

that the country's citizens are deeply committed to democracy;

Whereas collaboration between civil society actors and the international community was a key factor that contributed to successful elections in 2015;

Whereas successive elections in Nigeria have featured varying degrees of violence;

Whereas both the ruling coalition and opposition parties have incited ethnic violence in an apparent effort to gain electoral advantage, intimidate electoral rivals, and suppress voter turnout;

Whereas, during the Ekiti and Osun gubernatorial elections in July 2018 and September 2018, respectively, there were concerning incidents in which some elements of Nigeria's security agencies displayed partisanship and a lack of objectivity, which risks escalating tensions within the country;

Whereas Nigeria's Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) has taken important steps to improve electoral processes, notably through the introduction of continuous voter registration, the adoption of simultaneous accreditation and voting, improvements to the secrecy of the ballot, and the advancement of smart card reader technology;

Whereas remaining challenges to the conduct of credible, transparent, and peaceful elections in Nigeria include the failure to enact additional, critical reforms to the legal framework for elections, instances of vote buying, reported security threats in the Middle Belt and North East, incitement, and disinformation; and

Whereas ensuring transparency in electoral preparations and building public confidence in the electoral process is vital to the success of the upcoming elections in Nigeria: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That Congress—*

(1) reaffirms the commitment of the United States to supporting peace and democracy in Nigeria;

(2) calls on the Government of Nigeria and all Nigerian political parties and actors to—

(A) take actions to facilitate credible, transparent, and peaceful elections that reflect the will of the people and advance the consolidation of democracy and the stability of the broader region;

(B) condemn in the strongest terms the use of speech that incites violence, and refrain from efforts to demonize or delegitimize opponents, sow division among Nigerians, or otherwise inflame tensions;

(C) seek to resolve any disputes over results peacefully, including through judicial processes as necessary;

(D) respect the impartiality of the Independent National Electoral Commission; and

(E) take measures to combat vote buying;

(3) calls on the Government of Nigeria to—

(A) refrain from deploying security forces in a partisan manner;

(B) ensure that security services maintain the highest level of professionalism and impartiality in facilitating the electoral process, enable accredited observers and journalists to perform their work, and protect the right of citizens to exercise their votes freely; and

(C) enforce laws against election malfeasance, including vote buying, and ensure equal and robust application of such laws through appropriate mechanisms, including through the establishment of an Electoral Offenses Commission and Tribunal;

(4) urges all Nigerians to fully and peacefully engage in the electoral process, insist on full enfranchisement, reject inflammatory or divisive rhetoric or actions, and seek to resolve any disputes over results through the legal system;

(5) calls upon the Independent National Electoral Commission to sustain confidence and trust in its management of the electoral process by taking effective measures to—

(A) combat vote buying through voter education campaigns;

(B) institute a nationwide ban on cell phones in the voting cubicle;

(C) ensure the participation in the election of internally displaced persons (IDPs); and

(D) clean the voter rolls and ensure timely production and distribution of the Permanent Voter Card to new voters;

(6) encourages political parties in Nigeria to adhere to and enforce existing codes of conduct that commit parties to democratic electoral standards regarding campaign use of resources, engagement of voters, peaceful resolution of disputes, and acceptance of verified and credible results;

(7) condemns any efforts on the part of any politicians or political parties in Nigeria to politicize the security and law enforcement agencies;

(8) encourages civil society organizations in Nigeria to—

(A) promote the peaceful participation of citizens in the electoral process and draw on existing inter-religious and peacebuilding bodies to enhance their efforts;

(B) disseminate information about citizen-based observation findings and analysis to increase public knowledge and understanding about the conduct of the elections; and

(C) continue leading important early warning and response activities to mitigate election-related violence, including monitoring efforts to incite violence or further inflame tensions;

(9) supports efforts by the Department of State and the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) to assist elections preparations in Nigeria, including through programs focused on conflict mitigation; and

(10) calls on the United States Government and other international partners, especially election-focused nongovernmental organizations, to—

(A) continue to support efforts by the Government of Nigeria to address the remaining electoral preparation challenges and identify gaps in which additional resources or diplomatic engagement could make important contributions to the conduct of credible, transparent elections; and

(B) support civil society organizations and media organizations working to enhance transparency and accountability in the use of state resources around the election period.

#### ENACTING INTO LAW A BILL BY REFERENCE

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the immediate consideration of Calendar No. 26, S. 483.

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

The senior assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (S. 483) to enact into law a bill by reference.

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

Mr. McCONNELL. I ask unanimous consent that the bill be considered read a third time.

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

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading and was read the third time.

Mr. McCONNELL. I know of no further debate on the bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there further debate?

If not, the question is, Shall the bill pass?

The bill (S. 483) passed, as follows:

S. 483

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*

SEC. \_\_\_\_\_. (a) H.R. 1029 of the 115th Congress, as passed by the Senate on June 28, 2018, is enacted into law.

(b) In publishing this Act in slip form and in the United States Statutes at Large pursuant to section 112 of title 1, United States Code, the Archivist of the United States shall include after the date of approval at the end an appendix setting forth the text of the bill referred to in subsection (a).

Mr. McCONNELL. I ask unanimous consent that the motion to reconsider be considered made and laid upon the table.

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

#### ORDERS FOR FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 15, 2019, THROUGH MONDAY, FEBRUARY 25, 2019

Mr. McCONNELL. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate completes its business today, it adjourn to then convene for pro forma sessions only, with no business being conducted, on the following dates and times, and that following each pro forma session, the Senate adjourn until the next pro forma session: Friday, February 15, at 7 a.m.; Tuesday, February 19, at 10 a.m.; and Thursday, February 21, at 10 a.m.

I further ask unanimous consent that when the Senate adjourns on Thursday, February 21, it next convene at 3 p.m., Monday, February 25; and that following the prayer and pledge, the morning hour be deemed expired, the Journal of proceedings be approved to date, the time for the two leaders be reserved for their use later in the day, and morning business be closed; further, that following the closing of morning business, Senator FISCHER be recognized to deliver Washington's Farewell Address; further, that following the address, the Senate resume consideration of the motion to proceed to S. 311; finally, that notwithstanding the provisions of rule XXII, the cloture motions filed during today's session ripen at 5:30 p.m., Monday, February 25.

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

#### ORDER FOR ADJOURNMENT

Mr. McCONNELL. Madam President, if there is no further business to come before the Senate, I ask unanimous consent that it stand adjourned under the previous order, following the remarks of Senator CARPER.

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

The Senator from Delaware.

## HAPPY VALENTINE'S DAY

Mr. CARPER. Madam President, I just want to start off with this. This is Valentine's Day, and there are different days of the year that are more special to us than others—other than Thanksgiving and Christmas. I even like Halloween. But I think Valentine's Day is very special.

For our loved ones, our spouses or significant others, and our children, we love them, and I hope they know that. But to the people who work here day in and day out, the folks who are here when it is a weekend, when other folks are maybe heading out for the holidays to visit their families across the country, we don't say thanks enough. So to all of them, from my heart and from my staff, and, I think, from all of us—Democrats and Republicans in the Senate—we want to say thank you and happy Valentine's Day.

## GOVERNMENT FUNDING

Mr. CARPER. Madam President, I want to talk a little bit about John Dingell this evening, but before I do that, I just want to comment on the fact that we passed spending bills to fund our government for the balance of this fiscal year. That is a good thing—a good, good thing. I wish we had done it last year. In fact, we did—months ago. Democrats and Republicans joined together here almost unanimously to pass a spending plan for the balance of the fiscal year—all 13 appropriations bills, and they looked a whole lot like what we passed here today. Yet we went through a shutdown which created a lot of havoc and turmoil, not just for Federal employees but for the people whom they serve and we serve.

I have apologized for that, and I know other colleagues have as well. Hopefully, in the months ahead, we can make it up to the people who were inconvenienced. In many cases they were not just disadvantaged but treated very badly.

The President apparently is going to sign the spending bills we passed with broad bipartisan support, and I understand he is going to declare a state of emergency to be able to do additional things down at the border with Mexico.

Tomorrow morning at 6 a.m., I will lead a bipartisan delegation, with House and Senate Members, and we will not be going to the border. I have been there any number of times as chairman of the Homeland Security Committee. We are not going to go to the border this time.

The President was down there a couple of weeks ago, and standing at the border he said: There is a human catastrophe or tragedy going on at the border.

I thought to myself: Well, what is going on at the border is very unfortunate, but the real human tragedy is what is going on in three countries: Honduras, Guatemala, and El Salvador. The illegal immigration, to my sur-

prise a couple of years ago, is not just coming from Mexico. In fact, today there are more Mexicans going back into Mexico from the United States than there are going the other way. I was surprised to learn that, but that is the case today.

Illegal immigration in our country is down about 80 percent from the year 2000, and the folks coming across the border illegally are coming from three countries—Honduras, Guatemala, and El Salvador. Each year in the last decade or so, they have vied for the title “Murder Capital of the World.”

Their lives are made miserable because of our addiction to drugs. So having been complicit in their misery, the thought occurred to a number of us, including the last administration's President and Vice President and some of us in the House and the Senate, that maybe we should see why all of those people are coming out of Honduras, Guatemala, and El Salvador and trying to come into the United States.

I will tell a true story. Some of them come to Delaware. We have three counties in my State. The southernmost county, Sussex County, is a big county that raises a lot of corn, soybeans, and raise a lot of chickens. We process a lot of chickens. Over the years, a lot of folks come up from Guatemala to work in the agriculture and poultry industry.

About 2 or 3 years ago, we had an increase—a blip in migration—especially from Guatemala. I was in Sussex County, in Georgetown, the county seat, right in the middle of all of this poultry business. There are three chickens for every person in Delaware, to give you some idea of the extent of it.

I met with the folks at La Esperanza. That is Spanish for hope. It is a nonprofit. Their job is to try to help people who do make it across the border into our country and who have families, and they try to do some reconnection with their families.

But, anyway, I heard this story. There was a young man in Guatemala, a teenager, who was recruited by a gang there. He said he had to talk to his parents. He went to talk to his parents, and they said: We don't want you to join any gangs.

He went back, and the gang found him and approached him a couple of days later and said: Well, what do you think? Do you want to join our gang? He said: I talked to my parents, and they don't think it is the right thing for me to do now.

They said: Well, think about it some more.

A week or so later, they found him again and said: Well, what do you think? Are you ready to join our gang?

He said: No, I don't think I am going to do that now.

They said: If you don't join our gang, somebody in your family is going to die. Somebody in your family is going to die.

He went home, and he told his parents. They talked it over, and he joined the gang.

One of the things they do in these gangs—they have to go through an initiation. Part of his initiation was a requirement that he rape his 13-year-old sister. The son was like 15 years old, and one of the rites of passage is he had to rape his 13-year-old sister. He went home and told his parents what was expected of him. Within a week or two, the sister and the brother were on their way out of their country to try to be reunited with other relatives in the United States, and they ended up in Delaware. That is a human tragedy. I think if they had stayed there, it would have been probably an even greater human tragedy.

I am a big believer in root causes. Don't just address the symptoms of the problem. The symptom of the problem is people trying to get into our country and cross our borders illegally. That is a problem. That is a challenge. We need secure borders, but the root cause is what is going on in the countries that they are fleeing from—lack of rule of law, impunity, police who don't police, prosecutors who don't prosecute, judges who don't really administer the law, prisons that don't—correctional institutions that don't really correct behavior. Instead of turning out better people, they turn out better criminals. That has been a problem, and it has been a problem for some time.

Whenever we face a situation like this where an issue is really hard to deal with, what I like to say is, let's find out what works.

I am an old Governor. I used to be chairman of the National Governors Association. My last year as Governor, I chaired something in the NGA. In addition to being the Governor of Delaware, I chaired something called the Center for Best Practices. The idea was, how do we share solutions among Governors and among States for all the problems we face—some of the problems we face?

In trying to figure out how we help Guatemala and El Salvador sort of become less violent places, places with hope and opportunity—how can we help in that? So we looked around the world. We don't have to look too far, but if we look south of Central America, we find Colombia.

Colombia is a place where about 20 years ago, there were leftist guerillas trying to bring down the government, and there were drug lords trying to bring down the government. One day 20 years or so ago, a bunch of thugs rounded up the supreme court of the country—rounded them up, took them into a room, shot them all to death, killed them all.

Colombia was teetering, and it was not clear whether it was going to really make it as a nation. Some very brave people stood up and some of the leaders of Colombia stood up and said: We are not going to let these guys—whether it is the FARC, the leftist guerillas, or the drug lords—take over our country and take it down. We are going to fight back.