

Murray	Shaheen	Warnock
Ossoff	Sinema	Warren
Padilla	Smith	Welch
Peters	Stabenow	Whitehouse
Reed	Tester	Wyden
Rosen	Van Hollen	
Schatz	Warner	

NAYS—51

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Ms. CORTEZ MASTO). On this vote, the yeas are 49, the nays are 51.

Three-fifths of the Senators duly chosen and sworn not having voted in the affirmative, the motion is not agreed to.

The motion was rejected.

MOTION TO RECONSIDER

Mr. SCHUMER. Madam President, I enter a motion to reconsider.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The motion is entered.

Mr. SCHUMER. Madam President, tonight is a sad night in the history of the Senate and in our country. Republicans just blocked a very much needed proposal to send funding for Ukraine, funding for Israel, humanitarian aid for innocent civilians in Gaza, and funding for the Indo-Pacific.

If there is a word for what we most need now, it is to be “serious.” If Republicans in the Senate do not get serious very soon about a national security package, Vladimir Putin is going to walk right through Ukraine and right through Europe.

This is a historic moment for the Senate. Are we going to do something about the threats to democracy happening around the world? Are we going to hold the line against autocrats and dictators and the enemies of our way of life?

We had before the Senate a proposal not only for national security but one that included significant funding for border security that President Biden requested.

We also made our Republican colleagues an offer to get something done on border by allowing them to vote on an amendment on any border package they wanted—any one they wanted, and all they would need is 11 Democratic votes.

Unfortunately, Republicans refused to move forward, even with the offer to vote on a border amendment that would have required only 11 Democratic votes. They couldn’t come up with a solution.

Nevertheless, Democrats remain committed to working very hard to find a solution to this impasse. I understand that Republican negotiators are

preparing another package of border policies very soon, and I hope they come up with something serious instead of the extreme policies they presented thus far.

Democrats have always supported commonsense, realistic solutions to the border. We wished Republicans would have taken us up on our offer to have a debate on the floor. Our offer to the Republicans of an amendment still stands, and we hope we can break this impasse soon.

This is a serious moment that will have lasting consequences for the 21st century. If Ukraine falls, Putin will not stop there. He will be emboldened. President Xi will be emboldened. Our adversaries will keep undermining us at every turn. Western democracy will begin to enter an age of decline if we aren’t willing to defend it.

This Senate, this Republican Party, must get serious.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Washington.

Mrs. MURRAY. Madam President, the clock is ticking. Aid for our allies in Ukraine has run dry, and the whole world is now watching to see if the United States is still capable of standing by all of its allies in times of need.

There is a lot at stake here. Now is the time for choosing whether the United States will continue being a leader in the world and a champion for democracy. So I hope Senate Republicans think carefully about whether they truly want to abandon our allies in Ukraine over draconian, far-right immigration policies that will never become law or if they will work with us to stop conditioning this aid on partisan nonstarters and get this vital funding over the line.

If they can put forward a common-sense bipartisan proposal regarding the border, we will consider that. They had a real opportunity today to do just that and debate those policies here on the Senate floor.

But let’s be clear: We do not have time to give up and call it a day. We have too much at stake to settle for half steps that tell the world the United States no longer knows how to stand with its allies or stand up to dictators.

Votes matter. Blocking consideration of today’s supplemental sends a real and dangerous signal to the entire world—to our allies and our adversaries alike. But it is not too late for us to come together and send a different message, a message that says “America is united” when it comes to leading on the world stage and keeping our country and our friends safe.

Let’s talk to one another. Let’s understand that compromise has to happen. And let’s act quickly and completely to deliver the national security resources that are so badly needed. I am ready to get to work with my colleagues and do just that.

LEGISLATIVE SESSION

Mrs. MURRAY. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate resume legislative session.

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

The Senator from Kansas.

UNANIMOUS CONSENT REQUEST—H.R. 6126

Mr. MARSHALL. Madam President, twice before, Republicans have come to this floor to attempt to pass by unanimous consent the House-passed stand-alone aid package to Israel that would provide our ally with \$14 billion in military assistance for their fight to destroy the Hamas terrorists and send a loud message to Iran and its proxies.

I would like to yield the floor to the Senator from Florida.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Florida.

Mr. SCOTT of Florida. Madam President, I want to thank the Senator from Kansas for his continued effort to make sure we get Israel aid.

The United States must always stand with our great ally Israel and with the Jewish people. Israel is fighting against Iran-backed terrorists for its very existence.

Iran-backed Hamas terrorists have murdered thousands with the intention of destroying Israel and the Jewish people. Hamas terrorists have beheaded babies, burned them alive, raped and murdered young women.

We have seen the news reports of the sexual assaults committed by Hamas terrorists—all too graphic to speak of here, but here are some of the headlines.

ABC News: “New signs emerge of ‘widespread’ sexual crimes by Hamas, as Netanyahu alleges global indifference.”

The Washington Post: “Israel investigates an elusive, horrific enemy: Rape as a weapon of war.”

The Jewish Chronicle: “Hamas terror attack: Girls ‘raped next to their dead friends’ at rave massacre.”

We cannot turn a blind eye to these barbaric acts. The world must know what these animals did to innocent Jewish women and girls.

Just yesterday in the U.S. House of Representatives, the presidents of Harvard, MIT, and the University of Pennsylvania were asked, under oath, if calling for the genocide of Jews violates their university’s code of conduct or rules regarding bullying and harassment.

A simple yes-or-no question. Their response? They could not even answer yes.

We have to really let that sink in. They couldn’t say yes. The president of three Ivy League schools could not answer yes to that simple question.

It is clear that we need to use this moment to stand with Israel and the Jewish people.

The House took decisive action by passing this bill. They moved quickly, and the measure is fully paid for. This bill was blocked by the Democrats

once, but today the Senate can change that error and pass this bill right now. And I am proud to colead the companion bill in the Senate with the Senator from Kansas.

I yield the floor.

Mr. MARSHALL. Madam President, I would like to yield the floor to the senior Senator from Tennessee.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Tennessee is recognized.

Mrs. BLACKBURN. Madam President, I appreciate the opportunity to be on the floor this afternoon with my colleague from Kansas.

It is 2 months ago tomorrow that Hamas carried out these horrific attacks in Israel. Now, bear in mind that the Jewish State—and this is the world's only Jewish State—is in a fight for their very survival because Hamas has decided that they are going to continue this. They said October 7 was basically the beginning. And they continued to do this over and over and over.

Now, this is why we have said let's deal with the aid to Israel and do it separately from Ukraine and from Taiwan. And let's also talk about our border. So there is a reason for what we are doing.

Now, I know that my colleagues on the other side of the aisle do not want to have a pay-for. House Republicans have chosen to have the pay-for. And yes, indeed, this Chamber needs to be working with the House to fund a resolution to this issue. And I appreciate that my colleague from Washington brought up the fact that we need to work through this issue. Indeed, we do. So let's work through these issues separately.

When it comes to Israel aid, there are some urgent needs that are there. There is \$4 billion to replenish the Iron Dome. This is a wonderful technology that we have worked with Israel in creating. It is incredibly effective. They need \$4 billion for replenishment.

Bear in mind—I said Hamas has told us—they did it once; they are going to do this again.

They need \$1 billion for munitions. They need \$50 million for help to evacuate Americans, \$150 million to help secure our Embassy in Jerusalem.

And using the money that was set aside for additional IRS agents but has not been used—that makes sense to Tennesseans, that we would do that.

I tell you where Tennesseans do have a problem. They look at our national debt, \$34 trillion. That is about \$100,000 for every man, woman, and child.

I have a grandbaby who will be 4 months old tomorrow—his debt share, \$100,000.

Think about what we are doing. Think about what effect this will have 18, 19, 20 years from now, when that child draws their first paycheck, and how it is going to limit their opportunity.

Another thing that doesn't seem to make sense, while we all agree that Israel needs to receive their funding, Tennesseans don't want this to come

attached with billions of dollars for other programs, like \$10 billion for global humanitarian assistance and more than \$2 billion for assistance to resettle refugees.

This is something that separately needs our attention. If we want to talk about securing borders, let's secure our border first. When we talk about aid to Israel, let's do it, and let's pay for it.

I appreciate my colleague from Kansas.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Kansas.

Mr. MARSHALL. Madam President, I would like to yield some time to the senior Senator from Alabama.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Alabama.

Mr. TUBERVILLE. Madam President, I join my colleagues to support our ally Israel.

On October 7, Israel was suddenly and deliberately attacked by Hamas terrorists. The terrorists targeted innocent people, not military targets. That is very important. They killed thousands of civilians, including dozens of Americans. They filmed their own atrocities and put videos on the internet. They were very proud of what they were doing. It is absolutely disgraceful.

The United States has supported Israel from the very beginning. The first leader in the world to recognize Israel was Harry Truman. Administrations from both parties have strongly supported Israel, but now the Biden administration is trying to ride the fence.

Joe Biden knows that his voting base does not like it. The left dislikes Israel. In their woke ideology, they say Palestinians are oppressed by Israel. It is just not true.

Since the war broke out in October, liberals in Congress and around the country have expressed sympathy for Hamas. It has been especially bad on college campuses. I am not even going to repeat some of the things that have been said by Democrat Members of Congress.

Joe Biden has also continued to practice appeasement of Iran. When Joe Biden took office, Iran was dead broke. They had access to just a few billion dollars in foreign currencies. Today, they have 10 times that much money. This is because of loosened sanctions and because of oil sales by Iran.

Iran is the No. 1 sponsor of terrorism in the world. Iran provides funding for Hamas and for Hezbollah. Joe Biden is helping Iran to get rich. There is no question that sanctions relief for Iran will end up in the hands of terrorists. Joe Biden wants to ride the fence, but we can't ride the fence on this one, not for our ally.

This is a battle between good and evil. This is about an ally of the United States of America fighting terrorists who killed innocent women and children. And let's remember, the terrorists killed Americans too. Hamas would love to kill more Americans, and they will kill more Americans if they

get the chance. So Israel needs to wage a war of extermination against Hamas.

I am supporting this legislation to provide \$14 billion in aid to Israel. Unlike the Democrats' request for foreign aid, this is paid for. We pay for it by cancelling out the Democrats' plan to supersize the IRS.

Are they more important than Israel?

Last year, the Democrats cut the IRS a check for \$80 billion. Their plan is to hire 80,000 new IRS agents. They want to double the size of the IRS. They want to shake down the American people for every last dime.

The wealthy will be just fine. The wealthy have tax lawyers and accountants. It is families and small businesses that will pay this price. A report from the Joint Tax Committee said that the Democrats' bill last year raised taxes on almost every tax bracket.

So, last month, every Senator went on record on this bill to support Israel. Every Republican voted for it. Every Democrat voted against it.

Now, it is clear for all the American people to see who supports Israel. It is pretty simple. Who has other priorities? If the Democrats block this bill today, they are just doubling down.

Democrats care a lot more about the IRS—bureaucrats shaking down small businesses—than they do about supporting our ally Israel in their fight against terrorism. It is time for Democrats to stop riding the fence. Stop trying to play both sides, and let's support our ally, Israel and ensure that the terrorists are defeated.

I yield back to my colleague.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Kansas.

Mr. MARSHALL. Next, I would like to yield the floor to my good friend, a staunch supporter of the people of Israel, the senior Senator from Texas.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Texas.

Mr. CORNYN. Madam President, I am here on the floor to join my colleagues in support of Israel, and we are willing to do more than just speak those words. We are willing to do something about it—something that, miraculously, the majority leader has been unwilling to do since November 2, when the House passed a \$14.3 billion bill to provide aid to Israel.

And, for some reason, the only person who has the authority to bring a bill like that to the floor to vote has refused to do so. It makes me wonder why. Why in the world would the majority leader, who I know supports Israel, refuse to bring a bill to the floor to provide that aid? So far, it is almost 5 weeks since the House passed an appropriations bill to do exactly that.

Well, it could be that he doesn't like the pay-for, that he doesn't want us to quit adding to our national debt. But if that is the case, he could suggest another offset or pay-for. He could have tried to bring the bill to the floor and eliminate the pay-for that the House provided.

Frankly, I think it makes plenty of sense to keep the House pay-for in the bill so we don't add to our national debt, which is now about 100 percent of our economy. This last year alone, the United States Government paid over \$600 billion in interest to our bondholders who own our national debt. And, apparently, the majority leader and our Democratic colleagues want to add to that and not stop this march toward bankruptcy or insolvency.

So here we had a vote. The majority leader brings a bill to the floor to deal with Israel, Ukraine, the Indo-Pacific, and to provide more money to pay for the current broken border policies by the Biden administration.

You might wonder: Why would he bring that bill to the floor with those four pieces, those four components, but yet refuse to bring a bill to the floor to fund Israel?

You would think, well, at least it is a step in the direction he apparently wants to go. But the truth is that he is holding this Israel aid hostage to his desire to pass this other \$106 billion appropriations bill, this supplemental.

Now, don't get me wrong. Many of us support aid to Ukraine, but we also are going to insist on policy solutions to help prevent and stop and reverse what we see happening at our border, which is historically catastrophic.

So this is really a very strange way of doing business. Here we are, almost 5 weeks after the House passed an Israel aid bill. You would think, well, the majority leader would say: Let's pass that and send it to the President, and then we can focus on the rest of the bill that was on the floor this afternoon—Ukraine, the Indo-Pacific, and the border. But, apparently, he wants to use the support for the Israel aid to build the vote for the larger bill, understanding that, while support for Israel is virtually universal among both parties and in both Houses, there are some divisions on the Ukraine aid or the terms under which that aid is provided.

So it is clear to me that he is holding up aid for Israel in order to achieve other objectives. That is his prerogative as majority leader, but I have to ask to our pro-Israel supporters around the country whether they think this is a legitimate leverage that could be used in order to achieve a larger objective, or whether it would make more sense, if you truly are a supporter of Israel, to go ahead and get this to the President and to get that aid to Israel and then come back and do the rest of what I know the majority leader wants to do.

So the other part of this—which is amazing to me—is we know the Speaker passed the Israel aid because he knows he has concerns, and he doesn't know if he has the votes in the House to pass the larger package. So why would you not take up and pass the Israel aid as opposed to send the House this larger \$106 billion package when it is unlikely that the Speaker is going to be able to pass that, at least based on

his experience. Doesn't that also delay aid to Israel even more by packaging it with other items?

Frankly, it is mysterious to me why all this time—2 months after Israel was attacked by Hamas, 5 weeks after the House has passed an Israel aid bill—that, finally, here we are coming to the floor, offering to take up and pass the Israel aid, and we are going to get an objection from the Democratic side.

It is really mysterious to me. It is very puzzling. Why in the world would our Democratic colleagues, if they truly support Israel, if they truly want to fight—give Israel the tools they need to fight Hamas, a terrorist organization, bought and paid for by Tehran—why in the world would they object to it?

Well, Washington, DC, in many ways, is a parallel universe that is very much unlike any of the rest of the country. What makes sense here, inside the beltway, makes no sense to our constituents back home, and this is just another example of that.

So I applaud my colleague from Kansas for taking the initiative here and calling us together, and not just saying we support Israel but actually being willing to do something about it.

That is another phenomenon here in Washington, DC. There are a lot of people who say the right words, but, when it comes to actions, they are missing in action.

So I thank my colleague from Kansas.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Kansas.

MR. MARSHALL. Madam President, I sure appreciate the Senator from Texas speaking up and the wise words he shared. It reminds me of an old saying, that a bird in the hand is worth two in the bush, that funding Israel today is worth two of these other issues that seemingly just never can come together as we try to solve this four-headed riddle.

As I said earlier, this is now my third time to the floor to try to pass with unanimous consent the House-passed, stand-alone aid package to Israel that would provide our ally with \$14 billion in military assistance.

Now, my colleagues on the other side of the aisle stood on the Senate floor and debated with us and lectured us on why this bipartisan, House-passed legislation that maintains the exact spending levels requested by President Biden is somehow unreasonable. But I would like to share with you what I think is unreasonable. I think it is the Democrats' unwillingness to help our ally and separate this package to get it to the President's desk today. Unreasonable is my colleagues across the aisle using the crisis in Israel to secure more money for Ukraine. But what is unfathomable is what this body just admitted—that we are nowhere closer to getting this aid package passed than we were on October 7 when the war broke out.

In case nobody is paying attention, tomorrow will be 2 months to the day

that Hamas brutally and savagely attacked the people of Israel.

I think we need to be honest with the American people. Negotiations aren't just stalled; they never started. Meaningful negotiations never started. We have a better chance of finding an ocean in Kansas than this \$106 billion package seeing the light of day.

Today, every single Republican sent a unanimous message to the Democrat leadership and 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue: We will not be bullied into voting on massive spending packages that use Israel as leverage to fund Democrat priorities, and we will not vote for any legislation that secures foreign nations' borders but not our own.

So here we are once again offering an olive branch to separate this package out and address each of these issues one at a time. The House made this easy for us. They passed a bipartisan bill that would grant aid to Israel and allow us to break this logjam and focus on the more pressing matter to our national security: the border. The border. The border. The border.

Now, the Democrats showed their hands 2 weeks ago when they voted unanimously against our bipartisan, stand-alone Israel aid bill that would have fast-tracked this package straight to the President's desk before Thanksgiving. But, sadly, this city loves to make the perfect the enemy of the good.

The sensible thing for this body to do now is pass this bipartisan, stand-alone aid bill for Israel. This legislation passed the House over a month ago and could be delivered to President Biden's desk tonight. We should pass aid to Israel and then continue debating a potential broader package.

Now, I have never heard of an American asking for more IRS agents. And if you are concerned about the pay-fors we presented, as I said time and time again, show us another pay-for.

It is time to end the political talking points that we have heard on this floor.

And please don't insult our intelligence. Don't insult the intelligence of Americans with the fake border security that is in this bigger, broader package that will only accelerate asylum, leading to more people crossing our border illegally.

If you plan to object to this stand-alone bill's passage on the ground that military aid to Israel should include conditions, I want to note for the record that senior officials from the White House have said they are not pursuing such conditions.

So, indeed, let's come together. Let's all come to the table. We tried it your way, and it failed. This is a huge opportunity to secure a bipartisan win and get to work on the most immediate threat to our national security—our wide-open southern border.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the immediate consideration of H.R. 6126, which was received from the House. I further ask that the bill be considered

read a third time and passed and that the motion to reconsider be considered made and laid upon the table.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. OSBOURNE). Is there objection?

The Senator from Washington.

Mrs. MURRAY. Mr. President, reserving the right to object, I have been clear about why we must deliver support for Ukraine, Israel, and humanitarian assistance together, as have many of my colleagues. That is actually why we just attempted to move forward on one package that meets all of these needs—a package that Republicans blocked.

I spoke about this before the vote, but let me just reiterate how dire the situation is right now.

Our support for Ukraine has been essential, but it has also now been exhausted. Our allies are waiting for aid, and Putin is just waiting for us to send a sign that it is not coming. But Putin is not the only one watching right now. The world is watching this debate. Our allies want to know, when they are facing a crisis, can they count on America to stand with them or will we give up on them when it gets tough or when we get distracted with other crises? They are all watching and wondering, can America still lead or are we overwhelmed? Will America pick and choose which promises it keeps?

Let's not forget, it is not just big-name allies and adversaries we are talking about here; there are many smaller but no less important countries that are watching. Some are in critical regions, facing historic decisions about the paths and partnerships they will pursue in the years ahead, and they are wondering, is the United States a reliable partner? We have to put those concerns to rest with a strong package that shows that our commitment to our allies and to standing up to dictators is ironclad.

That is what is at stake here—not just our allies in Ukraine, who are at a key moment in their battle to protect their sovereignty, not just our deterrence to adversaries like Putin and other dictators who would trample democracy if given the chance, but our very credibility on the world stage.

We have to respond to all these crises or we are telling the world: Don't count on America. We are at capacity.

That is an incredibly dangerous message to send, especially at such a critical moment. It should be unthinkable.

I appreciate my colleague's urgency to get aid to Israel, but this is a deeply flawed way to deliver it. This bill would not provide a single dollar in desperately needed humanitarian assistance to civilians in Gaza and elsewhere, and it would not address the urgent need to extend funding for Ukraine.

There are civilians in Ukraine right now who are suffering and have been for months. There is also an enemy in Ukraine who is on the march and is just waiting for an opening to gain the upper hand.

We have been discussing the aid for our allies in Ukraine for much longer than aid for Israel, which is also urgently needed, and we have already been delayed here for too long. To force Ukraine to wait or to withhold future aid is to abandon an ally, surrender to a dictator, and invite more chaos around the world.

We cannot leave Ukraine behind, nor can we fail to deliver humanitarian assistance before the humanitarian crisis in Gaza devolves further into hopelessness that can worsen the threats we are already facing.

At this critical moment, it is not just the right thing to do, it is essential to our national security interests to help promote stability and security. That same logic applies to other investments as well, like supporting our allies in the Indo-Pacific. Invest in stability so we avoid paying for chaos.

We have to move quickly to respond to these challenges, yes, but we also have to move completely to respond to them because, as I have said before, they are all connected.

If we let the Israel-Hamas war weaken our resolve elsewhere, we are telling dictators across the world: The best way to get America off your back is for it to be distracted by a crisis somewhere else.

We are essentially giving Hamas and other extremists a new sales pitch to make when seeking support from bad actors: Give us support, and we will keep America busy. They can't deal with you if they are focused on us.

That is a profoundly dangerous message to send.

Putin is watching closely to see if this is his opportunity to make our resolve waiver in Ukraine. As it plots its next move, the Chinese Government is watching closely to see if we will stand up to aggressors. If we falter, other adversaries will take note as well. That is why doing half the job here is just not going to cut it. We have to do the whole job. Anything less is telling our allies that America cannot be trusted and telling dictators that they have free rein because America is too busy to lead right now.

We must not invite chaos. We must not abandon any of our allies. We have to show that U.S. leadership is strong and capable of meeting all the challenges before us.

So I urge Republicans to get serious about the situation before us so we can pass a package like the one we just voted on that shows the world that America takes its commitments seriously and doesn't just stand by some of its allies some of the time.

With that, I yield to Senator REED.

Mr. REED. Thank you, Senator MURRAY.

Mr. President?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator reserve the right to object?

Mr. REED. I would like to be recognized and reserve the right to object.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Rhode Island.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, just a few minutes ago, my Republican colleagues voted down the National Security and Border Act. In doing so, they essentially said no to supporting Israel, no to supporting Ukraine, no to supporting Taiwan, no to humanitarian assistance, which is absolutely critical, no to rebuilding our defense industrial base, no to border security funding, and no to combating fentanyl.

These items are not the partisan demands of any one party; they are bipartisan priorities and necessities. They are the fulfillment of our commitments to our allies and to our national security.

I believe the majority of our Republican colleagues do believe this, but some may see this as leverage—as one of my colleagues put it in a discussion, leverage for extreme immigration legislation that they don't at the moment have the votes to pass.

In delaying the much needed assistance that I indicated, my Republican colleagues are indirectly, directly, or however you want to put it, giving too many opportunities or at least ideas to people like Putin and Chinese communists and others who are engaged in trying to undermine democracy throughout the world.

Speaking for myself, I hope that what we can do is begin a serious debate now—not on the one issue that I listed but on all those issues—and come to a serious, principled compromise so that we can move forward together.

It seems that my colleagues on the other side simply want us to accept their version of immigration reform, and then everything else will be OK. It is not that at all. In fact, one of the aspects of the legislation that was just voted down was a significant infusion of resources into the border area—1,300 additional Border Patrol agents, 1,000 law enforcement personnel and investigative capabilities to prevent cartels from moving fentanyl into the country, 1,600 additional asylum officers, funding to conduct robust child labor investigations and enforcement to protect vulnerable migrant children entering the United States through the southern border, and the bipartisan FEND Off Fentanyl Act, led by our colleague, Senator TIM SCOTT of South Carolina.

My colleagues just voted against a series of important ways to fix our problems at the border. We need them desperately, and we could have gotten them if we had moved forward procedurally.

I have been here for a couple of years, and I have seen several occasions where we have been together on a bipartisan basis. I know in 2013, led by Senator McCain and others, we passed comprehensive immigration reform, only to see it set aside by the Republican House of Representatives at the time.

So we, I think, have to do much more, and we can, but it will be on a bipartisan, cooperative basis. We have to do much more to help not just Israel—

it is critical—but also Ukraine. It has been a long time since we have had their funding request—August of this year. They made a serious request for additional resources, anticipating the attrition they would suffer over the intervening months, long before the October 7 tragedy.

It has been more than 2 months since President Zelenskyy was here in person asking us all personally for the help he needed to lead his country forward. It was at that time that Senator McCANNELL correctly and sincerely indicated, in his words, “American support for Ukraine is not charity. It is in our own direct interests, not least because degrading Russia helps to deter China.” But the foot-dragging has continued since then.

Ukraine cannot wait. The OMB Director wrote earlier this week:

[W]ithout congressional action, by the end of the year we will run out of resources to produce more weapons and equipment for Ukraine and to provide equipment from U.S. military stocks.

There is no magical pot of funding available to meet this moment. We are out of money—and nearly out of time.

So without our help, the Ukrainian people will be in a very desperate situation. We need to help them. We need to help our allies in Israel. We need to help those in Taiwan, and we need to help the innocent victims of conflict throughout the world.

So this one-shot deal doesn’t cut it. We have to come together, work together, and deliver assistance to Ukraine, to Israel, to Taiwan, humanitarian aid, and aid for our borders.

With that, I will yield to Senator KLOBUCHAR.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Minnesota.

Ms. KLOBUCHAR. Mr. President, reserving the right to object, I rise today alongside my colleagues, Senators MURRAY, REED, SHAHEEN, SCHATZ, and HEINRICH to discuss the need to pass this supplemental funding package.

I spoke earlier today about the importance of humanitarian aid—humanitarian aid for the innocent civilians, Palestinian civilians in Gaza; humanitarian aid for people throughout the world. It is one major way that America has led through World War II and after, through the Cold War. Yes, we have led with our military strength, but we have also led by making friends and making sure people have what they need so they don’t starve. And so many of those countries have gone on to do great things, to be great countries, to be democracies, to work with us to be trading partners.

But, today, I am here to focus on Ukraine. We are at a pivotal point not just in American history but in the history of humanity. It is during moments like these that nations across the globe look to America for leadership. They expect our leadership.

Yes, our friends in Ukraine are counting on us, but so are so many other allies as they look to see what we

will do. This has never been America alone helping Ukraine. It has been all-in for many countries.

Early in the conflict, I traveled to Poland with a number of Senators—Democrats and Republicans—and it was right when one of the first major loss of life had occurred in Ukraine at a military training facility. And we happened to be at the entry point where families were fleeing—people in wheelchairs, little kids with backpacks with nothing but their stuffed animal in it. That is what I remember.

I remember the Polish people who had been invaded over the years by the Hapsburgs, by the Nazis, by the Russians, opening their arms to these Ukrainians, which they are still doing today—millions of refugees.

We have played a very important role in this conflict. We have surprised the world, and I am certain we surprised Russia. And the Ukrainians have surprised them with their incredible courage when everyone had counted them out. This scrappy force who had been at the frontline for years already in Donbas and other regions in Ukraine who, once again, went to the frontline.

We trained them. It is our equipment that has been so superior, as well as those from our allies in this fight. And what has happened? Well, since Vladimir Putin’s unprovoked and unlawful, unjustifiable invasion last February, our Ukrainian friends have reclaimed half of the territory that is rightfully theirs. Vladimir Putin tried to capture Kyiv, but he failed.

Senator PORTMAN and I, in the middle of the war, went and saw that airfield where the Russians had come down in parachutes thinking that the Ukrainians would just fold. They didn’t. They held their ground and they kept Kyiv.

Vladimir Putin tried to wipe Ukraine off the map, but he failed.

He tried to break the Ukrainian spirit, but he has made it stronger.

He tried to take them down in the middle of winter last winter by cutting off their electricity. He threatened the biggest nuclear plant, not only in Ukraine but in all of Europe. There is no limit to what they will do. He has shown his true colors: capturing cities, slaughtering innocents, abducting Ukrainian children. But the Ukrainian people have shown theirs: defending their democracy against all odds in brilliant blue and yellow; cellists playing their song and their national anthem on burned-out steps; ballerinas going to the frontline in camo; a videographer delivering medical supplies to Ukrainian troops; the DJ at the national call center using her platform to find missing loved ones. It is not just the troops on the frontline; it is the entire country. And they are watching to see what they are doing.

I met with the Ukrainian Ambassador today along with the Speaker of their House, along with their Defense Minister; and they are watching. The Russians are using everything that is

said in this Chamber, everything that is done, because they are trying to use it against the Ukrainians. They are trying to break their spirit, break their backbone, break the morale of their troops. Well, it is not working. But they are watching.

This is our moment. I think Leader McCANNELL put it best when he said—and I say this to our Republican colleagues when you think about the Iranian drones that were used by the Russians, when you think about the massacre in Israel and the fact that Hamas then went to Russia—a representative of this terrorist group went to Russia and met with leaders there:

Think of it as an axis of evil: China, Russia and Iran. So this is not just a test for Ukraine. It is a test for the United States and for the free world. And the path toward greater security for all of us is simple: Help Ukraine win the war.

Let us not forget what President Zelenskyy did in the hours immediately after the initial invasion, when everyone in the world—all those pundits that were at the Munich Security Conference that Senator SHAHEEN and I attended—people were counting him out. He did one incredibly brave thing followed by thousands of brave acts. He went to the street corner with just a few of his top advisors, and he stood there and looked at the camera and in the face of evil, in a statement of defiance, in a call to action to democracies everywhere, he said three simple words: “We are here.”

America heeded that call. Ukrainians heeded that call. And democracies all over the world united in every corner of the world, and we said: “We are here, too.”

The Ukrainian people have defended its nation against a tyrant, against one of the largest armies in the world. It is our moral obligation to stand by them. And talking to those leaders in the Baltic countries yesterday—Lithuania and Latvia and Estonia—they have been through this before. They have stood tall, but they know what the stakes are.

If we let this happen and we let Putin just march right in next month because we refused to help, he is not going to stop marching in their eyes because they have seen it before. We must ensure that democracy triumphs over autocracy; that humanity prevails over brutality; and that the spirit of Ukraine carries the day.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Mexico.

Mr. HEINRICH. Mr. President, reserving the right to object, I just want to make a point that we need a complete security package. All of these things are related, and all of them reinforce not only our allies and innocent civilians but also our own security and the future of the direction of the free world.

We are not going to turn our back on Ukraine. How many meetings did we

have via Zoom or actually in person with Zelenskyy where so many of our colleagues said we would always stand with Ukraine after all that Ukraine has been through. And I remember being in briefings where people were predicting that Ukraine would crumble in a matter of days. And they stood up to the Russian aggression and they continue to stand up to Russian aggression and they have actually pushed Russia back. That isn't just in Ukraine's interest. That is in the interest of the free world.

We need a security package that supports our allies in Israel, that supports the innocent civilians in Gaza that are also the victims of what Hamas has done. And we need a security package that stands with our allies in Ukraine.

Mr. President, I would offer the rest of my time to my colleague from Hawaii.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Hawaii.

Mr. SCHATZ. Mr. President, reserving the right to object. We are in a global fight against fascism and authoritarianism. We are seeing it in Putin's war in Ukraine, and we are seeing it with Hamas and the unspeakable horrors it committed on and since October 7. And we are seeing it with Xi Jinping's explicit desire to take Taiwan by force.

These people do not hide their true intentions. They telegraph them to the whole world; and, worse, they are willing to do whatever it takes. Nothing is off limits to them. And that is the seriousness of the global threat of an increasingly coordinated fascist movement. And so to address one of these problems but not the other, to somehow judge one threat to be greater than the other, to say we are going to fund Israel but not Ukraine, is wrong. It is wrong morally because evil is evil, no matter where it occurs. And it is wrong strategically because we have a direct national security interest whenever fascism rears its ugly head.

Take off your Ukraine lapel pins. Take back everything you said to President Zelenskyy.

We were in the House when he addressed us. Everyone was anxious to shake his hand and express support. We put it into our Twitter bios. We put on the little lapel pin. We had him in the Old Senate Chamber on a bipartisan basis.

Everybody is for Ukraine—unless it is hard. Everybody is for Ukraine—unless I can't get something unrelated on domestic policy.

Everybody is for Ukraine when it is popular, when it is the thing that just happened. But the moment Donald J. Trump wants to defund this war, a lot of people go: Oh, my God, maybe I am not so enthusiastic about this.

If you are for something, vote for the thing. There are a million other jobs out there where you can be for something and never be put to the test. I have an opinion. I am a guy at a bar. I am a person at a bus stop. It is Sunday

night dinner. I have an opinion. But in this job, the way to determine whether or not you are for something is not what you said before the vote, but it is how you voted. And if you are for Ukraine, you have to vote to help Ukraine to defend itself in a land war in Europe.

There is a land war in Europe. Vladimir Putin is trying to take Ukraine by force, and he might just do it if we abandon them. So, if you are for Ukraine, vote for Ukraine.

I would now like to yield to the senior Senator from New Hampshire, Senator SHAHEEN.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Hampshire.

Mrs. SHAHEEN. Mr. President, in reserving the right to object, I am pleased to be able to join my colleagues again on the floor of the Senate to support a supplemental funding request that recognizes the breadth of our national security interests in this country. That is a supplemental funding request that must include Ukraine, Israel, humanitarian needs, and the emerging challenges in the Indo-Pacific.

The horrific events of October 7—2 months ago tomorrow—was the worst terrorist attack that Israel has faced. We know that over 1,000 innocent Israelis were killed. It was barbaric. Now, both Ukraine and Israel face a similar threat against adversaries that seek to destroy them. A holistic national security supplemental bill is critical to protecting our interests—America's interests. We must pass an appropriations bill that supports our allies in Israel and Ukraine and that fully funds the other critical efforts that provide for our national security.

My colleagues have been very eloquent tonight, but I want to add to their explanations about why continued support for Ukraine is critical.

We should be proud that with strong bipartisan support, our country has stood with Ukraine since before the beginning of Russia's unprovoked invasion almost 2 years ago. We have done so with our NATO allies and our international partners, including South Korea and Japan, that recognize what is at stake even though they are a half a world away. Our allies and partners have contributed a total of \$94.1 billion to support Ukraine's war and recovery effort. That is more than the United States has contributed.

We had a chance earlier this afternoon in the Foreign Relations Committee to meet with the new Foreign Secretary, the former Prime Minister of Great Britain, David Cameron.

I asked him: How will Europe—how will our allies in Europe—view a decision by the U.S. Senate not to provide funding to help Ukraine wage this courageous war?

He said that it would have a dramatic impact in Europe, where we are seeing NATO stronger than he said he could remember in his lifetime because of coming together to support Ukraine

and to oppose Putin. He said it would send a message about future support for Ukraine that would have a huge impact as we think about the international order and our ability to keep dictators like Vladimir Putin and President Xi of China, like the Ayatollah in Iran, like North Korea—those dictatorships—from thinking they can invade any country they want to if they happen to be stronger.

Alongside our international partners, we recognize that the Ukrainian people are not only defending their land and freedom, they are fighting for the preservation of liberal democracies around the world.

What Senator MARSHALL is proposing strips out the essential funding that we need to address the threat posed by the Chinese Communist Party in the Indo-Pacific. It neglects the urgent and growing humanitarian needs for both Ukraine and the people in Gaza who are affected by this war. Failing to pass a national security package would embolden Putin, Iran, and the Chinese Communist Party. It would show our adversaries around the world that America is not up to the task of defending democracy and that we are not capable of standing by our friends for the long run.

I remember the outcry in this body when the United States pulled out of Afghanistan, and I have to say I opposed that effort. But what do we think the pulling of our support for Ukraine is going to say to the rest of the world?

We must be clear in sending an unequivocal message: America stands with our allies in the face of this kind of devastating attack that Vladimir Putin and Russia has made on Ukraine. To do that, we must pass a holistic funding package to underscore that America is not going to pick and choose when the United States stands on the side of freedom and democracy.

Our adversaries want the United States to fall short in standing up for its allies; they want us to be divided. We need to show them that we are not divided but that we are united.

When I am back in New Hampshire, my constituents continue to tell me that they support continuing to provide funding and help for Ukraine. We have a great humanitarian effort in New Hampshire called the Common Man for Ukraine that is headed up by a number of businesspeople. They provide supplies and support for the Ukrainian people and for kids. It is important that we fund a holistic response to address all of the issues that we are facing—Israel, Ukraine, the Indo-Pacific, humanitarian, and our southern border. And, yes, we should be able to come to a compromise on addressing border security.

The Democrats stand ready to work with our colleagues in the Senate. We can come up with a compromise. We can do this in a way that is in the United States' national security interests.

With that, I would like to turn the time over to Senator DURBIN.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority whip.

Mr. DURBIN. Mr. President, I thank Senator SHAHEEN.

In reserving the right to object, in 1978, before I was elected to Congress, I had the opportunity to take a trip to the Soviet Union and spend 3 weeks there. I saw a lot. In addition to the visits to Russia and Moscow, we visited countries like Lithuania, where my mother was born, and I witnessed firsthand the vision of Vladimir Putin and the Soviet Union.

Make no mistake, his goal is to restore the Soviet Union, to take vulnerable countries and to subsume them with his own ego and his own view of the world. To visit Lithuania and see what they had done to the freedoms that we just take for granted in America was an eye opener to me: to see the cathedral in Vilnius, with its beautiful frescos whitewashed by the Soviets because they didn't want people to practice religion; to realize that they controlled everything—radio stations, newspapers—and to realize that they dictated who would win an election. There was no freedom in that country.

That is the communist view. That is the Soviet view. That is the Vladimir Putin view. Are we in favor of that, Senator? I don't think so. I know you aren't personally, and you don't want to see that lifestyle imposed on people around the world any more than I do.

In Ukraine, they had the courage to stand up and say to Putin: We will fight you to the death to stop this from happening.

They have surprised a lot of people. I remember the briefing—the Senator from Kansas might have attended it—where we asked the intelligence experts: How long can Ukraine hold out when the Russian military machine comes marching in?

They said: A matter of days—days—maybe weeks, but not much more.

They were wrong. And do you know why they were wrong? Because they underestimated the Ukrainian people and what they were willing to do to protect their country.

I have a special, as they say, selfish interest in this because I know that if Putin is successful in Ukraine, if this war criminal has his way and takes over the Ukrainian country for his Soviet Union—his new Soviet Union—the next country on the list is probably Lithuania and the Baltics: Poland, Latvia, Estonia. They are obvious targets because they are small and vulnerable, but they do have the NATO alliance standing behind them.

So not only do I support the Ukrainian effort because of the courage of the people and their success and how much I abhor Vladimir Putin and his agenda, I also realize it is in America's best interest that Ukrainians prevail. It is in our best interest to stop Putin in Ukraine so that we don't have to use the NATO alliance to stop him in a country where we would be sending American troops to fight the battle. We

should stand foursquare behind Ukraine because it is the right thing to do, and it is the right thing for America.

Today, the Speaker of the Ukrainian Parliament came to my office, Mr. Stepanchuk, and he had a very simple message for me and the Senators who had gathered there: Without U.S. assistance, Ukraine will struggle and probably lose this war.

Oh, he reminded us that they would fight to the death, and I am sure they will if it comes down to that dire situation. It also reminded me that this is not just another political debate. What we are talking about is assistance to a country where people today are fighting and dying for their freedom, a country for which we promised support for over 2 years, a country we need to stand by.

Now you have asked us to support Israel. I will tell you this as well. Last week, many of us, on a bipartisan basis, watched videos from the October 7 invasion of the Hamas terrorists into Israel. It was horrifying. It was a terrible 40 minutes. I had to avert my eyes several times because I couldn't stand to look at the scenes of systemic rape, of attacks, murder. I will never forget those two little boys whose parents had just been killed outside the living room, sitting in their living room, saying: Are we going to die? It was these two little boys, and it was on tape. That was the reality of the atrocity of October 7.

Israel has the right to exist. Israel has the right to defend itself, and I stand behind Israel as most Americans do. I want to see their support. But please don't give us this "Sophie's Choice" of picking our favorite child to die. I don't want either Israel or Ukraine to die. I want them to have bright futures, and to have that, they need the United States now more than ever. Don't separate our loyalty. Our loyalty should be common and unified for both countries, Ukraine and Israel.

There are things we can say about humanitarian issues in the Gaza territories and what is happening there, but I am going to spare that for another day.

I will just say this: I stand behind Ukraine. I stand behind Israel. Don't separate them. Let's stand behind both of them because they are both consistent with the values of the United States.

I yield to the Senator from Washington.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Washington.

MRS. MURRAY. Mr. President, on behalf of all the Senators who spoke so eloquently and forcefully tonight, I object.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER. Objection is heard.

The Senator from Kansas.

Mr. MARSHALL. Mr. President, what we have brought forward tonight is a House-passed, stand-alone package of aid for Israel. We didn't bring for-

ward the entire security package, which already failed. We have tried that. It didn't work.

So many of my colleagues across the aisle, indeed, spoke eloquently in support of Ukraine as well as Israel. I think back to what my college track coach said.

He said:

Don't tell me. Show me.

So I am going to quote some words from the Democratic Party, and I want you to think about the words lining up with the actions. When people vote against the stand-alone aid for Israel, is that consistent with their own words?

This is Secretary Blinken on October 13:

No country can tolerate having a terrorist group come in, slaughter its people in the most unconscionable ways and live like that. What Israel is doing is not retaliation, it is defending the lives of its people.

Next is Secretary Austin on October 20:

So, make no mistake: The United States will make sure that Israel has what it needs to defend itself.

Next, President Biden on October 10:

So, in this moment, we must be crystal clear: We stand with Israel.

He says it again.

We stand with Israel, and we will make sure Israel has what it needs to take care of its citizens, defend itself, and respond to this attack.

Again, President Biden on 20 October:

In Israel, we must make sure that they have what they need to protect their people today and always.

Finally, the majority leader, the senior Senator from New York, on 15 November:

We will not rest until you get the assistance you need.

Folks, this is the opportunity. This is the time. This is the time to stand up for Israel, to make good on those pledges. I meticulously listened to my friends across the aisle and their arguments. What we are talking about today—what the bill is about today—is aid to Israel.

As I listened carefully to their objections, their objection with this particular bill was with the pay-fors, and I respect that. The second objection was that they wanted more humanitarian assistance to Hamas and the people of Gaza as well, and I respect that as well.

So bring us that bill—that stand-alone bill—that includes what you think is appropriate for a pay-for and what type of humanitarian assistance you want to make sure Hamas gets as well.

But the real argument—the real argument made tonight—was to use Israel as a tool, to use it as a lever to fund Ukraine. And, again, I listened carefully. I tried to count how many times my friends across the aisle said "Ukraine" or "Putin," and I stopped when I got to over 50. Israel was mentioned less than 10 times. They talked

about their national security package—their supplemental package—and they really should call it the “lovefest for Ukraine” package.

I respect where they are coming from. I think it is how and how much and when do we give the people of Ukraine right now in a situation that has been a stalemate for a year—really, no progress made for a year.

Two hundred thousand people have died in that war and 500,000 casualties. There is no end in sight. This looks to me like a 7- or 10-year war. It looks like it is Vietnam all over again.

I remember the early days of Vietnam, when there were a few people saying: Slow down. Let's stop. There are too many people who are dying in this situation right now.

Let's have that debate. Let's pull Ukraine out, and let's have that debate.

I honestly believe, if we would have passed this Israel package a month ago and then worked on a Ukraine package starting then, we would have a Ukraine package done.

What I wish is that my friends across the aisle were as passionate, though, about the security of our own southern border as about the lines of another country—the property lines of another country, their boundaries.

I think I heard my friends across the aisle talk about the border maybe four or five times. The No. 1 national security threat—the most immediate national security threat to Americans—is our open southern border. Do we have to repeat the numbers? Ten million people have crossed the border illegally in the past 3 years, 1.7 million “got-aways,” 70,000 aliens of interest, hundreds of known terrorists.

All the lights are blinking red right now. All the lights are blinking red. That is what Director Wray said, yesterday, up here on the Hill, that on terrorist threats, all the lights are blinking red. And why wouldn't they, with these 1.7 million “got-aways” throughout the country doing who knows what?

If my friends across the aisle are serious about a national security supplemental package, it starts with meaningful security at the southern border—meaningful security, not a process that actually promotes more people crossing the border.

It has to include something that impacts asylum and parole. It has to literally secure the border, I think, even to begin this next debate. America needs to get its own house in order before we can help fix other people's houses.

I understand the needs across this world are many. And my compassion, my heart, whether it is for the people of Ukraine, the people of Israel—I share those same compassions, but we just can't keep throwing good money after bad money. We have to have people with accountability. We have to make sure that there is a goal—that there is a goal that we can win.

So, at the end of the day, the most prudent thing for this body to do would be to pass this standalone aid for Israel. Take it off the chess board. Let's get that one done. But, instead, my friends across the aisle want to use it as a political tool, a tool to leverage their funding for Ukraine. Let's have that discussion separately.

I think it is time that this body do what we say we want to do. Let's not rest until we get this assistance to Israel.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Hawaii.

Mr. SCHATZ. Mr. President, a couple of hours ago, Republicans voted down the motion to even begin debating the national security supplemental appropriations bill. They claim to support Israel and Ukraine, but, when it came time to act, they voted no.

But let's be clear about one thing: Every part of this bill is essential for America's national security.

We have two wars raging and a number of other threats brewing around the world, and this funding for our allies and our partners could not be more urgent. It is the difference between having the weapons to fight terrorists and authoritarians or not, having food and water for civilians caught in conflicts or not, having the defense systems to deter China from meddling in Taiwan or not.

Our friends are counting on us to help them, and our adversaries are counting on us being too divided to do even the most basic task.

America remains the indispensable Nation. It is the leader of the free world. It is the Nation that other countries, big and small, look to in good times and in bad, and it is a responsibility that we have never shirked away from. And now is not the time to start. Now is not the time to turn our backs on Israel, on innocent Palestinians in Gaza, on Ukraine, on Taiwan, or on any of our other allies and partners around the world.

We are fighting an increasingly linked global fascist movement, and it is directly tied to our security interests. So we ought to act like it and pass this supplemental to keep our adversaries and competitors from redrawing the world as they wish, at the point of a gun.

So let's start with Israel. There has been a lot of talk on both sides of the aisle about the merits of conditioning aid, as if it is a novel or unusual concept, except that it is not. The idea that having requirements under Federal law for any Federal appropriations, that that is somehow amounting to abandoning our ally or a break from the norms is belied by history.

Whenever we approve Federal spending, whether it is for HUD for public housing or the Federal Highway Administration for repairs or the Department of the Interior for parks, we require detailed plans on exactly how the money will be used, and we expect to

receive some sort of reporting on it afterward. It is also standard practice for our own Defense Department and aid to other allies, which we routinely scrutinize.

So it should be no different for Israel and the IDF or Ukraine—and in a hot war, no less. There are millions of innocent lives caught in the crossfire, and we have every reason to make sure that Israel is using the weapons that we provide, funded by our own taxpayer dollars, in a manner that is consistent with international humanitarian laws and American values. That is taking every step possible to minimize civilian casualties.

In many ways, the debate around conditioning aid is emblematic of the wider one around Israel and Palestine, which has become so hostile and so binary that people aren't even open to hearing the other side. It is near impossible to have a dialogue when all people are interested in is throwing rhetorical barbs and attacking the other side.

If you condemn Hamas's unspeakable brutality on October 7 and hold it accountable for the death and bloodshed on that day and in the days since, then you are supposedly excusing the conditions under the blockade or you are accused of turning a blind eye to settler violence before and since October 7.

If you question the manner in which Israel is waging war and the carnage and suffering the war has wrought on innocent lives, including children and babies, you are suddenly not sufficiently pro-Israel.

If you call out the fact that anti-Semitism is on the rise here in the United States and around the world, that it is one of the oldest sicknesses and a scourge that must be addressed, then somehow you are indifferent to Islamophobia or the suffering of Palestinians.

No, I know anti-Muslim and anti-Arab hatred are alive and well, too, and believe that they must be rooted out with equal force. And my heart breaks for the countless innocent lives being lost in Gaza daily.

All of these things are true at the same time. They are in tension with each other, yes, but not in contradiction. There is an awfully messy and deeply, deeply contested history underpinning this conflict. So to strip away all that context and flatten all these complexities into a 15-second TikTok is a disservice to the Palestinian and Israeli causes alike.

There are no simple and straightforward paths to peace here, but if we can't engage without first holding purity tests, if we can't acknowledge two things to be true at the same time, if we can't recognize each other's humanity, then we are not going to be able to build a just and lasting peace in the region.

Almost everybody believes Hamas is terrible and should be eliminated. They want the hostages who were cruelly abducted and have spent 2 agonizing

months in captivity to be immediately released. They are appalled by reports of Hamas's sexual violence against women and the drugging of hostages. And they believe Israel has a legitimate right and responsibility to go after the bad guys. The question is how.

People are increasingly and understandably alarmed at the scale of human suffering and the high rate of civilian casualties in Gaza. It is our job, as Israel's closest ally, to convey that truth and to make clear that mass suffering actively undermines the possibility of a future peace. A whole new generation will be radicalized watching scores of loved ones die and entire neighborhoods leveled. That is in no one's interest.

So our responsibility in the current moment is twofold: to provide Israel with military aid, which I have consistently supported and I will continue to support, but it is equally important to provide moral clarity and strategic counsel when actions cross a line.

We do both of these things because we care. We also have an obligation to look at the future because, whether it is 10 months from now or 10 years from now, these two peoples need a way to live in relative peace and stability side by side—if not as friends, then as neighbors.

Palestinians, like Israelis, deserve a legitimate, representative, and democratically elected government, and the only viable path to achieving that is through a two-state solution. It is the only way to guarantee a safe home for the Jewish people in Israel, and it is the only way to ensure Palestinians have a secure state of their own. A solution that does not recognize the humanity of both Israelis and Palestinians is not just, and a solution that does not give both peoples the condition to prosper without fear of violence will not last.

Let's talk about the other part of this supplemental—Ukraine, which is, unfortunately, also all too familiar with battles over sovereignty and coexistence.

Ukrainians have spent almost 2 years fighting against Putin for their very survival. And, make no mistake, Russia's failure to capture Ukraine so far is in no small part due to America's support and our leading role in rallying the world to stand up to Putin's aggression. We know that President Zelenskyy knows that and, crucially, Putin knows that. In fact, not long ago, he crowed that Ukraine wouldn't last a week—wouldn't last a week—without help from the West.

So the consequences of failure to support Ukraine are not theoretical. They are dire, and they are dangerous. Ukraine, as we speak, is running out of bullets and other munitions. Already, our shipments have been diminishing in scope and frequency, as existing aid runs low, and it will be completely exhausted in a matter of weeks or months. Heading into the winter, the

lack of additional assistance is likely to prove catastrophic.

But some of my Republican colleagues here are willing to undermine the free world. I don't say this lightly. I like a lot of them. But they are willing to undermine the free world and let Putin win because they want hard-line immigration and border policy.

Democrats have demonstrated a willingness to stretch here. Democrats—and I was texting some of the Republican colleagues with whom I work very closely, and I said: Look, we are already two-thirds of the way. We can't go all the way to your position. We cannot enact a bipartisan bill if it is a partisan bill. But the idea that, if we don't concede on a wholly unrelated matter, then Putin wins in a land war in Europe? Are we really doing this?

And I want to just say one thing to my friends in the media—and God bless them. God bless the fourth estate for all they do, but I am also entitled to offer a constructive criticism: Stop pretending this is normal.

(Ms. HASSAN assumed the Chair.)

Stop pretending it is acceptable to take a major foreign policy issue—this is a land war in Europe. Vladimir Putin just decided to try to take a country by force. And what they say is: Well, we don't support that. We support Ukraine, but we see that we have leverage.

By the way, this is not a rhetorical flourish of mine. Senator CORNYN said this 2 days ago. This is not a negotiation, is what he said. This is the price you have to pay. This is the price you Democrats have to pay.

What are we doing here? This is a foreign policy supplemental. We are supposed to be for these things.

I could have woken up one morning and said: You know what, if we don't enact my climate policies—which I feel urgently passionate about—then I am a “no” on Ukraine because I know I have leverage and they need every vote.

The reason I won't do that is I am not bananas. I am a responsible legislator, and I know that is not the way you do things.

The idea—I have never seen this before. I have only been here 11 years. I am sure there is some historical precedent for it, but not recently have we tied a foreign policy objective to an unrelated domestic policy objective.

What they will say is: Look, it is all security.

Oh, come on. I understand the passion there is on the border. I understand the problem there is on the border. But it is not a foreign policy question, and the idea that we are going to let Ukraine get taken—Kyiv will be in Russian control because we couldn't make a border deal? We haven't been able to make a border deal for—well, since I have been here for sure and then 5 years prior to that. That stuff is hard. You don't take literally the most difficult issue that I can think of in the Congress to forge a bipartisan consensus and say: If we don't get it, then, I am sorry, Kyiv is just going to fall.

That is no way to run a railroad. That is no way to be the indispensable Nation.

You walk into any global convening—and I remember—I am looking at the Presiding Officer. I am sure the Presiding Officer has had this experience. You are a Governor, and everybody wants to know what you think, but when you are a Senator, you are not sure if people are going to be as interested in what you think.

When you travel abroad, even when I was an appointed freshman Senator, people are hanging on your every word—not as a head of state but just as a representative of the U.S. Government. We remain the indispensable Nation. Everyone wants to know what we are going to do. Everyone wants to know what we think. They want to know what we are funding. They want to know what our priorities are. So we cannot forfeit that global leadership because we are fighting about something else.

Now, again, Democrats have demonstrated by their negotiations, by all of our public pronouncement, that we are willing to stretch a little bit on this because it is that important. But it would be a hell of a thing for us to allow Vladimir Putin to win because we are too busy in a partisan battle about something totally unrelated.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Hawaii.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

EXECUTIVE CALENDAR

Mr. SCHATZ. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to executive session and the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations be discharged from further consideration of PN802, Jamie Fly to be a Member of the International Broadcasting Advisory Board, and the Senate proceed to the consideration of the following nominations: PN802 and Calendar Nos. 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, and 164, and vote without intervening action or debate, en bloc; that, if confirmed, the motions to reconsider be considered made and laid upon the table with no intervening action or debate and the President be immediately notified of the Senate's action.

There being no objection, the committee was discharged, and the Senate proceeded to consider the nominations en bloc.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is, Will the Senate advise and consent to the en bloc nominations of Jamie Fly, of Virginia, to be a Member of the International Broadcasting Advisory Board for a term expiring January 1, 2027, (New Position); Kathleen Cunningham Matthews, of Maryland, to be a Member of the International Broadcasting Advisory Board for a term expiring January 1, 2027, (New Position); Jeffrey Gedmin, of the District