

off the PR spinmeisters, put down the communications plan. It is time to level with the American people.

SENATE RULES

Mr. McCONNELL. It has been over 140 days now since we settled here in the Senate the issue of the Senate's rules. We settled it conclusively not only this January but actually January 2 years before that. What happened this January is we had an extensive bipartisan discussion about what rules or standing orders we might change. In the wake of that discussion, we passed two rules changes and two standing orders.

The majority leader said—well, this is what he said 2 years ago:

I agree that the proper way to change the Senate rules is through the procedures established in those rules, and I will oppose any effort in this Congress or the next to change the Senate's rules other than through the regular order.

That was in January of 2011. What he said back in 2011—and the reason I put that up even though that was a previous Congress—he said either this Congress or the next Congress, the Congress we are in now.

This January, I said to the majority leader:

I would confirm with the majority leader that the Senate would not consider other resolutions relating to any standing order or rules this Congress unless they went through the regular order process?

That was this January, just a few months ago, a little over 140 days.

The majority leader said:

That is correct. Any other resolutions related to Senate procedure would be subject to a regular order process, including consideration by the Rules Committee.

Now, that is not ambiguous. That is not ambiguous at all.

So the reason I and my colleagues have been talking about this repeatedly is that this is a huge institutional issue. The naive notion that somehow you can break the rules of the Senate to change the rules of the Senate for nominations only was laid out by Senator ALEXANDER yesterday in which he suggested a hypothetical series of measures that, if I were in the job the majority leader is currently in a year and a half from now, would be a very appealing agenda to my side, things like repealing ObamaCare, things like national right to work, things like opening ANWR.

Now, I would say to my friends on the other side, that is not something they would be very excited about, but in American politics things change. There is a tendency, when you are in the majority, to be kind of arrogant about it and to think the rules of the Senate are unnecessarily inconvenient to what you are trying to achieve.

Well, the Senate was designed from the very beginning—George Washington was actually asked during the Constitutional Convention: What do you think the Senate is going to be like?

He said: I think it is going to be like the saucer under the tea cup. The tea is going to slosh out of the cup, down to the saucer, and cool off.

In other words, they anticipated that the Senate would not be a place where things happen rapidly.

Written right into the Constitution is advise and consent. Advise and consent. The Senate has a role to play, for example, on nominations—which seem to be the fixation of the majority at the moment even though there is no evidence whatsoever that this administration has been treated poorly with regard to either executive branch or judicial nominations, no evidence at all. This is a manufactured crisis. Nevertheless, they seem to be focused on nominations. What do my friends in the majority think “advise and consent” means? Apparently they think it means “sit down and shut up. Do what I say when I tell you to.” I do not think that is what the Founding Fathers had in mind.

So there are a number of reasons we should not go down this road:

No. 1, the majority leader gave his word. Your word is the currency of the realm in the Senate. That ought to end it right there.

No. 2, do not assume you could just sort of surgically break the rules of the Senate to change the rules of the Senate for nominations only.

No. 3, I think it would be appropriate, since the American people change their minds from time to time about whom they would like to be in the majority of the Congress, to think about the consequences when the shoe is on the other foot.

I yield the floor.

RESERVATION OF LEADER TIME

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the previous order, the leadership time is reserved.

MORNING BUSINESS

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the previous order, the Senate will be in a period of morning business for 1 hour, with Senators permitted to speak therein for up to 10 minutes each, with the time equally divided and controlled between the two leaders or their designees, with the Republicans controlling the first half.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Republican whip.

IMMIGRATION REFORM

Mr. CORNYN. Mr. President, we obviously are talking about immigration this week and last week and next week. I am one of those who, after many years working on this subject, hopes we are successful in passing what I believe is good, credible immigration reform.

I have come to the conclusion, like many Americans, that the status quo is

simply unacceptable. I have talked a little bit about some of the bodies in unmarked graves that I witnessed myself in Brooks County, TX, where under the current broken system people come across the border from faraway lands only to die trying to get into this country and are buried in unmarked graves in places like Brooks County.

I met with a young woman who was prostituted after having been brought into the United States from Central America, and she worked in a Houston nightclub, where she was basically held as an indentured servant or slave because she knew she was vulnerable to deportation. So the person who brought her there and put her in that situation knew they had the power to keep her quiet and not disclose what was happening, while she was living a horrific existence.

Those are just a couple of examples why I believe our system is broken and neither serves our economic interests nor represents our American values. So I want a good solution. But it is not just what happens here in the Senate. That is not the end game. The end game is what happens when this bill goes to the House and once the House and the Senate get together in a conference committee and reconcile the differences between those two bills to see if we can actually get a bill which reflects our values and which represents our economic interests, things such as recruiting the best and the brightest minds from around the world to stay here in America and to create jobs here.

Those are some of the positives in the underlying bill that we need to preserve, but there are other issues we need to fix. That is what I want to talk about right now.

Last night the Congressional Budget Office released its long-awaited report on the underlying bill, the so-called Gang of 8 immigration bill people have heard so much about. The report, as usual, is a blizzard of numbers and estimates and projections, but here are two I want to talk about in particular, which you see reflected on this chart.

I think this is going to be a shocking revelation to most people who thought this bill would actually fix our broken immigration system.

If you will look behind me, it says: The number of new unauthorized immigrations in the United States by 2033 with the passage of the underlying bill, 7.5 million; without it, 10 million.

So what we see reflected in the Congressional Budget Office, which is the “coin of the realm,” the “gold standard”—whatever you want to call it—around here, love it or hate it, and we all find ourselves on different sides depending on the issue, but the gold standard, the Congressional Budget Office, says this bill will not fix the underlying problem.

In other words, despite all of the promises and perhaps I might say the hopes and the dreams and the good intentions of the authors of this underlying bill, this bill will have only a

minimal impact on illegal immigration. Does that sound like the kind of solution we owe to the American people to solve this broken system? Does that sound like a solution to solve our long-term problem in this area?

I want to take a moment to discuss another portion of the bill that has gone largely unnoticed by most of the country, but first let me respond to some remarks made by my friend from Arizona Senator McCAIN yesterday. I am going to agree, not disagree, with Senator McCAIN. Standing right here on the Senate floor, as he so often does, Senator McCAIN said he was absolutely confident—absolutely confident—that U.S. authorities can obtain 100 percent situational awareness and full operational control of the southern border. He cited the head of the Border Patrol as his authority.

I was glad to hear him say that because I agree with him exactly. He is exactly right. But I was a little confused at the same time. He repeated a comment that the majority leader had made about my amendment, which will be pending soon before the Senate and which we will vote on later today or tomorrow. He called my amendment a poison pill, suggesting that it would somehow kill the underlying bill. Well, if the standards in my amendment are exactly the same as those in the underlying bill of 100 percent situational awareness and 90 percent operational control, defined as 90 percent capture of people crossing the border illegally—Senator McCAIN thinks it is attainable, the Border Patrol Chief thinks it is attainable, and I think it is attainable. So how could that possibly be a poison pill? I do not understand it.

As I have said numerous times over the last week, my amendment uses the same standards and many of the same metrics as the Gang of 8 bill. Here is the difference: My amendment establishes a real border security trigger before immigrants can transition from probationary status—something called registered provisional immigrant status—before they can transition from that probationary status to legalization. Under the Gang of 8 bill, that would occur after 10 years of probationary status. But the problem is, contrary to initial advertisements back in January where Senator DURBIN, among others—the distinguished majority whip—said back in January that the pathway to citizenship is contingent upon border security, only to say just a few days ago, quoted in the *National Journal*—he said: Now we have delinked the pathway to citizenship from border security. Indeed, they have in the underlying bill, and that is what my amendment is designed to fix.

Here is the real tragedy. In 1986 Ronald Reagan signed an amnesty for 3 million people. That is not the tragedy. The tragedy is, in return the American people said we are going to fix our broken immigration system. We are going to enforce the law. Well, we all know what happened.

The amnesty was granted and the enforcement never came.

Here is the tragedy. The underlying bill, without an amendment such as mine that provides a real border security trigger that realigns the incentives for the right, the left, Republicans, Independents, Democrats, everybody to be focused like a laser on how do we actually implement that operational control of the border—which Senator McCAIN believes is attainable, I believe is attainable, the Border Patrol Chief believes is attainable—without realigning everybody's incentives to focus like a laser on obtaining that objective, this is like 1986 all over again.

All we have to do is look at the polling to tell us—and I don't think we even need any polls to tell us—that there is enormous skepticism across the country about Washington. This bill says: Trust us. Trust us.

There is a trust deficit in Washington, DC, and on immigration. When so many promises have been made in the past that have not been kept, I think it is unreasonable to ask the American people to just trust us. We need an enforcement mechanism such as my amendment, which will guarantee that everybody is aligned and it is highly incentivized to make sure that those Border Patrol measures are upheld. Then we will not have what is reflected on the chart behind me, as reported by the Congressional Budget Office yesterday.

The year 1986 was when Congress passed amnesty for illegal immigrants without guaranteeing results on border security. Ever since then Members of this Chamber have said we will never make that mistake again. Yet the underlying bill would effectively be 1986 on steroids and the CBO report confirms it. That is why those of us who actually would like to see a good, credible immigration bill pass—not only in the Senate but also in the House—believe, as I do, that this legislation is dead on arrival in the House of Representatives without a real border security trigger.

It is going to be a challenge even if we put that in, but we have a much better chance of success if we deal with the problem that the Congressional Budget Office has identified, and if we deal with the experience we have had from 1986 and other times when we made extravagant promises to the American people how we are going to fix the system, only to find that those promises have not been kept. That will be the real poison pill to this bill, and it will also be an unnecessary and lamentable tragedy if somehow we can't, working together, find a solution to our broken immigration system.

I yield the floor.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Wyoming.

HEALTH CARE

Mr. BARRASSO. Mr. President, this week President Obama and his allies

are launching a big summer push to convince people that his health care law will not be a train wreck. We have heard in the Senate from one of the authors of the health care law that he saw a train wreck coming, so now what we see is the Obama administration trying to actually sell the bill—not that it is good or bad, just trying to sell it in any way they can to make the American people think about it in ways that may change their minds.

The American people know this is a health care law that is not really doing what they want. What they are looking for is the ability to get the care they need from a doctor they want at a lower cost. That is far from anything the American people are going to see.

What we see today in Politico is the headline: "Selling of ObamaCare Officially Begins," selling of the law that was passed. Not something that is good, just trying to sell the law itself.

The Washington Post this morning, "Push is on to promote health law." The push isn't on to promote better care, not more affordable care; no, just to promote the law.

I believe it is going to be a tough sell. A new poll out earlier this month showed that only 37 percent of Americans think the health care law is a good idea. That is even fewer people than think it was a good idea when the law was passed 3 years ago.

Remember, the Democrats promised the American people that, well, the law would be actually overwhelmingly popular by now. That is nothing further from the truth because this law is more unpopular now than when it was passed.

We see the President of the United States pulling out all the stops trying to sell this horribly written law. This is a law that is bad for patients. It is bad for providers, nurses, and doctors who take care of those patients, and it is going to be bad for the American taxpayers.

What the President is doing is joined by a new interest group, and the group is called Enroll America. This is a group, and who is running it? Former Obama administration officials who moved from the White House to this group to try to sell this health care law. This is the group, part of what we have known as the Sebelius shake-down, the effort on the part of the Secretary of Health and Human Services who was asking health care businesses to donate to this organization. This group has started rolling out a PR campaign to try to convince people to sign up for insurance under the President's health care law.

I agree more people need insurance, but we have to make sure the people not just have insurance but get good care. This is what this is supposed to be all about. The President keeps talking about more coverage. What we need is care for people, not just more coverage.

Take a look at that and say: Is it actually going to work? According to the