

The clerk will call the roll.

The senior assistant legislative clerk called the roll.

The yeas and nays resulted—yeas 53, nays 47, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 330 Ex.]

YEAS—53

Baldwin	Heinrich	Reed
Bennet	Hickenlooper	Rosen
Blumenthal	Hirono	Sanders
Booker	Kaine	Schatz
Brown	Kelly	Schumer
Butler	King	Shaheen
Cantwell	Klobuchar	Sinema
Cardin	Luján	Smith
Carper	Manchin	Stabenow
Casey	Markey	Tester
Collins	Menendez	Van Hollen
Coons	Merkley	Warner
Cortez Masto	Murkowski	Warnock
Duckworth	Murphy	Warren
Durbin	Murray	Welch
Fetterman	Ossoff	Whitehouse
Gillibrand	Padilla	
Hassan	Peters	Wyden

NAYS—47

Barrasso	Graham	Ricketts
Blackburn	Grassley	Risch
Boozman	Hagerty	Romney
Braun	Hawley	Rounds
Britt	Hoeven	Rubio
Budd	Hyde-Smith	Schmitt
Capito	Johnson	Scott (FL)
Cassidy	Kennedy	Scott (SC)
Cornyn	Lankford	Sullivan
Cotton	Lee	Thune
Cramer	Lummis	Tillis
Cruz	Marshall	Tuberville
Daines	McConnell	Vance
Ernst	Moran	Wicker
Fischer	Mullin	Young
	Paul	

(Mr. LUJÁN assumed the Chair.)

(Mr. HICKENLOOPER assumed the Chair.)

(Mr. KELLY assumed the Chair.)

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Ms. CORTEZ MASTO). On this vote, the yeas are 53, the nays are 47.

The motion is agreed to.

The Senator from West Virginia.

SUPPLEMENTAL FUNDING

Mrs. CAPITO. Madam President, as this body continues to discuss the need for a national security supplemental, I rise today to discuss the important elements that need to be included in this supplemental and to, once again, emphasize the growing demands for increased border security in our country.

For a nation as powerful and as impactful as ours, there are obligations that we inherently have to meet, both to ourselves and our allies. At the center of these obligations rests defending our homeland. This security is imperative to the sovereignty of our Nation, with our other obligation being to support our allies abroad as they face hostilities. We must realize that these two priorities are deeply woven together. We cannot achieve national security as a whole without securing our own borders. In fact, President Biden's own national defense strategy reflects this very sentiment, citing protection of the homeland as the No. 1 defense priority.

It is essential that border security remains one of our four pillars that need to be included in any national security supplemental that is approved by this Congress. In order to properly secure and defend our allies, we must

properly secure and defend our own Nation at the same time.

As I have said on the floor many times, Madam President, with you presiding—I have said many times that there is no doubt that we currently live in a time of heightened national security concern. Not only is this concern felt around the globe but in almost every State and community in our own country because of this crisis at the border.

Because of this crisis at the border, we see chaos. We see it on our news channels every evening. We see the monthly records of illegal crossings—as a matter of fact, I think several days ago, the highest daily number. We see how those who are truly seeking asylum are being disadvantaged by the cartels and smugglers who are playing the system.

It is obvious that the policies which have led to this crisis need to be addressed, and they need to be changed and reformed.

I often talk about American leadership and our historic ability to respond with strength in times of crisis. Well, this is a time of crisis, and our porous southern border is something we desperately need to act upon.

It is not lost on me or on my Republican colleagues, the urgency to address the four central national security emergencies of our time. Ukraine is facing an unjust and unprovoked ground war perpetrated by Russia. Our ally and friend Israel is under attack by terrorists who are holding women and children hostage. The recounting that we have heard of the sexual violence against the women in Israel on October 7 is appalling. Our allies in the Indo-Pacific face heightened concern as rival nations increase their aggression. Right here in the United States, we are facing the worst border crisis in our Nation's history.

These four areas are directly tied together. Ukraine's ability to defend itself and stave off Russian aggression relates directly to the security of Taiwan and the increased posture of China. The terrorist attacks perpetrated on Israel have led to attacks on our own U.S. military bases and ships, as well as the alarming rise—alarming rise—of anti-Semitism that we are seeing in our own country.

Nations directly opposed to the United States—they are opposed to our values, our way of life—are building an uneasy level of camaraderie between one another. You can guarantee that these nations are watching our self-created security crisis at our border and waiting to see when we will finally wake up and react. Our country must take notice of this.

The supplemental text before us does not make any policy changes but instead just throws more money—more money—at a broken system. That is not a solution. It doesn't address the actual policies that are fueling this situation.

The changes in border policy that my party seeks are not "partisan and ex-

treme measures," as the Democrat leader would lead you to assume, but, rather, they are substantive solutions that address the national security threats that we are now facing.

We encountered a sixfold increase of individuals on our Terror Watchlist just in the past year coming to the southern border. Half of the illegal encounters now on our border are not from Mexico or the Northern Triangle of Central America. Drugs that are made on the other side of the world are smuggled into our country daily, with the goal of sowing destruction and sorrow. Unfortunately, that is having success. We do not know who or what is entering our borders, and that cannot be a risk we are willing to take.

The truth of the matter is, this doesn't need to be a partisan issue, and I know we have colleagues on both sides of the aisle who are trying to work through this. We are not just talking about funding but, rather, changes that ensure that those who enter our country are coming through legal channels and that they are properly vetted. It sounds pretty simple to me—both things that we should all agree are necessary aspects of a working immigration system. But, instead, this administration, the Biden administration, has incentivized abuses of our asylum laws that have led to the greatest border crisis in our Nation's history. It is an open border. It is catch-and-release. This, in turn, has put our national security at risk.

This is not an issue that the Republicans have brought up in the eleventh hour of a negotiation but, rather, something that we have continued to highlight the entire time President Biden has been in the White House.

Members of Congress cannot continue to ignore the deep ties between the sovereignty of the United States and the sovereignty of our allies abroad. The supplemental we have been discussing for weeks is about helping our allies, but also, why is that important? Because we have to advance our own interests at the same time, and the border is a big part of our own interests. This is not a time to play games; instead, it is time to meet the challenges of the moment. While others refuse to accept the reality of the landscape we face, Republicans remain at the table.

For too long—for too long—we have been on the floor voting on radical nominations to advance the Biden administration's agenda instead of on legislation needed to help solve many of the problems I have described, including border security and our weakened defense industrial base and, I would add as a member of the Appropriations Committee, our appropriations bills, which have been tied up since July, and the leader has refused to put them on the floor. All that serves to do is waste time we simply do not have.

We must seek agreements that address our concerns, that provide necessary relief, that strengthen our security, and that will move the interests of the United States forward. I ask my colleagues in this Chamber to recognize that.

The time to invest in the national security of the United States and our allies abroad is now.

With that, I yield the floor.

I see my fellow Senator from Nebraska here to talk about similar subjects.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Nebraska.

Mrs. FISCHER. Madam President, earlier this year, I visited our Nation's southern border. My colleagues and I joined several patrols to see the problems firsthand, and at each of our stops, what we saw was very, very alarming. Dozens of people sat on the ground at midnight at the border, waiting to go to a crowded processing center for illegal immigrants. As we patrolled the Rio Grande Valley, we passed trail after trail used by illegal migrants to traffic drugs and people into our country. Meanwhile, we walked past an open, unfinished border wall. We toured a raided stash house, where a weapon was found, an illegal immigrant was detained, and a human smuggler was arrested.

These experiences—they just scratch the surface of the chaos overwhelming our southern border. Our border is a frenzy—a frenzy—of illegal activity, and because of neglect and inaction from this administration, this disaster is out of control.

There is a humanitarian crisis at our southern border. There is a deadly drug crisis at our southern border. Perhaps most critically, there is a national security crisis at our southern border.

Since President Biden took office, over 8 million migrants have illegally crossed our southern border. Border Patrol agents have seized over 51,000 pounds of fentanyl. We have seen an uptick in encounters with illegal migrants from adversaries like China. That is not even to mention the 295—294; I don't want to exaggerate because we don't need to exaggerate on numbers like this—the 294 known terrorists who have been identified at our border. Hundreds of people on the Terror Watchlist are flooding our border. To put those numbers in perspective, Border Patrol agents encountered a grand total of 11 people—11 people—on that list during the 4 years of the last administration.

My Democratic colleagues support security for Taiwan, they support security for Ukraine, and they support security for Israel, but what they won't support is basic border security for the United States of America. Yesterday's classified briefing on the supplemental underscored how ridiculous this is. The United States is the leader of the free world. We are supporting the security of our partners and allies around the globe. Yet we are told by the Biden ad-

ministration and my Democratic colleagues that we can't support the security at our own border? We are told that our own border security is not related to this national security supplemental? That is absurd, and the American people know that it is absurd.

Many of my Republican colleagues and I have been willing to compromise, but we have had it. We have had it with the evasive answers and the total neglect of our own border.

Border security is not a fringe issue. According to an NBC poll, 53 percent of voters support more military funding for Taiwan, 55 percent support more funding for Ukraine, and 55 percent support more funding for Israel, but 74 percent of voters support more funding for our border security. That is 20 percent more than anything else that voters support in this supplemental.

My Republican colleagues and I are siding with the American people on this funding request. Yes, we should address the conflicts raging around our world. We must stand by our allies and our partners. But we cannot forget the catastrophic issues that we are seeing on our own doorstep. We must secure our own Nation before anything else. If this supplemental funding bill truly aims to protect our national security, it must address our security from all sides, and the side that is in the most dire need of support is our battered and chaotic border.

But money alone is not going to repair the border. We must make commonsense policy changes to address this crisis. Let's tighten our asylum standards. Let's limit the use of parole to the required, case-by-case basis. Let's close the catch-and-release loophole.

I urge the rest of my colleagues and our President to look at this border crisis seriously and to respond with urgency—the urgency that this requires. The security supplemental is the right opportunity to do so.

Side with the American voters. Side with common sense, and let us protect our border.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Carolina.

Mr. BUDD. Madam President, the forces of evil and instability are on the march around the globe. In the Middle East, Hamas massacred more than 1,200 Israelis and 33 Americans. Iran, the world's leading state sponsor of terrorism, continues to finance, provide training for, and authorize attacks against U.S. forces in the region. In Europe, Russia continues its brutality against Ukraine and is fomenting conflict in the Balkans, further threatening peace and stability in Europe. Meanwhile, China is rapidly expanding its military, threatening our allies and partners, and stealing billions in Americans' intellectual property.

All this chaos is the result of weakness from the Biden administration. Starting in Afghanistan, continuing to this day, this administration has put

American weakness on full display. As we confront a dangerous global situation, we cannot ignore the fact that for America to be a strong nation, we must first be strong at home. Before we can help countries protect their borders thousands of miles away, we must first protect our own borders.

The biggest threat to our national security right now is the wide-open southern border. For 3 years, the border has been in a state of crisis. We have grown familiar with these numbers, sadly, but they remain historic and staggering. Under President Biden, over 8 million illegal immigrants have crossed the border. Under President Biden, 279—I just heard my colleague speak, and she gave an even higher number, an accurate number perhaps, an even higher number than 279—folks on the Terrorist Watchlist have illegally entered our Nation.

Under President Biden, nearly 50,000 pounds of fentanyl have been seized at the southern border. That is nearly enough to kill every man, woman, and child in the United States. Given the fact that we are only able to interdict 5 to 10 percent of the illegal drugs that cross, our country is being overwhelmed with drugs that can kill with just a 2-milligram dose.

Under President Biden, there have been 1.8 million known-known—"got-aways," and that is not counting all of the unknown "got-aways," including terrorists, human traffickers, and other bad actors.

This crisis has got to be dealt with, and we have got to deal with it now. That is why Senate Republicans have offered the Biden White House a deal. Here it is: Include proven border policies in the House-passed H.R. 2 in the national security spending package, and you will have our support.

It is a clear pathway, but, so far, this White House is more interested in playing politics and continuing to ignore the border crisis altogether.

But you know who can't ignore it? The Border Patrol agents, who are under siege right now.

In the times that I have been down there—multiple times—they have told me that, yes, we need a wall. We need border enforcement. We need funding. But what we really need—in their own words—is policy, policy changes that would empower them to stop the illegal flow of people, crime, drugs.

You know who can't ignore this crisis? The sheriffs from all 100 North Carolina counties. Many of them have come up to me saying the same thing: Every single county in North Carolina is now a border county because of Joe Biden's policies.

The bottom line here is that, in order to be a strong nation, we have to have strong borders, and, right now, we don't have that. So I am going to call on President Biden to change course, to work with us so that we can solve this crisis together. We know what to do. All we need is a President who takes this seriously and fulfills his

oath to protect and defend this country.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Kansas.

Mr. MORAN. Madam President, I am of the view that one of the most consequential votes that any Senator will make in their time in the U.S. Senate is one that we are facing now: the national security supplemental. I am here to encourage its passage—a national security supplemental to address the crisis at our southern border, to support Israel's right to exist, and to counter Russian, Chinese, and Iranian aggression.

Addressing these issues serves our national interests, and it is within the capacity of the Senate to mitigate these crises, to reduce the consequences of these crises with strong legislation, and to do it before the end of the year.

National security starts with border security, and I applaud my Republican colleagues for working to find a consensus on an emergency supplemental for addressing the President's failed policies at our southern border.

It is time for Senate Democrats and the White House and Republicans to continue their work, to get back to work, and to negotiate a bill that can pass the U.S. Senate. We must and we should show the American people that the Senate can be an institution that can come together in a responsible way to meet the most pressing challenges our Nation faces.

I saw a headline in the Wall Street Journal here recently: Does Congress even work these days? It is a call, a responsibility, that reminds us that we have serious and significant work to do together. Those pressing needs, those challenges we face, are support for Israel to defend itself against terrorism, resources for Ukraine, and policy changes to secure our southern border.

First, it is in our Nation's best interest to stand with our oldest ally in the Middle East, Israel. Hamas has stated its intent to wipe Israel off the map, even saying the terrorist attacks of October 7 were just the beginning. Now is not the time to waver in our support for Israel. We must provide Israel with the means to defend itself and destroy the terrorists.

The United States must also work to prevent escalation from Iran and other adversaries who may use this opportunity to escalate the war against Israel. Hezbollah, entrenched in Lebanon, to the north of Israel's border, will find no safe harbor if it attempts to intervene. Iran's leaders must know that the fury of the United States awaits if they become directly involved. We will stand against terrorism and its enablers and supporters.

Second, the success of Ukraine's defense against ongoing Russian invasion is vital to the national interests of the United States. The success of Ukraine is vital to the interests of our own

country. Should Russia fully conquer Ukraine, which remains Putin's goal, more Russian forces would be spread across NATO's border, requiring more resources from the West—America and our allies in Europe—to be committed to defending those allies against further Russian aggression. I don't think we can make the mistake. Russia's failure in Ukraine will make America safer and will make our allies safer.

Congress has a critical role in providing the resources necessary not just to end the war but ending the war on terms favorable to Ukraine and our European allies. To date, a majority of the funding provided to Ukraine has been directly injected back into the U.S. economy through the development, production, and purchase of U.S.-made weapons to replenish U.S. stockpiles.

Following the leadership of the United States, European nations are helping shoulder the burden to support Ukraine's military and have made serious commitments to match those of the United States.

Supporting our partners and allies abroad cannot come at the price of ignoring the security interests faced here at home. The administration's failure to control the border has created not just a humanitarian crisis but a national security crisis. The crushing influx of illegal border crossings has included an increase in the number of encounters between U.S. Border Patrol agents and individuals the FBI has on its Terrorist Watchlist.

Our border is a humanitarian problem, but it is a problem for the well-being of the United States and its national security interests as well. As of September 15, border agents have encountered more than 150 individuals on the Terrorist Screening Database at the southern border. These levels of encounters are astonishing, considering there were only 11 such encounters with these dangerous individuals from 2017 to 2020.

I have been on the border, I think, at least three times in the last year or so, and from conversations with, certainly, our Border Patrol agents but also our law enforcement agents as well, the number of illegal and foreigners coming into the United States who have the potential of providing terrorist threats and acting on terrorist behavior in the United States is only growing.

Our lack of operational control over the border has exacerbated the drug crisis, as we know, in our communities as well. The border is the single most important line of defense in disrupting these drug trafficking and distribution networks, and it is no overstatement to say American lives depend on a regulated border.

Madam President, I stand ready with my Republican colleagues, as they do, to find substantive proposals to mitigate this crisis. During an Appropriations hearing last month, I was dismayed that Secretary Mayorkas chose

not to engage on the issues and, instead, fell back on the argument for comprehensive immigration reform.

I agree that major changes to our immigration code are in order and have agreed to that belief since my earliest days in Congress. However, since I have been in Congress, we keep waiting for comprehensive reform, and, as a result, we do nothing—nothing to make our country safer, nothing to mitigate the humanitarian crisis unfolding on our soil, nothing to increase our national security.

Support for Ukraine and defending our southern border are not mutually exclusive. We can and must do both. It is time to come together and resolve our differences on these urgent national security issues. The most sustainable and responsible route to a safer and more secure United States requires the Senate to take seriously our borders and ensure that our partners and allies are prepared and equipped to defend themselves against our enemies.

To my constituents in Kansas and across the country, this is a dangerous world we live in, and the decisions that we make in the next few days and few weeks—certainly, in the next month—have a consequence on the safety and security of Americans today and Americans in the future.

This ought not be a U.S. Senate that doesn't do its work. We ought to continue the efforts until we get a result, and I hope that occurs quickly.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Ms. ROSEN). The Senator from Wyoming.

Mr. BARRASSO. Madam President, I rise today to talk about America's wide-open southern border. I want to add my voice to that of the senior Senator from Kansas who just made eloquent remarks right here on the floor of the Senate about the disaster—the Democratic disaster—at the southern border.

As he pointed out—and as I will add my voice to his—it is a clear and present danger to our national security what is happening at the southern border. And national security starts with border security.

The senior Senator from Kansas and I were just meeting with other Republican Members of the Senate to review yesterday's numbers at the southern border—the number of illegal immigrants coming into this country—an all-time record high of over 12,000 illegal immigrants coming into this country from all over the world.

That is the crisis that people all across the country who tune in to their TV see is happening in our Nation and to our Nation.

So here we are on the floor of the Senate, and Senator SCHUMER, the majority leader, wants to vote on \$100 billion in national security assistance—and he wants to do it today, and we are going to do it today.

That request lacks serious and significant changes that are needed to secure the southern border. Without serious and significant changes, this bill

will not pass. Mark my words, Republicans will vote against it.

Republicans and Democrats have very opposing views of what is needed at the border. Republicans want to stop the flow—and it is actually a flood—of illegal immigrants coming across the border. Democrats want to just wave them on through.

Republicans want border enforcement, border security, real policy changes to keep people out and to keep communities safe. We don't have that today in Democratic and Joe Biden's-run America from the standpoint of the White House and the Democrats in this body.

What do Democrats want to do? Oh, they want lots of money for sanctuary cities, big slush funds. Give it to the mayor of Chicago. Give to it the mayor of New York. And, of course, they want guaranteed benefits for illegal immigrants. That is what they are asking for. They are not going to get a Republican vote for that at all, not a single one.

Republicans know that border security must be a key element of any bill that we talk about on this floor that deals with national security.

For my colleagues on the other side of the aisle who may ask why, let me clarify.

Our southern border is now the most dangerous border crossing in the world—in the world. Under President Biden, our border has become a magnet for criminals, for drug dealers, for terror suspects.

The Department of Homeland Security and the FBI are warning all of us. Democrats may want to cover their ears and not want to hear any of these warnings, but we are being warned by the Department of Homeland Security and the FBI. And the FBI Director said it yesterday in the Senate: Cartels are smuggling fentanyl in from Mexico. It is killing hundreds of Americans every day.

The number coming on the Terrorist Watchlist continues to increase. I think it was the head of the FBI yesterday who said: Since October 7, all lights are flashing red for a terrorist attack in America.

Joe Biden's border policies are the deadliest, the most destructive, and the most disastrous in American history. The cost of this crisis is too large to bear for families, for communities, and even for law enforcement.

That is why Republicans are so focused when there was a bill on the floor—and we had a secure briefing yesterday on national security. That is why Republicans are so focused on border security.

Democrats have not put a single bill on the floor of the U.S. Senate this year that would stop the flood of illegal immigrants. Democrats seem to welcome this national security crisis at the southern border. It is wrong. It must change.

The Biden administration hides behind terms, terms such as “asylum”

and “parole.” And they use those to release millions and millions of people onto our streets, into our communities, into our neighborhoods. And they are bringing with them drugs and crime. And they are killing Americans. The Biden administration wants to turn the other way.

Every single American feels the harmful impacts of these policies. Here is what is happening thousands of times each and every day on our southern border—and yesterday it was 12,000, the highest in the history of the country, coming in across the southern border. And they are coming from all over the world.

The night I was there on border patrol about 3 or 4 weeks ago, who did we see? People from all around the world, including a group from Moldova. Do you know how many countries they had to go through before they could get to Mexico to come to the United States and pay the cartels to bring them in? That is what we are seeing every day at the southern border.

Democrats don't go down there. Oh, no, they are not interested in actually seeing firsthand what is happening on the Rio Grande River at night and during the day. Not interested.

Border Patrol agents say, Democrats never show up. Not one time.

So individuals enter the U.S. illegally. And they immediately turn themselves into Border Patrol. These are the ones who aren't trying to get away. There is over a million of those too. And what they do when they give themselves up, they claim they are in danger at home.

And then what happens? Well, they are released into the streets of the United States. OK. Oh, you may be in danger. Oh, you got the magic words. OK. Here you go. Come right on in. Ten thousand times a day. Twelve thousand times yesterday. And Joe Biden allows it to happen. And the Democrats encourage him.

Some Democrats have finally started to admit Biden's policies are actually harming our country. So President Obama's Homeland Security Secretary Jeh Johnson told fellow Democrats that the manipulation of our asylum laws—because that is what Biden is doing, it is a manipulation of our asylum laws—is one of the root causes of illegal immigration.

At one time, Jeh Johnson said a thousand a day would be overwhelming. Well, it was 12,000 yesterday. Why aren't the Democrats waking up?

Senator SCHUMER, who sits at that desk right there, stands at that podium, and will later today—his hometown mayor—hometown mayor—New York City, Eric Adams said: The flood of illegal immigrants is destroying New York City. Destruction of New York City, and Democrats stand by.

Now, they do want to give a lot of money there, but they sure don't want to enforce the law at the border.

Chicago is another one of these cities that—Democrats are fearful of having

next summer's Democratic National Convention in Chicago. I wonder how many Members of this body are actually going to go, because Democrats across the country are afraid of doing it because Chicago is being overrun right now with illegal immigrants—overrun and overwhelmed.

We want to make our country safer, and Republicans do. I am not so sure about Democrats at this point from the way they are behaving with regard to the border. We want to make our country safer. We need to pass serious border security policy changes. Republicans know that we must end the incentives that are fueling the Biden border crisis.

And more money to these sanctuary cities and more government benefits to illegal immigrants is not solving the problem. It is inviting more illegal immigrants to come.

This is a deadly serious situation. I am not so sure the Democrats who were at the secure briefing yesterday all understood that. I am not sure the Senate majority leader understands that.

Real border security is a top national security need. Republicans have solutions to make our communities and our countries safer. These measures must be included in any national security bill, anything that goes to the President's desk, because without them, there will not be a national security bill.

The Republicans are ready to vote against what CHUCK SCHUMER is bringing to the floor because it fails to defend our borders and to keep our Nation secure.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from South Carolina.

Mr. GRAHAM. Madam President, I will just pick up where my colleague left off.

There are four parts to the supplemental appropriations sent over by President Biden. One deals with Ukraine. And count me in for Ukraine. Robust aid to Ukraine really helps us here at home. Helping Israel—no-brainer—count me in. Beefing up Taiwan makes perfect sense. There was money in the supplemental for border security, but it really didn't address the problem we have.

And here is what I want the body to understand. Here is what happened yesterday. The FBI Director testified before the Senate Judiciary Committee about the level of threats we face as a nation. And he said:

[W]hile there may have been times over the years where individual threats could have been higher here or there than where they might be right now, I've never seen a time where all the threats or so many of the threats are all elevated, all at exactly the same time.

This was yesterday.

What did he say?

Post October 7—

The horrible attack on our friends in Israel—

[Y]ou've seen a veritable rogues' gallery of terrorist organizations calling for attacks against us.

He said that yesterday.

[T]he threat level has gone to a whole other level since October 7.

This was what the FBI Director said yesterday. Are any of us listening?

I see blinking lights everywhere I turn.

I asked him about blinking lights regarding 9/11. Apparently, they were blinking, and we missed them.

Do you see any blinking lights?

And he said:

I see blinking lights everywhere I turn.

He said that yesterday. Now, why are Republicans, apparently, more than anybody else, insisting that the supplemental package not only help Ukraine, not only help Israel and Taiwan but actually help us? We have got to change the policy because what we have got is not working.

Yesterday—yesterday—12,000 encounters at the border. The highest ever, yesterday. Two days before, 10,000 were marching in the wrong direction.

As these numbers go to new levels and historic levels, the FBI Director yesterday told us he has never seen more threats against our homeland than he does today.

And since October 7, every terrorist group in the world is calling for an attack on America.

I asked him about the border. He is very concerned about the status of the border.

So we are on track, if this continues, to have 3.6 million illegal encounters that we know of at the border. That is like beyond unsustainable. All-time highs every day.

From 2023 to 2020, the encounters at the border are up 368 percent. Why? Because the policies of the Biden administration make people believe that if they get to our border, they stay in America and never leave. And if you don't change that, you are never going to fix the problem.

Six million people have already come to our border in the first 3 years of the Biden administration. We are on track to do 3.6 million in fiscal year '24.

The day that people think Trump is going to be the nominee and could win the White House, you are going to see a run on the border like you have never seen because people want to get the last good deal under the Biden administration. Because when Trump wins, if he does, all this is going to change.

There are two problems that have to be fixed. You make an asylum claim in America at the border; you pass the initial credible fear standard, which needs to be elevated; you are released into the country to go to your hearing regarding your asylum claim 3 to 5 years later—that makes people believe they are released, and they will never show up. Once you are here, you are never going to leave. We have to change that.

While you are waiting for your hearing that may be 3 to 5 years away, you

need to wait outside the country. That would stop a lot of the illegal immigrant flow because when people realize you can't wait in America, you are home free once you make your asylum claim, they will be less likely to pay \$10,000 or more to wait in Mexico or some other country for 4 or 5 years.

The second thing is that this administration is abusing the law. The Secretary of DHS has the ability on a case-by-case basis to allow urgent humanitarian parole for urgent humanitarian reasons or significant public benefit. This is meant to be an individual case-by-case analysis. They are using this concept—the Biden administration—to have blanket humanitarian parole for 240,000 people from four different countries. That is an abuse of the law. This law is being used to just flow people through, and that needs to change.

So if you put a cap on how many people could come into the country through humanitarian parole, getting back to the original intent of the law, and you told people if you apply for asylum, you have to wait outside the country before your hearing is held, then you will have a dramatic reduction in illegal immigration. I know that works. That doesn't fix a broken immigration system, but it does give us control over an out-of-control border at a time of elevated threats.

To my Democratic colleagues, I have been negotiating with you for 20 years on how to fix an immigration system that is broken. You need more legal immigration. You need border security. You have to have a pathway to citizenship for those who are deserving. I get all that. This is not all about an immigration reform negotiation; this is about securing the border at a time of heightened threat to our country.

One hundred seventy-two people on the Terrorist Watchlist we know of have been caught. Only God knows how many we missed. This run on the border is locking the Border Patrol down just processing people, fentanyl poisoning of Americans is at an alltime high, 100,000 people have died because fentanyl is coming through a broken border. So to my Democratic colleagues, this is not about immigration; it is about national security. There are ways to fix this problem if you choose to do it. I want to help Ukraine. I want to help Taiwan. I want to help Israel. But we have got to help ourselves.

There will never be a bill I will vote for to help other countries that are very deserving until we control our own border that is completely broken. You need to understand that, and the public is with us. Most Americans would like to have their border more controlled, not less, and what you are doing is not working.

I yield the floor.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The senior assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

The Senator from Oklahoma.

Mr. LANKFORD. Madam President, 12,080, it is not just a random number; it is the highest number of crossings ever in a single day across our southwest border. That is the record, 12,080. We have never had a day more than 12,080 crossing our southwest border.

You might ask: What day did we set the record for the most number of crossings across our southern border? And my answer would be yesterday. Yesterday was the highest number of illegal crossings in the history of the country. September was the highest September ever in the history of the country for illegal crossings.

October was the highest October ever in the United States in the history of illegal crossings. November was the highest November ever in the country in the history of our Nation for illegal crossings. And there is the highest number ever in the history of the country—yesterday.

What is really happening? The numbers continue to be able to skyrocket. If we look at what is actually occurring with the number of illegal crossings, they continue to accelerate day after day, month after month, unchecked.

We face very real threats in our Nation, and it is not just me saying that. People may recognize the FBI Director, Christopher Wray, who just this week in a hearing was asked about the threats that we are facing in the United States after October 7. He was asking what he saw with that, and his answer was, "I see blinking red lights everywhere."

"The threat level has gone to a whole other level since October 7," in the United States.

Yesterday, of those 12,080 people who illegally crossed the border, the vast majority of them were released into the country today. They had no criminal background check. They didn't have to prove their ID of what country they were from because right now the soft-sided facilities that are housing migrants all along our southern border are currently running at 400 percent occupancy.

So the goal is, get them through and into the country, hand them a piece of paper, and—literally—ask them to promise to turn themselves in, in the future at some point, just go because we need your space because there are more people coming.

At the same time the FBI Director is saying, "I see blinking red lights everywhere," we are literally releasing thousands of people, day after day, no criminal background check, no evaluation of their history—many of them we don't even know what country they are from—and releasing them into the country.

In the last 2 years, this White House has designated on our southwest border

70,000 people they designated as what they call “special interest aliens.” These are individuals who are coming from areas known for terrorism, but we had no background information on these individuals.

What happened to those 70,000 individuals? They were released into our country with a piece of paper saying: Please turn yourself in, in the days ahead, because we have no room to be able to house you here. That is what is happening.

Am I the only one who noticed this? Well, let’s see, the mayor of El Paso has said that “the city of El Paso only has so many resources and we have come to . . . a breaking point right now.”

The mayor of New York City is talking about this, and he said that “this issue will destroy New York City,” as they are over capacity in every spot that they have got.

The mayor of Chicago has called this an “international crisis” that he is actually experiencing in Chicago to try to be able to manage this.

As the stories come out on this over and over again, this is a New York Times story that came out:

Migrant-smuggling is now a \$13 billion business. Mangled limbs. Raped women. Congressional inaction is a boon to bad actors.

From the New York Times.

So my question is, What are we going to do about this? Currently, it has been nothing.

So what are we going to do about this? About 6 weeks ago, the White House sent over a request for supplemental funding. They labeled it a national security supplemental. They asked for funding for Israel, for Ukraine, for the Indo-Pacific, and for border security. In fact, what is interesting is the second highest request they put in the entire piece was actually for border security. And then literally within days, the administration put out an op-ed that said the funding request for border security is a tourniquet. What we really need is a change in policy.

That same day, Ali Mayorkas from Homeland Security, President Biden’s Homeland Security Director, was in front of a hearing that I was in. I asked him some very specific questions during that:

What are the things that need to be able to change [in our system]?

He said:

Senator, we need . . . the ability to remove individuals who do not qualify [for asylum] with efficiency and [with] speed.

Secretary Mayorkas went on to say:

The asylum system needs to be reformed from top to bottom.

I asked him again:

[Are] policy changes needed?

Secretary Mayorkas said:

Yes, policy changes are needed.

The issue is not is the need there. The issue is not is there a problem in our immigration system. The issue is not is this a crisis at our border. Ev-

eryone knows that it is a crisis that literally the people working on our border have no tools in their hands to be able to stop this issue.

This needs a solution from Congress, and it requires all of us having the determination to say: 12,080 people that crossed our border yesterday is not sustainable.

So what is the request? It is pretty straightforward. It is what anyone would look at and, quite frankly, what DHS has talked about for years—not just this DHS; the Trump DHS, the Obama DHS have all asked for these issues.

They are looking for some very basic things. They want to know how to be able to manage the asylum requests. That accelerated and took off during the late half of the Obama administration.

If I can take us back in history to ancient history, in 2010, there were 21,000 people who asked for asylum a year on our southern border—21,000 people a year in 2010. That is now every 2 days of what we are facing now.

What the request was, at the end of the second term of the Obama administration, was that we have got to reform our asylum system. We have got to be able to process people at the border. We have got to be able to not change the rules of what asylum means but change when we actually do the screening—do it right there, to be able to manage those issues, so that people who qualify for asylum under our law are able to come into our country lawfully and people who do not qualify for asylum cannot come into our country unlawfully.

We all know it is happening. Every administration has identified it. So far, this body has been unwilling to be able to act on it.

We also know that, every day, the cartels actually run our southern border. They are a ruthless criminal organization that we have experienced firsthand in my State. There is drug smuggling. There is human trafficking and what they have done to literally millions of people whom they have trafficked from around the world. We need to take control of our border, not give control to the cartels.

I would challenge anyone in this body to be able to go to our southwest border and ask any Border Patrol agent: Do we have control of our border?

Most every one of them will respond the same way, because I have heard it over and over. There is situational control of our border. It is just on the south side, not on the north side, because the cartels are managing who is actually coming in, in what order, and how it is actually done. And they are paid, as the New York Times article detailed, billions of dollars to be able to traffic people into our country. They are the ones who are managing it.

So the simple, straightforward issue is, As the United States of America, are we going to manage our border or

are the cartels going to manage our border? Are we going to be able to have a system where we allow people who qualify for asylum to actually get a hearing on a timely basis or are we going to take people and push them into the country? And then real, legitimate asylum seekers don’t get a hearing for years, and people who don’t qualify for asylum—and we all know it—disappear into the country and live underground.

This is the decision that we have got to come to. President Biden asked for a national security supplemental and included into that border funding and then a request for policy changes. It is time to be able to address this issue.

And I will tell you what I will vote later on today. Republicans are going to speak clearly to say: We will not move to a national security bill that does security for other nations and ignores our own. We will not do it.

And we believe the American people, regardless of party—I don’t find many people who want chaos on our southern border. They want an orderly process. I also don’t find people who are opposed to immigration. They are just opposed to illegal activity on our border, unchecked activity on our border.

So let’s get back to an orderly process. Let’s have a system that actually works for everybody in the process, and let’s not put the national security for other nations ahead of the national security of Americans. Let’s do it together.

With that, I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Minnesota.

Ms. KLOBUCHAR. Madam President, I first want to say that, as we proceed on the initial vote today—and I support the President’s package, including the work on border security—I do appreciate the Senator from Oklahoma’s work in trying to reach an agreement. So many of us want to see an agreement on border security.

I rise today to highlight another part of that agreement that is very important, and that is the importance of the critical humanitarian aid in the supplemental funding request, and to urge my colleagues to include it in a final bill.

Throughout history, the United States has been a leader. When Hitler sought to conquer Europe, American’s Lend-Lease Program ensured democracy triumphed over fascism, and it was our Marshall Plan that gave our European partners the resources they needed to rebuild after the war. When the Iron Curtain fell, American aid kept communism at bay. And, to this day, Agencies like USAID give nations across the globe the support they need to alleviate poverty, become stronger trading partners with our country, and recover from disasters.

We know that humanitarian aid, yes, saves lives in such a big way, but it is also important for our own country. It is our own security that we make friends. It actually helps us to spend

less on military when we spend more on humanitarian aid.

Today, armed conflict is tearing apart families and neighborhoods in the Middle East, and the largest land war in Europe since World War II rages on. Ripples from these conflicts are felt around the world. We are at a pivotal moment in not just American history but the history of humanity.

Israelis, innocent Palestinians, and Ukrainians are looking to us for support, and the whole world is watching. It is during moments like these that leaders are called to step up. So the question before us today that so many of those who came before us in this Chamber—Democrats and Republicans—have grappled with is, Will we step up? Will America step up? My answer: We must, just as we have time and time again throughout history.

That, of course, includes providing swift humanitarian aid to people across the world, including innocent civilians in Gaza.

Like so many in this Chamber, including the Presiding Officer, I strongly condemned Hamas's terrorist attack immediately, in the strongest terms. It was a massacre of innocent Israelis, and I am heartbroken by the devastation and the loss of life. But we must remember that the violence of this terrorist group Hamas does not represent the will of all of the people of Gaza, not by any means.

That is why I joined my colleagues in calling for a short-term cessation of hostilities in order to allow for the Hamas-held hostages to be released and to ensure that humanitarian assistance could reach innocent civilians in Gaza. I welcomed, as so many did, the announcement almost 2 weeks ago that Israel and Hamas had agreed to release more than 100 hostages during the cessation that would also allow, of course, for increased aid for food and the like into Gaza. Tragically, late last week, a continued agreement could not be reached, and the hostages, including, as we now know, so many young women—with very troubling and concerning reports coming out on their conditions—are still being held hostage by the terrorists. The fighting has begun again.

The United States has provided significant aid to both Israel and the Palestinian people, now and in years past, but we know we cannot shirk from our duties. We cannot turn our backs on what is happening.

In discussing the need for foreign aid, we must not forget the continued importance, as we will discuss later today, of standing with Ukraine as Ukrainians fight back against Vladimir Putin's inhuman barbarism. For almost 2 years, in bright blue and yellow, the Ukrainians have shown the world what it truly means to fight for freedom, and America has been with them, as have so many of our allies. Beyond critical military aid, the United States has continued to support Ukraine through humanitarian assistance for

both internally displaced Ukrainians and those who have been forced to flee their home country.

And we know that while we have taken in some of these refugees, including in my home State of Minnesota, which has a major Ukrainian population, many of whom are now working—I was just with a number of them who work in our Ukrainian restaurant that we are so proud of, Kramarczuk's in Minneapolis. We also have European countries taking in these refugees in unprecedented numbers—millions and millions of people.

When I visited Poland with a group of our colleagues on a bipartisan basis, just weeks after Vladimir Putin launched his brutal invasion, there were more than 2 million Ukrainian refugees. Today, that number is more than 6 million. I will never forget talking to those refugees—women, children, seniors, kids with nothing but a backpack on their back with a stuffed animal in it. We heard their horror stories about homes lost, families ripped apart, and lives destroyed.

We know that Polish people don't have to imagine what it is like to live through a full-scale invasion. Their history is marked by invasions by Prussia, the Hapsburgs, the Nazi, and, yes, Russia. As our Ambassador to Poland, Mark Brzezinski told us, the Poles are achieving the dreams their grandparents never could realize.

Poland is able to say to their Ukrainian neighbors: We value freedom and respect your democracy. We value you so much that we will take you into our homes and into our hearts. We will open our doors and not shut you out.

Just as our Polish allies and those small countries that I met with yesterday—the Baltic nations of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania—they are there for Ukraine on the ground and taking in their people and being on the frontline and putting in an extraordinary percentage of their own resources, of their spending, into defense, into NATO. America must be there for Ukraine by providing, yes, topnotch military assistance, as we have to enable Ukraine to retake half of the territory that Vladimir Putin took in his initial invasion, but we also must be there for them with critical humanitarian aid. Our Ukrainian friends continue to persevere against all odds, against one of the largest armies in the world, and this aid is critical to that effort.

As we all know, the consequences of Putin's unprovoked, unlawful, unjustifiable war extend beyond Ukraine's border. Ukraine is one of the world's top suppliers of grain, and Russia's illegal blockade of Ukrainian ports has put millions of people across the globe, in places like Africa, at risk of starvation. By providing critical support for the State Department's refugee aid program, including food assistance, the administration funding request will support displaced people around the world.

Our Nation has earned its reputation as the leader of the free world due to its unwavering commitment to democracy and helping nations when they need it—knowing they come out of it; knowing they become major trading partners and friends of ours on the security front, on the democracy front, and on the economic front. So now it is on us to decide if we want to keep that reputation, if we want to keep that leadership.

As we negotiate this bill, the supplemental, I am reminded of what President Zelenskyy said just hours after Vladimir Putin launched his barbaric invasion. Everyone counted him out. Everyone thought he was going to run. Instead, he stood on the streets of Kyiv, with just a few people, and looked straight into the camera and delivered a simple message that was, all at once, a rallying cry to his people, but a statement of defiance in the face of evil and a call to action for democracies across the globe. Three words: We are here.

So that is our decision over the next 2 weeks. Are we going to be here for democracy? Are we going to be here for our ally in the Mideast and our allies around the world? Are we going to continue to feed the world? Are we going to continue to stand up against terrorism and barbarism and help innocent people, like those in Gaza, those in Ukraine, and those around the world who depend on us?

Moms, dads, grandmas, grandpas, kids, and grandkids are depending on us. We must be there. We must say: We are here.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Massachusetts.

Ms. WARREN. Madam President, nearly 2 months after Hamas launched brutal terrorist attacks on Israel, we continue to grieve for those who were killed, and we also pray for the return of loved ones taken hostage. And for those who have been injured, for rape victims, and for those who survived by hiding themselves among dead and dying friends, we offer love and support.

October 7 was the deadliest day for Jewish people since the Holocaust. I have seen video of Hamas's attack and their terrorists' contempt for Israeli's lives. As I have said before, Israel has both a right to defend its citizens from Hamas's terrorist attacks and an obligation under the laws of war to protect innocent Palestinian civilians in Gaza. Palestinians are not Hamas, and they should not be punished for Hamas's terrorism.

I want to be clear about how I see the war that Israel is currently waging in Gaza. Prime Minister Netanyahu and his rightwing war cabinet have created a humanitarian catastrophe, killing thousands of Palestinian civilians and risking a wider conflict in the Middle East.

The Gaza Health Ministry estimates that more than 15,000 people in Gaza

have been killed and more than 40,000 injured. The vast majority of those killed and injured have been Palestinian civilians, many of them women and children. This level of civilian harm is a moral failure. It is why for weeks I have called on Israel to stop bombing Gaza.

A 7-day cease-fire between Israel and Hamas gave hope that more hostages would return to their loved ones, gave hope that a massive amount of humanitarian aid would reach innocent Palestinians in need of food and water, and gave hope that negotiations would continue as the parties worked toward an enduring end to this fighting.

I applauded this cease-fire and urged its extension so that the parties could secure a lasting peace.

When the cease-fire lapsed, I urged the parties to get back to the negotiating table and build on the prior agreement so that the cease-fire could resume, but, instead, the fighting ramped up.

So I will say it again. Hamas must release the hostages and stop firing rockets at civilians in Israel. The Israeli Government must stop the bombing in Gaza and deliver humanitarian aid. All of us must do everything possible to resume the cease-fire and extend it for as long as possible.

The long-term goal must be peace—two states for two peoples.

Today, the Senate will vote on legislation to provide military funding to Ukraine, Israel, and Taiwan. I will support this legislation because Ukraine is on the frontlines, fighting back a brutal Russian invasion that would destroy its existence as an independent nation.

A few months ago, I visited Ukraine and saw firsthand the courage of the Ukrainian people, who are literally putting their lives on the line to keep democracy alive.

This legislation also contains \$10 billion in humanitarian aid for families around the globe, including in Gaza. It also provides emergency shelter funds for migrants who are newly arrived in the United States. It includes money for mosques and synagogues that are dealing with threats here at home.

I strongly support those provisions. In fact, I fought hard for those provisions. But I want to be clear that when it comes to U.S. military aid to Israel, American support cannot be a blank check to a rightwing government that has demonstrated a gross disregard for the lives of Palestinian civilians. U.S. military aid always includes conditions, and there is no exception even for our allies.

The United States regularly conditions military aid on compliance with U.S. law and international humanitarian law. In the case of Israel, I have long argued that the United States should use all of the tools at its disposal, including placing conditions on U.S. military assistance, to move the parties closer to permanent peace and a two-state solution.

Prime Minister Netanyahu's actions are not moving closer to a two-state solution. Instead, his actions set conditions for endless violence.

Since October 7, extremist settlers in the West Bank have deliberately hunted down and killed Palestinians and, according to the United Nations, displaced more than 1,000 people.

In Gaza, Israeli forces have struck hospitals and refugee camps, killing scores of civilians in pursuit of its military targets.

Israel has ordered Palestinians to evacuate for safety and then bombed the safe zones.

The videos from Gaza of dead children and wailing parents are shattering. They document the current Israeli Government's continued moral and humanitarian failures.

It now appears that Israel is prepared to impose in southern Gaza the same staggering level of civilian death that it carried out in the north. That is wrong.

I lay these actions at the feet of Prime Minister Netanyahu. If the Prime Minister insists on conducting military operations with little regard for civilian life and in a manner that moves the region deeper into perpetual war, then he does not deserve America's blanket financial support.

I understand the desire to help Israel and the people of Israel, but given the actions of the Prime Minister, Congress should condition any military funding on an agreement that civilian lives will be protected, that Palestinians will receive the humanitarian aid they need, and that international law will be fully respected.

Over the past 2 months, I have had many conversations with people across Massachusetts about the path forward. This conflict is horrific, and it is deeply personal. I have talked to Israelis who have lost beloved friends and family. I have held parents who have had children violently taken as hostages. I have talked to Palestinians who have had family members killed. I have held hands with people conducting a desperate, long-distance search for missing loved ones. I have joined the sometimes-frantic efforts to help Palestinians who are desperately trying to get out of Gaza but can't. The pain runs deep for all of them.

This conflict has also sparked a wave of hate here in the United States. The Council on American-Islamic Relations in Massachusetts has received a record number of calls reporting vandalism, violence, and retaliation against Palestinians. A man in Boston was arrested for attacking the Holocaust Memorial, and synagogues in Attleboro are receiving bomb threats.

I have had Muslim and Palestinian constituents talk to me about being pulled over for extra screening at the airport while their White travel companions sailed right on through. I have heard stories of how hard it can be to land a small business loan or get a credit card application approved even when they meet all the criteria.

Anti-Palestinian hate is endangering our neighbors. Three college students in Burlington were shot on their way to dinner. I have had moms tell me they are now afraid to say that they are Palestinian, and they are now afraid for their children to leave the house.

Anti-Semitism is endangering our neighbors. Hillel leaders tell me they are afraid to walk alone on campus or speak up in classes. Mothers say they worry about bringing their toddlers to activities at their synagogue because it could be the target of an attack.

In these moments, each of us has an obligation to speak out clearly and loudly against hate. Each of us has an obligation to actively oppose hate in all of its forms. Anti-Semitism must be rejected. Islamophobia and anti-Palestinianism must be cast off. We should make our intentions clear. We should work toward those goals until they are finally true. No one should be afraid. No one should feel unsafe. And it is on our shoulders to build an America where there is no place for hate.

But there is more for us to do. We cannot give up on peace. Hamas leaders make their goals clear: perpetual war and death. But, as I said earlier, Hamas is not the Palestinian people, and the Palestinian people are not Hamas.

In the midst of the chaos and pain of this terrible war, I hold fast to the possibility that people of good will, both Palestinians and Israelis, can build a lasting peace.

I have long believed that a two-state solution is the best path, is the only path for Israel's long-term security and the only way to ensure that Palestinians have the rights, the freedom, and the self-determination they need to build a secure future for themselves and their children.

In the short term, the needed work is obvious: Resume the cease-fire, accelerate humanitarian aid, protect innocent civilians, and release the hostages. In the long term, the hard labor—the labor that ensures that we won't be here again and again and again to mourn the deaths of the people we love and have lost to an endless cycle of war—the hard labor is to drive toward a just and lasting peace for both Israelis and Palestinians.

I yield the floor.

**THE PRESIDING OFFICER.** The Senator from Nebraska.

**MR. RICKETTS.** Madam President, I am going to say something that I don't think ought to be controversial—that Hamas should receive no U.S. taxpayer dollars. But apparently some people think that is controversial.

On October 7, Hamas, a terrorist organization dedicated to the destruction of Israel and to killing Jews, broke the cease-fire and attacked Israel.

Now, this was not a military attack; these were terrorists who came across the border to kill civilians. They killed 1,200 Israelis and 33 Americans.

Last week, along with my Senate colleagues, I watched an uncensored video

taken from Hamas body cameras, cell phones, on surveillance television, intercepts of radio and telephone conversations. It was horrific. This atrocity was perpetrated by barbaric savages. We witnessed them shoot unarmed civilians. We saw the evidence of young girls raped. We saw the dead bodies of children, some burned beyond recognition. We watched as a Hamas terrorist decapitated an Israeli soldier. It was truly horrifying.

Hamas started the war. They are responsible for every person who died on that day and every person who has died in Gaza since. They are a terrorist organization dedicated to destroying Israel. In fact, we heard some of the phone conversations from Hamas terrorists who called back their parents, bragging about how many Jews they had killed. It is absolutely horrific.

We must stand with Israel until Hamas is destroyed utterly. Humanity will have been done a favor by the State of Israel when Hamas is destroyed. We also must examine the Biden policies that are supporting Hamas. I know—yes, I said that. It is crazy, but it is true. The Biden administration has already given \$730 million and wants to add another \$260 million to it.

You see, there is this organization called the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East, and it has long been documented that they have been infiltrated by Hamas.

This organization, also known as UNRWA, has hired Hamas agents. Their teachers have been preaching about killing Jews. Their textbooks glorify martyrdom. They demonize Israelis and sow anti-Semitism. UNRWA schools have stored weapons facilities for Hamas. There is a U.N. report that shows UNRWA schools have launched attacks against Israel. On October 7, UNRWA employees applauded the attack, including 14 UNRWA teachers. Now we have a report that an UNRWA teacher held one of the hostages in that teacher's attic, barely feeding the hostage.

This is an organization that has been described as essentially a branch of Hamas. The Trump administration knew this, and so they cut off funds, with President Trump saying the organization UNRWA was irredeemable. Inexplicably, the Biden administration resumed funding and wants to continue resumed funding.

We must not let our tax dollars go to support Hamas, and that is why I have introduced the Stop Support for Hamas Act.

This act would make sure no economic development dollars go to Gaza or to the West Bank until Israel verifies that Hamas has been dismantled. It would ensure that the Palestinian Authority is not hiring Hamas or their affiliates. It would strengthen the Taylor Force Act to make sure the Palestinian Authority does away with this horrific pay-to-slay policy, and it

would ensure that any other NGO that is working would not hire Hamas or Hamas affiliates.

What we saw on October 7 was inhumane; it was barbaric; it was horrifying; it was an atrocity—an atrocity committed by Hamas. We must stand with Israel until Hamas is utterly destroyed.

We must ensure that no more funding from American taxpayers goes to Hamas through UNRWA as 118 of the terrorists who attacked Israel on October 7 were educated in UNRWA schools. These schools are part of the problem, and the Trump administration knew it. I ask all of my colleagues to support my bill that will end this terrible policy.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Ms. BALDWIN). The senior Senator from Washington.

Mrs. MURRAY. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that, following Senator MENENDEZ, I be recognized for up to 20 minutes prior to the scheduled rollcall vote.

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

The senior Senator from New Jersey.

Mr. MENENDEZ. Madam President, as our allies and democracies around the world face compounding life-and-death geopolitical challenges, the world is watching what we do or fail to do here in the U.S. Senate, and the stakes could not be any higher.

Ukraine is rapidly running out of arms to defend itself against Russia's illegal invasion and the many war crimes it has been perpetrating against the Ukrainian people. Israel is in the midst of an existential war against Hamas—a barbaric terrorist organization funded and propped up by Iran's brutal regime with one singular mission: to wipe out Israel and every Jew on the face of the Earth.

Moreover, our allies in the Indo-Pacific, like Taiwan, remain on high alert as China aggressively flexes its military and economic might there and around the globe while, at the same time, taking careful notes on how democracies around the world respond when one nation violates the sovereignty of another by attempting to take its territory by force.

Now is the time for the U.S. Senate to come together in defense of America's allies in their hour of need. We have a strategic security, economic, and moral imperative to meet the moment, and that is exactly what Democrats in the Senate are ready to do.

Right now, Democrats are prepared to take up and pass the National Security and Border Act of 2024, a comprehensive package that provides aid to Israel, Ukraine, the Indo-Pacific, and Taiwan as well as addresses ongoing challenges at our southern border, including the flow of migration and fentanyl into the United States.

Democrats are willing to put politics aside and defend our allies and our values with real dollars, real military aid, and real solutions. We are ready to se-

cure our southern border against the most dire threats we face, especially the relentless flow of deadly fentanyl fueling our Nation's opioid epidemic.

Now, to be crystal clear, some aspects of this supplemental package, which closely mirrors the supplemental request President Biden sent to Congress, raise serious concerns for me and for others.

For example, I am worried about funding to add another 1,300 Border Patrol agents to work at the border. The U.S. Border Patrol is already the largest Federal law enforcement Agency, and its alarming track record of the abuse and mistreatment of migrants gives me pause about expanding its force further.

I also have serious hesitations about funding to expand our detention capacity by over 45,000 beds. Detaining migrants en masse, including entire families, is never the most humane or effective solution to managing our border.

Supporting a supplemental package that includes these items would not be an easy vote for me and several of my colleagues. It would be quite difficult because these funds come with concerning policy consequences. However, in the name of getting a reasonable, thoughtful package across the finish line for our allies in need, without gutting our asylum and humanitarian parole laws, I certainly am willing to consider it.

But where are Republicans? Americans might ask. Where are our colleagues across the aisle who, for so many years, have posited themselves as the champions of defending democracy and freedom around the world? Where is the party of Reagan—the party of self-proclaimed defense hawks who supposedly never bat an eye when it comes to supporting our allies?

In an incomprehensible turn of events, Republicans have decided they are going to hold hostage vital aid to our closest allies in a life-and-death struggle over completely unrelated, hyperpartisan demands on immigration and border policy, and they are insisting on these changes without any actual, deliberative process or willingness to compromise.

No, you didn't hear that incorrectly.

Senate Republicans have declared they are ready to tank this national security package—one that would help our allies defend themselves so that we don't have to send America's sons and daughters into harm's way and take the battle themselves when the next set of NATO countries is invaded by countries like Russia. I would rather have the Ukrainians fight for their freedom and provide them the resources to do so instead of sending America's sons and daughters abroad.

Now, why are they doing this? Because they are using the immigration issue, in my view, to hide behind the embarrassing fact that a significant number of Republicans in both Chambers doesn't want to vote for aid to Ukraine and because Democrats refuse

to accede to far-right and far-reaching immigration policy demands that have absolutely nothing to do with the existential crises threatening our allies.

It is the height of irresponsibility and partisan politics for Republicans to claim that the price for assisting our international allies is to gut our asylum and humanitarian parole laws, which, I would add, as someone who has been on this issue for almost a quarter of a century, will do nothing to mitigate the flow of migration and deadly drugs into our country.

Think about the dangerous signal that sends: The United States cannot temporarily put aside its domestic political disputes to confront the collective challenges facing democracies and freedom around the world. Such a signal would be crippling to those who look to the United States for our leadership when confronted with the evils of tyranny and terrorism. Such a signal would amount to a shameful retreat from America's singular place on the world stage and would leave us with fewer allies willing to stand with us. Who is going to stand with you if you are going to cut and run?

What makes this all so much worse is that Republicans are willing to gamble our national security interests—indeed, our ability to conduct foreign policy—over half-baked, failed ideas that do nothing to solve the problems they claim to solve.

Let's just take a look at a few of the demands the Republicans are making on immigration and asylum policies.

I heard one of our colleagues speak before that we only just want to have the asylum crisis be dealt with quicker. Well, that is not the case. Republicans say, for example, that they want to heighten the initial “credible fear” standard asylum seekers must pass and have been passing for decades in order to make it to the next stage of the asylum process.

Well, news flash: No matter how much the “credible fear” standard is heightened, it will do nothing to address the root problems causing asylum seekers to flee their home countries in the first place. If I am in one of these countries and my choice is to stay or die or see my daughter raped by a gang or be forcibly put into a gang, I am going to flee. That is why we have 20 million people in the Southern Hemisphere who are refugees and asylees displaced presently in other countries in the Western Hemisphere.

Unless we deal with that root cause challenge and help those countries assimilate those people, those are 20 million feet that are going to come knocking. Worse yet, constricting access to asylum would only encourage more illegal attempts to make it into the United States through other avenues that will, ultimately, enrich human smuggling networks.

Our asylum system encourages order. In fiscal year 2023, 99.5 percent of asylum seekers appeared—appeared—99.5 percent of asylum seekers appeared for

their hearings before an immigration judge. So only about five-tenths of a percent were in absentia. The vast majority of those asylum claims was, ultimately, denied. Then, at that point, they no longer have a right to be present.

Pushing migrants outside of the asylum system is not in the interest of anyone who wants an orderly immigration system or who professes to care about reducing the numbers of migrants that are encountered throughout the border.

Republicans say, for example, they want to dramatically limit the President's statutory authority to grant individuals humanitarian parole into the United States in response to major crises such as wars and invasions.

Well, here is another news flash: Dramatically shrinking humanitarian parole risks dramatically increasing irregular flows of migration to our borders.

Think about what would have happened in the wake of America's withdrawal from Afghanistan or in the wake of Russia's invasion of Ukraine if the United States did not have a robust humanitarian parole system screening tens of thousands of Afghans and Ukrainians for refuge through an orderly process. It would have been utter chaos with unknown numbers of unscreened, unvetted individuals from these countries potentially seeking entry at our borders.

Humanitarian parole allows the United States to be in the driver's view to determine which individuals can obtain protection in the United States and which cannot.

It also serves our national security interests by sending a clear message: If you stand with us, if you fight for freedom and there comes a life-and-death moment, we will provide you with refuge.

So this shouldn't be about sticking it to President Biden and the Democrats. The reality is that there will one day be another Democratic or Republican administration that will need to rely on our humanitarian parole laws to respond to moments of crisis like in Afghanistan and Ukraine. By fundamentally eroding these laws, Republicans would only hamper the ability of any future administration to respond to such crises. Gutting humanitarian parole only invites the very chaos at our borders that Republicans claim they want to mitigate.

What these and other demands reflect is the now-dominant and dangerous strain of Republican thinking that believes that our asylum, humanitarian parole, and refugee systems are largely fraudulent, allowing undeserving individuals to enter into our country.

Years of anti-immigrant fearmongering by former President Trump appear to have clouded the Republicans' ability to talk about our immigration system based on the facts—the type of conversations we had when

we passed comprehensive immigration reform in this Chamber with a gang of Senators—Republicans and Democrats—of which I was a part, with an overwhelming vote. That was a level-headed discussion. As a result, their policy ideas now are driven more by Stephen Miller's demagoguery than by any deliberative assessment of reality.

Here are some facts worth reminding my Republican friends about: Immigrants wield nearly \$1.3 trillion—trillion—in spending power in the United States, and they contribute tens of billions of dollars in taxes every year. A recent study found that a 25-percent reduction in the number of asylum seekers in the United States would cause an economic loss of over \$20 billion over 5 years.

Immigrants disproportionately make up our essential workforce by taking care of our sick, putting food on our tables, and taking care of our workplaces. They were the ones, when we were all home, sheltering, who were out taking the risks of their lives in order that the rest of us could be sheltered.

Immigrants are 80 percent more likely to become entrepreneurs than native-born Americans. Indeed, nearly 45 percent of Fortune 500 companies—45 percent of Fortune 500 companies—which employ tens of millions of Americans, were founded by immigrants or their children.

These migrants, asylum seekers, and refugees have not just enriched our economy, they have changed and shaped our Nation and the world more broadly.

Ever hear of Albert Einstein, a refugee who changed our understanding of science forever; Sergey Brin, the co-founder of Google, a refugee who changed technology forever; Gloria Estefan, a refugee who fled the Cuban revolution with her family and helped shaped our musical landscape; or how about former U.S. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright—does that name ring a bell?—a refugee from Czechoslovakia who helped shaped the modern world as the first woman to ever serve as U.S. Secretary of State. The list goes on and on and on.

The hard, undeniable reality is this: Our Nation's prosperity, power, and greatness are inextricably intertwined with our identity as a nation of striving, hard-working immigrants. So it is no wonder that our asylum, refugee, and humanitarian parole systems have received overwhelming bipartisan support over the decades. They are an essential source of our strength.

And let's be perfectly clear about something else. Welcoming asylum seekers, parolees, and refugees into the country is far from just an act of compassion. These systems directly support our national security and strategic economic interest at home and abroad.

Imagine a world where the United States and other countries did not have systems to provide refuge to dissidents,

journalists, lawyers, and others taking on tyrants and defending liberties in their countries. Would they have the same level of courage to enact change in their countries if they did not think they could protect themselves and their families if they faced life-and-death persecution?

So to my Republican friends, I say this: It is time to free yourselves from the Trumpian demagoguery that informs your current worldview on immigration. Join us in good faith to deliver inclusive, humane, and orderly immigration reform that will secure our borders, provide relief to the undocumented community, and strengthen our strategic posture in the world.

However, attempting to force this conversation here and now, when our allies have their backs against the wall, when they are fighting on the frontlines to protect U.S. interests, and when innocent people's lives hang in the balance is the height of recklessness and irresponsibility.

We can continue serving as the world's last, best defender of freedom and democracy without sacrificing one of our greatest strengths: our identity as a nation of immigrants.

We are the United States of America. Let's start acting like it.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The senior Senator from Washington.

Mrs. MURRAY. Madam President, we have a lot of work to get done before January 19, the next deadline to pass our funding and avoid a shutdown.

The American people are looking for serious leadership and results, and I come to the floor today to be clear about what the standard for success is here.

We need to pass regular, full-year funding, based on the bipartisan spending agreement from earlier this year, that actually responds to the challenges before us. Anything less means missing critical opportunities and worse.

A "date-change, full-year CR," as proposed by House Speaker JOHNSON, would be unprecedented and reckless.

Why is that? Well, because the Speaker's proposal would lock in outdated spending plans and devastating across-the-board cuts while locking all of us out of any kind of thoughtful decision-making process for our Nation's future, all of which should be absolutely unacceptable to everyone here.

It is one thing to have a short-term CR so we have additional time to negotiate in good faith and finish passing bills, full-year bills that strengthen our Nation, but it is another thing entirely to do a yearlong CR because we have no intention of doing our job.

We cannot just throw up our hands, act like nothing in the world has changed in the past 12 months, abdicate our responsibility to our constituents, and box in our Nation's future by putting the government on autopilot.

When you put the government on autopilot, without direction or any

consideration of changing needs, you are functionally causing year-over-year funding cuts without any rhyme, reason, or recalibration for new and changing priorities, causing huge uncertainties and inefficiencies across our Federal Government and seriously impairing every single one of our Agencies' ability to fulfill their mission and move our country forward. And that, by the way, is all before taking into account the incredibly steep across-the-board cuts that would come into play under this scenario under our Fiscal Responsibility Act.

This runs way deeper than numbers, at best, stagnating on a page and Agencies cutting hard-working staff and crucial services. We are talking about missing opportunities on issues where the clock is ticking, pulling the rug out from our families who are struggling, and undermining our national defense and security in front of the whole world.

I think we all understand now is a dangerous time to signal America's global leadership is faltering, but that is exactly the message a yearlong CR would send: a year of America's military falling behind and a year of our diplomatic and humanitarian efforts falling behind.

When we put our government on autopilot, we are telling the world Congress is asleep at the wheel and incapable of responding to the growing threats of an ever more dangerous world.

In practical terms for defense, as my colleague—the senior Senator from Maine and vice chair of the committee—said here on this floor recently, it means the Pentagon freezing 330 new programs or production increases. It means falling behind in building our ships and our subs and much more and doing so, by the way, at a time when China already has a larger navy.

It means essentially no new progress in our efforts to strengthen our military and diplomatic footprint in the Indo-Pacific so we can forge strong partnerships and deter aggression from the Chinese Government. This is something we devoted significant thought and resources to across our bipartisan spending bills, with new funding for our Indo-Pacific strategy and the Countering PRC Influence Fund, not to mention other global leadership investments like the new Economic Resilience Initiative that will help strengthen our supply chains for critical resources and weaken the financial pressure our competitors can exert on key U.S. partners.

But all that goes out the window with a full-year CR, particularly under the construct that has been proposed by the Speaker of the House, where he would simply change a date and quit—change a date and quit.

Can you imagine a leader, one of the highest ranking officials in this country, if not the world, seriously proposing that as an answer right now?

Under the yearlong CR, we would not have critical funding increases to support our servicemembers, to support their families, from troop readiness essentials like recruitment and training to family support like childcare and barracks, to other projects like the Shipyard Infrastructure Optimization Plan.

I also want to remind our colleagues, a full-year CR would not just hurt our national security, it would be devastating for our families and our communities across the country and our country's future.

When it comes to keeping our economy strong, there are simply too many missed opportunities to even list.

We would lose out increases in bolstering trade and U.S. business competitiveness. We would lose out on strengthening our supply chain and building innovation hubs. We would lose out on research funding for manufacturing; AI; agriculture; clean energy; cures and treatments for cancer, Alzheimer's, and other terrible diseases and a lot more.

We would lose ground in our plans to send Americans back to the Moon, while the Chinese Government is going full speed ahead.

And when it comes to fighting the opioid epidemic, resigning our Nation to a yearlong CR means the increased investments that we did include in our Senate bills to keep fentanyl out of our country by stopping drug cartels and getting help to patients and families won't happen.

Instead, stagnant funding means furloughs at our border and thousands of pounds of illicit drugs reaching our communities.

A CR also will not include any funding to reform cosmetics safety or retirement security or the organ donation and transplant system.

And let's talk about WIC. WIC is the lifeline for moms who need formula, nutritious food, and other essentials to feed their babies. It is at risk of being severely underfunded by a CR.

I grew up in a family who knew what it meant to fall on hard times and have a government that had our backs. I will not let our country pull out the rug from folks in their time of need. But if we put spending on autopilot for the next year, we will be kicking struggling families off benefits and onto wait-lists.

It is not just WIC that is going to see these painful shortfalls that will ultimately hurt families, it is programs that keep families warm in the winter or cool in the summer and safe from extreme temperatures like LIHEAP. It is programs that give people healthcare, like community health centers and the new suicide prevention lifeline. It is programs that make sure families have a roof over their head, rental assistance, affordable housing, homelessness prevention—programs that already can't meet the needs in their communities.

It is the Social Security Administration, for crying out loud. A CR would

force them to reduce hours and lay off staff. You want to call up and sign up for new benefits or see how you can fix a problem? There will be no one to answer you—long wait times.

And let's not forget, it is programs for folks who are trying to improve their situation, get a better job, and further their own career. A CR means no increases for apprenticeship funding, workforce training, or the maximum Pell amount.

What else do parents need if they are going to go to work? I have said it many times, childcare. We are in a childcare crisis, and with a full-year CR, this is only going to go from bad to worse because we will be resigned to across-the-board cuts to our Nation's childcare programs.

And our public schools also will face tight budgets. Kids are still recovering from this pandemic, and we can't afford to provide our schools less funding when our students deserve and need more support. It is that simple.

Look, I have been going on for a while. But the truth is, I have barely scratched the surface on what we will lose with a full-year CR: Increases throughout our bills to support Tribal communities, gone; over a billion dollars for FAA modernization efforts, gone; housing for wildland firefighters, improvements in our rail system, next-generation weather satellites, gone, gone, and gone.

And here is the kicker: I have only been talking so far about half the equation because the Fiscal Responsibility Act would force absolutely devastating across-the-board cuts on virtually all domestic programs that could be as much as nearly 10 percent.

Let's be clear about the damage here. Immediate hiring freezes and furloughs at just about every Agency. Millions of women and kids would lose WIC benefits; wait times at ports of entry would quadruple; wait times for new business permits from the Alcohol and Tobacco Tax and Trade Bureau would increase fivefold; nearly 1,000 fewer full-time food safety inspectors; 2,500 fewer national park employees and less staff and equipment for our Federal firefighters; 5,000 scientists, students, and technical staff no longer receiving research support at our national labs and universities; 130,000 fewer small businesses getting training and counseling from the Small Business Association; nearly 700,000 households losing Federal housing assistance and being pushed toward homelessness; 2½ million patients across Indian Country hurt by a \$235 million cut to the Indian Health Service hospitals and clinics.

And that is the tip of the iceberg. We are talking tens of billions of dollars slashed to programs that keep our country competitive and our economy strong and our families safe and sound. So this is really no run-of-the-mill CR outcome, which would be bad enough as it is.

The bottom line here is this: We have a job to do. We have a job to do. Our

constituents expect us to come to work, to listen to them, respond to the challenges in their life, write the bills, solve our problems, and deliver results. At a minimum, they expect us to try—not threaten, as the Speaker is doing, to change a few words and give up.

A long-term CR wouldn't just shut out their voices, it would cede ground to our adversaries, let America fall behind, and cut off vital resources families count on each and every day.

If we want to make sure that America continues to lead; if we want a strong, competitive economy; if we want a safer world; and if we want a real future for our families, we cannot just throw our hands up and hope for the best. We have to come together, do the hard work of governing, hammer out bipartisan spending bills that actually reflect what we think our Nation needs, get back to the bipartisan spending agreement that the House Republicans wanted—actually, getting back to that, they demanded it—and agree that extreme partisan riders have no place in our spending bills.

In the full Senate here, as the Presiding Officer knows, we wrote 12 bipartisan spending bills that follow the full terms of the bipartisan spending agreement, but now we need House Republicans to hold up their end of the bargain. That means sticking to the entire agreement and using the full resources it provides for defense and domestic programs.

We cannot move forward if House Republicans are busy trying to go back on their word, especially for a deal that they pushed for and negotiated in the first place. Let's all remember that House Republicans were the ones who chose to hold the debt limit hostage until they secured this agreement. Let's also remember it was their leader who negotiated this deal directly with the President. They cut this deal. When you negotiate a deal, you don't then bargain over how much of your word you are going to keep. Deals are built on common ground and mutual trust, not shifting sand.

So, Madam President, I will be clear. I am not calling on Republicans to do anything extreme here or anything I wouldn't do myself. I get that no one ever gets everything they want, especially in a divided government. In fact, as I have said many times, I believe the cuts that were enacted by the Fiscal Responsibility Act set us back. But that was the deal. That was the deal we voted on. So, here in the Senate, we did write 12 bipartisan bills to those terms. That is the job. That is what legislating looks like in a divided government.

If we are going to avoid an unnecessary shutdown or an absolutely unacceptable, inflexible, yearlong CR—for the first time ever—we need everyone to get real about just what is at stake if we give up on writing serious, full-year funding bills. And that is just what it is going to take to get that done. So I call on everybody: Let's do our job.

#### SUPPLEMENTAL FUNDING

Now, Madam President, I also want to take a few minutes to talk about the supplemental funding package we are going to move to vote on shortly.

The clock is ticking, and the eyes of the world are watching to see how quickly and how completely the United States responds to urgent challenges across the world. We cannot afford delays that tell our adversaries they can just wait us out. We cannot afford half-steps that tell our allies we will only stand by some of them, some of the time. We cannot accept the notion that there is a “price” that must be paid in order to stand by our allies. That is why we are voting today to move forward on a bill that would respond to the pressing security challenges. It is past time for Senators to show they appreciate the urgency of this moment.

Now, I have heard some Republicans criticize this package for what is not in it—the extreme, partisan policy changes to our Nation's immigration laws that they have been pushing. Well, here is how I see this: When you have a bill like this one, with funding that is urgently needed for issues that have really broad, bipartisan support, and you face a moment like this, where civilians are suffering, our allies are under attack, our adversaries are watching for signs of weakness, and American leadership and our country's long-term security are on the line, you don't vote down the bill because you weren't able to attach your partisan wish list to it. And you don't tie aid for allies you believe is vital—vital to their safety and security—to passing partisan nonstarters; you work to find consensus and get that aid across the finish line.

Now let's talk about that aid and the funding that is in this bill and why it is so crucial to pass it without delay.

First, this package extends essential support for our allies in Ukraine—something we have been discussing even longer than aid to Israel and have already been forced to delay too many times.

Ukraine has fought bravely to push back Putin's bloody invasion, and our support for their efforts has been indispensable, but it is now—right now—at a critical juncture. We are about to leave the tank empty while Putin continues his attacks. If you are stopping us from getting this done, you are choosing to leave Ukraine with fewer resources and put Russia in a stronger position. Those are just the plain facts of the matter. This is not hyperbole; that is the military reality on the ground.

Ukraine's success on the battlefield depends on its air defenses, and those defenses depend on U.S.-made interceptor missiles, which they will not get without this package. So if we don't get this done quickly, we will, as just one example, give Russia an opening to potentially destroy Ukrainian air defenses and achieve air superiority.