

listen to us. You cannot preach temperance from a barstool. You can't tell the rest of the world to do something while you have a cigar in one hand and a beer in the other. That is where we are now with pollution under President Trump.

We have to be leaders, not laggards. That is what SHELDON WHITEHOUSE is all about. That is why it is my great honor to be up here with him, and for as long as it takes, he will be out here.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. CRAMER). The majority leader.

UNANIMOUS CONSENT
AGREEMENT—VETO

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the veto messages on S. J. Res. 36, 37, and 38 be considered as having been read en bloc, that they be printed in the RECORD and spread in full upon the Journal en bloc.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the veto message with respect to S. J. Res. 36, S. J. Res. 37, and S. J. Res. 38 be considered at a time to be determined by the majority leader in consultation with the Democratic leader prior to August 2; that they be debated concurrently for up to 2 hours, with 15 minutes reserved for the chairman and ranking member, respectively; that the Senate vote on passage of the joint resolutions, the objections of the President to the contrary notwithstanding, in the order listed; and, finally, that the unanimous consent order of June 19 for the remaining joint resolutions of disapproval of arms sales remain in effect.

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

The Senator from Oklahoma.

BORDER SECURITY

Mr. LANKFORD. Mr. President, in April of this year, Border Patrol agents in South Texas, in McAllen—one of the most crossed areas for illegal traffic in the entire southern border—saw a group of individuals walking north who had already crossed the border, and they broke and ran. They assumed these individuals were illegally present in the United States, and they started moving to try to interdict them. They searched through a very large and very overgrown field.

I can tell you that that area is very, very rough terrain. It is very isolating, and the brush is exceptionally heavy. On a day in April, even in South Texas, it is extremely hot.

As they searched through the field looking for individuals, they happened to hear a child crying in their search. They encountered a 3-year-old boy who had been abandoned by the human smugglers when they broke and ran. This young boy, 3 years old, had these shoes on, and on his shoes were written

a name and a phone number across them. That is the only identifying thing they have. They tested the phone number, by the way, and the phone number didn't work.

Those human smugglers—moving people into the United States, using children as the vehicle—are prone to just cast that child aside if they slow them down.

The Border Patrol agents who encountered this child wearing those shoes, took him back to the office. Those Border Patrol agents personally bought him new clothing. The fellow agents entertained him. You can see him playing PAW Patrol back in the station. They spent time comforting him and trying to figure out who he was and where he was from. Border Patrol agents alternated taking care of him, personally buying supplies for him until they can transition him into Health and Human Services' care. That is what is really happening on the border every single day.

Border Patrol agents are dealing with children that cartels are using to move adults into the United States. Yes, there are some family units who are moving in, but every single family unit that moves into the United States is being ushered in by a cartel that works the border, and they are choosing the time and the place to move those individuals.

These officers are risking their lives every single day. They are working with families every single day to try to figure out who is a family unit and who is a child that is just being smuggled to be used as a vehicle to get across the border and how to separate the two. Then, once they identify the child, they try to figure out this: What do we do now with this child that we have? Where are you from?

Several months ago, most of the children who were moving across were 10, 11, and 12 years old, and they could interview those children. The cartels have figured that out now, and they are sending more and more children who are infants, 1, 2, and 3 years old, who don't know where they are from and don't know their names or their background or any other details. It is becoming more and more difficult for the Border Patrol agents to figure this out.

In fact, Border Patrol agents just like this are now actually bringing their own car seats or finding other people from their churches and other places that would donate car seats because when HHS needs to transport them out of a bus, they don't have car seats there. So they are paying for car seats to help some of these abandoned children be able to get to a place of safety.

These are the folks who are being criticized. These are the folks who some of my colleagues, even as recently as this week, said they need to get 40 hours of sensitivity training because they are so insensitive to what is happening on the border. These are the folks putting their own personal fi-

nances and their lives on the line and who are working every day to solve some of the problems that we have.

For the past several years, there have been disagreements on the solutions and wide disagreements on Federal law enforcement and what they are doing along the border. There have been a lot of folks casting blame on Federal law enforcement and on the President, instead of actually trying to figure out what the problem is at the border. Why is this happening? Why have our numbers so rapidly accelerated?

This past weekend, I visited the border with some of my colleagues. I went with Senator JONI ERNST of Iowa and Dr. BILL CASSIDY of Louisiana. We went to the Rio Grande Valley Sector. That area of the border is a thin slice of the border between the United States and Mexico, but in that area, in that one zone, 40 percent of all illegal traffic moves across the border. The most heavily trafficked area of that zone is the McAllen Sector, and that is where we went.

Across that one area, in that one small segment of the border, they have between 1,500 and 2,000 individuals illegally crossing the border every single day. That is one small sector of a 2,000-mile-long border. Just this year, in that one small sector, they have had individuals from 63 different countries cross the border illegally—63 different countries.

I hear a lot of folks say: It is all people from Central America who are crossing across the border to flee. That is not true. There are 63 countries just this year, just around McAllen, TX, not including the whole rest of the border.

You see, the cartels sort individuals by country and by background. They send Indians in one direction. They send Pakistanis in another direction. They send individuals from Bangladesh in another direction. They send folks from Honduras and Guatemala in another direction.

When I walked into one of the five stations that we visited all through that area this weekend, just to do a quick pop-in to see who was there at that moment, half of the adults who were there—these were single adults—were there from Venezuela and half of them were from Cuba, because that is how the cartels sort individuals.

Just in that one station in McAllen, we have had individuals from Pakistan, Yemen, China, Venezuela, Bangladesh, and Syria, in addition to many countries from Africa and Asia, and obviously much of Central America as well. Those individuals are moving across the border in very high numbers. Ninety percent of the apprehensions that have happened this year—90 percent—have been from countries other than Mexico.

Just as recently as 2014, only 1 percent of men who crossed the border had a child with them. Now the number is 50 percent of the men crossing the border have a child with them—50 percent.

The numbers have dramatically changed, and what is happening along our border is significant.

The men and women who are actually working every single day to protect what is happening at the border are also processing trade that is happening. These same individuals are processing 650,000 trucks coming into this area, 2.2 million pedestrians, and 9.3 million passengers coming across in different personal vehicles. There is a lot going on. So when I went down to the border this weekend and visited the five different facilities and then spent much of the evening and deep into the night riding along with Border Patrol, where one set of agents switched vehicles to go with a separate set of agents to ride along through the border just to get a feel for what was happening, what I experienced was exceptionally painful. What I saw were places that were crowded, spartan situations, and in my mind it echoed that for months the administration and the committee that I serve on—members of the Homeland Security Committee—have said for months that there is a humanitarian crisis on this border. But it didn't seem that anyone was listening until recently, as if all of this had been created recently.

Now, suddenly, people are turning their attention to what is happening along this border and saying that there is a serious humanitarian problem. And we said: Welcome to the dialogue because we have been saying it for months.

Cartels are making millions and millions of dollars exploiting children. They are smuggling children and families across the border. It now costs \$8,000 to cross a single individual across the border. You pay a toll to the cartels, both to the traffickers and smugglers who are moving people—that \$8,000 and, then, an additional fee to actually physically cross the border at the time of the cartel's choosing in that area. But if you bring a child with you, it is half price. It is \$4,000. The incentive now is that it is cheaper to cross this area if you bring a child because the cartel knows they don't have to sneak you over the wall. All they have to do is get you to the border and drop you off.

We watched as a family unit and a group of families were sent in one direction and Border Patrol interdicted them, and then a mile away, three single adults made a sprint for the border. They went to the wall with a makeshift ladder and started working their way up the ladder, but because it took extra time for them to do that, Border Patrol was able to get to their location, interdict, and arrest them.

Cartels time it to move a set of families one direction to get all the Border Patrol gathered around them to hopefully sneak in people who most likely have a criminal record who can't just go through the normal system. They can't just match up a family with them. They have to move them sepa-

rately and, at the same time, moving large quantities of drugs across the border not far away from there.

On the date I was there, this picture was taken along the border not far from where I was. This was taken at 3 o'clock in the afternoon with a group of four individuals carrying large bags and boxes across the border. Now, I can't tell you for certain what is in those, but I have a pretty good guess that at 4 o'clock in the afternoon, four individuals bringing almost identical bundles across the border, it is a pretty good guess those are drugs.

This still photo that was snapped at 3 o'clock in the afternoon during a weekend was a reminder again of exactly what is happening at the border. As cartels line up, families go this direction, single individuals with a criminal record go this direction, and then we move drugs a different direction to see if we can't work our way through it.

Why is this happening? This is happening because Customs and Border Protection is spending all their time on humanitarian work now. Now 60 percent of the work of each individual agent is spent on humanitarian work processing families. They are doing the work; they are engaged in the process; and they are committed to taking care of people.

When 60 percent are in town taking care of the humanitarian work, that leaves only 40 percent to patrol the border. Where there used to be literally 60 people who would travel in this region of the border, now there are 20 to cover all of those miles. The cartels know it. So the more they can send families up through this section and the more they can cause chaos inside, the greater likelihood they can move drugs across the border freely.

How does this happen? This happens because the cartels can work to get a message to Central America and say: We have a way to get you into the United States, and we can get you in quickly. Bring a child with you—you pay them \$8,000 or \$4,000 if you bring a child—and we will work you up. They make promises to them of what will happen. Many of these people are from high poverty areas of Central America, and they will work them toward the border and drop them off at that spot.

It costs even more if you are not from Central America. Some Chinese individuals who have been moved across our border paid as much as \$30,000 to the cartels—\$30,000 to pay the price to move them through Mexico and then cross the border at a time of their choosing.

This is something that is making a tremendous amount of money for the cartels, and if we don't engage on solving this issue, we are allowing it. We need to realize our laws are broken. They are not only broken for immigration and what is happening, they are also not only breaking our hearts for what is happening with the humanitarian crisis and what is actually oc-

curring, but it is becoming a critical issue that we have to respond to, and we should.

Let me show you this next shot. This is what it looks like now along the border. As I traveled through the different locations to see what was happening in the five different locations, some of them are gut-wrenching and difficult because for the Border Patrol, they are a police station, basically, along the border.

Border Patrol—they don't do detention. When you go to a police station—and I hope you only go legally to a police station—but when you go to a police station, they are not there to hold people. They are there to write up all the reports. They are there to go through processing, but they are not set up to hold people for long periods of time. That is not what a police station does.

Border Patrol stations are like police stations along the border. They are really offices, and they manage that, but now they have also become places where they have to hold children and adults by the thousands. Thousands of people are crossing the border, and they are trying to figure out how to manage it. Some of the facilities are exceptionally overcrowded.

There is a facility that many people have seen the pictures of. They effectively call it the "kids in cages" facility. I will tell you more about that in a little bit. That location was designed for 1,500 people total. It had 1,590 the day I was there. It has had as many as 3,000 in that facility, though, within the last couple of months. It is miserably overcrowded. There are people packed in together. Those individuals are getting meals, showers, toilets, access to supplies, and snacks. All the basics are being provided. The Border Patrol is trying to figure out how they manage this many people when none of them were trained on how to detain people because that is not their task.

Border Patrol has now set up this facility called a soft-sided facility, where they have moved 1,000 family units away from that larger, what they call the central processing facility. They moved it away from the central processing facility a few miles away, and they set up a massive series of tents—air-conditioned and a lot more space. This happens to be in one of those where it was actually teenage boys in this particular area.

This is what detention looks like now along the border. They are sitting there watching, actually, "Puss n Boots" on the TV. There are people lying around and getting a chance to get some space, recreation space, and plenty of activity that is going on there. This is what Border Patrol is currently doing to try to manage it.

What does that look like, and how will things work? When you check in at the Border Patrol station, wherever it may be, whether it is in the central processing facility that is so overcrowded or whether it is out at the

soft-sided facility, when you get there, the first thing they do is they actually swap clothes with you. They have clothes they bought with their budgets. They allow you to pick different types of clothes to wear. The Border Patrol and their families take the clothes to those individual migrants. They have washing machines there set up, and they will personally wash all their clothes for them while they get a shower and they get cleaned up because many of these folks have not showered and cleaned up for a month.

So the first step is, they help them get all cleaned up and put fresh clothes on, a fresh shower, and hot meals. They have hot meals every single day. They also have snacks and supplies. This is, again, in that same soft-sided facility. This is just one of their supply rooms where you get a feel for snacks and drinks and water and toiletries. Back over in this area are large quantities of hygiene products and clothes—all kinds of things that are all piled up that they have gathered to help take care of individuals.

One of the things I heard so many times is, these kids can't even brush their teeth because Americans are so mean and because the Border Patrol is so ruthless to them. I went to five different facilities, and in every facility, I asked to see their supply room. In every facility, I saw these. That looks like toothbrushes to me. In fact, in the central processing facility that has had so much attention in the media, I asked the director there, and they said they actually have had 87,000 toothbrushes there. There has always been toothbrushes and toothpaste. There has always been soap and water and ways to clean up.

The challenge is, some of these folks come from very remote villages, and guess what, they are not used to brushing their teeth every day. That is not a normal hygiene habit for some people in some places they come from. So when the media comes to them and says: Have you brushed your teeth today, and they say no, it is not because they didn't have a toothbrush available. It is because, no, they didn't brush their teeth today.

I actually watched an interview where they went to a child and said: Have you brushed your teeth, and they said no. Their response on Twitter was: How atrocious. We are better than this as Americans. Well, this was what was in the storeroom and what they have been offered.

Interestingly enough, even as I walked through the central processing facility that is way overcrowded, I saw people lined up at the sinks brushing their teeth. We are providing supplies and resources to these individuals. That is a normal habit.

This was interesting to me. As I walked through the facility—and this was in that central processing facility that was so crowded. As I walked through, there was a Coast Guard individual here because, yes, the Coast

Guard is coming to help the Border Patrol because they need additional manpower. This is a Coastie who was coming through the facility that found a young girl who was just crying on her own. She was alone—one of these kids who has just been dropped off. He was walking through the facility, walking her around, holding her while she cried, and they had just stopped for a moment to watch TV. This is what is actually going on at the border.

Now, are there facilities that are overcrowded? Absolutely there are, and the people who struggle with that the most are actually members of the Border Patrol, and they have been exceptionally frustrated that they are not getting more support and more ability to transition people out of their facilities into actual detention facilities.

You see, the famous “kids in cages” facility that President Trump has taken so much heat for is actually a facility in McAllen, TX, they call the central processing facility. It was stood up in 2014 and 2015 when President Obama was facing a rush of children coming across the border with no place to put them. So President Obama's team, Jeh Johnson, as the Secretary of DHS, built a facility in McAllen to hold children there. That is the facility President Obama is getting blamed for—I am sorry, President Trump is getting blamed for—that President Obama and his team actually designed and built.

Now, is it a great facility for children? No, I don't think it is, nor is it the Border Patrol's fault, though, that it is a bad facility. They are using what they have to manage the crisis that is happening in front of them.

I am tired of hearing people say President Trump is trying to throw all these kids out and treat them so miserably, when that is not the case. They are scrambling to figure out what they can do and how they can manage and take care of the kids and the families they have and how they can sort out and try to figure out what to do.

So let me talk through the solutions here. How do we solve this crisis that is going on currently with thousands and thousands of people who are illegally crossing the border every day?

Well, some of them, we can start getting the message out, which has already happened, that America is open to immigration if you do it legally. We have 1.1 billion people who go through the legal permanent residence process every single year. We have 700,000 people every single year who become citizens of the United States through a naturalized system. We have 500,000 people every day who legally cross the border from Mexico into the United States. Half a million every day legally do it.

One of the places I stopped to see was the legal border crossings at the international bridge, and I watched individuals drive in and show their papers and go through the simple process. They show a passport, show their visa, what-

ever it may be, and drive across the border. Thousands of people line up to do it and millions a year in each facility.

I watched as people crossed the border on a pedestrian bridge, and as they crossed it with their paperwork, they were brought in. As they walk up to the bridge, they say: “I am asking for asylum.” They walk across the border on the international bridge and are taken into an air-conditioned room to start processing their asylum request. That is happening every day right now.

Yet everyone in the media is saying that is not happening. The first thing we can do is start getting out accurate information of what is actually occurring at the border.

The second thing we can do is—one of the primary issues the Border Patrol asked for over and over again, fund ICE. Now, why would the Border Patrol ask for more funding for somebody else? Because ICE is the primary entity that actually does detention. Border Patrol is the police station. ICE does detention.

When individuals are picked up at the border by Border Patrol, they are processed and immediately delivered to ICE. ICE then does detention for those individuals. They have facilities scattered all over the country where they can house individuals in consistent housing, with plenty of space and set up perfectly for that with well-trained individuals to detain folks to go through that process.

Border Patrol's No. 1 request is: Please stop asking us to do detention. We don't have facilities for it. Clearly, that is why everyone is packed in. Allow ICE to do this.

Now, why doesn't ICE have funding? Well, because it has been one of our biggest battles with our Democratic colleagues who are obsessed with defunding ICE. Over and over again they say they want to abolish ICE, defund ICE, and get rid of ICE. What is really being stated there is there is no place to do detention when that occurs.

Let me give you an example. In 2018, the request for ICE was \$3.6 billion. Actually, what we could get at the end of it was just over \$3 billion. They were \$600 million down from what they said they needed. In 2019, the request was \$3.5 billion. What they got was \$3.1 billion—again, much less than what they needed.

When the crisis began to hit in its highest proportion and we finally got a humanitarian relief package to these individuals on the border to try to get additional support, including building the soft-sided facility, my Democratic colleagues held out and refused to do any funding for ICE. In the humanitarian package, there was zero funding for ICE detention—none.

Border Patrol said that is the prime thing we need to actually solve this problem. What we need, more than anything else, is to allow these folks to move out of these temporary facilities

into long-term facilities so we can actually get them in better housing situations, but when we debated our way through this, our Democratic colleagues held firm and said: No funding for ICE detention. That perpetuates this problem on the border.

We have to solve this. They should be able to have the additional funding that they need so that we can get these kids and families into better locations for their housing and not temporary, stopgap locations.

The next issue we need to address is, we should move asylum officers to the border. This is one of the prime things that Border Patrol wanted. Many of these individuals come and say: I want asylum. Let's walk them through the process. Let's get there. The problem is that the vast majority of individuals who request asylum do not qualify for asylum. They come into the United States because they want to connect with family members who are here or for economic or other opportunities. I completely understand that. We have a legal process to do that. But someone can't just come across the border and say: I have a cousin who lives here and I want to come, and that qualifies as asylum. That is not asylum. Only 15 percent of the people crossing the border who are asking for asylum actually qualify, but individuals wait up to 2 years for a hearing to find out if they qualify. So the legitimate individuals who desperately need asylum, who have to get through that process as rapidly as they can, cannot do so because 85 percent of the people are clogging up the system, asking for things that are not asylum.

We should move asylum officers closer to the border to do faster processing so we can help individuals who are seeking asylum to get it and also identify people who are gaming the system and say: You cannot just game the system. You have to go through the process legally.

Additionally, we have to deal with this 20-day release issue. Right now, the rule is that a family with a child or a child can only be held for 20 days total. They can be held for only 20 days, and after that, they have to be released into the country. The cartels and human smugglers know that rule, and that is why we have seen an increase from 2014 from only 1 percent of the men bringing a child to now 50 percent of the men bringing a child, because they know that if they bring a child, they will be released within 20 days.

Here is what is different, though. In 20 days, we can do our record checks in the United States to see whether this person has a criminal record, but when we contact any of the 63 other countries that these individuals are coming from, just in that sector, most of those countries can't respond to us with their country's criminal record within 20 days.

What is really happening on the border is individuals are coming across

with a child. They are being detained for 20 days while we request criminal records from their home country. They are still there when on the 21st day we have to release them, and 10 to 15 days later, we get word that the individual actually had a murder warrant in their home country. That really happened just a few days ago.

Also, a few days ago, we released an adult with a child and then found out a few days later that their home country was seeking them because they were a pedophile in their country. But we had just released that adult with a child into our country because we have a 20-day restriction and we can't wait until we get criminal records from another country. That is absurd.

We are encouraging the trafficking of children by saying that you can get into our country no matter what if you just bring a child, and we are encouraging people with a criminal record to come in and bring a child because they know that is their fast track to be able to get in, because their home country can't fulfill our request fast enough. Why would we do that as a country? Why would we knowingly, willingly do that?

We can solve this problem. It is a horrible humanitarian crisis. We need to pay attention to it and be logical about this. Stop saying "abolish ICE" when what we really need is the ICE facilities to help us to detain people in the best possible of environments while we find out who they are, what their records are, who is related to whom, and what their background is.

Stop ignoring the obvious things. We have some people coming due to poverty. We have some people coming to smuggle drugs. Until we can sort that out, we should figure out who is who. That doesn't seem irrational to me.

We should also find a way to process asylum requests faster than we are so that individuals pursuing asylum can go through the system and get processed and individuals who are gaming the system do not get to game the system.

We can do better, and we have to do better. I would encourage us to be serious about immigration in the days ahead. This Congress can solve this issue, but it won't because it is just a political game. When it is about scoring political points rather than solving a humanitarian crisis, people in this body have to decide which one they want to do more.

I will never forget last year, sitting with a bipartisan group of my colleagues, and as we discussed solutions to immigration, one of my Democratic colleagues said out loud: I haven't decided what I want to do on this yet. There is an angel on one shoulder saying this problem needs to be solved, and there is a devil on my other shoulder saying this is the greatest political weapon I have against the President. Why would I give that up? And I haven't decided which way I am going to go yet.

I looked at them and said: Here is a basic rule of thumb I live by. When there are an angel and a devil talking to you, go with the angel every time.

This is something we should do, and we should stop playing political games and trying to hurt the President and ignoring the obvious solution we all should see. This is not a partisan issue; this is a humanity issue. Let's solve it together.

With that, I yield the floor.

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

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

PROVIDING FOR CONGRESSIONAL DISAPPROVAL OF THE PROPOSED TRANSFER TO THE KINGDOM OF SAUDI ARABIA, THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND, THE KINGDOM OF SPAIN, AND THE ITALIAN REPUBLIC OF CERTAIN DEFENSE ARTICLES AND SERVICES—S. J. RES. 36—VETO

PROVIDING FOR CONGRESSIONAL DISAPPROVAL OF THE PROPOSED EXPORT TO THE UNITED ARAB EMIRATES, THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND, AND THE REPUBLIC OF FRANCE OF CERTAIN DEFENSE ARTICLES AND SERVICES—S. J. RES. 37—VETO

PROVIDING FOR CONGRESSIONAL DISAPPROVAL OF THE PROPOSED EXPORT TO THE KINGDOM OF SAUDI ARABIA AND THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND OF CERTAIN DEFENSE ARTICLES AND SERVICES—S. J. RES. 38—VETO

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate having received the veto messages on S.J. Res. 36, S.J. Res. 37, and S.J. Res. 38, the messages are considered read and spread upon the Journal in full, en bloc.

The veto messages are ordered to be printed in the RECORD as follows:

To the Senate of the United States:

I am returning herewith without my approval S.J. Res. 36, a joint resolution that would prohibit the issuance of certain licenses with respect to several proposed agreements or transfers to the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the Kingdom of