

He wrote those words on August 8, over 3 months ago. What we have seen since then has been nothing short of barbaric. On September 19, Azerbaijan launched a full-scale invasion of Nagorno-Karabakh. The next day, President Aliyev delivered a televised address from Baku stating and speaking of his “iron fist” and declaring that “Karabakh is Azerbaijan.”

It was a harbinger of things to come. After quickly overwhelming Armenian forces, the Azeri army seized control of the region and forced the local government to capitulate at gunpoint. Azerbaijan pledged to respect the rights of ethnic Armenians, but after decades of violence, repression, and broken promises, those in harm’s way knew better.

Of the estimated 120,000 residents in the region, which we call Artsakh, more than 100,000 fled their ancestral homes. On-the-ground reports of this forced exodus are brutal. Buses were packed to the rim with refugees clinging to the very few items they could carry. Journeys as long as 40 hours were documented on the only mountain road leading into Armenia.

And among the exhausted and suffering Armenian refugees, nearly all were deprived of food and medicine as they hurriedly fled their homes. The Armenian Health Minister announced that some people, including elderly patients, died on the journey, and it is no surprise really when you consider the eyewitness account of a health clinic director in the Armenian border city of Goris.

According to him, most of the patients that they treated at a health clinic on the border were “cases of malnourishment, dehydration, people who’d been unable to take prescriptions because they simply didn’t have access after being on the road for two or three days.”

The clinic treated these patients as well as others suffering from bullet wounds and broken limbs, bruises consistent with beatings, and hundreds of cases of shrapnel injuries, some of which required amputation.

If this is not evidence of human rights abuses, then what is? Make no mistake, this year alone, the Armenian people have suffered through a 10-month siege, a lightning military campaign that killed hundreds of civilians, and the forced departure of tens of thousands of residents from their homes.

These refugees need our help, and they need it now. With temperatures poised to drop during the brutal winter months in the mountainous region, these newly displaced refugees will need food, shelter, warm clothes, and essential services like healthcare.

They will need assistance as they try to pick up the pieces that were shattered in the frantic rush to flee. And they will need long-term support in the midst of a chronic housing crisis in Yerevan that prices many families out of the capital city.

The United States can—and it should—fill this need with clothing and

blankets, energy assistance, and other humanitarian aid.

To those who point to the acute suffering currently going on around the world, particularly in the Middle East, I ask you this: Should we be in the business of picking and choosing which humanitarian crises we respond to?

Whether it is Palestinians being used as human shields by Hamas or Armenians forced to leave the only homes they have ever known, should we ever ignore the human suffering of those crying out for help?

To me, it is a false choice to support aid for refugees in some circumstances but not others. America has to continue to show up for displaced individuals everywhere they are found, especially as we defend human rights wherever they are violated.

Above all, we must continue to press for accountability when it comes to those who violate human rights. Whenever assaults are launched without warning or provocation, whether it is Russia’s unprovoked war in Ukraine, Azerbaijan’s invasion of Nagorno-Karabakh, or Hamas’s barbaric terrorist attack on Israel, we have to stand with our allies as they seek justice for victims in a way that upholds human rights and follows the laws of war.

The eyes of the world are watching as the United States responds to these conflicts. And as we have done so many times before, we must leverage our position as a moral authority for good in order to deliver necessary aid to the affected regions.

As I have said, human rights are a central tenet of our foreign policy. We cannot afford to lose sight of that in this moment, which is why we must continue to raise the plight of Nagorno-Karabakh in the Halls of Congress. This cannot be a forgotten genocide as so many others have been throughout history. We cannot lose sight of the task at hand, which is to stand in the breach and address the Azeri threat before it presses its advantage and seeks to seize more territory. That is right, more territory.

President Aliyev has openly stated he would like to “unite” his country with its exclave in Nakhchivan by cutting through sovereign Armenian territory.

The potential catastrophe that that could set off cannot be overstated. The last thing we need in this region is further conflict between two states that share their borders with Iran and Turkey.

Therefore, I submit to my colleagues that our top priority must be to stand in the breach and address the threats that Armenia continues to face before tensions, again, spiral out of control. We must invoke the language of what has happened here in terms of genocide, vowing to never forget the horrific actions that Azerbaijan carried out in its ruthless campaign.

I, for one, will not stop or rest until a full accounting of Azeri atrocities is

completed. I will continue to oppose any and all military aid to Azerbaijan in light of their horrific human rights record. And the Biden administration should not be using the waiver authority it has to give Azerbaijan U.S. military assistance.

And I will make sure that what happened in Nagorno-Karabakh is never forgotten by the powers that be.

Many of my colleagues will recall a previous instance when the moral line between right and wrong was so clear. It was during our successful effort to recognize the Armenian genocide after more than 100 years of equivocation and denials. That resolution did not come about in a single day. It did not come about in just one Congress. When I was a Member of the House of Representatives, I helped introduce these resolutions every single Congress, and when I came to the Senate, I introduced them every single year as well until it finally passed with overwhelming bipartisan support in December of 2019.

That victory, that long-awaited moment, was the result of years—if not decades—of dogged advocacy until justice was finally achieved.

I will never forget then, and I will never forget now. And in this same spirit, we cannot let this crisis fade from the memory.

In the same way that we remember the millions of Armenians who were ruthlessly slaughtered by the Ottoman Empire, so, too, must we remember the lives lost in Nagorno-Karabakh and the tens of thousands of refugees who have been forced from their homes. We have to stand in solidarity with them today, tomorrow, and every day going forward. We must end our support for the Azeri Government that perpetuated this assault, and we must sanction all those responsible for carrying out these despicable crimes against humanity.

That, I believe, is the task before us in the Senate. It is a goal we must commit to if we are to shine as a beacon of hope for oppressed peoples around the world, to be that moral voice of clarity as it relates to human rights.

You can’t pick and choose, and so this is a moment to make sure that we stand up for those who have had their human rights ultimately denied as a result of the Azeri Government, who were forced out of their historic homes and now face the challenges of a bitter winter.

We can make that bitter winter better.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Texas.

BORDER SECURITY

Mr. CORNYN. Madam President, as we all are painfully aware, at home and around the world, America is facing a vast array of security threats. There is war in the Middle East, war in Europe, growing instability and threats of conflict in the Indo-Pacific, and, of course,

there is the unprecedented security crisis at our own southern border.

Unlike threats in other parts of the world, the border crisis wasn't caused by our adversaries. It wasn't caused by the actions of an authoritarian leader or events beyond our control. The border crisis is an unforced error. It is a result of intentional decisions and policy positions taken by the Biden administration.

For nearly 3 years, President Biden and leaders in his administration have sent a signal to people around the world that America's southern border is open. All you need to do is show up. Clearly, their message came through loud and clear, much to the delight of the criminal organizations that transport people—human smuggling—and the drug dealers who have exploited this vulnerability. Clearly, they got the message, too, and they are getting richer every day.

Since President Biden took office, we have logged nearly 6.3 million illegal border crossings, plus at least 1.7 million known "got-aways." Now, the Border Patrol calls a "got-away" somebody who has been detected on a camera or on a radar screen, but when they show up to try to detain them, they simply have vanished. Those are the "got-aways," and there were 1.7 million known "got-aways" in just 3 years. So that is, all told, roughly 8 million people crossing our border during the Biden administration.

People from every part of the globe are showing up at our border. In a single year, migrants from 174 different countries crossed our southern border. What they have learned to do is to claim asylum, and then they know they will be released to await a potential future court date that may be as long as 10 years in the future. In the meantime, they get on with their lives. They marry. They have children who are American citizens. And the simple truth is, they are not going anywhere. We know that if they did show up for their immigration court hearing, only about 15 percent would legally qualify for asylum under the current law.

So word has gotten out that under the Biden administration, our southern border is open, and if you show up, you will be released into the interior. That has provided an enormous magnet or, in the nomenclature of the Border Patrol, they call that a pull factor. It is a huge pull factor or magnet for people around the world, saying: All have you to do is show up, and the Biden administration will release you into the interior of the United States.

So it should be no surprise that migrants are pouring across the border in record numbers. So is fentanyl, which took the lives of 71,000 Americans last year alone.

We also know there are people on the Terrorist Watchlist who are showing up at the border, but what I really worry about are those on the Terrorist Watchlist who were part of the 1.7 million "got-aways." In other words, we

don't know how many people on the Terrorist Watchlist have made their way into the interior of the United States as a result of the Biden border crisis.

So what do we do? Well, the Biden administration thinks that all we need to do is spend more money on the current system. We know that tends to be a common response around here—just throw more money at a problem. They tried to solve the inflation problem by spending hundreds of billions of dollars on things like EV tax credits and a supersized IRS. That gave us a 40-year high inflation rate that still hasn't abated yet. Then they tried to address the student loan crisis by shifting the debt from the people who owed it and who borrowed it and who are legally responsible for it to taxpayers—another massive fail. Now they claim they can solve the border crisis by writing another big check. Needless to say, we should all be skeptical.

To be clear, funding is important, but funding for the right things is even more important. In order for anything to change at the border, we need real, substantive policy changes.

Last month, the White House issued a supplemental funding request to respond to major national security threats we are facing today, including the border, but, as I and others have pointed out, the border portion of President Biden's funding request is completely inadequate. His request would actually worsen the border crisis—such as a request for more non-custodial housing options for migrants in expedited removal proceedings. This would allow migrants who are on the verge of being deported to be released into the United States—the opposite of what we should be doing. It would constitute yet another pull factor for anyone considering a journey to the border.

On the whole, the Biden administration's request demonstrates exactly how nonserious they are about solving this crisis. One example is their request for more detention beds. Now, to be clear, more detention beds are needed, but I think it would be helpful for President Biden and some of our colleagues to review the math here. Border Patrol has roughly 20,000 detention beds now, which are strictly for short-term detention. ICE, or Immigration and Customs Enforcement, has another 20,000 beds for migrants in expedited removal. Now, those may sound like big numbers, but the beds fill up quickly. In September, nearly 270,000 migrants crossed the southern border. That is an average of 9,000 a day. If we were to start with a clean slate, all the Border Patrol beds would be filled in 2 days.

Migrants who are placed in expedited removal and are seeking asylum are supposed to complete a credible fear screening—a process which takes approximately 13 days. If the administration wanted to do things by the book—in other words, if they wanted to follow the law—we would need the capacity to

hold every person who crossed the border for 2 weeks just to figure out whether they had a serious claim for asylum and then a longer period to evaluate those claims, and what they have requested clearly will not allow that to happen. Just to reemphasize the point, that is just to figure out if an asylum claim is plausible on its face before an immigration court determines whether it is supported by adequate evidence. That success rate is roughly 15 percent, which means the people who are waiting in line—those 15 percent who have legitimate claims—can't even get their claims heard because of all the people who have no legitimate claims clogging the dockets of the immigration courts.

So, as you can see, at current levels, we would need hundreds of thousands of detention beds. That is because the Biden administration has allowed this crisis to grow to such epic proportions that it can't be fixed by just more officers or a small increase in detention beds. Nine thousand illegal border crossings a day is evidence of a policy problem, not just a funding problem. More funding would actually be useless until we address the pull factors that are bringing these people here.

Last week, a group of Senate Republicans released a proposal that could serve as a starting point for negotiations in the Senate, but, unlike the President's request, it includes real, substantive policy changes to address the pull factors that are drawing people from around the world to our southern border.

In order to restore some control, we need deterrence. We need consequences for people breaking the rules and trying to come in illegally. We need to show people who have no legitimate claim to remain in the United States that if they come, they will not be able to stay. That is what will provide the consequences and deterrence that will prevent massive numbers of additional migrants from attempting the trip to our border.

If they know they are unlikely to be successful, they are unlikely to spend the thousands of dollars they have to spend now to the criminal organizations to transport them to our border. If they don't come, that will alleviate some of the massive influx of humanity which has prevented the Border Patrol from interdicting the drugs that took the lives of 108,000 Americans last year alone. That is where the criminal organizations or cartels are also getting rich—smuggling people, smuggling drugs.

I continue to be dumbfounded by the unwillingness of our Democratic colleagues and the President of the United States to recognize what a disaster this really is. Since President Biden took office, our country has logged more illegal border crossings than it did under the previous two administrations combined.

We know that migrants are placing a massive strain on many of our major

American cities, including sanctuary cities like New York and Chicago. At the same time, fentanyl and other dangerous drugs are killing our youth.

Fentanyl or synthetic opioids are now the leading cause of death for 18- to 45-year-olds in America. Do you think that will get somebody's attention here in the Nation's Capital or at the White House? No community has been spared from the devastation of these drugs.

As I said, last fiscal year so far, we have seen about 169 people on the Terrorist Watchlist encountered at the border. Last year, the Border Patrol detained more people on the Terrorist Watchlist than it did in the previous 6 years combined. So our adversaries clearly see this as an opportunity to enter the United States with nobody the wiser. And, of course, as I said, this doesn't account for all the people who came in who were on the Terrorist Watchlist or who do have evil designs on our country who were part of the 1.7 million "got-aways."

It is no overstatement to say that a border crisis is a massive security threat to our country. It is putting every community in America at risk. If our Democratic colleagues are willing to help America's friends and allies like Israel and Ukraine, they should be willing to help their own constituents and help defend their own country against this influx of humanity.

Biden's mishandling of the border has created a major national security risk, and the Senate deserves and needs to treat this matter with all seriousness. Republicans are not interested in just throwing money at the current system. Wasteful, inefficient spending is not the solution here. We need to fundamentally shift the dynamics at the southern border, and that will require real, substantial policy changes.

I yield the floor.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will call the roll.

The senior assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Ms. BUTLER). Without objection, it is so ordered.

UNANIMOUS CONSENT AGREEMENT—H.R. 815

Mr. SCHUMER. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the cloture vote on the motion to proceed to H.R. 815 occur at a time to be determined by the majority leader in consultation with the Republican leader, but no later than Saturday, November 18; further, that if the cloture vote does not occur under this order, the cloture motion be withdrawn.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. SCHUMER. Madam President, now a few moments ago, I asked for consent that the Senate delay today's cloture vote and allow for it to be re-

scheduled to a time to be determined later this week.

We are pausing on our plans to move forward on a Senate vehicle to allow the House to move first with their proposal.

I have said since the very beginning that bipartisanship is the only way to avoid a government shutdown; and for that reason, I am heartened that the bill Speaker JOHNSON is advancing omits the sort of devastating cuts that are nonstarters for Democrats.

The Speaker's proposal is far from perfect, but the most important thing is that it refrains from making steep cuts while avoiding a costly government shutdown—two things we very much believe in and need.

I hope the Speaker continues to acknowledge that he will need Democratic votes in both chambers if he wants to avoid a government shutdown. He needs to stay away from poison pills and steep, hard-right cuts to make that happen. Bipartisanship is the only way to get this done.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Tennessee.

HONORING CHIEF WARRANT OFFICER 3 STEPHEN R. DWYER, CHIEF WARRANT OFFICER 2 SHANE M. BARNES, STAFF SERGEANT TANNER W. GRONE, SERGEANT ANDREW P. SOUTHARD, AND SERGEANT CADE M. WOLFE

Mrs. BLACKBURN. On November 10, the 160th Special Operations Aviation Regiment lost five soldiers when their helicopter crashed during a training flight over the Mediterranean sea. Their names are CW3 Stephen R. Dwyer of Clarksville, TN; CW2 Shane M. Barnes of Sacramento, CA; SSG Tanner W. Grone of Gorham, NH; SGT Andrew P. Southard of Apache Junction, AZ; and SGT Cade M. Wolfe, of Mankato, MN.

In honor of the brave Night Stalkers of 1st Battalion, Charlie Company, I want to recite a few portions of the Night Stalker Creed for the record.

Service in the 160th is a calling only a few will answer for the mission is constantly demanding and hard. And when the impossible has been accomplished the only reward is another mission that no one else will try.

... I serve with the memory and pride of those who have gone before me for they loved to fight, fought to win and would rather die than quit.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the complete Night Stalker Creed.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NIGHT STALKER CREED

Service in the 160th is a calling only a few will answer for the mission is constantly demanding and hard. And when the impossible has been accomplished the only reward is another mission that no one else will try. As a member of the Night Stalkers I am a tested volunteer seeking only to safeguard the honor and prestige of my country, by serving the elite Special Operations Soldiers of the United States. I pledge to maintain my body, mind and equipment in a constant state of readiness for I am a member of the fastest deployable Task Force in the world, ready to

move at a moment's notice anytime, anywhere, arriving time on target plus or minus 30 seconds.

I guard my unit's mission with secrecy, for my only true ally is the night and the element of surprise. My manner is that of the Special Operations Quiet Professional, secrecy is a way of life. In battle, I eagerly meet the enemy for I volunteered to be up front where the fighting is hard. I fear no foe's ability, nor underestimate his will to fight.

The mission and my precious cargo are my concern. I will never surrender. I will never leave a fallen comrade to fall into the hands of the enemy, and under no circumstances will I ever embarrass my country.

Gallantly will I show the world and the elite forces I support that a Night Stalker is a specially selected and well trained soldier.

I serve with the memory and pride of those who have gone before me for they loved to fight, fought to win and would rather die than quit.

Night Stalkers Don't Quit!

Mrs. BLACKBURN. On behalf of all Tennesseans, I want to offer my prayers and support to those soldiers' families and to the brave men and women of the 160th. Their motto is "Night Stalkers don't quit." And I would encourage my colleagues to join me in supporting them as they bring the spirit of those words to bear against our enemies around the globe.

U.S. SUPREME COURT

Madam President, every year I visit all 95 counties in Tennessee; and while the expectations of local leaders vary from urban to suburban to rural areas, two things remain constant. They expect lawmakers to act in the best interests of the American people and act in good faith.

Last Thursday, Chairman DURBIN and Democrats on the Senate Judiciary Committee seemed to fail those tests, according to Tennesseans, because when they convened the hearing, they wanted to authorize subpoenas for Harlan Crow, Leonard Leo, and Robert Arkley.

Now, the claim was: This is all about transparency. But the only thing that they are willing to be transparent about is the contempt for the Supreme Court and for the American people who still believe in the importance of the U.S. Supreme Court.

Now, if they cared about protecting the Supreme Court, they would have shown more concern about the death threats against the conservative Justices that were coming from the far-left wing of the Democratic party.

There is no good faith to be found here. This is yet another political assault against conservative Justices who issue decisions that many of the Democrats do not like—and we have seen it before.

So they take this approach: If you can't pack the Court, rewrite the ethics rules; if you can't rewrite the ethics rules, just use the Senate to launch a mass prosecution of your political rivals.

In an effort to force my colleagues to show the American people where Democrats truly stand on protecting the country's best interests, I proposed