

Madam Speaker, I wish Major Brandon a happy birthday. On behalf of Virginia's Sixth, I extend our deepest gratitude and best wishes.

BIDEN IMPORTS VOTERS

(Mr. WILSON of South Carolina asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. WILSON of South Carolina. During the State of the Union speech tomorrow, Biden will blame others for the border crisis, which Biden alone created.

Since Biden has taken office, nearly 10 million illegal aliens have crossed the border, including over 20,000 military-aged men from dictatorships in just the last 5 months.

Yesterday, Elon Musk shocked America by exposing Biden secretly flew 320,000 unvetted aliens into the U.S. Musk warned: "The groundwork is being laid for something far worse than 9/11."

He also said: "This administration is both importing voters and creating a national security threat. . . ."

"This is why groups . . . fight . . . to stop voter ID requirements. . . ."

When America is attacked, voter ID should be mandatory for fair elections. The safety of American families is endangered by Biden's quest for more voters.

In conclusion, God bless our troops, who successfully protected America for 20 years as the global war on terrorism moves from the Afghanistan safe haven to America. We do not need new voter laws; we need to enforce existing laws. Biden shamefully opens borders for dictators, as more 9/11 attacks in America are imminent, as warned by the FBI.

CONGRATULATING ATHLETES

(Mr. TIFFANY asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. TIFFANY. Madam Speaker, I rise today to congratulate the 12 young athletes from across the Seventh District of Wisconsin who brought home individual State wrestling championship titles for 2024.

Liam Neitzel, Owen Wasley, Colton Hush, Gage Losiewicz, Wyatt Ingham, Ian Smith, Koy Hopke, Wyatt Unser, Dawson Johnson, Matthew Roach, Ava Gardner, and Madison Burns left it all on the mat to bring home State championship titles.

A special shout-out to Dawson Johnson of Cumberland High School and Koy Hopke of Amery High School on becoming four-time State champions—being only 2 of 29 ever to do this in Wisconsin.

Again, I congratulate all of these athletes.

PROVIDING FOR CONSIDERATION OF H.R. 2799, EXPANDING ACCESS TO CAPITAL ACT OF 2023; AND PROVIDING FOR CONSIDERATION OF H.R. 7511, LAKEN RILEY ACT

Mrs. HOUCHIN. Madam Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rules, I call up House Resolution 1052 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. RES. 1052

Resolved, That at any time after adoption of this resolution the Speaker may, pursuant to clause 2(b) of rule XVIII, declare the House resolved into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for consideration of the bill (H.R. 2799) to make reforms to the capital markets of the United States, and for other purposes. The first reading of the bill shall be dispensed with. All points of order against consideration of the bill are waived. General debate shall be confined to the bill and shall not exceed one hour equally divided and controlled by the chair and ranking minority member of the Committee on Financial Services or their respective designees. After general debate the bill shall be considered for amendment under the five-minute rule. The amendment in the nature of a substitute recommended by the Committee on Financial Services now printed in the bill, modified by the amendment printed in part A of the report of the Committee on Rules accompanying this resolution, shall be considered as adopted in the House and in the Committee of the Whole. The bill, as amended, shall be considered as read. All points of order against provisions in the bill, as amended, are waived. No further amendment to the bill, as amended, shall be in order except those printed in part B of the report of the Committee on Rules. Each such further amendment may be offered only in the order printed in the report, may be offered only by a Member designated in the report, shall be considered as read, shall be debatable for the time specified in the report equally divided and controlled by the proponent and an opponent, shall not be subject to amendment, and shall not be subject to a demand for division of the question in the House or in the Committee of the Whole. All points of order against such further amendments are waived. At the conclusion of consideration of the bill for amendment the Committee shall rise and report the bill, as amended, to the House with such further amendments as may have been adopted. The previous question shall be considered as ordered on the bill, as amended, and on any further amendment thereto to final passage without intervening motion except one motion to recommit.

SEC. 2. Upon adoption of this resolution it shall be in order to consider in the House the bill (H.R. 7511) to require the Secretary of Homeland Security to take into custody aliens who have been charged in the United States with theft, and for other purposes. All points of order against consideration of the bill are waived. The bill shall be considered as read. All points of order against provisions in the bill are waived. The previous question shall be considered as ordered on the bill and on any amendment thereto to final passage without intervening motion except: (1) one hour of debate equally divided and controlled by the chair and ranking minority member of the Committee on the Judiciary or their respective designees; and (2) one motion to recommit.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Ms. MALOY). The gentlewoman from Indiana (Mrs. HOUCHIN) is recognized for 1 hour.

Mrs. HOUCHIN. Madam Speaker, for the purpose of debate only, I yield the customary 30 minutes to the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. MCGOVERN), pending which I yield myself such time as I may consume. During consideration of this resolution, all time yielded is for the purpose of debate only.

GENERAL LEAVE

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

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

There was no objection.

Mrs. HOUCHIN. Madam Speaker, last night the Rules Committee met and produced a rule, House Resolution 1052, providing for the House's consideration of several pieces of legislation.

The rule provides for H.R. 2799, the Expanding Access to Capital Act, to be considered under a structured rule. It provides for 1 hour of debate equally divided and controlled by the chair and ranking minority member of the Committee on Financial Services or their designees and provides for one motion to recommit.

Additionally, the rules provide for H.R. 7511, the Laken Riley Act. H.R. 7511 would be considered under a closed rule, and it also provides for 1 hour of debate equally divided and controlled by the chair and ranking minority member of the Committee on the Judiciary or their designees and provides for one motion to recommit.

□ 1215

Madam Speaker, I rise in support of this rule and in support of the underlying pieces of legislation.

I begin with H.R. 2799, the Expanding Access to Capital Act. Madam Speaker, as a member of the Financial Services Committee, I am glad to see this important legislation before us today. I am also glad this rule makes in order a number of amendments, including all of the bipartisan amendments that were submitted.

In the last few years, we have seen fewer and fewer companies take advantage of opportunities to raise capital, largely due to burdensome compliance costs and regulatory obstacles.

It is crucial that American entrepreneurs have the tools they need to grow their businesses and that we create opportunities for individuals to invest and save for the future.

This bill aims to strengthen our public markets, expand options for companies to raise capital, and empower Americans, giving them more choices to invest and grow their wealth.

By cutting the red tape and creating new avenues for economic growth, we can create jobs and opportunities for American workers, businessowners, and investors. We can put America back on a path to prosperity and safeguard our future.

I am proud to have one of my own bills, the Regulation A+ Improvement

Act, included as part of this bill package. The bill would raise the cap for Regulation A and allow for more small- to mid-size companies to raise money from everyday investors.

At a time when many Americans are feeling the effects of inflation, this legislation could not be timelier. It can help create jobs and grow the economy. Our capital markets in these United States are the cornerstone of our economy and among our greatest strengths.

This bill ensures that entrepreneurs and investors can take full advantage of what our markets have to offer. Through this, we can give small businesses and investors alike all the tools necessary to achieve the American Dream.

Madam Speaker, unlike the previous bill I discussed, I am deeply saddened to be on the floor discussing the situation at hand and angry that we find ourselves here. It is unfortunate we must have this necessary conversation, driven by the tragic events such as the senseless murder of Laken Riley.

This legislation and the underlying rule are in response to the brutal murder of Laken Riley, a college student in Georgia, whose life was cut short by a suspect who was an illegal immigrant with prior arrests in both New York and Georgia before allegedly committing this crime.

This bill requires the Department of Homeland Security to issue a detainer to any alien inadmissible to the United States who has been charged with, arrested for, or convicted of burglary, theft, larceny, or shoplifting.

As ICE describes it themselves, detainees are “an effective tool in keeping criminals out of local communities by allowing ICE officers to take custody of criminal noncitizens within the confines of a jail.”

If the alien is not in custody at the time of the detainer, Immigration and Customs Enforcement is required to promptly take custody.

Additionally, H.R. 7511 allows States to bring civil action against the Federal Government for failing to enforce immigration laws, including parole, detention and removal, and visa sanctions that we know this administration is not enforcing. Simply put, this gives States standing in court and recourse for their constituents who are victims of the enforcement decisions, or lack thereof, by this administration; decisions that have consequences like the very ones we are talking about today.

The Biden administration's failure to secure our southern border has emboldened the criminal cartels, leading to increased drug trafficking and overdose deaths, human smuggling, and the influx of dangerous individuals into the country.

These threats extend far beyond border States, affecting every corner of our Nation. Every State is now a border State.

Unfortunately, Laken's story is not unique. Speaker Johnson recently documented over 100 similar situations

where American citizens have been victims of crimes committed by illegal aliens, underscoring the urgency of addressing our border security crisis.

The border is no longer a matter for debate. It is a pressing issue, and it demands immediate action. We cannot simply hold hearings and discussions in Washington. We need real solutions to protect the American people. The President must take decisive action to secure our border, starting with signing this critical bill into law.

I look forward to the House completing its consideration of both pieces of legislation, and I urge the passage of this rule.

Madam Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Madam Speaker, I thank the gentlewoman from Indiana for yielding me the customary 30 minutes, and I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Madam Speaker, we are here today to debate a rule to bring two more MAGA messaging bills to the floor.

H.R. 2799, which might as well be renamed the expanding access to fraud act, is yet another Republican attempt to help Wall Street and their friends at private equity firms, while undermining protections for retirees and other mom-and-pop investors. Republicans are just obsessed with helping their friends on Wall Street. It is pathological. They can't help themselves. They come to the floor and talk about helping regular people, but every single bill they pass is about helping the Big Oil companies, the Big Pharma companies, the hedge funds, and the lobbyists. Today is no exception.

Today, Republicans are also bringing to the floor H.R. 7511, the Laken Riley Act.

Let me be clear: What happened to Laken Riley is a terrible, terrible tragedy. A 22-year-old nursing student, who everyone says was a deeply compassionate person who spread joy everywhere she went, Laken had her whole life ahead of her. My own daughter is 22, and I can't even begin to imagine what this family is going through right now. My heart breaks for them, and they are in my prayers.

This should have never happened, and there is no question that the person responsible for her death should go to jail for the rest of their lives.

Madam Speaker, I have to say that I am appalled by my colleagues across the aisle who are using this horrible crime to score political points. It is really sick, to be honest. I think they ought to be ashamed of themselves, if they have any shame left.

The bill that we are dealing with here today was referred to the Judiciary Committee. There was no hearing, no markup. The bill wasn't even reported out of the committee of jurisdiction. I mean, my Republican friends used to say they cared about regular order. Obviously, that is no longer the case. I mean, the members of the Judiciary Committee did not even have an

opportunity to be able to refine this bill or amend this bill. They just rushed it to the floor because they wanted a quick press release.

Let's call this out for what it is. We are here with this bill because Donald Trump demanded that MAGA extremists make the border their top issue ahead of the election. He wants Republicans to politicize the border at every turn, including politicizing this awful tragedy. He is calling the shots here, and he wants to use this as an opportunity to say that Democrats somehow support killers.

What a nasty, rotten thing to do, especially after Republicans are the ones who killed a bipartisan border security deal. They killed the deal, the strongest, toughest border security bill that we have ever seen come before Congress, a bill that was negotiated by a very conservative Republican Senator from Oklahoma. Rather than try to find a solution and fix the problem, Donald Trump said to them: No, I just want the issue; do nothing.

Now they have the nerve to come down here and lecture us. Give me a break.

Meanwhile, Democrats are working to actually keep our country safe. Democrats want to fix our broken immigration system. Democrats want justice for victims, and we want real solutions that help make our communities safer from all criminals. We tried to work together with Republicans in a bipartisan way, and they have rejected our attempts every single time.

By the way, Madam Speaker, I really wish our friends across the aisle would show this same passion for the lives lost to gun violence in our country every single day. Sixty people died and over 400 people were injured in Las Vegas. They were all real people: mothers, fathers, children, friends. Where was the Republican outrage then? Silence.

Nineteen kids were shot dead in their classroom in Uvalde. Nothing from my Republican colleagues, nothing at all, no action at all.

Twelve children die every day from gun violence. Where is the Republican legislation to save their lives?

If you don't want to vote for that legislation, where is the Republican willingness to allow us to bring bills to the floor to deal with the epidemic of gun violence in this country? Nothing.

The beauty of our job is that we are in a position where we can actually do something about these tragedies, Laken's and others. We could have worked together here to address this tragedy, just like we should work together to address the tragedy of gun violence. Unfortunately, Republicans only talk about crime and violence when it suits them. That is all it is: talk.

To claim that this bill is being brought forward because Republicans care about securing the border, when they tanked one of the toughest bipartisan border bills ever, is a joke. It is a joke, Madam Speaker.

Let's make something abundantly clear. This bill will do nothing to solve any of the problems at the border, not a thing. You know what this bill does? It says let's put more people in immigration detention, including those in the U.S. under a lawful status, like Dreamers and TPS recipients, but let's not allocate any more money to actually detain these people.

You have got to love these people; they are unbelievable.

Our border security already does not have the resources they need to detain everyone the law says they should detain. Why don't they have the resources to do it? Because Republicans have voted time and time again, multiple times, against providing the funding that they need. Now, the other side brings a bill to the floor not to fix a problem but to detain even more people with no new funding to do it.

You can't make this stuff up. You really can't.

These bills they are bringing to the floor, these speeches they are making about border and immigration—look at how they vote. Look at how they vote. They don't want to secure the border. They don't want to fix this issue. They want a campaign slogan for Donald Trump. That is all this is about. It has been their playbook since they took the majority last January, and it is a real shame.

Again, we have the power to do something, to actually solve some of these problems. Rather than coming together in a bipartisan way—and that is what the Senate tried to do—my Republican friends in the House have rejected every single attempt to try to find common ground to bring something forward that can actually pass the House, the Senate, and be signed into law. They are not interested in solutions; they are interested in just complaining. How pathetic.

Madam Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mrs. HOUCHIN. Mr. Speaker, you know what is a joke? The joke is that the bill that Democrats proposed in the Senate, with some Republican support, was the strongest border bill in history. That is the joke. That bill would do nothing more than codify Joe Biden's broken border policies.

Republicans in the House won't codify asylum seekers crossing multiple countries to get to the United States. Republicans in the House won't codify letting illegal aliens into our country in record numbers. We will not normalize the broken border policies that have led us here to this point today.

□ 1230

My colleague claims that this is just a political ploy and that we are doing whatever Donald Trump wants us to do. We are doing what the American people want us to do. Donald Trump didn't make this a top issue for American voters. Joe Biden did. By failing to secure the border and failing to protect Americans, he has failed on every measure on this front.

Given the Biden administration's reluctance to issue any detainer requests, this bill, H.R. 7511, mandates that ICE issue a detainer and take custody of aliens who commit crimes.

In Riley's case, the suspect was arrested in Georgia for theft and fingerprinted at a time when ICE was made aware of his crime through NICS. Had this bill been in effect, ICE would have been required to issue a detainer for the suspect and assumed custody. Or if the alien had already been released by State or local law enforcement, they could have apprehended him. The suspect in the Riley case was not detained and was paroled, violating provisions in the existing Immigration and Nationality Act.

H.R. 7511 would give States standing to sue the Biden administration on behalf of its citizens for the harm caused by their failure to enforce existing immigration law.

This is not a political ploy. This is a response to a tragedy and an attempt to prevent further tragedies.

Mr. Speaker, I ask my friends on the other side of the aisle: What will it take? What will it take to get Democrats to care about actual border security? How many Americans have to die of fentanyl overdoses or become victims of violent crime? What will it take?

Mr. Speaker, I yield 4 minutes to the gentleman from New York (Mr. LANGWORTHY).

Mr. LANGWORTHY. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentlewoman from Indiana for yielding me the time.

Mr. Speaker, the American people are sick and tired of the new status quo at our Nation's borders.

The crisis that President Biden and Secretary Mayorkas have done nothing to stop is now affecting every State, every town, every village, and every city. It is endangering the lives of innocent American citizens.

A 22-year-old woman, Laken Riley, in Georgia was brutally murdered and taken from her family by an illegal immigrant who should have been locked up.

Jose Ibarra entered the United States illegally thanks to President Biden's refusal to uphold our laws and secure our border. He was given a one-way ticket on the taxpayer dime to New York City, a city that, thanks to Democrats in New York, has been declared a sanctuary city. Again, this is a self-made, self-imposed crisis on the American people.

After being arrested in New York City for child endangerment, Jose Ibarra was released back on the streets. Why, you might ask, Mr. Speaker? It is because of, once again, the policies of the left. New York State's disastrous bail reform laws have turned the State's justice system into a revolving door for violent offenders.

Democrats in New York City, New York State, and right here in Washington know damn well that this is the

result of their senseless policies. The Biden administration's border crisis and New York's bail reform have shattered lives not just in my home State of New York but also now in the State of Georgia.

How many more American lives will it take for us to close the border? How many violent crimes will it take for this administration and Democratic leaders in cities and States across this country to end their disastrous policies that are endangering the American people and threatening the sovereignty of this country?

I strongly support H.R. 7511, the Laken Riley Act, and I am a proud cosponsor because enough is enough, Mr. Speaker.

House Republicans have passed one measure after another this Congress to bring security—real security—back to our border and real change that ensures that the Federal Government upholds our immigration laws. Our solutions have been greeted with resounding opposition from the same Democrats whose policies have led to this crisis on our border, the crisis in New York City, and now this horrific tragedy and murder in Georgia.

Mr. Speaker, I strongly support passage of the rule today, and I urge my colleagues on the other side of the aisle to wake up to this crisis, see the suffering that citizens and noncitizens alike have endured, and support H.R. 7511, the Laken Riley Act.

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

Mr. Speaker, I have news for the gentleman from New York: Republicans now own this issue. Your inaction is one of the reasons why we are not making more progress on our border.

The gentleman who just spoke was in the Rules Committee last night, bragging about the fact that Republicans increased border security funding in their homeland security bill last year. He was bragging about it. Congress 101 tells us that once you pass a bill in the House, you need to send it over to the Senate for them to consider it.

The bottom line is, and maybe the gentleman has an answer to this: Why is your Homeland Security appropriations bill from last year still sitting in this House? Why was it never sent to the Senate?

Again, I say to my friends who are watching here today: Look at their actions. Don't look at their words. Look at their actions.

The gentlewoman from Indiana was talking about the negotiated bipartisan compromise in the Senate as if it was somehow a reflection of President Biden's priorities. Let me remind her that MITCH MCCONNELL, the Senate minority leader, said it was one of the toughest immigration border security bills that he has ever seen.

Let me also remind her that the person who was the chief negotiator, Senator LANKFORD of Oklahoma, is the second most conservative Member of the Senate. You can't get any more conservative than he is. By the way, the

man whom my friends are all so afraid of, Donald Trump, has said, when he endorsed Senator LANKFORD, that he is one of the toughest guys around on the border.

This is all about not coming up with a solution. They come to the floor and complain. They complain and point fingers, but they will not work with us on a solution. It is mind-boggling to me. It is cynical.

My friends are in charge of this place. They know that they are in charge of the House by only a small margin. They know that Democrats control the Senate by a small margin. They know we have a Democratic President in the White House.

The gentlewoman says that this is not a ploy. What else would you call it when you bring a bill to the floor that bypasses the committee of jurisdiction and no amendments can be made in order?

You bring it to the floor and know it is going nowhere in the Senate and know it will not become law. What do you call that? It is either a ploy or a total waste of time.

We spend an awful lot of time doing nothing around here, yelling and screaming, but when it comes to actually solving problems, my friends don't want to do it.

My friends, because of your inaction, because of the bills that you have blocked repeatedly, including a supplemental request by President Biden for an additional \$13 billion for border security, your actions have resulted in our not being able to make more progress.

So, my friends own this issue. You own the border security issue. You own the fentanyl issue. You own all of it.

I think the American people are seeing through all of this.

The idea that you would bring a bill like this to the floor to exploit a terrible tragedy, a bill that will do nothing and a bill that you know is going nowhere, is really, really sad.

I have news for my Republican friends: If you want to get stuff done, you have to work with us.

I get it. You are in charge. You will probably get more than I would like you to get, but the idea that somehow you are in control of everything and that this is a dictatorship—not yet. Not yet. I know that may be something we might have to deal with down the road, but not yet.

Right now, we are still a deliberative body. This is still a democracy. If you want to get stuff done, then you have to work with us in a bipartisan way.

Nonetheless, if this is all about show business and press releases, then fine. Have at it. Give more speeches, more complaints, but I am telling you, the American people are getting tired of it.

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

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

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

Mr. Speaker, I want to comment on my colleague's comments about this not going through a regular process. That is just not really correct.

The House Judiciary Committee has held seven hearings on the state of our southern border. They also held a hearing specifically on criminal aliens and the Biden administration's lax immigration enforcement in the interior of the country. In addition, section 4 of H.R. 7511 was marked up in February.

We heard a lot from my colleague on the other side of the aisle.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Will the gentlewoman yield?

Mrs. HOUCHIN. I yield to the gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, I have to say facts are important things. There have been no hearings on this bill. There was no markup, and there was no vote to report the bill out of committee. That is a fact.

Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mrs. HOUCHIN. Mr. Speaker, my colleague on the other side of the aisle says that this is on us, on Republicans, because of our inaction, but we passed H.R. 2, the actual strongest border bill that we have ever seen. We passed H.R. 2 8 months ago, maybe more, and 211 House Democrats voted "no" on that bill. That bill has been sitting in the Senate unmoved ever since.

Senate Republicans even rejected the disastrous border bill ultimately that originated over there that codified all of Joe Biden's terrible border policies.

Mr. Speaker, I ask: Why would this bill go nowhere? Why would we not want to hold illegal aliens accountable? Why would we not want to detain illegal aliens who commit crimes such as theft, larceny, and violent crimes? Why would we not want to move this bill forward in the Senate?

I hope that my colleagues in the Senate on both sides of the aisle would support this.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 4 minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. ROY).

Mr. ROY. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentlewoman from Indiana for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, I would note, as a point of clarification, the legislation on the floor, there are two main parts.

The first part that the gentleman from Massachusetts was referring to did not go through committee. He is correct regarding the part that dealt with the issue with respect to ICE detainees relative to theft, burglary, et cetera.

The second half of the bill that deals with standing for States to be able to get into court to challenge the administration's lawlessness with respect to parole and asylum, that part did go through committee and was, in fact, debated.

Again, I am trying to set the record straight. I am acknowledging that the first half didn't, but the first half, the part that deals with theft, burglary, and so forth, so that we can have an

ICE detainer placed on someone, is designed to deal with, in part, what we are dealing with in response to Laken Riley.

What my colleagues on the other side of the aisle do not want to talk about and what we will not hear the President of the United States tomorrow night in this room talk about is Laken Riley.

My colleagues doth protest too much about a bill that is named after someone who was harmed, given the extent of her injuries. There is a whole website dedicated to the bills that my colleagues on the other side of the aisle find a way to name after somebody in the wake of some emergency.

The fact here is we have a young woman who was 22 years old who was killed by someone who was released under mass parole by the policies of this administration, by this President, and by this Secretary of Homeland Security. He is only the second Secretary to be impeached in the history of our country because he has violated his oath to the Constitution, ignored the laws, and endangered the American people.

The simple fact is the President of the United States and my colleagues on the other side of the aisle—the radical progressive Democrats who are trying to remake America with wide-open borders—do not want to talk about Laken Riley. They do not want to talk about Kayla Hamilton, who was a 20-year-old with autism in Aberdeen, Maryland. A 17-year-old illegal alien from El Salvador was released into the country as an unaccompanied alien minor and killed Kayla Hamilton. He raped and beat her to death in her home in July 2022.

I do not believe that the President of the United States or my Democratic colleagues want to talk about Kayla Hamilton.

I don't believe that my Democratic colleagues want to talk about Aiden Clark, an 11-year-old boy in Ohio who was killed by a 35-year-old illegal alien who struck a schoolbus full of kids.

I don't think they want to talk about the 2-year-old in Montgomery County, Maryland, who was killed by somebody from Venezuela who was similarly released under mass parole under the policies of this administration, under this President, and under this Secretary of Homeland Security. They don't want to talk about that 2-year-old.

They don't want to talk about the adolescent girl who was raped by a Honduran who was released into the United States, again, under these policies. The simple fact of the matter is that is not what my colleagues want to talk about.

They don't want to talk about the young Texas girl, a cheerleader, murdered in the bathtub. She was found dead by her mom when her mom was expecting to see her at a cheerleading event subsequent to that.

They don't want to talk about that, and the President of the United States,

most assuredly, will not talk about those Americans tomorrow night in this room.

He won't. He will try to hide behind a Senate bill. He will try to hide behind a Senate bill that would have had no chance of passage. They knew it wouldn't pass. He will hide behind a bill that would have codified the mass releases that are endangering the American people, a Senate bill that would not have fixed the parole policies that resulted in the death of Laken Riley.

These are all facts that we know to be true, but my colleagues on the other side of the aisle want to hide behind the Senate bill because they know that their policies are indefensible.

Mr. Speaker, this legislation is one step in order to honor the memory of Laken Riley, and I urge my colleagues to support it.

□ 1245

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

Mr. Speaker, this place is no longer a serious place. My friends are turning the House of Representatives into a debate club. None of this is serious.

The gentleman comes up and tries to claim there was regular order here, that the committee of jurisdiction actually did its job because half of the bill maybe was the subject of a hearing previously. Now my Republican friends are coming to the floor praising half regular order. I don't know. When I was in grade school, 50 percent was a failing grade. My friends are failing on regular order.

If the gentleman was serious about this and my friends on the other side of the aisle wanted to get something passed, my colleagues would conduct themselves in a different manner and actually have regular order and invite Democrats to be able to offer ideas and try to work things out to see whether the majority could have a bill that actually had a chance of going anywhere in the Senate or being signed into law, but that is not what is happening.

The gentleman comes here and starts reading the names of victims. I could sit here and read the names of the 21 victims in Uvalde who were murdered by a man with a gun. I could go right down the list and start naming all the children that were killed, all the mothers and fathers that were killed.

The real challenge for this institution is to actually try to come together in a bipartisan way and solve problems and do something. I don't know how my friends could go home and claim that they are doing anything and be able to point to anything that ever makes it past the finish line.

We are in a divided government. I wish we weren't. I wish Democrats were in control of the House, the Senate, and the White House, all at once. We would get a lot more done. When we were, we actually got some stuff done.

However, that is not the reality, and so we have to deal with the reality.

The reality is, if my colleagues want to get anything done, work has to be done in a bipartisan way, and my colleagues have to respect at least some semblance of regular order. That this bill had to be rushed to the floor with not a single hearing, with no markup, no amendments, no nothing, and the committee of jurisdiction never even had a chance to report it out, it is awful.

Mr. Speaker, I urge that we defeat the previous question. If we do, I will offer an amendment to the rule to bring up H.R. 12, a bill that would ensure every American has full access to essential reproductive healthcare, including abortion care.

Since the wrongly decided Dobbs decision, every State across America has taken action on abortion in some way. Unfortunately, many Republican-led States, cheered on by Republican Members in this Chamber, have passed laws to either ban some or all abortion care.

Republicans have made it crystal clear that banning abortion nationwide is their goal. Additionally, if trying to ban abortion care is not dangerous enough, extreme Republicans are now doubling down on their attacks on women's reproductive freedom by supporting a bill to ban IVF nationwide. That would criminalize reproductive healthcare.

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

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

There was no objection.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from Ohio (Ms. BROWN) to discuss our proposal.

Ms. BROWN. Mr. Speaker, my guest for the State of the Union tomorrow will be Ms. Annette Watts of Warren, Ohio, the mother of Brittany Watts.

Last year, Brittany Watts dealt with a common medical problem. She had a miscarriage. Instead of receiving care, she was charged with a crime.

Mr. Speaker, this is because of the cynical, sinister, violent, vicious, blatant, barbaric, callous, and cruel agenda to deny women their rights—their right to IVF, to contraception, to miscarriage care, and, yes, the right to an abortion.

One in three women live in States that have passed abortion bans and now face health issues far more dangerous than the procedure itself, like maternal sepsis. In addition, Black women, like Brittany, are on the front line. We are more likely to miscarry, more likely to need an abortion, more likely to die during pregnancy, and, yes, more likely to be targeted.

It is time to restore rights rather than restrict them. We must pass the Women's Health Protection Act because everyone deserves access to reproductive care.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to vote "no" on the previous question so

we can bring up this important legislation.

Mrs. HOUCHIN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to include in the RECORD an article dated October 28, 2022, in Fortune magazine by the Associated Press entitled, "Fentanyl and related drugs are killing more people than guns and cars combined. Many victims don't realize they're even taking it."

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

There was no objection.

[From the Associated Press, Oct. 28, 2022]

FENTANYL AND RELATED DRUGS ARE KILLING MORE PEOPLE THAN GUNS AND CARS COMBINED. MANY VICTIMS DON'T REALIZE THEY'RE EVEN TAKING IT

(By Geoff Mulvihill)

Lillianna Alfaro was a recent high school graduate raising a toddler and considering joining the Army when she and a friend bought what they thought was the anti-anxiety drug Xanax in December 2020.

The pills were fake and contained fentanyl, an opioid that can be 50 times as powerful as the same amount of heroin. It killed them both.

"Two years ago, I knew nothing about this," said Holly Groelle, the mother of 19-year-old Alfaro, who lived in Appleton, Wisconsin. "I felt bad because it was something I could not have warned her about, because I didn't know."

The drug that killed her daughter was rare a decade ago, but fentanyl and other lab-produced synthetic opioids now are driving an overdose crisis deadlier than any the U.S. has ever seen. Last year, overdoses from all drugs claimed more than 100,000 lives for the first time, and the deaths this year have remained at nearly the same level—more than gun and auto deaths combined.

The federal government counted more accidental overdose deaths in 2021 alone than it did in the 20-year period from 1979 through 1998. Overdoses in recent years have been many times more frequent than they were during the black tar heroin epidemic that led President Richard Nixon to launch his War on Drugs, or during the cocaine crisis in the 1980s.

As fentanyl gains attention, mistaken beliefs persist about the drug, how it is trafficked and why so many people are dying.

Experts believe deaths surged not only because the drugs are so powerful, but also because fentanyl is laced into so many other illicit drugs, and not because of changes in how many people are using. In the late 2010s—the most recent period for which federal data is available—deaths were skyrocketing even as the number of people using opioids was dropping.

Advocates warn that some of the alarms being sounded by politicians and officials are wrong and potentially dangerous. Among those ideas: that tightening control of the U.S.-Mexico border would stop the flow of the drugs, though experts say the key to reining in the crisis is reducing drug demand; that fentanyl might turn up in kids' trick-or-treat baskets this Halloween; and that merely touching the drug briefly can be fatal—something that researchers found untrue and that advocates worry can make first responders hesitate about giving life-saving treatment.

All three ideas were brought up this month in an online video billed as a pre-Halloween public service announcement from a dozen Republican U.S. senators.

A report this year from a bipartisan federal commission found that fentanyl and

similar drugs are being made mostly in labs in Mexico from chemicals shipped primarily from China.

In New England, fentanyl has largely replaced the supply of heroin. Across the country, it's being laced into drugs such as cocaine and methamphetamine, sometimes with deadly results. And in cases like Alfaro's, it's being mixed in Mexico or the U.S. with other substances and pressed into pills meant to look like other drugs.

The U.S. Drug Enforcement Agency has warned that fentanyl is being sold in multi-colored pills and powders—sometimes referred to as “rainbow fentanyl”—marketed on social media to teens and young adults.

Jon DeLena, the agency's associate special agent in charge, said at the National Crime Prevention Council summit on fentanyl in Washington this month that there's “no direct information that Halloween is specifically being targeted or young people are being targeted for Halloween,” but that hasn't kept that idea from spreading.

Joel Best, an emeritus sociology professor at the University of Delaware, said that idea falls in with a long line of Halloween-related scares. He has examined cases since 1958 and has not found a single instance of a child dying because of something foreign put into Halloween candy—and few instances of that being done at all.

“If you give a dose of fentanyl to kids in elementary school, you have an excellent chance of killing them,” he said. “If you do addict them, what are you going to do, try to take their lunch money? No one is trying to addict little kids to fentanyl.”

In midterm election campaigns, fentanyl is not getting as much attention as issues such as inflation and abortion. But Republicans running for offices including governor and U.S. Senate in Arkansas, New Mexico and Pennsylvania have framed the fentanyl crisis as a result of Democrats being lax about securing the Mexican border or soft on crime as part of a broader campaign assertion that Democrats foster lawlessness.

And when Democrats highlight the overdose crisis in campaigns this year, it has often been to tout their roles in forging settlements to hold drugmakers and distributors responsible.

Relying heavily on catching fentanyl at the border would be futile, experts say, because it's easy to move in small, hard-to-detect quantities.

“I don't think that reducing the supply is going to be the answer because it's so easy to mail,” said Adam Wandt, an assistant professor at John Jay College of Criminal Justice.

Still, some more efforts are planned on the U.S.-Mexico border, including increasing funding to search more vehicles crossing ports of entry. The bipartisan commission found those crossings are where most fentanyl arrives in the country.

The commission is calling for many of the measures that other advocates want to see, including better coordination of the federal response, targeted enforcement, and measures to prevent overdoses for those who use drugs.

The federal government has been funding efforts along those lines. It also publicizes big fentanyl seizures by law enforcement, though it's believed that even the largest busts make small dents in the national drug supply.

The commission stopped short of calling for increased penalties for selling fentanyl. Bryce Pardo, associate director of the RAND Drug Policy Research Center and a commission staff member, said such a measure would not likely deter the drug trade. But, he said, dealers who sell the products most likely to cause death—such as mixing

fentanyl into cocaine or pressing it into fake Xanax—could be targeted effectively.

One California father who lost his 20-year-old daughter is pushing for prosecutors to file murder charges against those who supply fatal doses.

Matt Capelouto's daughter Alexandra died from half a pill she bought from a dealer she found on social media in 2019, while home in Temecula, California, during a college break. She was told the pill was oxycodone, Capelouto said, but it contained fentanyl.

The dealer was charged with distributing fentanyl resulting in death, but he reached a plea deal on a lesser drug charge and will face up to 20 years in prison.

“It's not that arresting and convicting and putting these guys behind bars doesn't work,” Capelouto said. “The fact is we don't do it enough to make a difference.”

While some people killed by fentanyl have no idea they're taking it, others, particularly those with opioid use disorder, know it is or could be in the mix. But they may not know how much is in their drugs.

That was the case for Susan Ousterman's son Tyler Cordiero, who died at 24 in 2020 from a mixture that included fentanyl after years of using heroin and other opioids.

For nearly two years, Ousterman avoided going by the gas station near their home in Bensalem, Pennsylvania, where her son fatally overdosed. But in August, she went to leave two things there: naloxone, a drug used to reverse overdoses, and a poster advertising a hotline for people using drugs to call so the operator could call for help if they become unresponsive.

Ousterman is funneling her anger and sorrow into preventing other overdoses.

“Fentanyl is everywhere,” she said. “You don't know what's in an unregulated drug supply. You don't know what you're taking. You're always taking the chance of dying every time.”

Mrs. HOUCHIN. Mr. Speaker, even in 2021, there were double the amount of overdose deaths than firearm deaths in the United States, and the dramatic increase in overdose deaths, particularly due to fentanyl, are a direct result of Joe Biden's broken border policies.

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

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

Mr. Speaker, in 2021, U.S. citizens made up 86 percent of convicted fentanyl drug traffickers, 10 times greater than convictions of illegal immigrants for the same offense. Also, over 90 percent of fentanyl seizures occur at legal crossing points or interior vehicle checkpoints, not on illegal migration routes, so U.S. citizens who are subject to less scrutiny when crossing legally are the best smugglers.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to include in the RECORD an article from the Cato Institute entitled, “Fentanyl Is Smuggled for U.S. Citizens by U.S. Citizens, Not Asylum Seekers.”

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

There was no objection.

[From the Cato Institute, Sept. 14, 2022]

FENTANYL IS SMUGGLED FOR U.S. CITIZENS BY U.S. CITIZENS, NOT ASYLUM SEEKERS

(By David J. Bier)

Fentanyl overdoses tragically caused tens of thousands of preventable deaths last year.

Many politicians who want to end U.S. asylum law claim that immigrants crossing the border illegally are responsible. An NPR-Ipsos poll last week found that 39 percent of Americans and 60 percent of Republicans believe, “Most of the fentanyl entering the U.S. is smuggled in by unauthorized migrants crossing the border illegally.” A more accurate summary is that fentanyl is overwhelmingly smuggled by U.S. citizens almost entirely for U.S. citizen consumers.

Here are facts:

Fentanyl smuggling is ultimately funded by U.S. consumers who pay for illicit opioids: nearly 99 percent of whom are U.S. citizens.

In 2021, U.S. citizens were 86.3 percent of convicted fentanyl drug traffickers—ten times greater than convictions of illegal immigrants for the same offense.

Over 90 percent of fentanyl seizures occur at legal crossing points or interior vehicle checkpoints, not on illegal migration routes, so U.S. citizens (who are subject to less scrutiny) when crossing legally are the best smugglers.

The location of smuggling makes sense because hard drugs at ports of entry are about 97 percent less likely to be stopped than are people crossing illegally between them.

Just 0.02 percent of the people arrested by Border Patrol for crossing illegally possessed any fentanyl whatsoever.

The government exacerbated the problem by banning most legal cross border traffic in 2020 and 2021, accelerating a switch to fentanyl (the easiest-to-conceal drug).

During the travel restrictions, fentanyl seizures at ports quadrupled from fiscal year 2019 to 2021. Fentanyl went from a third of combined heroin and fentanyl seizures to over 90 percent.

Annual deaths from fentanyl nearly doubled from 2019 to 2021 after the government banned most travel (and asylum).

It is monstrous that tens of thousands of people are dying unnecessarily every year from fentanyl. But banning asylum and limiting travel backfired. Reducing deaths requires figuring out the cause, not jumping to blame a group that is not responsible. Instead of attacking immigrants, policymakers should focus on effective solutions that help people at risk of a fentanyl overdose.

U.S. CITIZEN CONSUMERS FUND FENTANYL SMUGGLING

U.S. consumer payments for illicit opioids ultimately fund fentanyl smuggling. Consumers pay retail dealers who pay wholesalers, and the cash is then transferred back in bulk cash form to Mexico. These funds are then used to pay smugglers to bring drugs back into the United States again. The best evidence indicates that about 99 percent of U.S. consumers of fentanyl (or products containing fentanyl) are U.S. citizens. Noncitizens appear to be about 80 percent less likely to be fentanyl consumers than their share of the population would predict. Fentanyl smuggling is almost entirely conducted on behalf of U.S. citizen consumers. Of course, consumers would prefer much safer and legal opioids over illicit fentanyl, but the government has unfortunately forced them into the black market with few safe options.

U.S. CITIZENS ARE FENTANYL TRAFFICKERS

Fentanyl is primarily trafficked by U.S. citizens. The U.S. Sentencing Commission publishes data on all federal convictions, which includes demographic information on individuals convicted of fentanyl trafficking. Figure 1 shows the citizenship status of fentanyl traffickers for 2018 to 2021. Every year, U.S. citizens receive the most convictions by far. In 2021, U.S. citizens accounted for 86.3 percent of fentanyl trafficking convictions compared to just 8.9 percent for illegal immigrants.

Note that since trafficking involves movement from Mexico to the United States, it is unclear how to measure the likelihood of conviction for a noncitizen without U.S. lawful immigration status or citizenship since the denominator would include most Mexicans in Mexico as well as anyone who crosses through Mexico. But regardless, the reality is that people with U.S. citizenship or residence traffic the vast majority of fentanyl, not illegal border crossers specifically or illegal immigrants generally.

Indeed, this appears to be the case even for the most high-profile cases. Aaron Reichlin-Melnick of the American Immigration Council analyzed every Customs and Border Protection press release mentioning fentanyl over a 6-month period and found just 3 percent involved illegal immigrants. This means that the agency itself believes the most important smugglers are U.S. citizens. U.S. CITIZENS BRING FENTANYL THROUGH LEGAL CROSSING POINTS

That U.S. citizens account for most fentanyl trafficking convictions is not surprising given the location of fentanyl border seizures. Over 90 percent of fentanyl border seizures occur at legal border crossings and interior vehicle checkpoints (and 91 percent of drug seizures at checkpoints are from U.S. citizens—only 4 percent by “potentially removable” immigrants). In 2022, so far, Border Patrol agents who were not at vehicle checkpoints accounted for just 9 percent of the fentanyl seizures near the border (Figure 2). Since it is easier for U.S. citizens to cross legally than noncitizens, it makes sense for fentanyl producers to hire U.S. citizen smugglers.

The DEA reports that criminal organizations “exploit major highway routes for transportation, and the most common method employed involves smuggling illicit drugs through U.S. [ports of entry] in passenger vehicles with concealed compartments or commingled with legitimate goods on tractor-trailers.” Several agencies including CBP, ICE, and DHS intelligence told Congress in May 2022 the same thing: hard drugs come through ports of entry.

Some people posit that less fentanyl is interdicted between ports of entry because it is more difficult to detect there. But the opposite is true: fentanyl is smuggled through official crossing points specifically because it is easier to conceal it on a legal traveler or in legal goods than it is to conceal a person crossing the border illegally. Customs and Border Protection estimates that it caught 2 percent of cocaine at southwest land ports of entry in 2020 (the only drug it analyzed), while it estimated that its interdiction effectiveness rate for illegal crossers was about 83 percent in 2021 (Figure 3). This means that drugs coming at a port of entry are about 97 percent less likely to be interdicted than a person coming between ports of entry, and this massive incentive to smuggle through ports would remain even if Border Patrol was far less effective at stopping people crossing illegally than it now estimates that it is.

CLOSING PORTS INCREASED FENTANYL SMUGGLING

During the early days of the pandemic, the Trump administration drastically restricted legal travel to the United States, banning nonessential travel through land ports of entry from Mexico in particular in late-March 2020. Because there were fewer opportunities to traffic drugs at ports of entry, traffickers switched to trafficking more fentanyl. Because fentanyl is at least 50 times more potent per pound than heroin and other drugs, smugglers need fewer trips to supply the same market. The seizure data demonstrate the change in tactics. From Oc-

tober 2018 to February 2020, about a third of fentanyl and heroin seizures at southwest ports of entry were fentanyl with no clear upward trend. By the time the travel restrictions were ended (at least for vaccinated travelers) in January 2022, over 90 percent of heroin-fentanyl seizures were fentanyl. Unfortunately, the market shift has continued. The absolute amount of fentanyl being seized quadrupled (Figure 4).

The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime reported that in mid-2020, as a result of travel restrictions, “Many countries have reported drug shortages at the retail level, with reports of heroin shortages in Europe, South-West Asia and North America in particular” and that “heroin users may switch to substances such as fentanyl.” The DEA predicted in 2020 that “additional restrictions or limits on travel across the U.S.-Mexico border due to pandemic concerns will likely impact heroin DTOs [drug trafficking organizations], particularly those using couriers or personal vehicles to smuggle heroin into the United States,” leading to “mixing fentanyl into distributed heroin.”

Unsurprisingly, the increased reliance on fentanyl has increased fentanyl deaths. Indeed, it appears that the border closures rapidly accelerated the transition from heroin to fentanyl, leading to tens of thousands of additional deaths per year (Figure 5). Note that 2021 data undercount the true number of deaths because not all locations have reported. Nonetheless, the annual number of fentanyl deaths have nearly doubled between 2019 and 2021. Banning asylum under Title 42 of the U.S. code probably had no effect on these trends, but it certainly did not help reduce fentanyl deaths, as some have claimed.

ASYLUM SEEKERS DON'T AID FENTANYL SMUGGLING

Fentanyl smuggling is not a reason to end asylum. The people arrested by Border Patrol are not smuggling fentanyl. Just 279 of 1.8 million arrests by Border Patrol of illegal border crossers resulted in a fentanyl seizure—too small of a percentage (0.02 percent) to appear on a graph—and many of these seizures occurred at vehicle checkpoints of legal travelers in the interior of the United States.

Nonetheless, some officials have asserted that asylum seekers distract Border Patrol from drug interdiction efforts. If asylum seekers were indirectly aiding drug smuggling, however, we would expect the effect to show up in the seizure trends by changing the locations, times, or amounts of the seizures in some way. But drug seizure trends simply do not deviate measurably with greater arrests of asylum seekers. This is true on several different metrics: across time, between sectors, along mile-distance from the border, or the share of seizures at ports of entry versus between them. If the administration legalized asylum at ports of entry, even this hypothetical problem would disappear.

AGGRESSIVE DRUG INTERDICTION EXACERBATES FENTANYL SMUGGLING

The fentanyl problem is a direct consequence of drug prohibition and interdiction. As my colleague Dr. Jeff Singer has written:

“Fentanyl’s appearance in the underground drug trade is an excellent example of the ‘iron law of prohibition’: when alcohol or drugs are prohibited they will tend to get produced in more concentrated forms, because they take up less space and weight in transporting and reap more money when subdivided for sale.”

Fentanyl is at least 50 times more powerful per pound than heroin, which means you have to smuggle nearly 50 pounds of heroin to supply the market that a single pound of

fentanyl could. This is a massive incentive to smuggle fentanyl, and the more efforts are made to restrict the drug trade, the more fentanyl will be the drug that is smuggled. The DEA has even admitted, “The low cost, high potency, and ease of acquisition of fentanyl may encourage heroin users to switch to the drug should future heroin supplies be disrupted.” In other words, heroin interdiction makes the fentanyl problem worse.

CONCLUSION

Border enforcement will not stop fentanyl smuggling. Border Patrol’s experience with marijuana smuggling may provide even clearer evidence for this fact. Marijuana is the bulkiest and easiest-to-detect drug, which is why it was largely trafficked between ports of entry. Despite doubling the Border Patrol and building a border fence in the 2000s in part to combat the trade, the only thing that actually reduced marijuana smuggling was U.S. states legalizing marijuana. It is absurd to believe that interdiction will be more effective against a drug that is orders of magnitude more difficult to detect.

The DEA plainly stated in 2020 that fentanyl “will likely continue to contribute to high numbers of drug overdose deaths in the United States” even with the ban on asylum and travel restrictions. But ending asylum or banning travel has been worse than useless. These policies are both directly and indirectly counterproductive: first directly by incentivizing more fentanyl smuggling and then indirectly by distracting from the true causes of the crisis.

My colleagues have been warning for many years that doubling down on these failed prohibition policies will lead to even worse outcomes, and unfortunately, time has repeatedly proven them correct. The only appropriate response to the opioid epidemic is treatment of addiction. But for this to be possible, the government must adopt policies that facilitate treatment and reduce the harms from addiction—most importantly deaths. To develop these policies, policymakers need to ignore the calls to blame foreigners for our problems.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, I will say to my friend from Indiana, my Republican friends now own this issue. The majority had a chance to do something, and my friends on the other side chose to not do anything. My colleagues chose to follow the orders of Donald Trump.

Let me read to you the quote from Oklahoma’s own senior Senator, JAMES LANKFORD, and he said this on FOX News. He said: “Are we, as Republicans, going to have press conferences and complain the border is bad and then intentionally leave it open?” That is exactly what House Republicans are doing, complain, complain, complain, and then say, no, no, no, we don’t actually want to do anything about the border. We just want to complain.

Again, let me read that one more time. This is Senator LANKFORD, the second most conservative Member of the United States Senate, who said: “Are we, as Republicans, going to have press conferences and complain that the border is bad and then intentionally leave it open?” That is exactly what House Republicans are doing, complain, complain, complain, and then they say, no, no, no, we don’t actually want to do anything about the border. They just want to complain.

Senator TILLIS, hardly a progressive, who had been working on this deal, called on House Republicans as well, and he said: "Don't pretend that the policy," meaning the policy they negotiated, "isn't strong. If you want to admit you're just afraid to tell President Trump the truth, that's fine." But for you to take a look at this framework and say it is a half measure, you are not paying attention, or you are not telling the truth.

Mr. Speaker, again, this issue now is wholly owned by my Republican friends, and every opportunity to try to do something, from rejecting President Biden's request for additional funding for border security to telling the Senate that any border security bill is dead on arrival, that is now with you, and so my friends on the other side own this.

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

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

Mrs. HOUCHIN. Mr. Speaker, I just have two words to say. H.R. 2, we passed that 8 months ago. That was the Secure the Border Act. The Democrats own that. Mr. Speaker, 211 Democrats voted against that legislation.

I would also note that, since Joe Biden took office, we have had record numbers of crossings. There has been 7.5 million people who have crossed into the United States illegally and been paroled into the United States under Joe Biden's watch, and that has been going on for 3 years under the Biden administration. Therefore, it is not Republicans that own this issue, but it is Democrats.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 4 minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. ROY).

Mr. ROY. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentlewoman from Indiana for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, my colleagues want to, as I said before, hide behind the Senate legislation to try to suggest that House Republicans are not addressing the issue. Well, everybody who has been paying attention to the issue knows that we did, in fact, pass legislation just under a year ago that directly addresses the issues that are plaguing American citizens on a daily basis. This is a real issue.

Again, my colleagues on the other side of the aisle want to gloss over the real impact, not just on Texans, but as the folks that I met with in San Diego last week, what is happening to them and what is happening to their schools, what is happening to their jails, what is happening to their communities; and the people in Texas who have spent \$12.5 billion to try to deal with border security—now having some success, by the way—doing our part to try to hold the line in Texas.

We are seeing the flow of the cartels moving into Arizona and California, which is no great thing for the country, but it is at least trying to relieve the pressure on Texas.

Also, the number of ranches, the number of people that I deal with all the time, but also the migrants. We just gloss over the little girls being sold into the sex trafficking trade. We gloss over the family in a stash house that my friend, who is a Federal judge, had to throw the book at somebody who was using this mom and her daughter to hold for a ransom of \$25,000 against somebody who was here illegally in Baltimore. This is happening every day in our country.

I-35 and I-10, the intersection in San Antonio, which I represent, is a main thoroughfare of this trafficking of human beings, and this is all happening on the watch of the executive.

My colleagues want to try to pin the failure of open borders on a Congress for failing to give, what, more legislation and tools to a President who has the tools to do what is necessary to secure the border?

President Biden could deal with the border right now—everybody knows that—by enforcing the law, by enforcing existing law, law that requires detention, law that requires that you detain people who come to the United States, who—because we are a people who want to give people some sort of chance if they are dealing with a claim for asylum because they fear political persecution or religious persecution—have to make that claim. However, most Americans believe that we detain, adjudicate the claim, determine if it is legitimate, and do not allow our government, our executive branch, our President, to make a mockery of the laws by using parole and asylum authority to flood the American people with millions of people. We know this to be true.

My colleagues on the other side of the aisle have literally no defense to the reality that millions have been released into the United States. Millions have been flooded into our communities, our schools, our hospitals.

My colleagues on the other side of the aisle just kind of smugly smirk at what we have to deal with in Texas, what sheriffs have to deal with in Texas, what we have to deal with in our schools, in our communities, when we have to find the dead bodies of migrants on our ranches, because that is what happens.

Is the President of the United States going to sit up there tomorrow night and talk about the dead migrants that we find on ranches in Texas? Is he going to have the nerve to do that, or talk about the 53 migrants who died in a tractor-trailer in San Antonio last year in the Texas heat? Is he going to have the nerve to do that? No, because they are his policies, his choices to ignore the law.

My Democratic colleagues want to somehow say that it is on the majority when we passed legislation to try to force the President to do what his job is and his duty under the Constitution. They have the temerity to try to say it is on the majority when it is, in fact,

our Democratic colleagues who refuse to actually hold the executive branch accountable, as is required under the Constitution under separation of powers.

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

Mr. Speaker, let me say two things. First of all, yelling doesn't solve the problem; and, two, nobody on this side of the aisle is glossing over this issue.

I have just spent the last 30 minutes telling my colleagues how ridiculous the legislation my Republican friends are bringing to the floor is and complaining about the fact that, every chance my colleagues get to fix the problem, my friends on the other side choose not to.

By the way, it wasn't my words that I was quoting. It was Republican Members of the Senate, impeccably conservative Senator LANKFORD, Senator MCCONNELL, Senator TILLIS. It was my Republican colleagues.

I get it. My friend is now making it clear. It is either his way, or the highway. Well, that is not a good attitude to have when you are in a divided government, but if that is what it is, that is what it is.

I remind my Republican colleagues when they keep on bringing up their vaunted H.R. 2—by the way, I will say to the gentlewoman from Indiana, I think that is more than two words—last week, Senator CRUZ from Texas basically had an amendment to the CR to bring up H.R. 2, their bill, their solution. It got 32 votes—32 votes. That is less than a third of the Senate.

I don't know about my colleagues, but I think that is a pretty good indication that H.R. 2 isn't going anywhere. It is dead. Therefore, maybe we ought to come together and figure out what we can do together. For the life of me, I don't understand why Republicans are reluctant to do that.

This is not a debate club. It is not supposed to be a debate club. This is supposed to be a place where we solve problems and pass legislation to help protect and defend this country. Instead, all we get treated to are press release bills, MAGA bills, yelling and screaming and whatever, but never, never, never a solution.

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

□ 1300

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

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Massachusetts has 8¾ minutes remaining.

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

Mr. Speaker, despite the very real domestic and global challenges facing our Nation, House Republicans have chosen to waste time on sham impeachments, silly censures, and extreme policies that will never become law, and the two bills that this rule would bring to the floor, they fall into that category.

This is not serious legislating by any measure. Democrats have come to the

table with real solutions on the border, real solutions on immigration, and instead what we get is garbage like this.

I have said it before and I will say it again: Republicans own this issue. Their side owns this. They own the border. They own the fentanyl crisis. They own all of it because they repeatedly reject our attempts to work together. That is both on border security and nearly everything else that has been brought up in this Congress.

Because of that, because Republicans absolutely refuse to work with House Democrats, the Democratic majority in the Senate or the Democratic-held White House, because House Republican leadership continues to bow down to the most fringe, MAGA Members of their ultraslim majority, this body no longer functions under regular order.

In fact, we don't function. This is not functioning. The last bill to become law that came through the Rules Committee was 9 months ago.

Let me repeat that: The last bill to become law that came through the Rules Committee was 9 months ago. House Republican leadership has lost six rule votes since January 2023, and every week there is a legitimate question of whether Republicans even have the votes to pass their own rules and bills.

I have never seen such dysfunction. I have never seen such incompetence. House Democrats have rescued this failing House Republican majority at nearly every turn. Last year, House Democrats ensured that the U.S. didn't default on its debt. That was a big deal because if we didn't help, we would have defaulted on our debt.

House Democrats have kept the government running, despite GOP leadership wasting time pursuing unrealistic draconian spending cuts. It has been our votes that have kept the lights on since September.

We believe in governing. We believe that shutting the government down is a bad, terrible, awful idea. House Democrats have advocated time and time again for viable solutions that tackle the important issues the Americans most care about, but—and here is the sad thing—Republicans would rather play partisan politics like politicizing this horrific crime than do anything to actually keep our country safe.

There is an opportunity here. The stars are aligned. Conservative Republicans are working with moderate and progressive Democrats and working with the President of the United States to try to come to some sort of a compromise that will make a difference, and the response by the House Republicans is forget about it, my way or the highway. No. Donald Trump says we need the issue. Don't ever come up with a solution. Don't solve problems. Let's just keep the issue. Let's keep the press releases coming. Let's continue to exploit tragedy after tragedy after tragedy. Enough.

Again, this is not a debate club; this is the United States House of Rep-

resentatives, and all of us, Democrats and Republicans, have an obligation to do our job, to make sure we keep the government running, to make sure we are solving problems.

I plead with my colleagues on the other side of the aisle to join with us and with the conservative Republicans in the Senate. Let's do something, but instead we have got this. How pathetic.

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

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

Mr. Speaker, we have before us the opportunity to move legislation that could unleash growth and increase prosperity for Americans across the country in the Expanding Access to Capital Act. This bill empowers Americans with the tools they need to grow their small businesses and secure their financial futures.

We need to focus on initiatives that strengthen our economy and combat inflation. However, time and time again, this administration's policies seem to hinder rather than facilitate business in America and it defies logic.

In contrast, this legislation streamlines regulations, expands opportunities for economic growth, and enables more Americans to invest in their future.

Turning to H.R. 7511, the Laken Riley Act, it aims to strengthen our immigration laws.

In H.R. 7511, we mourn the death and honor the life and memory of Laken Riley and other victims of the Biden administration's open-border policies, and we denounce President Biden's open-border policies.

We are not politicizing. This is a response to a tragedy in the hope that we would prevent a similar tragedy moving forward. No family should have to endure what Laken's family has experienced. We owe it to Laken's parents and parents nationwide to ensure something like this never happens again.

This border crisis is real. It has devastating consequences. Laken's story is sadly not unique. As the Speaker has documented, there are over 100 stories across the country just like Laken's.

Mr. Speaker, I hope the House can speak with one voice on this bill and together do what the American people have been asking us to do, which is secure the border and institute policies that will protect Americans and American families.

I look forward to moving these bills out of the House this week, and I ask my colleagues to join me in voting "yes" on the previous question and "yes" on the rule.

The material previously referred to by Mr. MCGOVERN is as follows:

AN AMENDMENT TO H. RES. 1052 OFFERED BY
MR. MCGOVERN OF MASSACHUSETTS

At the end of the resolution, add the following:

SEC. 3. Immediately upon adoption of this resolution, the House shall proceed to the

consideration in the House of the bill (H.R. 12) to protect a person's ability to determine whether to continue or end a pregnancy, and to protect a health care provider's ability to provide abortion services. All points of order against consideration of the bill are waived. The bill shall be considered as read. All points of order against provisions in the bill are waived. The previous question shall be considered as ordered on the bill and on any amendment thereto, to final passage without intervening motion except: (1) one hour of debate equally divided and controlled by the chair and ranking minority member of the Committee on Energy and Commerce or their respective designees; and (2) one motion to recommit.

SEC. 4. Clause 1(c) of rule XIX shall not apply to the consideration of H.R. 12.

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

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on ordering the previous question.

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

Mr. MCGOVERN. 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.

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 8 of rule XX, the Chair will postpone further proceedings today on motions to suspend the rules on which a recorded vote or the yeas and nays are ordered, or votes objected to under clause 6 of rule XX.

The House will resume proceedings on postponed questions at a later time.

CONSOLIDATED APPROPRIATIONS ACT, 2024

Ms. GRANGER. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and agree to the resolution (H. Res. 1061) providing for the concurrence by the House in the Senate amendment to H.R. 4366, with an amendment.

The Clerk read the title of the resolution.

The text of the resolution is as follows:

H. RES. 1061

Resolved, That upon the adoption of this resolution the House shall be considered to have taken from the Speaker's table the bill, H.R. 4366, with the Senate amendment thereto, and to have concurred in the Senate amendment with the following amendment:

In lieu of the matter proposed to be inserted by the Senate amendment, insert the following:

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the "Consolidated Appropriations Act, 2024".

SEC. 2. TABLE OF CONTENTS.

- Sec. 1. Short title.
- Sec. 2. Table of contents.
- Sec. 3. References.
- Sec. 4. Explanatory statement.