

of serving with our troops, which I obviously support.

In fact, a temporary pause for security evaluations is so sensible that in November 2015, after the Paris terrorist attacks, even the minority leader suggested that “a pause may be necessary.” It wasn’t beyond the pale then, and it is not now. Moreover, the people who are enforcing our laws on the frontlines agree with President Trump. The union for Border Patrol and Customs Enforcement agents has stated that they support this order and two other related immigration orders.

Yet here is the minority shedding crocodile tears over President Trump’s immigration refugee policy, but where were those tears for the last 8 years when President Obama’s foreign policy created all of these refugees? Where were the tears when President Obama overthrew the Government of Libya with nothing to follow? Where were the tears when President Obama withdrew from Iraq, leaving that country to fend off Iran and the Islamic State? Where were the tears when President Obama gave Iran \$100 billion to continue its imperial campaign throughout the Middle East, to include overthrowing the Government of Yemen through its proxies? And most notoriously, where were the tears when President Obama stood idly by and watched Syria go up in flames? Spare me the tears now.

If the minority is worried about the President’s counsel and wants to make a difference in the real world, I suggest we get to work and we confirm Rex Tillerson to be the Secretary of State and JEFF SESSIONS to be the Attorney General. In the meantime, I object.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Objection is heard.

Is there further debate?

CLOTURE MOTION

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Pursuant to rule XXII, the Chair lays before the Senate the pending cloture motion, which the clerk will state.

The bill clerk read as follows:

CLOTURE MOTION

We, the undersigned Senators, in accordance with the provisions of rule XXII of the Standing Rules of the Senate, do hereby move to bring to a close debate on the nomination of Rex W. Tillerson, of Texas, to be Secretary of State.

Mitch McConnell, John Cornyn, Richard Burr, Tom Cotton, Jerry Moran, Pat Roberts, James Lankford, Johnny Isakson, Bob Corker, Orrin G. Hatch, Thom Tillis, Dan Sullivan, David Perdue, James M. Inhofe, Deb Fischer, Cory Gardner, John Barrasso.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. By unanimous consent, the mandatory quorum call has been waived.

The question is, Is it the sense of the Senate that the nomination of Rex W. Tillerson, of Texas, to be Secretary of State shall be brought to a close?

The yeas and nays are mandatory under the rule.

The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk called the roll.

Mr. DURBIN. I announce that the Senator from New Mexico (Mr. HEINRICH) is necessarily absent.

(Disturbance in the Visitors’ Galleries.)

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Sergeant at Arms will restore order in the Senate.

The Galleries will remain quiet.

The Sergeant at Arms will restore order.

Are there any other Senators in the Chamber desiring to vote?

The yeas and nays resulted—yeas 56, nays 43, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 34 Ex.]

YEAS—56

Alexander	Gardner	Paul
Barrasso	Graham	Perdue
Blunt	Grassley	Portman
Boozman	Hatch	Risch
Burr	Heitkamp	Roberts
Capito	Heller	Rounds
Cassidy	Hoeven	Rubio
Cochran	Inhofe	Sasse
Collins	Isakson	Scott
Corker	Johnson	Sessions
Cornyn	Kennedy	Shelby
Cotton	King	Sullivan
Crapo	Lankford	Thune
Cruz	Lee	Tillis
Daines	Manchin	Toomey
Enzi	McCain	Warner
Ernst	McConnell	Wicker
Fischer	Moran	Young
Flake	Murkowski	

NAYS—43

Baldwin	Franken	Peters
Bennet	Gillibrand	Reed
Blumenthal	Harris	Sanders
Booker	Hassan	Schatz
Brown	Hirono	Schumer
Cantwell	Kaine	Shaheen
Cardin	Klobuchar	Stabenow
Carper	Leahy	Tester
Casey	Markey	Udall
Coons	McCaskill	Van Hollen
Cortez Masto	Menendez	Warren
Donnelly	Merkley	Whitehouse
Duckworth	Murphy	Wyden
Durbin	Murray	
Feinstein	Nelson	

NOT VOTING—1

Heinrich

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. LANKFORD). On this vote, the yeas are 56, the nays are 43.

The motion is agreed to.

Mr. THUNE. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

TRAVEL BAN

Mr. DURBIN. Mr. President, this is the 11th day of the Trump Presidency. To say that these have been tumultuous days is certainly an understatement. What happened over this past weekend really was unsettling to many people all across the United States.

Candidate Trump made it clear that he had strong feelings about refugees and strong feelings about immigration, but I don’t think anyone anticipated the Executive orders that were issued by the Trump administration, by the President, on Friday. The net result of that we saw across the United States

at O’Hare International Airport, JFK, Dulles, many other airports. International travelers, en route, learned that the laws of the United States were being changed because of President Trump’s Executive order. As a result, there was a lot of confusion and uncertainty, and hardships were created. Individuals who were coming to the United States as refugees were being turned away.

For the record, this decision to indefinitely suspend the admission of Syrian refugees into the United States is not a decision based on fact. Since 9/11, since the war in Syria began, we have not had a single—not one—instant of terrorism by a Syrian refugee—not one. The United States has not stepped up as other countries like Canada have in admitting Syrian refugees. We have gone to great lengths, extraordinary lengths, to give background checks that are as consuming as one can imagine, to verify their identity and their safety to the United States.

Overwhelmingly, these Syrian refugees are the victims of a deadly war which has gone on for years, and overwhelmingly they are children with their mothers. I have met them. I sat down with them in Chicago. It is heartbreaking to think that they have lived through war, may have been lucky enough to make it to a refugee camp, and then waited for years—for years—to be cleared by the United States and be given a chance to come to this country.

It has to be a heartbreaking process. Through it all, many of them have endured losses in their families that they will never be able to forget—injuries and deaths of people whom they love. These are men and women in Syria escaping a deadly war and the terrorists who have ravaged that country. They have tried to come to the United States for safety and security.

The history of refugees in America is one that in modern version is very admirable, but unfortunately before—during World War II—it was a sad chapter in our history. Not only did we inter about 120,000 Japanese Americans in camps during the war for fear that they would betray the United States, but during that war, time and again, the administration of President Roosevelt as well as Congress refused to allow those who were escaping the Holocaust in Nazi Germany to come to the United States.

Here on this Senate floor where I stand, an effort was made by Senator Robert Wagner of New York to admit 10,000 Jewish children out of Nazi Germany into the United States so that their parents would have the peace of mind that they would not be killed by the war or the Holocaust. That measure was defeated on the floor of this Senate. Prior to our entry into the war, those who tried to escape Nazi Germany and come to the United States were turned away by the United States.

The most notorious example was the SS St. Louis, which sailed from Germany, came to, first, Havana, Cuba, then to Miami, FL, and was turned away in both places with about 900 passengers who feared for their lives because of the anti-Semitism and the killing that was taking place in Nazi Germany.

They tracked that passenger list. Several hundred of them were rejected by the United States. They were not given refugee status. They were forced to return to Germany. Several hundred of them perished in the Holocaust.

It was after that bitter experience that the United States decided to try to set an example for the world when it came to compassion and humanity for refugees. We stepped up time and again to be that place of security and safety. We can point proudly to the fact that when the Cubans were fearful of a Communist takeover in their country, fearful for their lives and their rights and their liberties, they came to the United States in tens of thousands.

Now Cuban Americans, a proud part of our country not only in Florida but around our Nation, can point to the U.S. refugee policy as the means by which they finally made it to the safety of the United States. Here we were in a Cold War with the Soviet Union; Cuba, 90 miles off our shore was being taken over by a dictator, Fidel Castro, who was declaring his loyalty to the Soviet Union. Yet we were readily receiving tens of thousands of refugees from Cuba in the midst of that Cold War. Talk about a chance—and taking a chance. Those men and women who came to the United States were not vetted for months, years, and in many cases not at all. They were allowed into our country. Thank goodness we did it. It was the right thing to do.

Time and again, whether it was refugees coming in from Vietnam after the end of that deadly war or whether it was Soviet Jews, persecuted by the Soviet Union, trying to escape, coming to the United States, we opened our doors and said: The United States of America will set an example for the world when it comes to refugees. That defined who we were and who we still should be.

Now this new President is ready to walk away from that. If we had one instance of a Syrian refugee coming into the United States after that vetting process who caused harm to our citizens or engaged in an act of terrorism—if we had one—then perhaps this President could start to make his case.

All he has is fear, unreasoned fear, unproven fear. We recall what Franklin Roosevelt said to this Nation, standing right out here on the steps when he was inaugurated in March of 1933: We have nothing to fear but fear itself. It is fear itself that is motivating this President to make decisions inconsistent with more than 50 years of American history and inconsistent with American values.

When you meet these refugees and you hear their heartbreaking stories,

how can you say that there is no room for you in this country? Yet that is exactly what he said.

Sadly, he not only came up with this Executive order, he did it in a fashion where the agencies that were supposed to implement the order really were caught by surprise. Now they are priding themselves on the fact that they can turn on a dime when given instructions that are important for national security. But in this case, where national security was not the motive—political security was the motive; I am talking in the crassest terms. In those cases, these agencies were forced to make split-second decisions, and some of them were horrible.

A man who came to the United States from Iraq, from one of the seven countries designated by President Trump, came from Iraq after having risked his life for American soldiers. He was rewarded with an opportunity to come to the United States, was detained at the airport, questioned at length, threatened to be returned to Iraq, and finally—after 19 hours—allowed to stay.

There is story after story of families coming to see someone who was on the deathbed, their last chance to be together, and families who had gone overseas for what they thought were just casual or really easy trips who were subject to detention and some turned away. Why? It certainly was not in the interest of the security of the United States, and it was not handled in a professional manner. It was impulsive and not decisive. It was ill conceived instead of wise.

Here we are today. As I stand here at this chair and this desk in the Senate, across the street thousands have gathered in front of the Supreme Court to express their outrage over the Executive orders issued by President Trump. I am happy to report that almost one dozen Republican Senators have joined us in expressing reservations about this policy.

It gives me hope that maybe on a bipartisan basis we can rein in some of the excesses of this administration. God forbid we ignore the basic constitutional issue that has been raised by these Executive orders. It is no coincidence that these seven countries are predominately Muslim countries. It is no coincidence that President Trump went on a Christian broadcasting station and said preference would be given to Christians.

The Constitution which we are sworn to uphold and defend, the Constitution which guides this Nation is one that was written at a time when religion was a divisive issue that led to people coming to the United States.

I think in this section, our Founding Fathers probably showed more wisdom and more understanding of our future than any other on the issue of religion. They only said three things in the entire Constitution, three things over 200 years ago. They said that this Congress, this government, will not estab-

lish an official religion. They did that, of course, many of them having come from England, where they had a national church. They didn't want that in the United States. Most importantly, they said each person in America had freedom of religious belief, to believe what they wished or to believe nothing if they wished, and that would be an honored freedom under our Bill of Rights. The third element: Religion could not be used as a litmus test for public office. That is it.

When you think of all the wars and all the deaths and all the persecution based on religion, the fact that we have largely escaped it is because of the wisdom of that document.

Now comes this 45th President of the United States who decides to rewrite the book, to ignore this basic constitutional direction and mandate, and to say on the Christian Broadcasting Network: We are going to favor Christian refugees coming to the United States. That, to me, is unacceptable and unconstitutional, and inconsistent with who we are, what we are, and the values we treasure in this country.

My mother was an immigrant to this country. I never knew my grandmother, who brought her over on the ship from Lithuania. I do have one thing now in my office upstairs that my grandmother carried with her to this country. It is a prayer book. We are a Roman Catholic family. She was a Roman Catholic in Lithuania. The Russian Orthodox religion was being pushed by the czar, who was dominant when they left Lithuania, and they banned Catholic prayer books written in Lithuania.

I never knew my grandmother. I wish I had. She risked everything to bring that Catholic prayer book, that contraband from czarist-controlled Lithuania into the United States. I have it upstairs. It means the world to me that this woman with limited formal education but unlimited courage was willing to risk a lot, bringing three small children into this country, carrying with her that prayer book which might have gotten her imprisoned in Lithuania back in her day. So religion means a lot to our family, not just on a personal basis but what America means when it comes to religion.

When this President is so casual with the constitutional guarantees of religion, I don't believe he is serving the United States or honoring the history that came before him.

There have been so many issues that have come up during the 11 days of his Presidency, but President Trump's decision to turn away innocent people fleeing persecution, genocide, and terror and to ban immigrants on the basis of religion is the worst, in my view. This attack is not only un-American, it risks alienating 1 billion Muslims around the world. Some of the most conservative people in this country—I am certain Republicans—have said over and over again: Don't do this. There are Muslim countries that are

allies in fighting terrorism, and if you alienate them, it is going to lessen our ability to stop the spread of Al Qaeda and ISIS.

Furthermore, this is a recruiting tool. You know what is going to happen. Those who hate the United States are going to use this action by President Trump to verify their belief and their credo that the United States is anti-Muslim.

There was a Republican President, George W. Bush, whom I disagreed with many times, but thank goodness, after 9/11, he had the wisdom and showed the leadership to come before the American people to say: We are not going to condemn the Muslim religion. We are going to go after those who corrupted it, but we are going to honor it as a religion of peace.

How different President George W. Bush, that Republican President, was to President Donald Trump, this Republican President.

Senator DIANNE FEINSTEIN is the ranking Democrat on the Senate Judiciary Committee. She has introduced a resolution, on which I am proud to be one of the original cosponsors, to repeal and rescind these reprehensible President Donald Trump Executive orders on refugees and immigration.

We are in the midst of the worst refugee crisis in the history of the world. More than 65 million people have been forcibly displaced from their homes. The brutal Syrian conflict, which is the epicenter of this humanitarian crisis, has killed hundreds of thousands, injured more than a million, and displaced half of the population of that country. In some areas, children literally starve to death in Syria. This conflict has forced more than 4.7 million refugees to flee. Around 70 percent of them are women and children who are looking for a safe place in this world. Half of Syrian children today are not in school because of this conflict and because of the forces that have dispersed them around the world. Millions in and outside of Syria need humanitarian assistance.

Last week—the same week President Trump signed this awful Executive order on refugees—the United Nations issued an appeal for \$4.6 billion to meet the basic needs of Syrian refugees and struggling communities hosting them in neighboring countries.

Lebanon is a country where I believe half of the children in school today are Syrian. Jordan, one of our best friends and allies in the Middle East, has made more sacrifices on behalf of refugees per capita than any nation on Earth. What message does it send to our friends in Jordan that while they risk the security and safety and stability of their nation to absorb these refugees from Syria and around the world, that as an official policy of President Donald Trump, the United States no longer will even consider allowing a Syrian refugee to come to the United States? How can we in good conscience ask the King of Jordan to risk his monarchy

and his country for refugees when President Trump says they are not allowed in the United States?

Earlier this month, I am happy to report, more than 1,700 Jewish rabbis called on our government to maintain and strengthen the refugee program for refugees of all ethnic and religious backgrounds—not to halt it, pause it, or restrict it. This weekend, I was so proud of the Catholic cardinal in Chicago, Blase Cupich, who came out and said the Executive orders of Donald Trump are not consistent with American values and certainly are not consistent with the beliefs of the Catholic Church. Religious leaders all across the country are speaking out. They understand that this is more than a political test; this is a moral test of who we are as Americans.

Many of the refugees who came to this country were fleeing regimes that were hostile to the United States. We gave them safety.

Refugees are the most carefully vetted and investigated of all travelers. Before refugees are admitted into the United States, they go through security screening that is almost unheard of. All of that screening takes place before they can even consider being allowed to set foot in America, and Syrian refugees go through an even stricter review. Extreme vetting? I have news for this President: Syrian refugees and refugees all over the world are already going through extreme vetting.

Shutting down the Refugee Resettlement Program won't protect our security. It plays into ISIS's argument that the United States is waging a war against Islam.

Listen to what Michael Hayden, former Director of the CIA and National Security Agency under Presidents Bush and Obama, said about President Trump's Executive order:

It's a horrible move. It is a political, ideological move driven by the language of the campaign and, frankly, campaign promises—promises in the campaign that were hyped by an exaggeration of the threat. And in fact, what we're doing now has probably made us less safe today than we were Friday morning before this happened because we are now living the worst jihadist narrative possible, that there is undying enmity between Islam and the West. Muslims out there who were not part of the jihadist movement are now being shown that the story they were being told by the jihadists—they hate us; they're our enemy—that's being acted out by the American government. And frankly, at a humanitarian level, it's an abomination.

That statement was not made by the Democratic National Committee; it was made by Gen. Michael Hayden, former Director of the Central Intelligence Agency and the National Security Agency under Presidents Bush and Obama.

If we are serious about protecting America, we should be serious about closing the real loopholes that might threaten us. Think of the hundreds of thousands of foreign visitors to the United States under the Visa Waiver Program who go through no vetting,

not even fingerprinting, before they get on a plane to come to the United States. Want to close a loophole in security? Let's look at that one seriously.

Instead of real security threats, President Trump is focusing on innocent people—children, women, families who are fleeing terrorism.

Today's refugees, like millions before them from all over the world, will become proud Americans who contribute greatly to our society and economy.

Albert Einstein was a refugee. Thank goodness he came to the United States. Today, so many of the leaders of our major corporations and high-tech companies are immigrants to this country and, in some cases, refugees.

Building walls on our borders and fear in our hearts will not move America forward. Let's not continue the cruelty or deception of blaming immigrants and refugees for our security and economic challenges. Let's work together to build a better America for all Americans, including new Americans, no matter the color of their skin, where their parents were born, or how they pray.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oregon.

Mr. MERKLEY. Mr. President, citizens across the country are very concerned. In fact, they are more than concerned; they are terrified that our President is degrading the fundamental values on which our Nation was founded: religious tolerance, freedom of religion, the ability to worship as you please, and a fundamental principle that we would be welcoming to refugees, that we would be a nation that embraces immigrants.

Tonight Lady Liberty is crying. She said, "Give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses yearning to breathe free," but our President has slammed the door on the tired and the poor and the huddled masses. It is an action the citizens in my home State have come out to protest. They have gone to the airport in Portland en masse 2 days in a row to say that we are welcoming to the world, that we are not going to slam the door shut on refugees, that we are not going to single out Muslim nations and say: We do not want you here.

Indeed, I held two townhalls over the weekend. The first was in a gymnasium about this size. There were 600 people jammed into it. They are very upset and angry that our fundamental values are being disregarded by the President of the United States. Then I went to my second townhall. I thought 600 was a lot; there were 3,700 Oregonians who came out to my second townhall. Every one of them is wanting to send a message to President Trump: You are taking us on the wrong road—a road that hurts people around the world, a road that hurts our fundamental values, and a road that decreases our security.

This Executive order, this Executive action from the President has had an

immediate and painful impact—hundreds of people en route to our country detained at airports although they were legally traveling here. Many of them have been vetted on extended periods, some of them going through several years of vetting, and finally they have in their hand that visa that says, yes, I am going to have a country, and it is going to be the United States of America. And the President crushed that hope.

Chaos and confusion abounded. Lawyers and protesters and advocates descended on airports everywhere across this country to tell the administration that there is no mandate, no public will for this path that is so destructive to our values. They came out to say: Mr. President, when you tear down women in America, we stand with the women of America. Mr. President, when you tear down the disabled, we stand with the disabled of America. Mr. President, when you tear down African Americans and Hispanics, we stand with African Americans and Hispanics. And, Mr. President, when you tear down Muslims, we stand with our Muslim brothers and sisters because this is the United States of America, where we value religious freedom, where we value religious tolerance. This is a nation of immigrants. If you are not 100 percent Native American, then you are either an immigrant yourself or you are the child or the grandchild or the great-grandchild of an immigrant. Most of us can track members of our family who came from the ravages of war or the ravages of drought or the ravages of oppression to come here to this soil, this land of freedom. James Madison remarked: "America was indebted to immigration for her settlement and for her prosperity." This remains just as true today as it was in Madison's day.

Here we stand, but the President of the United States has denied access to our Nation to a group of people based on nothing more than religious beliefs, betraying our values of religious tolerance and shutting the doors on refugees. The President has said this is not a ban on those of the Muslim faith, but of course it is a ban on those of Muslim faith because it is a ban on seven nations that are Muslim nations, with an exception made for individuals who are Christians so it is nothing more than a ban on Muslims.

The President says this is about protecting our citizens, but let us be very clear about that. Numerous refugees have come to our land, numerous immigrants, and there have been zero fatal terror attacks carried out by the immigrants from the seven countries listed in the order. Zero. We have been attacked by individuals from other countries which are not listed in the order, from Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates, Egypt, and Lebanon. Those nations aren't listed on this order. What we do know is that this ban does not make our Nation safer. National security experts recognize that it does

exactly the opposite. By signing this Executive order, the President has betrayed our most fundamental values and principles, antagonizing 1.6 billion citizens of the world, and given our enemies ammunition for their false narrative that America is at war with Islam because that is exactly what they have used to recruit. That is exactly what they have used to increase and pour fuel on the fire to persuade people to attack Americans. The President has basically handed them this argument—this false narrative—and put our Nation at risk.

Former CIA Director Gen. Michael Hayden said to National Public Radio this morning, "In fact, what we're doing now has probably made us less safe today than we were Friday morning before this happened, because we are now living the worst jihadist narrative possible, that there is undying enmity between Islam and the West."

I share the value of Daniel Benjamin, the former Coordinator for Counterterrorism at the State Department, who said this: "It sends an unmistakable message to the American Muslim community that they are facing discrimination and isolation," and that message, he said, will "feed the jihadist narrative that the United States is at war with Islam, potentially encouraging a few more Muslims to plot violence."

This is the wrong move in every possible way. It is ill-considered, it is hasty, it is dangerous, it is wrong-headed, it puts American citizens at risk, and it helps our enemies. Benjamin Franklin once said: "Those who would give up essential liberty to purchase a little temporary safety, deserve neither liberty nor safety." In this case, President Trump's Executive order has degraded both our liberty and our security—both our liberty and our safety.

We have turned our backs on friends and allies who are helping us in the war against ISIS. The President has made it clear that he wants to take on ISIS as we had been, but he wants to amplify it, and he has sabotaged that effort with this Executive order.

There are individuals like Hameed Khalid Darweesh, who worked for more than a decade for the United States as an interpreter in Iraq. Our interpreters place their lives at risk to assist our soldiers. They place the lives of their families at risk to assist the United States of America. This man risked his life for more than 10 years for us, and how is he greeted when he arrives here in our country? He is greeted with handcuffs. Muslim Iraqi interpreters like Mr. Darweesh have earned the right to come to America. They risked their lives and their family's lives. They assisted us in multitudinous ways.

What about this ban on refugees? Refugees are the most thoroughly vetted of all those who come to the United States. If a terrorist wants to come to the United States, a terrorist wouldn't

attempt to come as a refugee. It would be 1 to 2 years of waiting in miserable conditions in a refugee camp, with all kinds of vetting, and they might never get permission to come. If you want intense vetting, then look to how we vet refugees. Blocking women and children and interpreters from coming to our country who have been the most thoroughly vetted of all potential immigrants is simply wrong. In fact, the model for vetting refugees is intense. Women and orphans are just searching for a safe haven, but we have turned our back and we have slammed the door.

America is better than this. For centuries we have been a beacon of hope to the world. We have been a beacon of justice, a beacon of compassion, and we must restore our Nation as a beacon of hope, justice, liberty, and compassion.

Millions of Americans are coming out in the snow and the rain and in some places in good weather. They are coming out in any possible conditions to speak out and say: This is not America. This is not us. Change paths. Tear down this ban. Tear down this ban that has slammed the door on refugees. Tear down this ban which has placed our Nation at risk.

Let us together put our Nation back on track. Let us together fight for the values that made America great for the last two centuries. Let us together fight for the richness of our culture and our community, the strength of our society that comes from being a nation of immigrants. We need to act and act urgently.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. DAINES). The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

Mr. BENNET. Mr. President, Mr. Trump's poorly drawn and implemented Executive order blocking refugees from the United States sacrifices fundamental American values and does not make us safer.

For the first time in memory, the order imposes a ban on all refugees entering our country, many of whom are fleeing war or who risk persecution for their religious or political beliefs. The order affects many thousands of children, women, and men whom our government has vetted for years and cleared for rescue.

President Trump's action—taken in the first days of his new administration, for political reasons, without regard for real world consequences and without the expertise of our national security professionals or even some of those appointed by the President himself—represents a rare, but shameful, departure from a constitutional heritage that has made America strong and a beacon to oppressed people throughout the world.

For generations, immigrants and refugees have come to our country to flee religious persecution and to seek a better life. Indeed, these are the very people who founded our original colonies. Although, as now, we have occasionally failed to live up to our ideals, over generations the United States has accepted millions of refugees from around the world.

My own family is part of this story, as so many people's families in this Chamber are. My mom was born in Poland in 1938 while Nazi tanks massed at the border. She and her parents miraculously survived the Holocaust—one of the worst human events in history.

After the war, after arriving in Sweden and then Mexico City, they were able to come to New York City in 1950. They wanted to come to the United States because it was the only country in the world where they believed they could rebuild their shattered lives. And they did.

This weekend, my mom joined hundreds of thousands of Americans to call on the President to change course, knowing that our family's struggles in Europe require us to recognize the danger and persecution facing families throughout the Middle East today.

Out of a population of 22 million, almost 5 million Syrians have fled to neighboring countries—some to Europe—and have registered as refugees. More than half of those displaced are children.

According to the United Nations, more than half of the remaining Syrian population—6 million of them children—require assistance such as food, water, and health care. Nearly one in four people in Lebanon today—tonight—is a Syrian refugee, and the fourth largest city in Jordan is now a refugee camp.

In the wake of President Trump's refugee ban, it seems useful to ask—and I am sure the American people are asking—why are so many millions of people fleeing their homes, their countries, and their history?

They are doing it to save their lives—and, in many cases, their children's lives—from ISIS's medieval barbarism and Assad's unrelenting brutality. They seek to escape the murder, rape, detention, and torture they suffer because of their religion or their ethnicity or both.

Assad is their enemy. ISIS is their enemy. Today's refugees are fleeing the violence and extremism that threatens our own national security. Their enemies are our enemies. The same is true of the refugees from Afghanistan, Libya, Somalia, and Sudan.

Does this mean we have an obligation simply to open our borders to them? Of course not. We have a national security imperative to ensure that no terrorist tries to sneak into the United States as part of the refugee program.

I have long said that the burden of proof is not on the United States to accept a refugee. Rather, the refugee has the burden to demonstrate that they

are not a threat to the United States. We have no obligation, nor should we, to take anything on faith. It is for this reason that refugees are more thoroughly vetted than anyone else entering the United States. They must pass stringent screening standards to ensure that they pose no threat, a process that can take up to 2 years.

First, the United Nations screens them and collects biometric data. Only those who pass that test are then referred to the United States. And, by the way, no refugee knows at that stage of the process to which country they will be referred—to the United States or to any other country that is accepting refugees. After that, multiple agencies—including the Department of Homeland Security, the FBI, the State Department, and our intelligence agencies—conduct rigorous screenings. This process includes repeated biometric checks, several layers of biographical and background screening, health checks, and interviews. Syrian refugees, in particular, receive enhanced scrutiny through an additional security risk review by specially trained officers.

Out of the nearly 60,000 people referred to the United States, only about 12,000 have been accepted. Of those Syrian refugees accepted by the United States, three-quarters are women and children and half were under 13 in 2016.

We are the leader of the free world, a republic founded on the premise of religious freedom and a society that for generations has called out to the tired, the poor, and the huddled masses yearning to be free. That is who we are. Yet, in the name of fighting terrorism in his first week as President, Mr. Trump has sacrificed what has made us exceptional and has banned these children and their mothers from our shores.

These children are no different than Omran Daqneesh, whose distant stare from the back of an ambulance in Aleppo bore witness to the senseless violence he suffered; or Alan Kurdi, whose lifeless body on a Turkish beach condemned the worst savagery of humankind.

Once he learns the details—if he chooses to study them—if President Trump wishes to make our vetting even more extreme than it already is, I guess he may do so. But banning refugees and prioritizing immigration by religion or ethnicity simultaneously abandons our principles and weakens our counterterrorism efforts. It sends the wrong message to our Muslim partners who fight with us in places like Iraq and Afghanistan, including civilians in those countries who have risked their lives alongside our troops. It also hands ISIS a recruiting tool by fueling their narrative that the Western and Muslim worlds cannot coexist in peace.

If the President really wants to secure our borders and ensure extremists stay out of the country, there are far better alternatives, and they are alternatives that are not at war with who

we are as Americans. We should work together to close security gaps in our Visa Waiver Program and partner with European countries to better track the flow of foreign fighters throughout Europe and the Middle East. We should also do more to counter the ability of terrorists to radicalize and recruit, both here at home and abroad. We should do more to equip our agencies with tools and capabilities to degrade the ability of terrorist organizations—in particular, ISIS—to persuade and inspire using social media. Congress should enact ideas passed by the Senate in 2013 to strengthen border security, double the number of border agents, and address visa overstay.

By tackling real vulnerabilities and investing in smart security solutions, we can secure not only our borders but also our values, and we will not repeat the darkest moments of our history when America turned away from those fleeing persecution around the world.

A year ago, I came to the Senate floor to share a note sent to me by my grandparents on my first birthday. It is a message that bears repeating tonight. The year was 1965—15 years after my mother and grandparents came to this country after surviving the horrors of the Holocaust in Poland. This is what they wrote:

The ancient Greeks gave the world the high ideals of democracy, in search of which your dear mother and we came to the hospitable shores of beautiful America in 1950. We have been happy here ever since, beyond our greatest dreams and expectations, with democracy, freedom, and love, and humanity's greatest treasure. We hope that when you grow up, you will help develop in other parts of the world a greater understanding of these American values.

Like so many immigrants, my grandparents knew how special these American values are and how rare they are. We cannot take them for granted or subvert them for a political moment. These values make us who we are.

Edmund Burke once wrote: "In history a great volume is unrolled for our instruction, drawing the materials of future wisdom from the past errors and infirmities of mankind."

This is a time when we can learn from the past errors and infirmities of humankind. We cannot turn our backs on women, children, and families who risk persecution, starvation, or death.

The President should rescind this Executive order. If not, the Senate should end the ban immediately and start a serious conversation on how to make our country safe again in a manner that is consistent with our fundamental values.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Connecticut.

Mr. BLUMENTHAL. Mr. President, I am honored to follow that very eloquent speech by my colleague from Colorado and to be followed on the floor by our colleague from Massachusetts.

We are here today with stories. Every one of us has a story going back one

generation, maybe two or three, maybe five or ten, but we all have an immigrant story. Most of those immigrant stories are about people coming here to seek hope, opportunity, and, yes, safety; to escape violence and persecution; to come here for refuge.

I met one of those refugees over this weekend in West Hartford at a Holocaust remembrance ceremony. Abby Weiner is a Romanian Jew who survived Auschwitz and Buchenwald but lost his parents there. He was honored by Voices of Hope at this Holocaust remembrance ceremony at a synagogue in West Hartford, attended by 500, 700 people. There was a massive outpouring of support for him and for the values that are represented by people who come here as immigrants fleeing persecution and violence, as he did in Nazi Germany. He said: The words came before the bullets and gas chambers. The words of Nazi Germany came before the bullets and gas chambers. Words have consequences. Edicts and orders have consequences.

When I spoke, I told my own story—a proud story of my father, who also came here from Nazi Germany in 1935. He was 17 years old. He spoke virtually no English, he had not much more than the shirt on his back, and he knew almost no one. This great country, the greatest in the history of the world, gave him a chance to succeed. He was a proud American. How sad and ashamed he would be today to see actions by the President of the United States that ban a group coming to this country based on their religion—a ban that is antithetical to our history, our values, our Constitution, and the rule of law.

I salute Sally Yates, who has taken a stand based on moral and legal principle in the highest tradition of the Department of Justice, saying that these orders cannot be defended and that the rule of law and morality is more important than the politics of the moment and the impulsive edicts of a ruler who apparently fails to understand that law—or, at least his administration does.

It raises the question of whether the next Attorney General—she is only acting—will have the strength and courage to uphold the rule of law. Tomorrow, I will vote against our respected and admired colleague, JEFF SESSIONS, because I believe that the next Attorney General must be a champion—a steadfast advocate and protector of the rule of law and rights and liberties that are overridden and abridged by this order banning people from Muslim-majority nations, in effect a ban on a religious group.

We are better than this kind of discriminatory edict. We know it harms mainly children and families fleeing violence and oppression. Refugees like those children have helped to shape and build this Nation. We are stronger because of our diversity. We are a nation of immigrants. Our strength comes from the talents, energies,

strengths, and vibrancy they bring to this country.

Often, when I am feeling down about our public life, I go to immigration and naturalization ceremonies. They occur every Friday in courts around the State of Connecticut. I welcome people who are becoming citizens, and I say to them: Thank you for becoming a citizen of the greatest country in the world. You are a source of strength for us, and you have taken a test that most Americans could not pass.

They laugh because they know it is true. They will never take for granted what it means to be a citizen of this country. I look at them in their diversity, and I know that is America. That is our future.

We will be less safe because of this order, which will alienate allies and deny us sources of intelligence to troops on the ground that we need to win the war against ISIS, and we must win that war. It will provide a recruiting tool to ISIS, convincing young people who may be tempted to join their ranks that, in fact, this country is engaged in a war against Islam, which is utterly and totally untrue. It will discourage people from within the United States who are part of the Muslim community from coming forth when they see threats and could provide information that would forestall an attack by violent extremists within our country.

This order makes us less safe, but it weakens us mainly in a deeper moral sense: It is wrong. It is wrong for this great country, devoted and founded on the ideals of welcoming people seeking that beacon of hope and protection and opportunity.

The Statue of Liberty is a symbol, but the ideals and the values are living. The damage that has been done to them can be repaired. We must repair it and reverse this order. That is why I have sponsored legislation that will rescind it, and why I am proud to join my colleagues today on the floor of the Senate to say: Rip up this order, Mr. President. With all respect, do the right thing. Be on the right side of history and the right side of our Constitution. Rip up this illegal order.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Massachusetts.

Ms. WARREN. Mr. President, on Friday night, President Donald Trump issued an Executive order that strikes at the very heart of our democracy.

I wish I were exaggerating. I wish this were some sort of game. But the ban that imposes religious tests and keeps refugees and immigrants from entering our country is illegal, it is unconstitutional, it is immoral, and it must be overturned.

The effects of this order were immediate and terrifying for people in Massachusetts and all across this country. My office got a call from an Iranian citizen who was traveling to Massachusetts to see his daughter who is currently receiving treatment for cancer.

He was denied boarding in Germany and sent back to Iran. We heard from a woman who already has an approved immigrant visa but still hasn't found an airline that will allow her to board a flight to the United States. A Massachusetts resident called because her cousin who holds a student visa was not allowed to board a flight either. Another Massachusetts resident called because her Iranian sisters were denied boarding at London Heathrow. Both have their valid J-1 visas. One is a visiting professor at Harvard, and the other is a postdoc fellow at Harvard Medical. We heard from an Iranian student studying at MIT. She was denied entry on Saturday, and when she tried to return on Sunday, after the temporary stay had been issued, she was denied boarding by Lufthansa. A Massachusetts student on a student visa called because his wife was denied boarding in Switzerland.

None of these people are criminals. None of these people are threats. They are students at some of the world's top universities; they are doctors and scientists at some of the country's best hospitals. Most of them have already been vetted and granted the right to come to America. One is a father who wants to see his cancer-stricken daughter. They are husbands and wives, mothers and fathers, sisters and brothers, friends and neighbors. They are people. They are real people. They are part of what makes Massachusetts great, and they are part of what makes America great.

Donald Trump's radical ban on Muslims isn't in line with American values or with our Constitution. It is also not in line with what the Republican Party stands for.

In the months following the attacks of September 11, President George W. Bush made a point to remind the United States that we were not at war against Islam. In a speech in April of 2002, he said:

America rejects bigotry. We reject every act of hatred against people of Arab background or Muslim faith. America values and welcomes peaceful people of all faiths—Christian, Jewish, Muslim, Sikh, Hindu and many others. Every faith is practiced and protected here, because we are one country. Every immigrant can be fully and equally American because we're one country. Race and color should not divide us, because America is one country.

Do Senate Republicans agree? If so, then come down here and say so. Where are you? Where are Senate Republicans when their Republican President issues an order targeting one religious group?

Let's be clear about what happened here. Keeping the details secret, working with a small group of operatives inside the White House, consulting no experts in diplomacy or homeland security, and getting advice from outsiders with no actual legal authority, President Trump acted unilaterally to issue this order.

Make no mistake, while it may not affect every Muslim in the world, Donald Trump's Executive order is a Muslim ban, and it is unconstitutional.

This is a crisis. The Senate should take up and pass Senator FEINSTEIN's bill to overturn this illegal order right now. What is happening is shocking. It is shocking, but it is not surprising.

Donald Trump is doing exactly what he said he was going to do. During his Presidential campaign, he promised "a total and complete shutdown of Muslims entering the United States." That is what he said. Last year, it seemed like pretty much everyone agreed that this was not acceptable in the United States of America.

Speaker PAUL RYAN declared:

A religious test for entering our country is not reflective of America's fundamental values. I reject it.

Where are you now, PAUL RYAN? Have you rejected President Trump's order to impose a religious test for entering our country? Have you introduced a bill to overturn it? You have the power. Where are you?

As Governor of Indiana, Vice President MIKE PENCE said: "Calls to ban Muslims from entering the U.S. are offensive and unconstitutional." Where are you right now, Vice President PENCE? Have you called to overturn President Trump's offensive and unconstitutional order? Have you asked Republicans to introduce a bill to overturn it? You have a platform. Where are you?

Senate Majority Leader MITCH MCCONNELL called a Muslim ban "completely and totally inconsistent with American values." Where are you right now, MITCH MCCONNELL? Have you rejected President Trump's Muslim ban that is completely and totally inconsistent with American values? Have you introduced a bill to overturn it? You have the power. Where are you?

President Trump ignored these Republican leaders. Today these Republican leaders will not stand up for what is right. President Trump may be willing to ignore the Constitution and the laws of the United States of America, and the Republican leadership in Congress may be willing to ignore the Constitution and the laws of the United States of America, but the American people are not.

This weekend, Americans across this country came together to reject this sort of fear and hate. The American people showed courage, even as the Republican leadership hid out. Crowds of people raced to airports across this country to welcome immigrants and refugees and to demand compliance with court rulings that gave individuals and families temporary relief and to demand that this reckless order be rescinded.

I was proud to stand with hundreds of people at Logan Airport in Boston on Saturday night and then with more than 20,000 people in Copley Square on Sunday. We had one of the biggest demonstrations in the country. I also want to say I am in awe of the hundreds of lawyers and translators who dropped everything and spent sleepless nights in airport terminals and courts

fighting for justice. Because of their tireless work, we have already been able to undo some of the damage caused by President Trump.

While I am encouraged by our victories in the courts this weekend, the Trump administration has derided these judges and, in some instances, refused to follow these orders. This is shocking and unconstitutional. Congress must act. We must act now. Congress must stand up and say to President Trump that this is not who we are. Congress must say to Donald Trump and to the world: We will not turn our backs on lawful immigrants and refugees fleeing murderers. We will not turn our backs on people who risk their own lives to protect our soldiers in Iraq and in the fight against ISIS. We will not give ISIS more recruiting material. We will not promote an imagined religious war between America and Islam. We will stand for our values, for American values, for human values. We will not be divided by hate and fear.

Fifteen months ago, I traveled to the Greek island of Lesbos. This is the first stop for many Syrian refugees as they flee from the terrorists of ISIS. That was where I saw the shoddy, paper-thin river rafts that people cram onto, with nothing more than a hope and a prayer that they will make it across a choppy sea. I saw the little plastic pool floaties that people put on small children, hoping it would be enough to save them if the raft went down.

I met a 7-year-old girl who had been sent out on that perilous journey alone. I thought about what horrors her parents must have faced to hand a wad of cash to human smugglers with only the most desperate dream that their little girl would find something better on the other side.

President Trump is trying to shut the door on that little girl and on countless others who are fleeing for their lives. He is trying to shut the door on children, on doctors, on students, on engineers, on husbands and wives, on grandmas and grandpas. That is not all. President Trump is trying to shut the door on people who risked their lives helping American soldiers, people who face execution in the hands of terrorists if they are sent back.

President Trump is even trying to shut the door on legal immigrants, on students and faculty, on people who work in Massachusetts and across this country, on people who have already been thoroughly screened for entry into the United States and have been granted permanent status to live and work in our country. This has nothing to do with security—nothing.

Little girls fleeing from murderers are not a threat. Elderly grandparents detained at airports are not a threat. Students and teachers and people who work in Massachusetts and across the country are not a threat. Iraqi translators who put their own lives at risk to protect American soldiers are not a threat. We should welcome them. We

should welcome them with open arms. That is who we are.

Voices from across the political spectrum, including many of my friends from across the aisle, have already stepped forward to criticize this order, but criticism is not enough. President Trump's Executive order must be overturned. We must overturn it.

For those who remain unconvinced, I would like to take some time this evening to talk about some of the people who are hurt by the President's reckless, heartless, illegal, and unconstitutional actions. As stories have poured into my office, on the evening news, on social media, we have heard time and again about the consequences of President Trump's reckless and illegal order, and I would like to share some of those stories in my time tonight. I want to read one.

My staff and I have spent the weekend listening to and meeting with people who have been affected. I have seen firsthand the devastating effects of President Trump's actions. I want to start with a story of someone I met at Logan Airport on Saturday night. The story I want to read is from CBS Boston, "Detainee Released After Federal Judge Grants Stay On Trump's Immigration Freeze."

Hamed Hosseini Bay was questioned at Logan Airport Saturday while trying to get back into America after caring for his sick father in his native Iran. Hosseini Bay has lived in the Boston area for approximately nine years. After a judge granted a case brought by lawyers from the American Civil Liberties Union Saturday night, Hosseini Bay was reunited with his wife and daughter, who had traveled with him to Iran but returned two weeks earlier.

He was not angry about his questioning. "Everybody was friendly," Hosseini Bay told WBZ-TV's Jim Smith. "They had to do what they had to do. I'm grateful for all the people back there, but it was chaotic."

Hosseini Bay's wife is now questioning what the future will be like for her family in America. "It's just terrifying how my life has changed in two days, in three days," she said. "I don't know (about the future). Last week everything was normal. I would pick up my daughter from preschool, she was like everyone else, I was like everyone else. But now we're different."

I met with this family. This is what President Trump's order means. It means stopping people like this and telling them that their future is different now in America.

I am going to read another story. This one is from NBC Boston. "Protesters Rally as Doctors, Students Blocked From Entering Country After Trump's Orders."

At Boston's Logan International Airport, at least six people from Iran were detained Saturday after their flights landed in the U.S. A Federal judge in New York issued a temporary stay late Saturday for all detainees affected by Trump's executive orders, which barred all refugees from entering the United States for four months, and indefinitely halted any from Syria. Trump argued the ban is needed to keep out "radical Islamic terrorists."

A tweet by Samira Asgari, an Iranian doctor, stated that she was denied boarding when she arrived for her flight to the U.S.

from Germany. In a Skype interview from Switzerland, Asgari told us she had planned to come to the U.S. to start a study at Harvard Medical School analyzing tuberculosis.

"My view of America of course, doesn't change because of a decision a politician makes. My view of America changes because the land that used to be the land of those who want to be there, who want to do something good to the community and take something good from the community—that picture of America has changed for me," she said.

Several students at Massachusetts colleges also tweeted that they were being blocked from entering the country.

In a statement, MIT officials said they're "very troubled" that Trump's executive order is affecting the university's community and are exploring options for helping impacted students.

Northeastern University in a statement to their community offered support to their students, faculty and staff reminding them of "their commitment to each other."

We believe in the commitment to inform each other, but that is what it is that Donald Trump is trying to destroy.

Another story, from WBUR, a "Somali Family Resettling In Lowell Worries For Other Refugees As Trump Promises Restrictions."

The order will have global implications, including for one newly arrived Somali family now living in Lowell.

The three Ahmed sisters from Somalia huddled on a couch with their mother in a lobby of a busy office. Each woman wore a brightly colored head scarf and winter jacket, and each clutched a plastic bag carrying their personal documents.

They are the most recent refugees to be welcomed at the International Institute of New England's Lowell resettlement office. And, with Trump's refugee restrictions hanging in the balance, they are likely the last Somali family to enter the state for some time.

"My mom and dad fled from the conflict in Mogadishu," explained Hawo Ahmed, 24. She and her twin sister were only 4 months old when their parents fled for Kenya.

Hawo retold the story of her mother, Fatuma, and why she and Hawo's father left in 1993 amid the Somali Civil War.

"She said that it was, like, conflict all over the country," Hawo said. "People were killing each other, like tribes, different tribes were killing each other. Whenever they see you, they kill you, and they even used to come in the houses to rape the girls and kill them. So they had to move."

The youngest daughter, Asha, was born in Kenya, where the girls grew up, and went to school and learned English. Still, they all very much consider themselves Somali.

When asked about their father, one of the young women said she watched him die in 2006 from an asthma attack. She said the family didn't have enough money for a new inhaler.

After beginning the refugee application process in Kenya 6 years ago, the family arrived in Manchester, NH, only a few days ago.

Hawo and Muna said their arrival barely felt real, like a dream come true. And then, Hawo said, as soon as they got off the plane, they saw the news about Trump's executive orders on the airport television.

"Even tears were filled up in my eyes, because I felt very bad for others," she said. "They have more expectations, some were even told where they are going, which city they are going, and if they stop all the things, it's going to be very painful. I just have a very sincere request to the President,

that he should drop out that idea. That is all."

Hawo said that they know many fellow refugees in Kenya who are in the final phases of their application process.

She said her aunt and cousin, who live in a refugee camp in Kampala, Uganda, had only one more interview to complete before they were hoping to meet them in Massachusetts. Now they're not sure what will happen.

"I couldn't sleep last night just thinking about them, and she has been in the process for so long, and we want, if you can help her," Hawo said.

That is what Donald Trump is doing to people around the world.

Another story—WCVB TV.

Trump's executive order worries Massachusetts family awaiting loved one.

With the stroke of a pen, President Donald Trump fulfilled a campaign promise that temporarily bans more than 130 million people from entering the United States.

Several people were prevented from entering Boston due to Trump's executive order.

"We are very worried. We are very concerned," Omar Salem, of Canton, said. "I'm hoping for the best. I'm hoping that I could get a text from him saying, 'I'm here.'"

Salem is anxiously awaiting his brother's arrival back in Massachusetts. The Syrian-born, Boston-based orthodontist was on vacation when the President signed the executive order suspending visa entry from seven countries.

"We didn't know it was going to be that bad and that shameful," Salem said.

Salem's brother thought his green card would be enough to secure his return, but the business owner is now facing uncertainty.

"It always starts somewhere and we see it evolving to become much bigger and much more sophisticated," Salem said.

While Salem is hoping to see his brother soon, his heart is heavy for the millions of refugees and visa holders, who see the U.S. as a sanctuary of freedom and acceptance.

"I really call it un-American to do this with the stroke of a pen," Salem said.

The seven countries included in the executive order may be just a starting point as the order left room for a broader ban.

That is what Donald Trump is doing around the world.

Another story—this is a Facebook post from Niki Rhamati, a student at MIT.

I just got back home (Tehran) and I figured I should break the silence. I want to start by saying how grateful I am to all the friends, faculty, alums, sorority sisters, staff and admin at MIT and other parts of the US who have contacted me in the past couple of hours. My inbox is flooded with messages and emails of love and support. I am truly speechless, grateful and proud to be part of the MIT community. I have never been subjected to any form of religious or racial discrimination at MIT. Our community is extremely diverse, inclusive, supportive and accepting of individuals and their backgrounds. But I cannot believe all this love is coming from the same country that banned me from entering its borders just a couple of hours ago.

I don't want to get to the political mess that has created this situation for me and many others. I just want to share what millions of other people and I are going through, and simply what it feels like to be an Iranian and targeted to such racism and discrimination—things I have been very familiar with most of my life.

I currently have a valid multiple entry student visa that I've used for the past year and a half and have traveled very smoothly

(thank you Obama!). I came home (Tehran) to visit my parents and family. I suspected I would not be able to travel as easily as before with the new President, so I extended my stay.

Here's the story of what happened this past week. On Wednesday, I woke up to the announcement of the new Executive Order by President Trump that would restrict entry for Syrian refugees and citizens of seven majority-Muslim countries (Iran, Iraq, Libya, Sudan, Somalia, Syria, Yemen) for 30 days. As BBC Persian, one of the reliable sources here, contacted immigration attorneys and Politicians, this order was read and interpreted as, "issuance of any types of immigrant and non-immigrant visas would be banned for citizens of those countries for 30 days."

The President had not yet signed this order so the ban was not yet effective. I changed my flight to another one that would get me to Boston on Saturday night with a transfer in Qatar. It was rumored that the President signed the Order once I was on my way to the airport, and it was executed while I was in my first flight to Doha. But I looked on the White House website, BBC and Washington Post and nothing had been published yet. When I got to Doha, I was stopped at the gate for my U.S. flight.

We found out that the ban (which is effective for 90 days now instead of 30), included everyone currently holding an immigrant, student or tourist visa as well as Green Card holders. We heard a lot of people were deported at the American border in different cities.

About 30 other Iranians and I were stuck in Doha, waiting for flights back to Tehran. Among them were old couples trying to go and see their children in the US, 2 old women trying to be with and help their pregnant daughters there for their third trimesters, students who had just gotten their visas and families who had sold their belongings back home so they could build a better life in the US. All these people had gotten visas legally and had gone through background checks. The President had said that the goal of this Order was dealing with illegal immigration. Do any of the people sound like illegal immigrants?

This will not secure the borders from the terrorism and illegal immigrants. It will only increase racism in the American society. The President is trying to make Islamophobia a norm and policy by which he wants to lead the country. There has not been a single terrorist activity from those 7 countries listed above, in the US.

If you feel like helping millions of people facing this, please contact your representatives or senators in your areas and ask them to fight against this absurd ban. Reach out to friends and ask them to do the same. Please also let me and everyone else know how we can contribute to this.

As I was stuck in Doha, with other Iranians, I was telling stories of interactions with many of the Americans I know. Please know that I love and respect all of you because you have always treated me with love and respect.

This is who Donald Trump is trying to keep out of the country.

Another story—this time from CNN.

A Syrian teen was headed to MIT and then came the ban.

Mahmoud Hassan was ecstatic when he got the acceptance letter.

All through high school, the 18-year-old had one goal in mind: get an engineering degree from the prestigious Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

But Hassan is from Damascus, Syria. And Friday, he had his hopes crushed through no fault of his own.

When President Trump signed the executive order on immigration, temporarily banning citizens from certain Muslim-majority countries, Syria was one of the seven.

"Now Trump's orders will prevent me from going there," he told CNN. "My dreams are basically ruined."

Hassan had been looking forward to his journey to the Cambridge campus in the fall. He says he had been offered a scholarship.

He's read and reread that letter from MIT dozens of times.

"Dear Mahmoud, On behalf of the Admissions Committee, it is my pleasure to offer you admission to the MIT Class of 2021! You stood out as one of the most talented and promising students in one of the most competitive applicant pools in the history of the Institute."

Hassan doesn't know what he'll do next.

This is who Donald Trump is determined to keep out of America.

Another story. This one is from our office.

A constituent from Concord, MA, came into my office in Boston just this morning—Monday, January 30, 2017. She came looking for more information on the current status of the Muslim ban, on behalf of her husband, who was originally born in Iran.

She explained that when he was young, he received refugee status in Australia for religious persecution, as he was raised in the Baha'i faith. He now has dual citizenship in Iran and Australia and is a green card holder of 10 years here in the United States. He is the vice president of a startup company that requires him to travel outside the country often but has decided that, because of the latest Executive orders, to stay grounded in the United States until further notice. He is currently safe in the United States.

Emam has also decided to begin his U.S. citizenship application, and the couple have two young children whom they are raising in the United States, afraid to travel outside the United States on business because of President Trump's ban.

Another story. This is a story via the Wall Street Journal.

Iraqi interpreter Laith al-Haydar received multiple death threats for working with the American military at the height of the war in his country. In return for helping the U.S., he and tens of thousands of other Iraqis were promised U.S. immigration visas.

Nearly four years after he applied, the 41-year-old father of two is still waiting for a visa—and now he faces a new setback: President Donald Trump signed an order suspending immigration from several countries with a Muslim majority, including Iraq, and a temporary ban on all refugees.

Mr. Haydar is among roughly 58,000 Iraqi applicants for U.S. immigrant visas and refugee resettlement under the federal programs that promised to fast-track entry for Iraqis who worked with the U.S. government and other institutions deemed critical to the U.S.-led effort in Iraq, according to the State Department. A similar program for Afghans who've worked with the U.S. government may also be at risk.

At least one Iraqi and two Afghans who worked with the U.S. government and also qualify for expedited immigration visas were turned away from American ports of entry on Friday and Saturday, a State Department official said, adding that several more were prevented from boarding planes to the U.S.

A substantial backlog of applications remains in part because Congress limits the number of visas that can be granted each year. Frustration with visa delays has now been aggravated by Mr. Trump's executive orders.

Critics of the visa ban say it abandons thousands of valuable allies abroad and risks deterring such people from working with the United States in the future at a time when Mr. Trump is promising a more aggressive military posture abroad.

"These guys laid their lives on the line alongside American soldiers and got paid a fraction of what I made," said Jake Thomas, a U.S. Army veteran who worked with Mr. Haydar in Iraq and who now lives in Georgia. If they want out, we need to honor our promises and get them out. Mr. Thomas is one of several U.S. military officers who have written letters to the State Department appealing for Mr. Haydar to get a visa. He said he sympathizes with some of the views regarding immigration that Mr. Trump campaigned on, but he added that Iraqis like Mr. Haydar "were singled out and shot at for serving the United States and we made a promise." Mr. Thomas said he knew of five Iraqi interpreters who were killed in the 15 months of his last tour in Iraq, including 3 who were gunned down in their homes for working with the U.S. military.

President Trump continues to ignore the damage he is doing to the safety of our country and our servicemen and servicewomen overseas. Brave men and women who risked their lives to help U.S. soldiers in Iraq have already been caught up in the President's unconstitutional order.

I just want to associate myself with the man who said—who had been there, the soldier who had been there—that America made a promise. I believe in an America that keeps its promises. Donald Trump's order breaks our promises.

Another story, this one from Marcolla via PRI:

The Iraqi linguist who worked side by side with US troops in Baghdad put her life on the line for America's war effort.

Now her family is in danger back in Iraq and she fears her efforts to get them to safety in America are all but doomed.

"I'm scared. The chance to see my family reunited again is very slim now," she says. "People like me and my family who helped and supported America, I believe we should be reunited. The history of the United States is to support people and help them, not to separate the families."

Marcolla was just 18 and living in Baghdad shortly after American tanks rolled into the Iraqi capital in 2003. She was recruited to work for the US military. Her role caught the attention of Iraqi militants. They sought revenge. They burned down Marcolla's house, kidnapped her father and murdered her husband.

Fearing for her life, she applied for a US visa. And in 2013, after seven years of waiting, she received the permission she had been waiting for. But Marcolla had to leave her parents and siblings behind, even though she says they too were in danger because of her service with US troops. She says she tries to talk with her family in Baghdad daily. "Every day their lives are in danger," she says. "They have to change their address, move from place to place. They live in the unknown."

Marcolla is worried that the refugee ban proposed Wednesday means her parents and siblings will never reach American soil.

"We already been in extreme vetting," she says. "I understand and I respect the US rules and the safety and national security. . . . I understand that and I respect that. However, there are people in Iraq who have a long history of supporting America in Iraq and Afghanistan—the linguists, the translators—they deserve and they need their papers to be expedited."

These are the people Donald Trump is keeping out of America.

Another story from Mother Jones:

"Immoral," "Stupid," and "Counterproductive": National Security Experts Slam Trump's "Muslim Ban."

"At the moment we need them most, we're telling these people, 'Get screwed.'"

While Trump's executive order claims to be in the interest of "protecting the nation," experts in national security and counterterrorism who spoke with Mother Jones argue that it poses potentially disastrous immediate and long-term security threats to the nation and US personnel overseas.

"Not only is it immoral and stupid, it's also counterproductive," says Patrick Skinner, a former CIA terrorism case officer who now works at Soufan Group, a security consulting firm. "We've got military intelligence and diplomatic personnel on the ground right now in Syria, Libya, and Iraq who are working side by side with the people imbedded in combat and training and advising. At no time in the US's history have we depended more on local—and I mean local—partnerships for counterterrorism. We need people in Al Bab, Syria; we depend on people in certain parts of eastern Mosul, Iraq; in Cert, Libya. At the exact moment we need them most, we're telling those people, 'Get screwed.'"

Kirk W. Johnson, who spent a year on reconstruction in Fallujah in Iraq with the US Agency for International Development (USAID) echoes Skinner's fears: "This will have immediate national security implications, in that we are not going to be able to recruit people to help us right now, and people are not going to step forward to help us in any future wars if this is our stance."

The US-led war on ISIS is but one front of a constellation of fights against extremist groups that could be hampered by Trump's decision. "The US is officially banning people in these countries at the same time we are trying to build up local support to fight ISIS," Skinner said. "It takes a long time to build trust with these people. You have to start over, say, 'Okay, starting now, trust me.' How many times can you get away with that?" It also sends a message that groups like the so-called Islamic State can exploit. Elizabeth Goitein, the codirector of the Brennan Center's Liberty & National Security Program, says, "The message this projects is that America sees Muslims as a threat—not specific actors who are intent on committing terrorist acts. The message that America really is at war with Islam will be ISIS's best friend."

BuzzFeed reporters Mike Giglio and Munzer Al-Awad spoke with five current or former ISIS fighters who cited Trump's divisiveness as a factor that will weaken America. They added that his rhetoric against Muslims will help them reinforce their narrative that America and the West are fighting not just terrorism, but Islam itself. "Trump will shorten the time it takes for us to achieve our goals," said one.

Meanwhile, the very allies who have operated alongside US personnel in war zones for years—contractors and translators like Darweesh—are once again being abandoned. For the past decade, Johnson has been leading an effort to resettle Iraqi allies, many of whom, he says, face torture, kidnapping, and

death after collaborating with American soldiers. It all started in 2006 when he heard from an Iraqi USAID colleague who had been identified by a militia. The militia left a severed pig's head on his door step, along with a message saying that it would be his head next. Despite his years of helping the United States, the US government offered no help, and he had to flee the country with his wife.

"We are not going to be able to recruit people to help us right now, and people are not going to step forward to help us in any future wars if this is our stance."

This is what Donald Trump's Executive order is doing. It is putting Americans at risk around the world.

Another story from Newsweek: "Spy Veterans Say Trump's Muslim-Country Visa Ban Will Hurt Recruitment."

President Donald Trump's temporary ban on immigrants from seven Muslim-majority nations takes a major recruiting tool out of the hands of US spy handlers, say a growing number of intelligence veterans.

For decades, CIA and US military spy recruiters have held out the promise of eventual resettlement in America to induce foreigners to turn coat and work secretly for the United States against terrorist groups or repressive governments. In reality, many were caught before they ever made it, but during the Cold War countless Eastern Europeans living under communist rule, and more recently, Muslims across the Middle East, North Africa and Central Asia, have worked secretly for US spy agencies on the promise that they or their children would eventually be extracted. Another effective recruiting tool for US operatives has been to offer their agents' families medical care or education in the United States.

Those inducements, a primary recruiting tool in Muslim land, were effectively suspended with Trump's executive order Friday to temporarily ban immigration from seven critical targets of the U.S. spy agencies—Iraq, Iran, Syria, Yemen, Sudan, Libya and Somalia. The departments of State and Homeland Security, the order stipulates, may allow entry from those countries on "a case-by-case basis," but it's a balky arrangement not likely to appeal to the managers of the CIA's highly secretive operations directorate, its espionage and covert action arm.

Intelligence veterans with vast counterterrorism experience are expressing dismay about how the order will affect their spy operations.

"These individuals often put themselves at the risk of death for working with the U.S., and without the ability to offer them safety, we will be reducing the likelihood that those in countries targeted by the ban will work with us in the future," Phillip Lohaus, a decorated veteran of the U.S. Special Operations Command and CIA, tells Newsweek.

"We relied heavily on local translators, many of whom have gone on to forge productive lives for themselves here in the States," Lohaus added. "Why would they take such a risk if they knew that they would face retribution or death by staying in their home countries?"

"Absolutely," agreed Cindy Storer, a former member of the CIA intelligence team that tracked al-Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden. "It hurts," she said in a brief interview. "Capital h-u-r-t-s." Imagine, she said, if the ban had been in place when Jamal al Fadl, a Sudanese Muslim and key al-Qaeda operative, showed up at the American embassy in the mid-1990s and volunteered to defect to the United States. FBI counterterrorism agents brought him into the U.S., where he provided "a major breakthrough of intel-

ligence on the creation, character, direction, and intentions of al-Qaeda," according to the official 9/11 Commission report.

And that is what Donald Trump is putting an end to.

Another story from the Washington Post: "Dissent memo circulating in the State Department over Trump's policy on refugees and immigrants."

For this one, Foreign Service officers have written a memo—and they shared it with the Washington Post—in opposition to President Trump's Executive order. Here are excerpts from a leaked dissent memo by U.S. Foreign Service officers regarding the Executive orders:

It will immediately sour relations with these seven countries, as well as much of the Muslim world, which sees the ban as religiously motivated. These governments of these countries are important allies and partners in the fight against terrorism, regionally and globally. By alienating them, we lose access to the intelligence and resources we need to fight the root causes of terror abroad before the attack occurs within our borders. It will increase anti-American sentiment. It will have an immediate and clear humanitarian impact. It will have a negative impact on the U.S. economy.

Looking beyond its effectiveness, this ban stands in opposition to the core American and constitutional values. This ban stands in opposition to the core American and constitutional values that we, as Federal employees, took an oath to uphold.

The United States is a nation of immigrants, starting from its very origins. The concept that immigrants and foreigners are welcome is an essential element of our society, our government, and our foreign policy. So, too, is the concept that we are all equal under the law and that we, as a nation, abhor discrimination, whether it is based on race, religion, sex, or national origin. Combined together, that means we have a special obligation to maintain an immigration system that is as free as possible from discrimination, that does not have implied or actual religious tests, and that views individuals as individuals, not as part of stereotyped groups.

Banning travelers from these seven countries calls back to some of the worst times in our history. Laws enacted in the 1920s and which lasted through the 1960s severely restricted immigration based on national origin and, in some cases, race. The decision to restrict the freedom of Japanese Americans in the United States and foreign citizens who wanted to travel to settle in the United States during the 1940s has been a source of lasting shame for many in our country. Decades from now, we will look back and realize we made the same mistakes as our predecessors: shutting borders in a knee-jerk reaction instead of setting up systems of checks that protect our interests and our values.

We do not need to place a blanket ban that keeps 220 million people—

men, women, and children—from entering the United States to protect our homeland. We do not need to alienate entire societies to stay safe. And we do not need to sacrifice our reputation as a nation which is open and welcoming to protect our families. It is well within our reach to create a visa process which is more secure, which reflects American values, and which would make the Department proud.

Again, this is a dissent memo circulating in the State Department over President Trump's policy on refugees and immigrants.

And this is what Donald Trump's Executive order does; it makes us less safe. It is wrong.

Another story, from a Boston Globe op-ed, Matt Gallagher, who is a veteran. The headline: "Trump rejects the Muslims who helped us."

The bravest person I've ever known went by the nickname Suge Knight. He was as physically imposing as the infamous music producer, but he was calm and bighearted, with a smile as wide as a canyon. A Sudanese Muslim, Suge served as my scout platoon's interpreter during our deployment to Iraq in 2007 and 2008, and he went on every patrol and mission with us, no matter the circumstances. He'd survived multiple roadside bomb attacks, had lost three young children to the bombings of the first Gulf war, and yet still believed in America and what America represented to him and his family.

Though he doubted he'd ever get to our country, he aspired for his children to do so. "Perhaps my grandchildren will go to school with your kids," he once told me with typical paternal charm. "I'd like that very much." I felt the same. We all did. He was one of us.

President Trump's recent executive order on Muslim refugees and immigrants works to ensure that such a dream never comes true. Muslim allies, including interpreters like Suge in Iraq and Afghanistan, have done more for the United States during the past 16 years of war than most Americans will even think of doing their entire lives. Yet we're abandoning them in their hour of need, wrapping ourselves up in a big, billowing flag of fear and pretending it's for safety. We're also abandoning Middle Eastern refugees fleeing the very terrorists we've professed to combat, who have seen their homes and lives destroyed and now seek shelter on our shores the same way immigrants have for generations.

This is a national disgrace. The president's executive order betrays American values and weakens our national security all at once. Our country was founded as a haven. Trump and his administration seem intent on turning it into a medieval fortress.

In November, shortly after the election, I joined a nonpartisan group in Washington, D.C., to advocate for Muslim refugees and immigrants—Veterans For American Ideals, a project of Human Rights First. There was a gray pall over the city, and a deep sense of uncertainty for what awaited, even in Republican offices. No one knew then what we all know now: Trump really did mean to do what he'd said on the campaign trail.

Time and time again, Democrats and Republicans alike told us the United States already has in place the best and most thorough refugee and immigrant screening process on the planet. A prominent Republican adviser assured us that Trump's "extreme vetting" idea was just a ploy to rustle up votes. A national security official suggested that we should be more thankful Congress

had saved the Special Immigrant Visa program for interpreters and translators who served with the US military, and maintained that the amount of issued visas was sufficient, despite the overflowing backlog of requests.

A shouting match ensued. Enraged veterans can have our own sort of diplomatic style.

I look back at that week with both pride and despondency. On one hand, to see so many young American veterans standing up for the principles of our nation—often the very same principles that led them to enlist in the military to begin with—was stirring. We tried, sometimes successfully and sometimes not, to convey to politicians the importance of remaining true to our Muslim brothers- and sisters-in-arms. We also tried to remind them of the secondary and tertiary effects of not honoring the bonds forged in combat. On the other hand, bearing witness to how easily dismissed entire lives and formative experiences can be by fellow citizens (let alone elected representatives) was rather dismaying.

Even in our era of yellow-ribbon patriotism and star-spangled grandiosity, veterans' stories of heroic Muslim translators and brave, dedicated local Iraqis and Afghans were, sometimes, met with hollow stares and empty platitudes in Washington. What we were telling these officials defied their preconceived notions about vets, and Muslims, and how vets of the terror wars were supposed to feel about Muslims. What we were telling them was that American security was dependent on opening our doors to as many vetted refugees and immigrants as possible, not barricading ourselves and saying, "We're not that America anymore." What we were telling them was that we knew, more than any other group of Americans, what the hearts and souls of the Middle Eastern people were, and that those hearts and souls were so very much like our own.

These are just some of the stories of what Donald Trump is doing to people here in America, to Americans abroad, and people around the world.

This Executive order is illegal. It is unconstitutional. It is immoral, and it must be overturned by Congress.

I understand that under the rules, a majority can stop any Senator after speaking for an hour postcloture, but there is a bit more I would like to say.

Therefore, I ask unanimous consent to speak for up to 10 additional minutes.

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

Ms. WARREN. Thank you, Mr. President.

I will continue with the story that was published this morning in the Boston Globe. This is from a veteran who was writing of his own experiences.

He says:

Trump's executive order, which seeks to "keep radical Islamic terrorists out of the United States," will only embolden those very same people, who already had a near-zero chance of gaining entry to our country to begin with. This order proves too many ISIS and al-Qaeda talking points true about what the United States really is, and will serve as an excellent recruiting tool for those organizations and others.

This executive order isn't about national security. It's about fear-mongering for ends we can only guess at.

This shouldn't be a partisan issue. As my friend Phil Klay, winner of the National

Book Award and a Marine veteran, pointed out last year, Ronald Reagan's "city on a hill" speech outlined an America "For all the pilgrims from all the lost places who are hurtling through the darkness toward home."

"I get that people are scared," Klay continued. "But it's only during frightening times when you get to find out if your country really deserves to call itself the 'home of the brave.'"

Donald Trump's zero-sum worldview and flimsy understanding of the intricacies of modern war and terrorism threaten to undermine our republic. His policy on Middle Eastern refugees and immigrants must be checked and resisted by citizens of all political stripes, legislators of both major parties and the judicial courts.

After 16 years of war, much of my generation of military veterans stands with the Middle Eastern people we sweated, labored and bled with, and sometimes died for. It's going to be a fight, but it's one we're not going to lose. The legacy of America's past is at stake, as well as the soul of its future.

Matt Gallagher is the author of the novel "Youngblood" and the memoir "Kaboom: Embracing the Suck in a Savage Little War." He is an Iraq war veteran and a former US Army captain.

And he wrote this morning in the Boston Globe.

We are here tonight because this country is in crisis. We are here tonight because it is a constitutional crisis, because it is a moral crisis. We are here tonight to stand up and ask the rest of the U.S. Senate to overturn Donald Trump's Executive order. We have that power. All we need is the courage, the courage to stand up and do what is right. This is why we came to the U.S. Senate, to stand up and do what is right.

I call on the rest of the Senate to overturn Donald Trump's illegal, unconstitutional, and immoral Executive order.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Jersey.

Mr. BOOKER. Mr. President, I rise in gratitude for the opportunity to speak on the Senate floor. I want to express a lot of gratitude toward the Senator from Massachusetts. She has been an advocate for the truth of our country. She has spoken here on this hallowed floor. I have now watched her speak in the streets, at airports, at rallies. She is one of those people—like so many Americans, literally millions of Americans over the course of these last few weeks—who is saying with the force of conviction that they will not be silent when the cause of our country is at stake.

I join with her tonight, along with some of my other colleagues, to stand up and really speak from the heart. I think this floor has seen many partisan speeches, but this is not going to be about Republican or Democrat. This is not a speech I ever imagined I would be giving in the U.S. Senate. I never thought I would be here today talking about something that quite honestly was unimaginable to me just months ago.

This is a time I could not have foreseen, and I fear my generation of

Americans maybe, perhaps, should have known that moments like this are possible; that we who believe in the values of our Nation, we who believe in the ideals enshrined in our Constitution, such as religious liberty, we should know that every generation of Americans has to prove worthy of these ideals and stay forever vigilant in their protection and never get so complacent as to think that this could never happen. The ideals we enjoy were fought for and struggled for and often bled for and died for. We of our generation who have the privileges we enjoy, the blessings of liberty that we luxuriate in, we have the obligation to stay the course to ensure that these moments never come, and when they do, that we stand with conviction to speak out against them, work against them to resist any retrenchment of American values.

What Donald Trump did in this Executive action issued this past Friday is, in no uncertain terms, a break with American policy. I believe it is a violation of our very Constitution, that it is illegal, unconstitutional, as well as immoral. More than this, it very specifically makes this Nation less safe and not more so. I want to repeat that. It makes this Nation less safe and not more so.

The ban was put forth in a climate of fear, intending to try to appeal to people's fears, trying to tell people that doing this Executive order was going to make us safer, but in its essence it is illogical when you look at the facts. Not only should it be known that it blocks immigration from seven majority Muslim countries—seven countries. Not a single perpetrator of terrorist attacks on American soil has come from these countries, dating back to well before 9/11. In fact, well before 2000, well before the nineties, well before the eighties and, in fact, not since the seventies, in over 40 years, no American has been killed on American soil by any of these countries in terrorist attacks.

In addition to that, what this ban is doing is it is shutting down the Refugee Resettlement Program for about 4 months and suspends the Syrian refugee program indefinitely, despite the fact that individuals entering the United States as refugees undergo the most heavily vetted resettlement process of anybody traveling into the United States.

So understand this. If you are trying to come into this country through student visas, Visa Waiver Programs, there are so many ways to come into this country without going through the refugee process, which takes between 1 year and 3 years, and you are not just going through the vetting of the Department of State but also the Department of Defense, the Department of Homeland Security, the FBI, the National Counterterrorism Center, numerous agencies for over up to 3 years are vetting you. Let me tell you right now, again, people who go through this

program, history is showing, you have not seen in any recent years that folks going through these programs pose a terrorist threat or are taking American lives. So the very argument being used to push this ban is illogical and has no basis for any of the experiences we have had in this country.

A former chief counsel for U.S. Citizenship and Immigration services remarked that no competent terrorist would choose the U.S. refugee process as a preferred strategy for gaining entry into this country. Subjecting yourself to the 1 to 3 years of vetting from multiple agencies, more than any other way to enter, is not a way for terrorists to try to gain access to this country at all.

What we see is that this terrorist ban is putting focus—excuse me, this Executive order is putting focus in areas that do not produce safety but do have the collateral consequence of making us less safe.

The order indefinitely suspends the resettlement of Syrian refugees in the United States. The majority of these folks are women and children who are fleeing barrel bombs, chemical attacks, military attacks on homes and schools. They are fleeing famine, they are fleeing starvation, they are fleeing the same violent extremism that we ourselves are trying to fight against. While the Syrian people face violence, terror, and oppression, the President has chosen to equate helpless refugees with those who are actually perpetrating the terror. Despite the fact that we have this stringent years-long vetting program for Iraqis and Afghans who risked their lives to help Americans by acting as interpreters, the ban ends—astonishingly, it ends a Special Immigrant Visa Program and substitutes it with nothing.

What is this Special Immigrant Visa Program that many of my colleagues have spoken about? It is a program that is specifically there for Iraqis and Afghans who helped America and put their families in danger, who put their necks out for us. They put themselves out there to assist our servicemen and servicewomen. It actually is there to help people who, because of their service to us and our country, now have their lives endangered where they are.

I want to read a series of tweets just yesterday from Kirk Johnson, a former USAID Administrator in Iraq who wrote about these folks who put themselves on the line for Americans who are our allies and our friends. This is what Kirk Johnson wrote:

I served in Iraq as USAID's man in Fallujah. Lived alongside Marines and interpreters as they fought terrorists.

Over 100,000 of these Iraqis risked their lives for us during the war. They bled for our country.

You said, before signing—

He is talking about President Trump—

“We only want to admit those into our country who will support our country, and love deeply our people.”

And what Kirk Johnson wrote follows:

I'd like you to know [Donald Trump] about some of these people.

“Homeboy” lost his leg dragging a wounded U.S. SSgt from MN out of the field of fire. He spent 4 years being vetted before coming here.

Hossam helped us build schools. When insurgents found out, in Oct '06, they left a severed dog head on his front step that said “run.”

Faisal, an interpreter for the troops you command [Donald Trump], died of a suicide bomb on 3/14/2008.

Mohammed was assassinated when terrorists, who wanted to kill the “traitor” booby-trapped his house in Jan 2008.

Ali had both his legs amputated by an IED blast while working as an interpreter in Nov 2007.

Hameed died of a gunshot wound to the head while helping our troops in July 2007.

I could do this all day, sadly.

He wrote in his remarks. He goes on to say:

Those that helped us were Christians, Muslims, Yazidis, atheists, you name it.

These people in Fallujah and the surrounding areas were our allies.

When they ran through gunfire to save our troops, they didn't think about such labels.

These Iraqis believed in America. They loved our country. They lost their country as a result of the choice they made to help us.

Your signature [Donald Trump] just banned them.

He continues:

I have heard from many, many soldiers and Marines (some of extremely high rank) who believe this is a huge mistake.

One senior military officer with extensive experience in Iraq and Afghanistan told me it was “heinous and counterproductive.”

Now why is it counterproductive? Well, for one, when we are conducting dangerous missions, when we are relying on people in country to assist us with our counterterrorism efforts, if they are going to take that risk, put their lives on the line, be subjected to terrorism themselves, there should be a process that allows them, after proper vetting, to get into this country. That has been American policy. Even people who have been threatened, victimized, and persecuted can't just walk into our country because some of our high-ranking Marines say so. They still go through vetting that often takes years. That is the process. It is a process that Donald Trump has now stopped.

Yesterday a report noted that radical jihadists—the people we are fighting against, the terrorists intending to kill us—were already using this Executive order as a victory, proof that the United States is at war with Islam. Now some people say that claim is hard to make. This is just banning people from seven countries. Well, look a little closer at the Executive order. There are exceptions made for non-Muslims in those countries.

Imagine this. We are the United States of America. Enshrined in our Constitution is this idea of freedom of religion; that there is no religious test to vote, there is no religious test to have citizenship, there is no religious

test to enjoy the richness of a nation that believes in religious liberty. But in one action by the President of the United States, who claims to be concerned about terrorism from these countries, he says: I am going to stop people from entering. Oh, wait a minute, only Muslims. Christians are welcome. If that is not a violation of core principles of freedom of religion that there should be religious tests to enter from these countries—that is an assault on all we proclaim in our country to be our core values.

This is not missed by our enemies. They are now trying to say this isn't a war between America and ISIS. This isn't a war between America and radical jihadists. They want, as a propaganda tool, for people to believe that this is a war between the United States and Islam, between America and a religion. That is a lie. But when Donald Trump takes actions like this that specifically target people because of their faith, he is playing into the hands of the propagandists who seek to hurt us.

National security experts from across the political spectrum, from Republicans and Democrats, have spoken out against this order on this basis and on how it will affect our security as a country.

The former Director of the CIA, Gen. Michael Hayden, said of this order that it “inarguably has made us less safe.”

Those people who want to help us, who want to serve with our marines, who want to be interpreters, who want to stand up for America, what are they to think now when America has shut its doors, when they have watched others do this, and now they can't gain access to this country? What about those allies of ours who say that the great United States of America is standing up against terrorism and Muslim leaders in other countries? But it is not about Islam; it is about the people who are conducting vicious terrorism, which is a sin on a peaceful religion. What can our allies say now, when we have specifically targeted an Executive order from our President not at a country but at a people who pray a certain way in that country?

What are we to think in the United States? This great Nation born from the ideas of liberty and freedom—freedom to pray as we want—what are we to think?

Despite all of the evidence to the contrary, just 2 days after President Trump instituted this ban, he remarked: Hey, this ban is going “nicely.” Earlier today, President Trump's spokesman referred to those being unlawfully detained as just being “temporarily inconvenienced.”

We know that the reality of the situation is much different for the families and individuals across the globe who are affected. Many of them are permanent residents and green card holders for whom this Executive order has amounted to a door slammed in their face by the country that is supposed to represent the shining beacon on the planet Earth of liberty and hope.

Hundreds of people of seven different nationalities have been trapped at American airports. Many of them were detained for hours on end without access to lawyers; they were handcuffed and interrogated; some were immediately deported, while many more have been turned away at the doors to their flights bound for the United States. These are people who followed all of the rules, who went through extensive vetting, who upended their lives—doors slammed in their faces.

I am sorry, but this is not an inconvenience. This is a denial of process, a denial of procedure; it is a denial of basic liberty and a violation of our principles.

It is no wonder, though, that judges across the country began issuing stays within hours of this order becoming effective. As we saw in New York, how people like Hamidiah Al Saeedi, the 65-year-old mother of a sergeant—65-year-old mother of a sergeant in the 82nd Airborne Division of the U.S. Army, who traveled from Iraq to see her son for the first time in 5 years. A mother of a sergeant in the 82nd Airborne—someone who should be honored—lawfully entered the United States, and because of this order, she was detained for 30 hours, denied a wheelchair, and handcuffed, before her release.

On Saturday night and early into the morning, I saw Customs and Border Patrol officials at Dulles. I left Washington, DC, and drove to Virginia to go to Dulles Airport. I saw Customs and Border Patrol officials seemingly defy the orders coming from a Federal judge to at least permit all legal permanent residents in detention access to legal counsel. I held the judge's order in my hands. Because of the kindness of a local law enforcement officer who was stationed in Dulles, I was able to shuttle to Customs and Border Patrol, and I was then able to submit handwritten notes and questions to the officials who refused to meet with me. I did not get much of an explanation as to why they were defying a clear order from a Federal judge. Whether or not this was a case of bureaucratic confusion or a message from the courts getting lost, Federal law enforcement officers, under the supervision of the Department of Homeland Security, ignored and defied the orders of a Federal judge.

To me, this is more reason for outrage. In a Nation with three branches of government, the judiciary with a clear role giving an order to the executive branch, I believe the defiance of that order also was unconstitutional.

Access to counsel is a principle in our democracy. It is about fairness and due process. Failing to allow access to counsel, to me, seems a clear violation of constitutional norms and ideals. The judge obviously believes so, and that is why he ordered counsel to be provided.

Still, right now, we don't know how many people are being detained across the country in the wake of this Execu-

tive order or how many were immediately and quietly deported once they came here again, thoroughly vetted, in accordance with the law, but they were still deported upon their arrival in this country. I think Congress deserves answers. I wrote to Homeland Security Secretary John Kelly earlier this evening to seek them.

This mistreatment of any legal permanent resident or visitors to this country is wrong. It is un-American. It undermines the truth of who we are. It is patently unacceptable.

This Executive order has treated green card holders and immigrants in this Nation as if they were criminals. It has torn families apart across the world and pulled the rug out from families who were preparing to begin a new life in the United States of America. And this order has betrayed some of our closest allies—men and women who risked their lives to help American servicemembers deployed often on hostile soil. Ending the special immigrant visa programs established to help Iraqis and Afghans who risked their lives to help American forces is unacceptable. The United States cannot turn its back on those who stepped up and stepped in when we needed them most.

Just this morning, I read about an Iraqi man, Sami, who had risked his life to work with the American Government in Iraq. After waiting 7 years to gain entry, going through a laborious process of vetting under the special immigrant visa program, he and his family finally got the OK, and they were ready to start their new lives in America. On Saturday, he and his wife and two daughters had flown from Iraq to Istanbul, and they were sitting in their seats ready to take off when they were removed from the plane by security officials. Foreign Policy magazine reported that, through tears, Sami's 7-year-old daughter asked, "Why don't they want us in America?"

American servicemembers and veterans are joining a growing core, speaking out against this misguided decision which threatens the common-sense program that helps our military do their jobs.

Take Zachary Iscol, a former Marine infantry officer who wrote about some of the Iraqis he worked with who had risked everything to help the United States. He told the story of one man, Frank, who had served as an interpreter for his Marine Corps unit and, in doing so, had taken a bullet in his leg. Frank had remained in Iraq since then. Zachary wrote:

He was still living in Baghdad with daily fears for his and his family's safety. After six years of vetting, including what seemed like countless interviews and background checks by various government agencies, he had finally been cleared to come to the United States with his pregnant wife and 18-month-old son.

Zachary went on to write:

My wife and I began to prepare our guest room for their arrival. But now, because of a

new executive order by President Trump, Frank is no longer welcome.

This is an American military man, preparing to have these folks who put their lives on the line for him, stay in his home.

This special visa program is why people like Mohammed and Saif Alnasseri, whom I am proud to call Jersey residents—two of my constituents—were able to come to this country. I would like to share a little bit about this family.

Mohammed Alnasseri was finishing high school in Iraq in 2003 when the Americans arrived. As an English speaker, Mohammed began helping the Americans stationed near his neighborhood, working for free as their neighborhood translator. When the unit he had become friends with left, he decided to apply for work as an official interpreter with the U.S. Army. By 2004, he had been sent to Fallujah to work with and help protect American military fighting there. Because of his work with the American military, he recounts receiving hundreds of death notes, threatening not just his life but the life of his mother and his family.

He returned to Baghdad where he worked, despite these threats, as a contractor with an American company until one day he was targeted and almost assassinated in his car. He knew at that point, with the death threats and the assassination attempt, that he had to get out of the country.

After moving to Australia, his sister informed him about America's special visa program, so he applied, and 2½ years later he was able to join his family in the United States.

In a call with my office just earlier today, he wanted to make it clear that he arrived in the United States on July 3, and by August 10, he had started his job. He remarked to my team that he couldn't understand why anyone would think he was coming to America because it was easy or because he wanted something. He spent most of his savings trying to get to America, and he had never taken any benefit since arriving here.

Mohammed met his wife in New Jersey and now lives in our State, works at Costco, and is working to obtain his citizenship. He shared that this Executive order made him more sad than scared and that it simply didn't make sense to ban regular, hard-working people who are also afraid of terrorists, persecuted by terrorists, almost killed by terrorists, and who had done so much to help our country. It made no sense to them.

This is what he said: "We ran away from these people. I paid all the money I had to leave." He did that for the safety of his family.

Mohammed's brother is now a proud American citizen, father of two, and resident of Scotch Plains, NJ. Saif and his wife had worked as pharmacists in Iraq, but when the war began, he knew he needed to get involved. So Saif worked as a translator and reporter for

the Los Angeles Times during the war in Iraq, providing support and key insights to the American media and the American public. They were able to come to the United States in 2008 through that special visa program—the SIV program—and slowly worked their way through school. Now, as pharmacy technicians, they have their pharmacy licenses.

Saif is a pharmacy manager in Cranford, NJ, a homeowner in Scotch Plains, and a proud father of two girls. He savors this country, this precious Nation. He celebrates our values. He is a glowing testimony to the truth of who we are. His success is our success. His family's security and safety and thriving lives in New Jersey give luster to the greatness of America.

In a phone call yesterday, Saif remarked that this Executive order was embarrassing and hurtful, that it was clear Muslims were being targeted, and that he couldn't understand why those who were so heavily vetted like his family posed such a threat.

Saif and his family are heavily involved in their community in Scotch Plains, and they make sure to offer support to families similar to theirs who come from Iraq seeking refuge. They are not just basking and luxuriating in their good fortune to become American citizens; they are honoring one of the great hallowed traditions of our country, which is service.

At the end of the call, Saif remarked that "[he] didn't think this would happen in any other country." It seemed like he was about to say this kind of religiously targeted ban wouldn't happen anywhere else, and he might have been right. But instead, he said that "if this kind of executive order from a leader in any other country happened against any group of people, you would never see the kind of resistance and action of so many standing up for them."

Even in one of the darkest moments in recent history, this man, this patriot, this person who served our Nation's interests and continues to volunteer in service to this day, could have every reason to be angry, upset, and cynical. But what is beautiful from our conversations with this man is that he hasn't given up faith. He still believes in the American people.

The beautiful thing about the conversations my staff has had with those New Jersey residents who once were serving our Nation in theaters of violence and terrorism, standing up for our military, for our press, victimized by terroristic threats, shot at, assassination attempts—these families now here in America witnessing this Executive order are saddened and embarrassed by it, but they are not giving up in their faith in America. That is our story.

I stand here today—dare I say, all of the Members of the Senate stand here today because of this tradition of our country, that even when we had dark chapters from our past where others in positions of power violated our values,

the faith and activism and engagement of American people remained.

I dare say we are the oldest constitutional democracy on the planet Earth. God, the genius of our Founders who put on paper ideals that have been heralded for centuries on planet Earth. Newer constitutional democracies literally would study our Constitution and model their nations after elements of our Constitution. I am sad to tell you that some of those countries' democracies have failed. They had the vaunted words, they put forth the same principles and ideals, but their countries' democracies have been overthrown, have seen despots who destroyed the very spirit of those ideals.

Why has America persisted? It is not just because of the documents that are sacred and so special in the course of human events. But what makes those documents true and real—because those sentiments are not just written on parchment; every generation has had them written on their hearts and have said: No matter what I may be experiencing in this country, I am going to dedicate myself to the principles and ideals, because as great as our Founders were when they founded this country in liberty and in justice and equality under the law, it didn't apply to everyone. It didn't apply to women. Native Americans were referred to as savages. African Americans were fractions of human beings. Yet the faith of a people in every generation worked to expand the concepts of liberty and freedom. They made the Constitution more real. They made our Union more perfect. They made our country's truth more true for more people.

It is why great poets like Langston Hughes wrote:

America never was America to me,
And yet I swear this oath—
America will be!

That is the call to the citizenry of this country.

There have been dark days in our past, but every generation of Americans, despite the dark actions of people in power, understands the truth that the power of the people is greater than the people in power. If we never lose faith in the ideals of this Nation, if we keep standing and working and sacrificing and struggling, every generation could advance the ideals of our country and make us more free and more true and more real for more people.

Last week, we saw yet another American leader shrink the ideals of this country, try to pull us backward to times past when we turned our backs on people fleeing persecution. What Donald Trump did is try to pull back on the ideals inscribed on that great statue that sits right next to New Jersey, the mother of exiles, who says in poetry, among other things, "give us"—not "Hey, you can come in" but a demand:

Give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,
The wretched refuse of your teeming shore.

It is a demand to the world that we will take those who are oppressed, we

will take those who are being violated, we will take those who are being victimized. A President turns his back on those ideals. We have seen it before.

Dr. Lauren Feldman wrote to me about chapters of dark pasts. She wrote:

Today is Holocaust Remembrance Day. I am a Jew. My relatives were unable to find refuge in our country and were murdered by the Nazis. My grandmother lost her beloved aunt, Rokhl Rosnick Gertman, and an uncle and 4 young cousins that she never met. Had we as a country done the right thing and welcomed the refugees fleeing the Nazis, Tante Rokhl and millions of others could have joined their family members in safety and we could have been proud of our country, instead of ashamed of the racist paper walls built by the FDR administration to keep my family and others out.

Please tell Mr. Trump that we cannot go back. We must be a beacon of safety and refuge for the persecuted. Please do all that you can to prevent this ban from being enacted. Please think of my relatives and the relatives of your other constituents and fellow citizens who were needlessly and shamefully murdered because of our fear and racism. We are better than that. You are better than that.

She concludes, "Thank you for your time and service. Dr. Lauren Feldman, Princeton."

We are the United States of America. We haven't been perfect, but there has been a striving and a yearning in every generation to be more so.

I am a product of people Black and White, Christian and Jewish and Muslim, who, even though issues didn't affect them directly, knew that injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere. They marched and they fought. They sat in. They got on buses for freedom rides knowing they would be bombed. They tried to cross bridges, standing up against law enforcement, State troopers, Governors who dared them to try to pass them. There were implacable walls of hatred and racism, but they stood anyway, and they bled the southern soil red—for my freedom, for our freedom, for this Nation's freedom.

I have worked all my career for the safety of communities. Yes, we must make sure our Nation is safe. But don't let fear and concern for safety ever make us ever turn our backs on our values as a nation. When we are threatened by our enemies, it is not a time to surrender our values, it is time to double down on them. The terrorists win if they change our free hearts and our souls set on liberty.

We as a nation are called to be great, to be a beacon of liberty and justice. There are people now pulled off of airplanes, forced to return to communities where their lives are being threatened. We made a bargain with them: Stand for America. Stand with our military. Stand against terrorism.

There are people who went through years and years of vetting by agency after agency, and when they were on the brink of freedom, like people of old who were on ships that came into our harbor, they were turned away, back to

face persecution and injustice. That is not the America I believe in. It is not who we are.

So I say to our President in prayer, in deep abiding faith: Repeal your Executive order. Stand up for our principles. Defend them. Be the champion millions of Americans want you to be.

I say to Americans, to all of us as a country: This is not a time to despair. It is not a time to give up. It is not a time to grow cynical or lose faith in our country or our values. No, remember our history. When dark times come, when it seems that people in the highest points of power are turning their backs on their ideals, it is not a time to retreat or equivocate, it is a time to fight, to stand up, to resist.

We are a great nation not just because of the words printed on a Constitution; we are a great nation because people with great sacrifice and struggle fought to live those words and to make them real in the lives of every single person.

America, we must now stand up. The opposite of justice is not just injustice; it is silence and indifference. This may not affect you or your family directly, but it is a threat to all of our collective values.

Go to the Jefferson Memorial and read those final words. Thomas Jefferson knew that for this Nation to be great, we had to pledge to each other an unusual level of commitment. He said that we must mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

There is no honor in this Executive order. We as Americans now must pledge our sacred honor to do all we can to tear this order down so that the truth of America can rise again.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. ROUNDS). The Senator from Connecticut.

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. President, there is a French farmer by the name of Hector St. John de Crevecoeur. He immigrated to the United States from Normandy, France, in 1759, and he settled in the Hudson Valley. He married an American woman. The astounding diversity of those who settled around him, his fellow farmers, was shocking to him. He said: It is "a mixture of English, Scotch, Irish, French, Dutch, Germans, and Swedes."

There was one family he knew who had an English grandfather, a Dutch grandmother, an Anglo-Saxon son who had a French wife, whose four sons all married women who were from different places of different nationalities. Hector said: "From this promiscuous breed, that race now called Americans has arisen."

He asked: "What then is the American, this new man?"

This farmer who came to America from Normandy in 1759 wrote this:

He is an American, who leaving behind him all his ancient prejudices and manners, receives new ones from the new mode of life he has embraced, the new government he obeys,

and the new rank he holds. The American is the new man who acts upon new principles. . . . Here individuals of all nations are melted into a new race of men.

George Washington told us that the bosom of America is open to the oppressed and the persecuted of all nations and religions.

That great American philosopher, Alexis de Tocqueville, that observer of American life, said in a letter:

Imagine, my dear friend, if you can, a society formed of all the nations of the world . . . people having different languages, beliefs, opinions: in a word, a society without roots, without memories, without prejudices, without routines, without common ideas, without a national character, yet a hundred times happier than our own.

I am not sure if any of those are completely accurate descriptions of what an American was or is or whether those are commensurate with our understanding as to the foundations of this country, but they speak to this founding ideal of America, this place where you could come from any part of the world with any set of beliefs, with any religion, with any skin color, and become something that is uniquely new.

There were people here before those who traveled from far-off lands, but to be an American is in many ways an invention—an invention of the amalgamation of faiths of peoples from all over the world.

Both Hector and de Tocqueville talk about the leaving behind of prejudices when you come to this new country. Inherent in that idea is this belief of new Americans that the discrimination they faced in other places could be washed away upon coming to a country, a land at that time in which everyone was equal, everyone started from the same place. Of course, that has to be true because this country was founded by individuals who were fleeing religious persecution, who thought that America was a place in which they could practice their religion freely. They could be who they knew themselves to be.

The reason why you hear such anxiety and anger and sadness from many in this Chamber and from many people we represent is because what happened on Friday is an abandonment of American originalism. It is a walking back of the faith that we have held since the days in which Scotch and Irish and French and Dutch and German and Swede came to this country believing that they could leave behind prejudices. It feels as if we are shrinking as a country before our eyes.

A young woman from Stamford, CT, wrote me this beautiful letter, and I want to read some of it to you. She encapsulates in modern language what Crevecoeur, Washington, and de Tocqueville were saying centuries ago. She said:

I am the proud descendant of Syrian immigrants. My great-grandparent's sacrifices to resettle in Rhode Island have shaped my entire life. I've grown up very close to my grandfather, the first generation of his family born in America, and I know what my an-

cestors did to be here and how far we've come from them being persecuted and subjected to religious violence in Damascus. I was able to grow up around Syrian culture and appreciate how great-grandparents made it possible for my entire family to be where they are now.

To give you an idea, my grandfather went on to receive a master's degree and was a high school teacher and guidance counselor. He is also heavily involved in the Roman Catholic church and quietly serves communion in hospitals each Sunday. My father, second generation, also received a master's, serves on hospital boards, and has had a successful career in human resources. With their encouragement, I have begun a career as a journalist, one I have dreamed of since I was in high school.

In 2012, on the 100-year anniversary of my family's arrival in the United States, I was the third generation in my family to graduate from high school and enroll in college. . . . I tell you this because this moves me every day when I go to work. How amazing it is that my family has gone from being persecuted for their religion to being able to hold jobs protected by the First Amendment? Surely, this is something my great-grandparents never could've dreamed of when they came here, and I embrace my career with the intention to honor their sacrifices. . . . Recently, my heart broke at the executive order to suspend the entry of refugees, specifically from Syria. I have looked into this extensively and recently worked on a story about the vetting process. . . . Trump's order is nothing but xenophobic and racist. I was preparing to report on a family that was supposed to be coming to a community near me, but it seems that family won't be coming now. How truly American it would've been for the descendant of Syrian immigrants to welcome a new generation of Syrians into this country.

This is for many cataclysmic because everything they thought about this country seems to be disappearing in front of us. I understand that President Trump tries to sell this as something less than it is; that it isn't a ban on all Muslims entering the United States, it is just a ban on Muslims from a select set of countries. But these are countries that encapsulate over 230 million Muslims. That is almost two-thirds of the population of the United States of America, including some of the most populous Muslim nations in the world, and it is directly targeted at people of Muslim faith.

It is simply not credible to say that this isn't a ban on members of one religion from entering the United States because it selects countries that are majority Muslim and then includes a caveat that if you are not of the majority religion, if you are of any religion that is not the majority religion, you can get around the ban and will be given priority to come to the United States.

This is a Muslim ban—a Muslim ban that applies to over 200 million Muslims around the world. It makes us smaller and weaker and less great as a nation. It also makes us weaker from a national security standpoint as well.

Let's step back for a second and understand the context here. This country does face a threat, a serious threat. There are religious extremists around the world who have perverted the religion of Islam and tried to turn it into

a doctrine of violence. They are attempting today to do great violence in the Middle East and in other parts of the world, and they are trying to recruit attackers here on U.S. soil. But you are not likely to be killed in an act of terrorism in this country. In fact, on average, there have been about three Americans killed every year by terrorism.

I am not trying to underplay the threat. People feel fearful. As a body, we need to respond to that fear. They see these awful things happening on TV, and they want us to make sure it will not happen to them. You are more likely to be killed in this country by lightning or by an elevator malfunction than you are by terrorism.

If you really want to talk about securing this Nation, about protecting Americans, then the conversation has to be bigger than just banning individuals from one country but recognizing the real threats that are posed.

Let me guarantee you this: If this ban goes into effect, if President Trump is successful, with the support from the Republican Congress, in sending a message to the world that America is at war with Islam, then that number of three Americans killed by terrorism every year will jump, it will skyrocket. More Americans will be killed by terrorism. Why? Because today ISIS is on its heels. It is in retreat. It has substantially less territory than it ever has before, and that has robbed from it one of its primary rationales for existence, one of its primary arguments to those it is trying to recruit into its fold—the idea that ISIS is forming a caliphate, an area of geographic control in the Middle East.

That argument doesn't work any longer because the supposed caliphate is shrinking. The amount of territory they control is getting smaller and smaller. Most folks can see the writing on the wall, that it is just a matter of time before the Islamic State as a state is gone. But they have this second rationale for existence, this second argument that they proffer to would-be recruits, and that is that there is a war between East and West, that this is really about a long-term struggle between Islam and Christianity. You need to sign up with us because they—the West, America, the Christian world—are coming for us.

We know that is not true, and we have watched Presidents of both parties make it very clear to the world that this is not the fight that we seek to engage in. Famously, immediately following the 9/11 attacks, President Bush said:

The face of terror is not the true faith of Islam.

He said:

That's not what Islam is all about. Islam is peace.

Yet the message that is being sent with this ban on Muslims from these seven countries entering the United States is clear. The message is that the United States is at war with this reli-

gion, that we are at war with people of the Muslim faith.

As we speak, these recruitment bulletin boards are lighting up with arguments being made as to the true nature of America's intent against the Islamic people. One posting on one of these message boards said that Trump's actions "clearly revealed the truth and harsh reality behind the American government and their hatred toward Muslims." Another posting on one of these extremist Web sites hailed Trump as the "best caller to Islam." Another message said that the leader of ISIS, "Al Baghdadi[,] has the right to come out and inform Trump that banning Muslims from entering America is a blessed ban." That is a phrase with very meaningful connotations. To the extent that these messaging boards are calling this ban on Muslims entering from seven countries a "blessed ban," it is rooted in a different phrase, something called the "blessed invasion."

The U.S. invasion of Iraq in 2003 became the starting point for the very insurgency that we are fighting today. It was that invasion that was called by Al Qaeda, Al Qaeda in Iraq, and the affiliated extremist groups that were drawn into the fight the "blessed invasion." Today on extremist Web sites, the ban on Muslims entering the United States is being called the "blessed ban."

This order is making this country less safe hour by hour. It is giving a pathway to rebirth for the very terrorist organizations that we had made such progress in pushing back and fighting back. In Iran specifically, it will lead to this country and our allies in the Middle East losing the fight against hardliners who pose a threat to the United States, to stability in the Middle East, and to our sacred ally of Israel. In Iran, there is a contest between moderates—and that is a relative term within the Iranian political space—and hardliners who chant "Death to Israel" who don't fear a world war or a conflict with the United States.

With the signing of the Iran nuclear agreement and the lifting of a handful of sanctions on Iran, the moderates won a victory. The population of that country—which is surprisingly pro-American and supported that nuclear agreement—was ascended, potentially foreshadowing a day in which that country would no longer be a provocateur in the region and instead could join in conversations about how to bring stability to the Middle East. Now the hardliners have been handed a gift, a gift which proves that America is an enemy, not just of the Iranian state but of the Iranian people.

Remember, when we think of actions that we take against governments that we don't like, we first try to start with actions that specifically identify individuals in the government, so that we make it clear that it is not about the people of that country but about their leaders. If that isn't strong enough, then we go to sanctions against com-

mercial interests, against the economy writ large. Yes, those sanctions do filter down and hurt real people, but the sanctions are levied at the economy or against commercial actors.

When you enact a specific ban on the people of a country being able to travel to the United States, you are levying that punishment directly on those individuals, who, by and large, bear no ill will toward the United States. You are telling them that it is their fault, and the Iranian people will turn against the United States, will turn toward the hardliners based upon this action.

This ban makes us less safe. It will allow for terrorist groups to rebound. That is not just me saying it. Senators McCain and Graham have said the same thing. National security experts of both stripes have testified as such. Tonight I think back to the moment in which I first heard that Candidate Donald Trump was proposing a ban on all Muslims entering the United States. I remember the universal bipartisan derision that met that announcement. It was almost laughable at that point in time during the campaign. If you remember, Candidate Trump was flailing. He was weak. He needed to reassert himself. He needed to make news, and so he grabbed for the most controversial, most outlandish proposal he could make. Republicans and Democrats here in Congress condemned it.

Speaker RYAN tweeted this:

A religious test for entering our country is not reflective of America's fundamental values. I reject it.

Governor MIKE PENCE said:

Calls to ban Muslims from entering the United States are offensive and unconstitutional.

A religious test for entering this country is not reflective of America's fundamental values. I reject it.

Calls to ban Muslims from entering the United States are offensive and unconstitutional.

I give credit to a small handful of Republicans here in the Senate and a small handful of Republicans in the House who have raised serious concerns about this ban with respect to what it says about American values or what it says about American national security. But there is utter silence from Republican leadership. Republican leadership—who only months ago claimed that if there were a religious test for entering our country, they would reject it—today are quiet. The idea that individuals could come to this country without regard to their religion or their national origin or their set of beliefs has never been a partisan issue. Of all the things that divide us, that idea has been one that unifies us.

My hope is that there is still a chance that both parties can come together and recapture the essence of American originalism, can put this country on firmer national security footing, and can continue the relentless drive against extremist groups like ISIS that now find themselves at a point of potential rebirth.

You have heard a lot of stories on the floor of the Senate today. It is interesting. We have these incredibly compelling stories from real people who are caught today in the middle of this reckless ill-thought-out ban. There are 67,000 refugees who are currently in the pipeline to come to this country right now. This isn't about 100, 200, 300, or 400. This is about tens of thousands of refugees who are fleeing persecution, terror, and torture. This is about the 230 million Muslims who live in those seven countries, who have been told that they are lesser. Frankly, every other Muslim in the world believes the message is being sent to them as well.

These stories that we tell you are—the tip of the iceberg isn't even accurate. This is a pinprick. Fadi Kassir and his family—here are his two girls. They left Syria in 2011 due to the epic levels of violence that Fadi was sure would kill his two little girls if he didn't leave. His family went to the UAE, or the United Arab Emirates. But the way in which the UAE works is that if you have a job, you can stay, but if you don't have a job, you leave. When he lost his job, they were kicked out and that began an epic journey for Fadi and his family.

These girls actually were born in the UAE, as I understand. He was fleeing Syria to protect his family and his future children, yet they were kicked out of the country they went to. Fadi then began a journey to try to find a home for him and his family. He tried to get to Europe via Tunisia, but he was detained and sent back to Turkey. He eventually flew to Brazil. He made his way to the United States by crossing the border with Mexico. Upon entry, he was detained. He was transferred to Miami. He was released and eventually found his way to Connecticut. He applied for asylum that was granted in December of 2015.

Fadi's relatives in Syria were tortured and had been detained by the regime. His neighborhood was dangerous and deadly. Fadi and his family were exactly the kind of people whom this country historically has been able to rescue from war-torn countries, from terror, and from torture. His family had experienced torture. His children were later returned to Syria and would face potential death.

He went through all of the processes that we asked him to go through. He didn't go into the shadows. He didn't hide. He applied for asylum status. It was granted in 2015. He filed forms that would allow for his wife and two daughters to follow. Those visas were issued last Tuesday, on January 24.

Originally, they had a flight that was scheduled to bring his wife and these two little girls to the United States today, but last week, when Fadi learned of the potential for this Executive order, he paid \$1,000 to move their flight up to Friday. His two little girls and his wife got on a flight from Jordan to Kiev, Ukraine, and eventually to the United States. But once in Kiev,

their passports and their visas were taken from them. They were sent to CBP. Their visas were rejected, and they were returned to Jordan.

These two little girls are back in their old apartment, but they got rid of all their furniture. They got rid of all their clothes. Their neighbors have temporarily given them mattresses to sleep on. They don't even know where their suitcases are. Their father, who is ready to greet them at the airport here in the United States, may never see them.

They are scared to death. I have two little boys who are the exact same age. I have an 8-year-old. I have a 5-year-old. I think about what these two little girls went through, getting ready to finally go see their dad who had gone through an epic struggle to try to find someplace in this world where his two little girls could be safe. He found it. He found it in America. He found it in my State of Connecticut.

He found it, just like hundreds of thousands of other people who fled war-ravaged Europe, who fled the bombing in Vietnam, who left Albania and Kosovo to come live a better life just like they found. He was ready to go to the airport to welcome his two little girls, and they were told that they are not leaving. You are not going to see your dad. You are going to go back to Jordan and, potentially, eventually back to Syria.

Imagine what those little girls went through. Imagine millions of other little boys and girls like them who had in their mind this place called America, a place that would welcome them, who would rescue them from the disaster that had become their lives.

Imagine that dream that was literally hours away for these two little girls extinguishing, and extinguishing for millions of others like them all around this planet. It is up to us whether that light which flickered off on Friday relights. It is up to us as to whether we rekindle the American dream, that idea of America from our founding. This is not irreversible. These two little girls, you could bring them here. We could choose to bring them here. It is up to us.

There is legislation on the floor of the Senate right now as we speak that would rescind this order. It is our decision, right? There are 100 of us. There are only 435 down the hall. There are only 535 of us. It is our decision whether these two little girls come to the United States or they go back to their war-ravaged home that their father left. It is up to us. It is not up to the President of the United States alone. He does not get to make these decisions by himself.

Democracy allows for us to make a different decision. It is up to us. I believe we can do it. I believe we can bring these girls here. I believe we can undo the damage that has been done to this country's security. I believe we can get back on a path such that ISIS remains on its heels. I believe we can

recapture that idea of that farmer who came to this country from a far-off land who looked in amazement at the amalgam of cultures and peoples and religions that was America.

I know this sounds like hyperbole. I know there are a lot of people out there who say: Wait a second. This is only temporary. It is only for a few months. It is only for a few countries. But people are listening and watching. Which direction are we heading? Do we really care about the things we have always cared about? Millions upon millions of people, all cross this country and all across this world are watching. What do we do?

Is this a partisan issue or can we commit ourselves together to stand up for those basic ideas of America's founding? There are two little girls who are watching most closely, who are watching to see if we can rise above partisanship and deliver to them the promise that has been made real for millions and millions of Americans who call this place home.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Democratic leader.

Mr. SCHUMER. Mr. President, so we have had a number, a large number of eloquent speeches about the President's Executive order. While they were going on, of course, we had a Monday night massacre. Sally Yates, a person of great integrity, who follows the law, was fired by the President. She was fired because she would not enact, pursue, the Executive order on the belief that it was illegal, perhaps unconstitutional.

It was a profile in courage. It was a brave act and the right act. I hope the President and his people who are in the White House learned something from this; first, that we are a nation under the rule of law. You cannot just sit down, Twitter something out, and then think: OK. Let's enact it. It is a complicated country. When you do something as major as what the President proposed in his Executive order, you have to think it through. You have to talk to people.

Sally Yates was the Acting Attorney General. Why wasn't she consulted? Maybe they would have known what she felt and maybe they would not have done what they did. Clearly, that lack of consultation went up and down the line. Sally Yates is from a different administration. General Kelly was President Trump's selection.

He learned of this Executive order when he got a phone call from the White House while he saw it being announced on television. How can you run a country like that? I am hearing from my constituents in New York. There are hard-core Trump supporters. They are for him. But they are a small minority of New Yorkers.

There are many progressive, liberal, and pro-immigrant people. Obviously, they are horrified, but I would say this to the President and his minions. There are a lot of people who voted for

President Trump—not the hard core—and they are appalled by the simple ineptitude of this administration. Substantively, even more important, how can you run a country like this? How can you make a major order, major doing, and not check it out with your Homeland Security Secretary, with the Justice Department and the Attorney General?

I will say, if this continues, this country has big trouble. We cannot have a Twitter Presidency. We cannot have a Presidency that thinks: Oh, this sounds good. Let's just go do it and not think the consequences through. Most of all, we cannot have a Presidency that does not understand the beauty and depth of America, in this case when it comes to immigrants.

We have been an amazing country. In the city in which I live there is a big lady in the harbor with a torch. It is a beautiful symbol. Americans revere it and admire it. The world reveres it and admires it. Why? Because it says: America will be a place where people can take refuge if they are persecuted religiously, politically, and then they can build a great life for themselves.

That is a beautiful thing. That moral force of America helps us win wars, helps us win support, helps us be the greatest country in the world that everyone admires.

Of course, we need a strong military. Of course, we need a strong economy. Praise God, America has had both through the decades, but we also have been a moral beacon, "God's noble experiment," as the Founding Fathers called it. In those days, as now, we have welcomed people from distant shores and said: Come be Americans.

Our President is trampling on that, to be honest with you. The idea that immigrants are preponderantly criminals and preponderantly terrorists is absurd. They are the future of America. In my State of New York, 25 percent of the people are foreign born, probably as high as 40 percent if you are either foreign born or had a parent foreign born.

They are great New Yorkers. I was with a Syrian refugee this week. He and his wife and his children had just come. His parents were American citizens. They had come to America in 1970. The parents and Mr. Elias, who lived in the Bronx, came here. He was a tailor. We don't have that many fine tailors in America these days. It is a lost art. So people who do it tend to be immigrants; mainly from Italy is my experience.

But he was a tailor from Syria. He then did what immigrants do in America. He founded a little business. He reupholsters boats, a lot of them in a place in the Bronx called City Island. He built a company. He made America better. He is a Syrian immigrant.

His children and grandchildren were in danger. A suicide bomber had even blown up himself in front of their home nearly killing them. They just got in this month. Had Donald Trump's Exec-

utive order been in effect several weeks earlier, they would not have been able to get here. They might have perished. They might have been hurt.

Similarly, another guy I met is Mohammed. Mohammed knows English. He was so impressed by America, by the lady with the torch, by our values, by what we stand for, that he volunteered to be a translator for our soldiers. He put his life in danger for doing that.

Then he began to get threats from the terrorists in Iraq. He is an Iraqi. His wife was in danger. His children were in danger. He came January 5. Again, had President Trump and his evil order—and that is what it is, it is evil—gone into effect January 1, for all we know Mohammed would have died for helping our soldiers.

Do we have to prevent terrorists from coming into America? Absolutely.

The greatest source of terror are lone wolves. Americans, citizens—ISIS gets its evil ideas in their heads, and they do terrorist things.

JOHN MCCAIN, my colleague, the senior Senator from Arizona who is an expert on this stuff, said: This Executive order will encourage and increase the number of lone wolves.

Here is another group that needs tightening. I would suggest to the President and his minions: those available in the Visa Waiver Program. If you are a country that has generally been friendly to us, there is something called the Visa Waiver Program, which means you can come into this country with very few questions asked, very little vetting.

Refugees are vetted for 2 years. That is why not a single refugee from any of the countries that were proscribed by the President has committed an act of terror here—not a single one.

I heard someone defending the President saying: Well, all these people would have come in; the terrorists would have come in had they done it slowly and announced a date.

Well, we have done it like this for 15, 20 years, and we haven't had a single terrorist come in. What kind of absurdity is that?

Anyway, the Visa Waiver Program allows people from, say, France and Belgium to come into this country with few questions asked. We have seen French citizens, Belgian citizens do terrorism. They would be allowed to come into this country to do it here. Why aren't we tightening that up? That is what should be done.

So I am going to conclude. The evening is late.

Sally Yates was a profile in courage, a profile in courage. Maybe some of her courage, her insight, and her wisdom would rub off on the people in the White House. Maybe they will back off and repeal this Executive order, and then we can work together and truly try to tighten up the laws, the actions of the administration to prevent terrorists from coming in.

This Executive order makes us less safe. It was poorly done in a slipshod,

quick way that foretells real trouble in the White House, and, most of all, it has done more to tarnish the great American dream, the great moral force of America that has, in part, made us the greatest country in the world—in 1, 2 days, undoing the work of generations.

Please, Mr. President, reconsider. Really think about this. Don't just tweet. Don't just get mad. Don't just call names. Think about it. Change it. Repeal it.

It is too far gone to change; we have to repeal it. And then maybe we can work together on tightening up some of the areas that I have talked about.

I see my friend from Arizona has come to the floor, and I will not hold him up, so I yield the floor.

MORNING BUSINESS

(At the request of Mr. DURBIN, the following statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD.)

VOTE EXPLANATION

• Mr. HEINRICH. Mr. President, I was unable to cast my vote on the motion to invoke cloture on the nomination of Rex W. Tillerson to be Secretary of State because I was addressing a joint session of the State legislature in New Mexico. If I had been present, I would have voted no. •

BUDGET RECONCILIATION REPORTING DEADLINE

Mr. ENZI. Mr. President, section 2001 of S. Con. Res. 3, the concurrent resolution on the budget Fiscal Year 2017, directs the Committees on Finance and Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions to report changes in laws within their respective jurisdictions to reduce the on-budget deficit by not less than \$1 billion each for the total of fiscal years 2017 through 2026. Those committees were instructed to submit their recommendations to the Committee on the Budget no later than January 27, 2017.

For the information of colleagues, the reporting deadline has passed, and the Budget Committee has not received reconciliation recommendations from either committee. While committees have not complied with the deadline, the Senate retains the ability to utilize the instructions contained in section 2001 of S. Con. Res. 3.

TRIBUTE TO GARY SCHNEIDERS

Mr. GRASSLEY. Mr. President, I would like to take a moment to honor an Iowa teacher who has clearly had a major impact on his students and his community because I was contacted by a number of Iowans regarding their desire to find some way to recognize him. The following is what they told me.

A teacher of 39 years at Columbus High School in Waterloo, IA, Gary Schneiders has been awarded the