

Maybe I am a sucker. Maybe I should be mad at myself, but, yes, I believed that there were enough Senate Republicans of good faith who would actually support Senator LANKFORD's sincere efforts to work to achieve a bipartisan fix, but I was wrong.

Senator LANKFORD doesn't matter. What his colleagues have put him through is unforgiveable. Senator MCCONNELL doesn't matter. The migrants and regular Americans who are getting screwed by a broken immigration system and a broken border don't matter. There is only one person who matters to Republicans, and his name is Donald Trump.

Donald Trump made it clear last month. He told Republicans they should oppose any bipartisan bill to fix the border, and he meant it. To Trump it didn't matter at all what the policy, what the substance was. His only advice was kill any bipartisan bill. Why? Because President Trump wants to win an election, and if the border is fixed by a bipartisan bill, then that hurts his reelection chances.

Trump wants chaos at the border because it helps him personally. He asked Republicans to back him, and nearly every single Senator did exactly that less than 48 hours after introduction of this bill.

This country should be outraged. Regular people out there don't think this is a game. They don't think that the only thing that matters is Donald Trump's election odds. They do think the border is broken.

They have spent the last 40 years hearing about how the border is a problem, but they don't see any action from Congress. They are sick of this, and they want the two parties to come together to fix the problem. And they are going to be furious to find out that when Republicans here had the chance to support a bipartisan bill that they requested, that they asked for, almost every single Senate Republican opposed that bill because Donald Trump wants to keep the chaos.

There used to be a difference between House Republicans and Senate Republicans. I used to explain this fact to my constituents all the time. I defended my Senate Republican colleagues. I explained how Trump doesn't control the Senate Republican caucus like he controls the House, but I don't think that is true any longer.

I think this conference is just as big a mess as the conference in the House. And that is terrible for the border, which will remain a wreck because Republicans have just chosen to keep it that way. That is terrible for Ukraine, which will soon be overrun by Russia because Republicans have chosen to leave it undefended.

And that is terrible for America because the one group of Republicans who used to be able to exercise original thought and independent judgment now just seems to be another subsidiary of the Trump campaign.

I yield the floor.

## RECESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate stands in recess until 2:15 p.m.

Thereupon, the Senate, at 12:56 p.m., recessed until 2:15 p.m. and reassembled when called to order by the Presiding Officer (Mr. LUJÁN).

## EXECUTIVE CALENDAR—Continued

### VOTE ON CAMPBELL NOMINATION

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the question is, Will the Senate advise and consent to the Campbell nomination?

Ms. WARREN. I ask for the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

There appears to be a sufficient second.

The clerk will call the roll.

The senior assistant legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. THUNE. The following Senators are necessarily absent: the Senator from Wyoming (Mr. BARRASSO), the Senator from Indiana (Mr. BRAUN), and the Senator from Wyoming (Ms. LUMMIS).

The result was announced—yeas 92, nays 5, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 36 Ex.]

### YEAS—92

Baldwin	Graham	Paul
Bennet	Grassley	Peters
Blackburn	Hagerty	Reed
Blumenthal	Hassan	Ricketts
Booker	Heinrich	Risch
Boozman	Hickenlooper	Romney
Britt	Hirono	Rosen
Brown	Hoeven	Rounds
Budd	Hyde-Smith	Rubio
Butler	Johnson	Schatz
Cantwell	Kaine	Schmitt
Capito	Kelly	Schumer
Cardin	Kennedy	Scott (SC)
Carper	King	Shaheen
Casey	Klobuchar	Sinema
Cassidy	Lankford	Smith
Collins	Lee	Stabenow
Coons	Luján	Sullivan
Cornyn	Manchin	Tester
Cortez Masto	Markey	Thune
Cotton	Marshall	Tillis
Cramer	McConnell	Van Hollen
Crapo	Menendez	Warner
Cruz	Merkley	Warnock
Daines	Moran	Whitehouse
Duckworth	Mullin	Wicker
Durbin	Murkowski	Wyden
Ernst	Murphy	Young
Fetterman	Murray	
Fischer	Ossoff	
Gillibrand	Padilla	

### NAYS—5

Hawley	Scott (FL)	Vance
Sanders	Tuberville	

### NOT VOTING—3

Barrasso	Braun	Lummis
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The nomination was confirmed.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the motion to reconsider is considered made and laid upon the table, and the President will be immediately notified of the Senate's action.

## CLOTURE MOTION

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. 473, Amy M. Baggio, of Oregon, to be United States District Judge for the District of Oregon.

Charles E. Schumer, Richard J. Durbin, Brian Schatz, Mazie Hirono, Tina Smith, Gary C. Peters, Amy Klobuchar, Raphael G. Warnock, Catherine Cortez Masto, Alex Padilla, Mark R. Warner, Tim Kaine, Sheldon Whitehouse, Martin Heinrich, Christopher A. Coons, Margaret Wood Hassan, Peter Welch.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. By unanimous consent, the mandatory quorum call has been waived.

The question is, Is it the sense of the Senate that debate on the nomination of Amy M. Baggio, of Oregon, to be United States District Judge for the District of Oregon, 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. THUNE. The following Senators are necessarily absent: the Senator from Wyoming (Mr. BARRASSO), the Senator from Indiana (Mr. BRAUN), and the Senator from Wyoming (Ms. LUMMIS).

The yeas and nays resulted—yeas 54, nays 43, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 37 Ex.]

### YEAS—54

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

### NAYS—43

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

### NOT VOTING—3

Barrasso	Braun	Lummis
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The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. WELCH). On this vote, the yeas are 54, the nays are 43.

The motion is agreed to.

## EXECUTIVE CALENDAR

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the nomination.

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Amy M. Baggio, of Oregon, to be United States District Judge for the District of Oregon.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Texas.

## SUPPLEMENTAL FUNDING

Mr. CORNYN. Mr. President, on Sunday night of this last weekend, three of our colleagues released the much anticipated text of what has come to be known as a bipartisan border deal. In fact, this was negotiated by three main principal Senators here in the Senate: Senator JAMES LANKFORD from Oklahoma, Senator SINEMA from Arizona, Senator CHRIS MURPHY from Connecticut, along with the Biden administration.

I want to express my gratitude to Senator LANKFORD, for our part, for the time and effort he has invested in this process. I know of no one who has worked harder in good faith to try to come up with a solution to our broken border.

I know, like all of our colleagues on this side of the aisle, he is outraged by the Biden administration's failure to secure the border, and he is eager to find a way to change the policies which will provide that security.

And I think our Democratic colleagues finally realize that the status quo on the border is a huge political liability. Well, what Senator LANKFORD hoped to deliver through this process, unfortunately, has become increasingly clear that it has not been attainable. Notwithstanding his best efforts, this proposal is not what the country needs, wants, or deserves, and I would be happy to explain why.

Given the fact we are operating in divided government, any successful reform requires bipartisan support. As I said, Senator LANKFORD worked in good faith with Senator MURPHY and Senator SINEMA, who also worked in good faith, as well as the White House to craft this agreement.

But I am disappointed that the White House has refused to budge on policy changes that would lead to significant improvements; by that I mean reduction in the flow of migrants across the southern border.

For example, this proposal doesn't place significant limits on parole authority. Now, just by way of a footnote here, parole authority means that the Biden administration has been releasing people who come to the border even if they don't claim asylum; and it is, frankly, just a population management tool. They are released into the interior of the country, given a 2-year permit and a work permit.

So no matter what we do on the front end in terms of asylum reform or the process to deal with this exploitation of the gaps in our asylum system, the Biden administration could still parole as many people as they wanted to under this proposal.

As a matter of fact, no changes were made at all to the fact that the Biden administration is releasing up to 30,000 migrants from four countries each month, presuming or assuming that they actually should be released into the country without any claim of asylum or anything else. Just letting them come and stay and work.

This is a huge magnet—a huge magnet—to people coming from those four countries, and that is 360,000 migrants a year. And that is just the tip of the iceberg. This bill also does not end what has come to be known euphemistically as catch-and-release, and it actually creates a new system under which migrants who might express an intent to apply for asylum must be released from custody even before an initial screening interview is completed.

Just to take a look back, I think it was in 2005 when then-Secretary Michael Chertoff came and testified in front of the Senate Judiciary Committee, and he noticed an uptick in the number of Brazilians that were coming across the border. What he testified to under oath is they realized that the only way you would provide the deterrence that would prevent people from coming illegally into the country is to detain them.

In other words, don't catch-and-release them; catch-and-detain them. Determine whether they have a legitimate claim, and if they did not, then return them to their country of origin. That actually provided the kind of deterrence that addressed that problem at that time, and that kind of deterrence is missing in this proposal.

And as I said, it actually creates a new system that can be exploited by the people who continue to get rich smuggling migrants to the United States from around the world, the same criminal organizations that are also involved in smuggling drugs into the United States.

And the only way you avoid catch-and-release and you provide catch-and-detain is, you need more detention space. And this proposal does not provide adequate detention space and assures that migrants will continue to be released into the interior of the country. Again, a huge magnet, or in the terminology that the Border Patrol has taught me, he calls this a pull factor. The push factors are the reasons the people want to leave their home country: violence, poverty, desire for a better life. We all understand that. But what the pull factor is, is the perception that there are no consequences to coming illegally.

Legal immigration has been one of the biggest blessings for this country that we have ever received because almost a million people a year are naturalized. They go through the system the right way. They take the citizenship test. They go through the background check, and then they become American citizens like you and I. That is an unmitigated blessing, in my opin-

ion. Illegal immigration—or outsourcing our immigration policy to drug and criminal cartels—is a disaster.

Well, this proposal also does not make a meaningful investment in enforcement resources to actually remove people who don't have the legal authorization to stay in the United States. That is a job ordinarily performed by Immigration and Customs Enforcement, or ICE. So if people can come to the country, can be released either on parole or released while they are awaiting the decision on their asylum claims, and there is no mechanism to make sure that they are repatriated to their home country if they don't qualify to stay, then they are going to continue to come, which is the reason why we have seen roughly 7 million migrants come to the United States and stay over the last 3 years.

In other words, this proposal does not fix the single biggest policy failures that have contributed to this crisis. I believe this is the responsibility, again, of the Biden administration, which has done everything they can to handcuff their negotiators and to fail to meet the requirements of what a proposal would look like that would actually make things better or would actually work.

I have said from the beginning that I would only support an agreement or proposal that would make significant policy changes and change—by that, I mean reduce—the influx of humanity coming across the border, and this proposal does not meet that requirement.

But this is, while disappointing, it is not entirely surprising. After all, President Biden is the leader of an open-borders administration that has ushered in the largest border crisis our country has ever seen. The only reason I think President Biden all of a sudden took an interest in the border is because he saw the approaching election and his plummeting poll numbers.

Since President Biden took office 3 years ago, U.S. Customs and Border Protection has encountered more than 7 million migrants—I mentioned that a moment ago—7 million in 3 years. And that doesn't even count the 1.7 million “got-aways.” “Got-aways” are people who are seen, although not detained, on cameras and other sensors and who are intentionally evading law enforcement. You can only imagine what they are up to, and I assure you, it is no good.

But we have seen, under President Biden, nearly double the number of illegal crossings that we saw during the entire 8 years President Obama was in office.

Now, to be clear, Congress has not dramatically changed immigration laws in the interim that caused this dramatic increase in migration under President Biden. Under President Trump, the laws were essentially the same, and there was no crisis of such epic proportions. This fiasco is a direct result of the policies and the actions of the Biden administration. The President created what, in effect, is a high-