

months, navigating difficult policy positions, working carefully to get it right.

After months of tireless negotiations, we delivered a strong product. We produced a bill many thought impossible. We ended catch-and-release. We added more detention beds. We increased deportation flights. We quickly decided asylum claims, and we put Border Patrol back in the field where they belong—securing the border, not stuck inside processing paperwork.

Yet, less than 24 hours after we released the bill, my Republican colleagues blocked it, despite the fact that this is the most restrictive migrant legislation in decades.

My Democratic colleagues blamed Republican political theater for blocking action. So did I. They were right.

I spoke here on the Senate floor twice in defense of our legislation. It turns out that my Republican colleagues were all talk and no action.

Today, though, my Democratic colleagues have chosen more political theater instead of real efforts to solve this crisis.

All talk and no actions goes both ways. Today, the Senate will hold a show vote whose sole purpose is to point the finger back at the other party—yet another cynical political game.

These games demonstrate exactly why Americans have lost faith in their elected leaders: a Congress bickering and fighting for power instead of solving problems and making progress—any kind of progress—for regular people. Today's vote is not an attempt to solve the problem or provide relief to Arizona border communities. Today's vote is to send a message.

But Arizona doesn't need your message. Arizona needs your help. Arizona needs action.

These games of tit for tat, caving to the political messaging game, force both parties further to the fringes and further away from real solutions. Today, the Senate is proving what many Americans already think about Congress: that Senators come here for political games, not to deliver results.

Today's vote won't deliver lasting results for Americans, but the impact of today's vote is actually worse than simply being a useless message, because this vote does send an important message, but it is a message to us as lawmakers.

I have often asked my colleagues in the interest of our Nation to step out of partisan boxes and work with me to find real solutions to real problems. We have done it time and time again. This time it didn't work.

Nearly 4 months later, I am still deeply disappointed that we didn't solve the border crisis for my State and for our country. But to use this failure as a political punching bag only punishes those who were courageous enough to do the hard work of finding compromise in the first place.

So who will be courageous next time? Who will stand up and do the hard

work? Who will take the risks? Who will say: Yes, I will help solve this big challenge our country faces. Why would anyone?

We don't leave today with a political victory. No one wins. No one gets the higher grounds. Instead, we are saying to each other: Don't step out. Don't try to solve big problems. Stay in your partisan corner. Yell some more. Blame the other side.

Today, yet again, the Senate has chosen politics, but my State is still suffering. As I said on the floor back on February 7, if you want to spin the border crisis for your own political agendas, go right ahead. If you want to continue to use the southern border as a backdrop for your political campaign, that is fine; good luck to you. But I have a very clear message for anyone using the southern border for staged political events: Don't come to Arizona for your political theater. Do not bring it to my State.

In Arizona, we are serious. We don't have time for your political games. There are big challenges facing the Senate and our country, and evidently this is not a Senate interested in solving those challenges. Americans deserve better.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Ms. BUTLER). The Senator from Connecticut.

Mr. MURPHY. Madam President, I am deeply grateful to Senator SINEMA, Senator LANKFORD, Senator MCCONNELL, Senator SCHUMER, and others who worked with us over the course of 4 months to craft this landmark, unprecedented, bipartisan border security bill that, if enacted, would take the biggest step that we have taken in decades to bring order to our southwest border. It would give a shot of confidence to our constituents that we can find agreement on even the toughest of issues.

I may be coming to a slightly different conclusion, though, on the reason that we are here today than my very good friend Senator SINEMA and my great friend Senator LANKFORD.

I think one of the most important, enduring values in politics is the value of persistence. If you believe something is important, you don't give up the first time.

We worked very hard to achieve this compromise. It is a good-faith compromise. You will see that it is a compromise because there will be Democratic Members who will vote against it today.

We solved some big problems in this bill—reducing the amount of time it takes to process an asylum claim from 10 years down to a handful of weeks or months, giving the President new powers to shut down the border when crossings get too high, giving new legal rights to migrants, allowing for more visas so that folks can come to the United States in a planned way to work or to be reunited with families.

I think that compromise was so important that we shouldn't give up after

failing once. I think the American people have told us that solving the problem at the border is so important that we shouldn't put away that compromise simply because the first time, politics won out.

Maybe I am naive, but I had some degree of hope, some degree of faith that maybe the second time we could come together and vote to proceed to a debate, because, remember, that is all this vote is—not a vote on final passage, a vote to bring this bill before the Senate, to litigate the outstanding issues that Republicans may have about the reforms in this bill.

So I deeply appreciate all of the work that Senator LANKFORD and Senator SINEMA did that went into this bill. I just come to a slightly different conclusion. This does not make me less eager to engage in bipartisan compromise in the future. This doesn't dissuade me from trying to reach future compromises.

Frankly, I think our decision to not give up when we have reached this really important product—I think it may, frankly, put wind behind the wings of those in the future who decide to do something really important on something big and work across the aisle to get it done.

We have a chance right now to come together, to put politics and campaigns aside, to vote to proceed on this landmark bipartisan border security reform bill, and I hope my colleagues do it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority leader.

Mr. SCHUMER. Madam President, I will be very brief.

For years, we have heard that if you want to fix the border, then Congress needs to act. Today, we have a chance to act on the strongest border bill Congress has seen in generations.

To those who have said for years that Congress needs to act on the border, this bipartisan bill is the answer, and it is time to show we are serious about fixing the problem.

It is our chance to hire more Border Patrol agents and asylum officers and immigration judges. It is a chance to stop the flow of fentanyl and give law enforcement the tools they need to scan 100 percent of what is coming into the country. It is our chance to give the President emergency powers to close the border, to update asylum laws, and improve vetting. It is a chance to show the American people we are listening, we are acting, we can still reach across the aisle and work on one of the most vexing problems facing the Nation.

I implore my colleagues, do not let this moment pass.

I yield the floor.

QUORUM CALL

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Pursuant to rule XXII, the Chair now directs the clerk to call the roll to ascertain the presence of a quorum.

Mr. SCHUMER. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent to waive the quorum call.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there an objection?

Without objection, it is so ordered.

CLOTURE MOTION

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Pursuant to rule XXII, the Chair lays before the Senate the pending cloture motion, which the clerk will state.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

CLOTURE MOTION

We, the undersigned Senators, in accordance with the provisions of rule XXII of the Standing Rules of the Senate, do hereby move to bring to a close debate on the motion to proceed to Calendar No. 397, S. 4361, a bill making emergency supplemental appropriations for border security and combatting fentanyl for the fiscal year ending September 30, 2024, and for other purposes.

Charles E. Schumer, Christopher Murphy, Richard J. Durbin, Tammy Duckworth, Tammy Baldwin, Catherine Cortez Masto, Brian Schatz, Mark R. Warner, Kirsten E. Gillibrand, Debbie Stabenow, Gary C. Peters, Margaret Wood Hassan, Jeanne Shaheen, Angus S. King, Jr., Benjamin L. Cardin, Christopher A. Coons, John W. Hickenlooper, Jack Reed.

The question is, is it the sense of the Senate that debate on the motion to proceed to S. 4361, a bill making emergency supplemental appropriations for border security and combatting fentanyl for the fiscal year ending September 30, 2024, and for other purposes, shall be brought to a close?

The yeas and nays are mandatory under the rule.

The clerk will call the roll.

The senior assistant legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. DURBIN. I announce that the Senator from West Virginia (Mr. MANCHIN), the Senator from New Jersey (Mr. MENENDEZ), and the Senator from Massachusetts (Ms. WARREN) are necessarily absent.

Mr. THUNE. The following Senators are necessarily absent: the Senator from Tennessee (Mr. HAGERTY), the Senator from Oklahoma (Mr. MULLIN), the Senator from Nebraska (Mr. RICKETTS), and the Senator from South Carolina (Mr. SCOTT).

The yeas and nays resulted—yeas 43, nays 50, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 182 Ex.]

YEAS—43

| | | |
|--------------|--------------|------------|
| Baldwin | Heinrich | Rosen |
| Bennet | Hickenlooper | Schatz |
| Blumenthal | Hirono | Schumer |
| Brown | Kaine | Shaheen |
| Cantwell | Kelly | Smith |
| Cardin | King | Stabenow |
| Carper | Klobuchar | Tester |
| Casey | Lujan | Van Hollen |
| Coons | Merkley | Warner |
| Cortez Masto | Murkowski | Warnock |
| Duckworth | Murphy | Welch |
| Durbin | Murray | Whitehouse |
| Fetterman | Ossoff | Wyden |
| Gillibrand | Peters | |
| Hassan | Reed | |

NAYS—50

| | | |
|-----------|---------|---------|
| Barrasso | Britt | Collins |
| Blackburn | Budd | Cornyn |
| Booker | Butler | Cotton |
| Boozman | Capito | Cramer |
| Braun | Cassidy | Crapo |

| | | |
|------------|-----------|------------|
| Cruz | Lee | Sanders |
| Daines | Lummis | Schmitt |
| Ernst | Markey | Scott (FL) |
| Fischer | Marshall | Sinema |
| Graham | McConnell | Sullivan |
| Grassley | Moran | Thune |
| Hawley | Padilla | Tillis |
| Hoeven | Paul | Tuberville |
| Hyde-Smith | Risch | Vance |
| Johnson | Romney | Wicker |
| Kennedy | Rounds | Young |
| Lankford | Rubio | |

NOT VOTING—7

| | | |
|----------|------------|--------|
| Hagerty | Mullin | Warren |
| Manchin | Ricketts | |
| Menendez | Scott (SC) | |

The PRESIDING OFFICER. On this vote, the yeas are 43, the nays are 50.

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

The motion was rejected.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority leader.

LEGISLATIVE SESSION

Mr. SCHUMER. Madam President, I move to proceed to legislative session.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion. The motion was agreed to.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

EXECUTIVE CALENDAR

Mr. SCHUMER. Madam President, I move to proceed to executive session to consider Calendar No. 647.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion. The motion was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the nomination.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read the nomination of Christopher T. Hanson, of Michigan, to be a Member of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission for the term of five years expiring June 30, 2029. (Reappointment).

CLOTURE MOTION

Mr. SCHUMER. Madam President, I send a cloture motion to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The cloture motion having been presented under rule XXII, the Chair directs the clerk to read the motion.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

CLOTURE MOTION

We, the undersigned Senators, in accordance with the provisions of rule XXII of the Standing Rules of the Senate, do hereby move to bring to a close debate on the nomination of Executive Calendar No. 647, Christopher T. Hanson, of Michigan, to be a Member of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission for the term of five years expiring June 30, 2029. (Reappointment)

Charles E. Schumer, Thomas R. Carper, Laphonza R. Butler, Sheldon Whitehouse, Alex Padilla, Brian Schatz, Debbie Stabenow, John W. Hickenlooper, Patty Murray, Tina Smith, Tammy Baldwin, Tammy Duckworth, Christopher Murphy, Jack Reed, Richard J. Durbin, Angus S. King, Jr., Gary C. Peters.

LEGISLATIVE SESSION

Mr. SCHUMER. Madam President, I move to proceed to legislative session.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion. The motion was agreed to.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

EXECUTIVE CALENDAR

Mr. SCHUMER. Madam President, I move to proceed to executive session to consider Calendar No. 507.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion. The motion was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the nomination.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read the nomination of Tanya Monique Jones Bosier, of the District of Columbia, to be an Associate Judge of the Superior Court of the District of Columbia for the term of fifteen years.

CLOTURE MOTION

Mr. SCHUMER. Madam President, I send a cloture motion to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The cloture motion having been presented under rule XXII, the Chair directs the clerk to read the motion.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

CLOTURE MOTION

We, the undersigned Senators, in accordance with the provisions of rule XXII of the Standing Rules of the Senate, do hereby move to bring to a close debate on the nomination of Executive Calendar No. 507, Tanya Monique Jones Bosier, of the District of Columbia, to be an Associate Judge of the Superior Court of the District of Columbia for the term of fifteen years.

Charles E. Schumer, Gary C. Peters, Jeanne Shaheen, John W. Hickenlooper, Alex Padilla, Richard J. Durbin, Amy Klobuchar, Jack Reed, Tina Smith, Richard Blumenthal, Tammy Duckworth, Robert P. Casey, Jr., Catherine Cortez Masto, Margaret Wood Hassan, Peter Welch, Sheldon Whitehouse, Raphael G. Warnock.

LEGISLATIVE SESSION

Mr. SCHUMER. Madam President, I move to proceed to legislative session.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion. The motion was agreed to.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

EXECUTIVE CALENDAR

Mr. SCHUMER. Madam President, I move to proceed to executive session to consider Calendar No. 511.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion. The motion was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the nomination.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read the nomination of Judith E. Pipe, of the District of Columbia, to be an