese coming over our border. We don't know what they are up to, as well.

Mr. Speaker, we owe it to the American people to finish the wall, end catch-and-release policies, and close the asylum loopholes that are big enough for a caravan to walk through. President Biden and Secretary Mayorkas have dug a big hole for the American people. If we want to save this country, we need extreme border security measures to stop this open invasion now.

Mr. MEEKS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. CASTRO), the ranking member on the Western Hemisphere Subcommittee.

Mr. CASTRO of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to H.R. 2, which should be known as the child deportation act.

Last year, my family marked 100 years since my grandmother, Victoria Castro, came to the United States as a young orphan in the wake of the Mexican Revolution. On her paperwork, the San Antonio relatives who took her in wrote that she was coming "to live," to live in the United States.

From the discussions on the floor today, it seems that many of my colleagues have forgotten about the lives of the asylum seekers who will be affected by their legislation.

Under this bill, for example, if a Uyghur Muslim family escapes from one of China's concentration camps in Xinjiang and seeks asylum in the United States by way of Mexico, they will be turned away.

If a group of Cuban dissidents sail to Florida and land outside of a port of entry, they will be turned away.

Ukrainian families fleeing from Putin's state-sponsored kidnapping, Catholics fleeing religious persecution in Nicaragua, and Christians in Iran

would all be required to remain in Mexico, Guatemala, Honduras, or El Salvador at the mercy of cartels and violent gangs.

□ 1400

Under the Trump-era remain-in-Mexico policy, human rights observers recorded thousands of violent attacks against migrants, including kidnapping, rape, and other brutal crimes.

That policy, as cruel as it was, included exemptions for unaccompanied minors and people who don't speak Spanish. This bill includes neither of those exemptions.

H.R. 2 would also end humanitarian parole for tens of thousands of Afghan evacuees who fought side by side with our troops for over 20 years of war. These heroes and their families barely escaped from the Taliban last summer, and less than 1 year later, Republicans are trying to send our Afghan allies back to die.

Many of my colleagues on both sides of the aisle have expressed concerns about how the current immigration system will be able to handle a rising tide of immigrants post title 42. I agree that we need to build a more resilient, more effective, and more efficient system, but this bill is not the way to do that.

Time and again, we have seen that cruel, restrictive policies like those in this bill do not stop desperate people from fleeing persecution, oppression, and violence.

This bill would send the world's most vulnerable people to places where many Americans won't even drink the water. It would force asylum seekers to take dangerous, irregular paths to the United States, which is the exact kind of journey that led to the deaths of 53 people in the back of a sweltering tractor-trailer in my hometown of San Antonio last summer.

There are meaningful bipartisan solutions to address the causes of forced migration to the United States. I have been proud to work across the aisle to introduce several bills that would do that, but this is not the answer.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. ALFORD). The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. MEEKS. Mr. Speaker, I yield an additional 1 minute to the gentleman.

Mr. CASTRO of Texas. Unfortunately, Mr. Speaker, H.R. 2 does not include any serious attempt to address the root causes of immigration, and it will not make any real progress to fix our Nation's broken immigration system.

Mr. Speaker, for that reason and many others, I urge my colleagues to vote "no."

Mr. MCCAUL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from California (Mr. MCCARTHY).

Mr. MCCARTHY. Mr. Speaker in a few moments, House Republicans will pass the strongest border security bill this country has ever seen.

Meanwhile, we are seeing a very different record from President Biden who has only been to the border one time in 50 years. We all know what it is. We have seen it every day for over 2 years—especially now that title 42 is expiring—record crossings, record carelessness, and record chaos.

Mr. Speaker, what have the House Democrats done?

What have they done to secure the border and fix the border crisis?

I checked, and frankly, it is nothing.

To start, House Democrats skipped congressional hearings at the border—not just one committee hearing—every single one of them. They skipped when the Judiciary Committee went and when the Homeland Security Committee went.

They spent the last 2 years voting by proxy, but when it came to securing the border, they chose to stay in Washington. They treat the border like President Biden does: Ignore it and hope the problem goes away.

I just don't understand why the Democrats wouldn't even show up for work.

Mr. Speaker, the ranking member of the Judiciary Committee for the Democrats skipped a fentanyl-related hearing because it was, in his words, performative.

Mr. Speaker, I guarantee you that the families who have lost loved ones to fentanyl don't think it is performative. They understand it is real. They lost a loved one.

The story is just as bad when you look at the previous Congress. For 2 years, the do-nothing inflation Democrats refused to face the music, even as the evidence piled up and the American people cried out.

What is worse, they lashed out at anyone who tried to fix the problem.

Mr. Speaker, 2 years ago, I warned the American people about what Border Patrol agents told me, they were catching individuals on the terrorist watch list.

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

Mr. MCCAUL. Mr. Speaker, I yield an additional 1 minute to the gentleman from California.

Mr. MCCARTHY. Were the Democrats concerned when we gave them that information?

No.

One Democrat who served on the Armed Services Committee who represents a border State called me a liar.

Since then, more than 175 people on the terrorist watch list have been caught crossing the border.

In fact, just in February, we caught more people on the terrorist watch list in 1 month than we caught in the entire 4 years of the last administration.

Mr. Speaker, thank God the Republicans are in charge today. Thank God that they are willing to do something instead of ignoring the problem, and for bringing the solution. I think when you run for office, you should show up for work. I think when you have a committee hearing along the border to

learn the facts, stop playing politics and work for the American people.

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

Mr. MCCAUL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. DAVIDSON), a member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Mr. DAVIDSON. Mr. Speaker, Joe Biden's border crisis has become a nationwide crime scene. Cartels not only control the illegal drug market, they control our border. They are poisoning our country and exploiting every migrant who crosses our southern border. This sad crisis must end.

In my district, we had the tragic story of Lizzy Murphy who died from fentanyl poisoning at the age of 21. As in many cases, Lizzy was poisoned by just one pill, a Xanax laced with deadly fentanyl.

Though overdoses are also on the rise, many of these fatalities occur from just one lethal dose of fentanyl.

Just this week, we recognized National Fentanyl Awareness Day. The CDC has reported that two-thirds of drug-related deaths involve fentanyl. Drug fatalities are now the leading cause of death for 18- to 45-year-olds.

Today, the House will vote to pass H.R. 2. Next, Joe Biden and Senate Democrats must change course from their deadly policies. They must pass this bill, sign it into law, and implement it.

We need to secure our border, stop the cartels, and keep our communities safe. That is why I am supporting H.R. 2.

However, this legislation should have gone a little further to stop the evil work of cartels. As an amendment, I offered the Lizzy Murphy Act to stop the cartels, a bill that I have previously introduced. This bill designates certain cartels as special transnational criminal organizations and implements sanctions on them and anyone who provides material support to cartels.

We must recognize that cartels are enemies of our country and treat them that way. To disrupt their trafficking operations, we must detain or turn away all who enter our country illegally.

By forcing the Biden administration to resume construction of the wall, increase Border Patrol agents, protect unaccompanied children who are at risk of trafficking, and end their foolish catch-and-release practices, the Secure the Border Act of 2023 will begin to fix this crisis.

Mr. Speaker, I urge everyone to support it.

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

Mr. MCCAUL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. SELF), a member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Mr. SELF. Mr. Speaker, I thank my colleague for yielding me time.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H.R. 2, the Secure the Border Act of 2023, because it does just that. It secures the border.

I find the comments from across the aisle rich from the very Members of the party who caused the situation that our citizens are seeing on the border today.

The year before the Biden administration took control of the border, CBP reported roughly 400,000 illegal border crossings. During President Biden's first year in office, that number skyrocketed to 1.7 million. Last year, it rose to 2.8 million. I am not sure whether that is arithmetic or logarithmic, but it is huge.

Unlike many in this Chamber, I have visited multiple locations across the Texas border with Mexico. I saw four unaccompanied boys 8 to 10 years old.

What was going to happen to them?

I saw rafts making multiple trips underneath the very vision of a Border Patrol location. People were helping the illegal immigrants out of the rafts and up the little cliff that we had there to include a 1-month-old baby who had been born in Mexico.

I can tell you, Mr. Speaker, from being on the ground in south Texas that there is no coordinated effort to stop the flow of illegal opioids like fentanyl that kills nearly 300 Americans every day. There is no coordinated effort to stop the flow of illegal immigrants, many of whom are being trafficked as sex slaves or cheap labor.

Human trafficking has now surpassed drug trafficking as the profit center for the cartels. We have indentured servanthood in this Nation today—slavery by any other name.

Earlier this year, I introduced the EL CHAPO Act which allows us to use the billions of dollars' worth of assets seized from cartel members like El Chapo to build the wall. Our southern border is an unmitigated disaster, and without this bill, the ensuing chaos is going to get worse.

Mr. Speaker, I implore Members to support H.R. 2.

Mr. MEEKS. Mr. Speaker, I continue to reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. MCCAUL. Mr. Speaker, may I inquire how much time is remaining?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Texas has 8 minutes remaining. The gentleman from New York has 7½ minutes remaining.

Mr. MCCAUL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. MEUSER).

Mr. MEUSER. Mr. Speaker, I thank my good friend from Texas, who is the chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee.

Mr. Speaker, anyone who is even slightly informed understands how dire the immigration crisis is at our southern border.

Mr. Speaker, if you go to the border, as I have a few times, Customs and Border Protection, the National Guard, and local and State officials all say the same thing: the situation is out of control, our border is not secure, and it is a human disaster.

Cartels and traffickers inform vulnerable people that it is seamless to

enter the United States illegally, putting people in terrible harm's way.

Mr. Speaker, one-third of women are being raped, according to reports. Hundreds are dying, perhaps thousands, and tons of fentanyl is coming across, killing 300 mostly young Americans a day.

So what do we do?

We have a solution. It is called H.R. 2.

Mr. Speaker, it is really simple. A "yes" for H.R. 2 is for solving the border crisis, and a "no" is for the status quo.

Mr. MEEKS. Mr. Speaker, I continue to reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. MCCAUL. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume. Let me just say a few things. My friends on the other side of the aisle talk about this bill being inhumane.

Really?

Is it humane under this administration to stuff 40 migrants in an 18-wheeler to die from heat and suffocation in my home State of Texas?

Is it humane for the cartels to rape and traffic little girls?

Is it humane to kill 100,000 young people in this country from the poison of fentanyl?

Is it humane, Mr. Speaker, to send children to stash houses in the United States to become sex slaves and child labor slaves that even Child Protective Services would find criminal?

That is what this administration has done.

Susan Rice, our domestic policy adviser, is quoted in *The New York Times* as saying that she "vented in a note she scribbled on a memo detailing the position of advocates, who believed a pandemic-era border closure was compelling parents to send unaccompanied children, sometimes called UCs."

In other words, what was happening because of the change of policy by the Biden administration was that parents were compelled to send their children by themselves in the hands of the cartels, the traffickers, and the human smugglers.

□ 1415

What did Ms. Susan Rice, Mr. Biden's domestic policy adviser, say? "This is BS," she wrote, according to a copy of the memo reviewed by the *Times*. She says: "What is leading to 'voluntary' separation of children is our generosity to these [unaccompanied minors]."

Wow. This administration, they know exactly what they are doing. They know what this policy has done. They know the results and the consequences of rescinding the MPP program, which is called inhumane. By the way, all it says is, you cannot enter the United States; you have to remain in Mexico pending your asylum claim.

You know why? Once you enter the United States, it is catch and release all over again. The very first bill I introduced 20 years ago in Congress was to end catch and release, and here we are so many years later, and we are right back to it.

The sad thing is, we had this thing under control with the construction of physical barriers and technology. Personally, I think it is very, very sad. Recent news reports show that in a single week there were almost 55,000 apprehensions by Border Patrol and more than 18,600 got-aways. Those are some of the highest totals on record.

Make no mistake, the termination of title 42 is well known among migrants. It is well known to the drug traffickers and the cartels, who make money off this racket. They are waiting for this policy to end to cross the border en masse. We see caravans right now, south, coming up toward my home State. It is clear the administration is not prepared and that this crisis will only get worse and devolve into chaos. As a result, the number of crossings, already at historic levels, will explode.

Mr. Speaker, this is unsustainable. We are facing a humanitarian crisis of generational proportions. It only benefits the cartels. I know this game too well. I was a Federal prosecutor on the other side prosecuting them. They know exactly what they are doing. They exploit, they terrorize, and they make a ton of money off exploiting human beings. It has cost countless lives.

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

Mr. MEEKS. Mr. Speaker, I continue to reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. MCCAUL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Washington (Mr. NEWHOUSE).

Mr. NEWHOUSE. Mr. Speaker, just to reiterate what we have heard today: House Republicans know that border security is national security, which is why tackling this crisis truly is crucial to fulfilling our promise to the American people and to deliver them a nation that is safe.

Since President Biden took office, there have been over 5 million illegal crossings over our southern border, and more than 1.3 million people have evaded apprehension. At the same time, Mr. Speaker, fentanyl is pouring over our southwest border and into my communities, into your communities, killing Americans at catastrophic rates.

On May 11, title 42 is set to expire, which is only going to exacerbate the current border crisis. The President and our Democratic colleagues have offered no long-term solution. While H.R. 2 does much to strengthen the border, it also fails to address an issue critical to our Nation's farmers—reliable access to agricultural workers.

We need essential reform to our immigration, asylum, and workforce laws, issues that I and many others have been working on relentlessly since being here in Congress. The United States is blessed with fertile lands and a climate conducive to agricultural productivity. However, without an adequate workforce, our farmers and our ranchers struggle to harvest and tend to their crops. This poses a di-

rect threat to our Nation's food security, our national security, and our economic prosperity.

Mandating E-Verify would have a devastating impact on the American agricultural industry, including processing of agricultural products if it were to be enacted without reforms to our agricultural labor system. They must go hand in hand.

Mr. MEEKS. Mr. Speaker, I continue to reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. MCCAUL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the gentleman from Washington (Mr. NEWHOUSE).

Mr. NEWHOUSE. Mr. Speaker, just to finish, the current status quo is not working for our farmers, and we must address this crisis. We cannot mandate E-Verify without stabilizing our existing agricultural workforce: Removal of the seasonality requirement from H-2A agricultural visa programs and wage reform that makes H-2A wages and benefits more market based.

With the amended legislative language, I support H.R. 2 but seek a commitment from leadership and my colleagues that we continue the important work on true bipartisan legislation that will resolve the workforce needs in our industry.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman has 30 seconds remaining.

Mr. MCCAUL. Mr. Speaker, I reserve the right to close.

Mr. MEEKS. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself the balance of my time to close.

The Foreign Affairs title of this bill should be about addressing the root causes of migration; about fixing the crime, corruption, poverty, and discrimination that causes people to flee north.

The men and women coming to our borders do so reluctantly. They do not want the pain of leaving parents and children behind for an unknown time while they seek refuge in an unfamiliar land. They want to see their daughters when they come home from work, not on a video call. They want to hear their siblings' voices at the dinner table, not on a Zoom.

The way to address the root causes of migration is through aid, assistance, investment, collaboration, and rule of law guidance. If we refuse to fund such programs and efforts, we are being penny-wise and pound-foolish; ignoring our hemispheric neighbors until they are knocking on our front door. What we need to do is address the root causes.

This legislation is not in line with national security interests, our values, or our goals of curbing the migration crisis. It only exacerbates the situation on the border while reinstating the same inhumane policies that have endangered migrants. We have seen that done by the former administration. We have seen the actions. We know who he is, and we know why he put some of those policies forward.

I can't close without saying that Chairman MCCAUL is a good man. I work with him on the committee. We

talk and we debate and we do things. I don't want this to end with anyone thinking that I don't think Mr. MCCAUL is a good human being. He is. We do that together. However, I do have questions.

I hear a lot of talk about President Biden and what he is doing or what his motivations are, et cetera. I, too, have questions about the policies of former President Trump. Coming from New York, I have been around a lot and seen and heard his motivations, particularly as it pertains to the bills that he put forward in regard to migration, and I know what he thinks of immigrants.

I know what the former President thinks of immigrants. Why? Because he said it. He has said things that have been shocking to me, that reveal what he thought and why he put forward the principles that he started. It is not me making it up. Over 34 times he called these immigrants who are trying to come for better lives animals. That is not how we should look at these poor individuals who are running from crises, as they are doing in Afghanistan, Ukraine, Venezuela, and other parts of Latin America.

I know because I come from New York. I have seen what he has done to his own employees and how he has treated them. I know because I heard from his own mouth, calling countries on the continent of Africa and in the Caribbean and South America "asshole countries." I know because he also just wanted to put a ban on people because of their religious beliefs. I know because even after people were convicted in the Central Park 5 in New York, he still called them vicious names. I know his motivations, and that is reflective in the policies that he has passed.

That is why we should not be supporting this bill. That is not who we are as Americans. Let's fight to show the rest of the world who we really are, that we want to take care, as that statue in New York City stands with that lady holding the torch—give me your tired, your poor. That is who we became as a country, not the motivations of the former President and his policies.

This bill is a step in the wrong direction. It is in the wrong direction. Our partners in the region are watching us very closely today. I have been talking to those leaders. I have been talking to people from the various countries in Central and South America, many of whom are in my district. This is not the way to go.

Mr. Speaker, I urge the Members of this august body, let's not fall into the same mistakes of the past. Let's sit down and figure out how we can work together in a bipartisan way for a strong immigration reform bill, so we can treat humans as humans, so we can show our actions are similar to what we pray.

Whether we are in a church or a synagogue or a mosque, we pray for the poor and the helpless; we want to make a difference. We have an opportunity to

do that. We have an opportunity to make sure that we keep our borders safe by dealing with the root causes of migration and treating people in a humane way, not just considering those in law enforcement, but thinking about the people. When I see their hands on the gates asking for a better life, saying all I want to do is see my child have an opportunity, and I am willing to go through whatever the process is. Let's think about them. Let's think about those images. Let's think about how we can do better.

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

□ 1430

Mr. McCAUL. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Louisiana (Mr. SCALISE), the esteemed majority leader of the House.

Mr. SCALISE. Mr. Speaker, I thank my friend from Texas for yielding.

To respond to my friend Mr. NEWHOUSE's question, first, I thank him for his unwavering support for American agriculture. The industry is lucky to have such a champion. He has been very vocal in addressing some of the questions. I also thank him for working with us on those questions. I know he has those concerns, which he brought up, but I am glad that we have been able to work through many of those.

As majority leader, I can commit that we will continue to work with Mr. NEWHOUSE on legislation to address the workforce needs of our agriculture industry.

Mr. Speaker, we have a crisis at our Nation's border. That is why we are bringing the Secure the Border Act to the floor today. It is why the President and Secretary Mayorkas should be doing everything in their power to stop the surge that we are seeing today—maybe 10,000 people coming across illegally.

That is something that Secretary Mayorkas says is not an open border. I would hate to see his description of an open border if 10,000 people coming across in 1 day is not.

They are derelict in their duty because they have opened up the border to the tune of over 5 million people who have come into our country. That is more than my home State of Louisiana who have come into our country illegally just in the last 2 years that Joe Biden has been President.

We have asked where they are going. We asked how they are taking care of them, who is housing them, whether the kids are going to school. They don't know.

In fact, The New York Times just reported that the Biden administration lost track of 85,000 young kids who have come into our country illegally. How do you lose 85,000 young kids and then say you don't have a problem and you won't work with Republicans to fix it?

The President actually issued a veto threat on this bill. What does this bill

do? It secures America's border again. It ends catch and release. It says: Let's get back to rule of law.

We are actually a nation of laws and a nation of immigrants. We can do both, but this President has abandoned the rule of law to the point where more than 5 million people have come across illegally.

What has it also done? It has brought drugs into our country. The cartels are running our southern border.

Today, we are going to lose 300 young people to fentanyl deaths because President Biden opened our southern border. Yesterday, 300 young people died. Tomorrow, another 300 young people in America will die because the President opened the southern border, and he doesn't care about it. He issued a veto threat on the bill that would fix it.

House Republicans are not going to sit on the sidelines. We brought a bill to the floor that everybody should vote for.

Again, get back to rule of law. Give our Border Patrol agents the tools they need so that if somebody actually has an asylum claim, they can come and seek asylum the legal way.

Do you want to come to America? We are the most generous Nation in the world. Legal immigration works.

When you open up the border and bring 5 million people in 2 years, it undermines the entire legal system, and it breaks down communities not just at the border but all across America.

This is wreaking devastation all across America, not only the deaths but all the other things that go with it, and the President won't fix it.

Today, we can take a step to fix this problem. Mr. Speaker, I urge all Members to vote for this bill, and I urge the President to get engaged in working with us to solve this problem. Let's pass the bill.

Mr. McCAUL. Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. NEWHOUSE. Mr. Speaker, House Republicans know that border security is national security, which is why tackling this crisis is crucial to fulfilling our promise to the American people and delivering a nation that's safe.

Since President Biden took office, there have been over 5 million illegal crossings over our southern border and more than 1.3 million people have evaded apprehension.

At the same time, fentanyl is pouring over the Southwest border and into our communities, killing Americans at catastrophic rates.

On May 11th, Title 42 is set to expire, which is only going to exacerbate the current border crisis.

President Biden and our Democratic colleagues have offered no long-term solution.

While H.R. 2 does much to strengthen the border, it fails to address an issue critical to America's farmers—reliable access to agricultural workers. We need essential reform to our immigration, asylum, and workforce laws—issues I have been relentlessly working on since coming to Congress.

The United States is blessed with fertile lands and a climate conducive to agricultural productivity. However, without an adequate

workforce, our farmers and ranchers struggle to harvest and tend to their crops. This poses a direct threat to our nation's food security, national security, and economic prosperity.

Mandating E-Verify would have a devastating impact on American agriculture, including processing of agricultural products, if it were to be enacted without reforms to our agricultural labor system. They must go hand in hand. The current status quo is not working for our farmers, and we must address this crisis.

We cannot mandate E-Verify without stabilizing our existing agricultural workforce, removal of the seasonality requirement from the H-2A agricultural visa program, and wage reform that makes H-2A wages and benefits more market-based.

With the amended legislative language, I support H.R. 2 but seek a commitment from leadership and my colleagues that we continue the important work on true bipartisan legislation that will resolve the workforce needs in our industry.

Thank you, Mr. Leader. We need real reforms that will ensure our farmers and ranchers have the workforce they need to feed our country and ensure our food security and economic prosperity.

Mr. SCALISE. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank my good friend for yielding. I also want to thank you for your unwavering support of American agriculture. The industry is lucky to have such a strong advocate and champion in Congress.

I am proud to bring H.R. 2 to the Floor today—it is the strongest border security bill this House has ever considered. I want to thank Chairmen JORDAN, GREEN, and McCAUL for their tireless work to put together this bill at such a pivotal time with Title 42 expiring today and our border crisis only getting worse. And I'd like to thank our lead sponsors, MARIO DIAZ-BALART and TOM McCLINTOCK—they were both instrumental in getting this deal done.

DAN, I want to thank you for working with us—I know you have some concerns, but I am glad we have been able to work through those concerns.

As Majority Leader, I can commit to you that we will continue to work with you on legislation to address the workforce needs of our agriculture industry.

Ms. MCCOLLUM. Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to H.R. 2.

For decades, the U.S. immigration system has needed to be fixed. Every step of the way, Republicans failed to work with Democrats on effective solutions, instead blocking meaningful reform efforts for the past 20 years. The crisis we face now is in large part because of that. H.R. 2 is not the solution.

As my colleague from Texas Rep. CUELLAR has said, Republican attempts to solve immigration by building a wall "is a 14th century solution to a 21st century problem." A wall is not a solution to a complex issue.

H.R. 2 takes away critical asylum protections for those fleeing domestic violence and people whose lives are in imminent danger.

Secondly, the bill reinstates Trump-era detention centers that rip families apart, separating children from their parents. As of February 2023, nearly 1,000 migrant children separated at the U.S.-Mexico border by the Trump administration have yet to be reunited with their parents—more than two years after the former president left office.

Finally, H.R. 2 removes crucial funding for legal representation for unaccompanied children—depriving them of trusted counsel in immigration proceedings. Vulnerable children deserve reliable legal representation to reunite them safely with their families.

Mr. Speaker, extreme MAGA Republicans want to take us back to the failed illegal and immoral policies of the Trump administration. Those cruel and extreme immigration actions weakened the U.S. economy, undermined our nation's stance in protecting human rights, and threatened the potential of immigrants who come here seeking a better life.

I stand ready to work with my colleagues on both sides of the aisle, business leaders, faith leaders, community leaders, and law enforcement on meaningful immigration reform. Just as we cannot forget the DREAMers, we cannot cast aside those seeking a better future for themselves and their families.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. All time for debate has expired.

Pursuant to House Resolution 383, the previous question is ordered on the bill, as amended.

The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, and was read the third time.

MOTION TO RECOMMIT

Ms. GARCIA of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I have a motion to recommit at the desk.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the motion to recommit.

The Clerk read as follows:

Ms. Garcia of Texas moves to recommit the bill H.R. 2 to the Committee on the Judiciary.

The material previously referred to by Ms. GARCIA of Texas is as follows:

Ms. Garcia of Texas moves to recommit the bill H.R. 2 to the Committee on the Judiciary with instructions to report the same back to the House forthwith, with the following amendment:

Strike all that follows after the enacting clause, and insert the following:

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE; TABLE OF CONTENTS.

(a) **SHORT TITLE.**—This Act may be cited as the “American Dream and Promise Act of 2021”.

(b) **TABLE OF CONTENTS.**—The table of contents for this Act is as follows:

Sec. 1. Short title; table of contents.

TITLE I—DREAM ACT OF 2021

Sec. 101. Short title.

Sec. 102. Permanent resident status on a conditional basis for certain long-term residents who entered the United States as children.

Sec. 103. Terms of permanent resident status on a conditional basis.

Sec. 104. Removal of conditional basis of permanent resident status.

Sec. 105. Restoration of State option to determine residency for purposes of higher education benefits.

TITLE II—AMERICAN PROMISE ACT OF 2021

Sec. 201. Short title.

Sec. 202. Adjustment of status for certain nationals of certain countries designated for temporary protected status or deferred enforced departure.

Sec. 203. Clarification.

TITLE III—GENERAL PROVISIONS

- Sec. 301. Definitions.
- Sec. 302. Submission of biometric and biographic data; background checks.
- Sec. 303. Limitation on removal; application and fee exemption; and other conditions on eligible individuals.
- Sec. 304. Determination of continuous presence and residence.
- Sec. 305. Exemption from numerical limitations.
- Sec. 306. Availability of administrative and judicial review.
- Sec. 307. Documentation requirements.
- Sec. 308. Rule making.
- Sec. 309. Confidentiality of information.
- Sec. 310. Grant program to assist eligible applicants.
- Sec. 311. Provisions affecting eligibility for adjustment of status.
- Sec. 312. Supplementary surcharge for appointed counsel.
- Sec. 313. Annual report on provisional denial authority.

TITLE I—DREAM ACT OF 2021

SEC. 101. SHORT TITLE.

This title may be cited as the “Dream Act of 2021”.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 2(b) of rule XIX, the previous question is ordered on the motion to recommit.

The question is on the motion to recommit.

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

Ms. GARCIA of Texas. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 8 of rule XX, further proceedings on this question are postponed.

PROTECTING TAXPAYERS AND VICTIMS OF UNEMPLOYMENT FRAUD ACT

Mr. SMITH of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to House Resolution 383, I call up the bill (H.R. 1163) to provide incentives for States to recover fraudulently paid Federal and State unemployment compensation, and for other purposes, and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to House Resolution 383, the amendment in the nature of a substitute recommended by the Committee on Ways and Means, printed in the bill, modified by the amendment printed in House report 118–51, is adopted and the bill, as amended, is considered read.

The text of the bill, as amended, is as follows:

H.R. 1163

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the “Protecting Taxpayers and Victims of Unemployment Fraud Act”.

SEC. 2. RECOVERING FEDERAL FRAUDULENT COVID UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION PAYMENTS.

(a) **ALLOWING STATES TO RETAIN PERCENTAGE OF OVERPAYMENTS FOR PROGRAM INTEGRITY.**—

(1) **PANDEMIC UNEMPLOYMENT ASSISTANCE.**—Section 2102(d) of the CARES Act (15 U.S.C. 9021(d)) is amended by amending paragraph (4) to read as follows:

“(4) **FRAUD AND OVERPAYMENTS.**—Section 2107(e) shall apply with respect to pandemic unemployment assistance under this section by substituting ‘pandemic unemployment assistance’ for ‘pandemic emergency unemployment compensation’ each place it appears in such section 2107(e).”.

(2) **FEDERAL PANDEMIC UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION.**—Section 2104(f)(3) of such Act (15 U.S.C. 9023(f)(3)) is amended—

(A) in subparagraph (A)—

(i) by striking “3-year” and inserting “10-year”; and

(ii) by inserting “, except that a State may retain a percentage of any amounts recovered as described in subparagraph (C)” before the period at the end; and

(B) by adding at the end the following:

“(C) **RETENTION OF PERCENTAGE OF RECOVERED FUNDS.**—The State agency may retain 25 percent of any amount recovered from overpayments of Federal Pandemic Unemployment Compensation or Mixed Earner Unemployment Compensation that were determined to be made due to fraud. Amounts so retained by the State agency shall be used for any of following:

“(i) Modernizing unemployment compensation systems and information technology to improve identity verification and validation of applicants.

“(ii) Reimbursement of administrative costs incurred by the State to identify and pursue recovery of fraudulent overpayments.

“(iii) Hiring fraud investigators and prosecutors.

“(iv) Other program integrity activities as determined by the State.”;

(3) **PANDEMIC EMERGENCY UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION.**—Section 2107(e)(3) of such Act (15 U.S.C. 9025(e)(3)) is amended—

(A) in subparagraph (A)—

(i) by striking “3-year” and inserting “10-year”; and

(ii) by inserting “, except that a State may retain a percentage of any amounts recovered as described in subparagraph (C)” before the period at the end; and

(B) by adding at the end the following:

“(C) **RETENTION OF PERCENTAGE OF RECOVERED FUNDS.**—The State agency may retain 25 percent of any amount recovered from overpayments of pandemic emergency unemployment compensation that were determined to be made due to fraud. Amounts so retained by the State agency shall be used for any of following:

“(i) Modernizing unemployment compensation systems and information technology to improve identity verification and validation of applicants.

“(ii) Reimbursement of administrative costs incurred by the State to identify and pursue recovery of fraudulent overpayments.

“(iii) Hiring fraud investigators and prosecutors.

“(iv) Other program integrity activities as determined by the State.”.

(4) **EXTENDED UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION.**—A State to which section 4105 of the Families First Coronavirus Response Act (26 U.S.C. 3304 note) applied may retain 25 percent of any amount recovered from overpayments of shareable extended compensation and shareable regular compensation (as such terms are defined in section 204 of the Federal-State Extended Unemployment Compensation Act of 1970) paid for weeks of unemployment described in such section 4105 that were determined to be made due to fraud. Amounts so retained by the State agency shall be used for any of the purposes described in section 2107(e)(3)(C) of the CARES Act (15 U.S.C. 9025(e)(3)(C)).

(5) **FIRST WEEK OF REGULAR COMPENSATION.**—A State that was a party to an agreement under section 4105 of the CARES Act (15 U.S.C. 9024)