



United States  
of America

# Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 117<sup>th</sup> CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION

Vol. 168

WASHINGTON, MONDAY, FEBRUARY 28, 2022

No. 36

## Senate

The Senate met at 3 p.m. and was called to order by the President pro tempore (Mr. LEAHY).

### PRAYER

The Chaplain, Dr. Barry C. Black, offered the following prayer:

Let us pray.

Our Father in Heaven, You are our place of safety during our seasons of trouble. We trust You for security, clinging to Your precious promises that energize us to persevere. You are all we have, and You supply all our needs. You are near, so nothing should intimidate us. Please surround our Nation and world with the shield of Your divine protection. May the weapons that come against those who trust in Your might fail to prosper.

Today, show our lawmakers the paths that lead to life. Teach them to serve You with reverential awe as You provide them with the courage to please You in all they say and do.

We pray in Your powerful Name. Amen.

### PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE

The President pro tempore led the Pledge of Allegiance, as follows:

I pledge allegiance to the Flag of the United States of America, and to the Republic for which it stands, one nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

### RESERVATION OF LEADER TIME

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Ms. HIRONO). Under the previous order, the leadership time is reserved.

### READING OF WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Pursuant to the order of the Senate of January 24, 1901, as amended by the order of February 10, 2022, the Senator from Vermont, Mr. LEAHY, will now read Washington's Farewell Address.

Mr. LEAHY, at the rostrum, read the Farewell Address, as follows:

*To the people of the United States*

FRIENDS AND FELLOW-CITIZENS: The period for a new election of a citizen to administer the executive government of the United States being not far distant, and the time actually arrived when your thoughts must be employed in designating the person who is to be clothed with that important trust, it appears to me proper, especially as it may conduce to a more distinct expression of the public voice, that I should now apprise you of the resolution I have formed, to decline being considered among the number of those out of whom a choice is to be made.

I beg you at the same time to do me the justice to be assured that this resolution has not been taken without a strict regard to all the considerations appertaining to the relation which binds a dutiful citizen to his country—and that, in withdrawing the tender of service which silence in my situation might imply, I am influenced by no diminution of zeal for your future interest, no deficiency of grateful respect for your past kindness, but am supported by a full conviction that the step is compatible with both.

The acceptance of, and continuance hitherto in, the office to which your suffrages have twice called me have been a uniform sacrifice of inclination to the opinion of duty and to a deference for what appeared to be your desire. I constantly hoped that it would have been much earlier in my power, consistently with motives which I was not at liberty to disregard, to return to that retirement from which I had been reluctantly drawn. The strength of my inclination to do this, previous to the last election, had even led to the preparation of an address to declare it to you; but mature reflection on the then perplexed and critical posture of our affairs with foreign nations, and the unanimous advice of persons entitled to my confidence, impelled me to abandon the idea.

I rejoice that the state of your concerns, external as well as internal, no longer renders the pursuit of inclination incompatible with the sentiment of duty or propriety and am persuaded, whatever partiality may be retained for my services, that in the present circumstances of our country you will not disapprove my determination to retire.

The impressions with which I first undertook the arduous trust were explained on the proper occasion. In the discharge of this trust, I will only say that I have, with good intentions, contributed towards the organization and administration of the government the best exertions of which a very fallible judgment was capable. Not unconscious in the outset of the inferiority of my qualifications, experience in my own eyes, perhaps still more in the eyes of others, has strengthened the motives to diffidence of myself, and every day the increasing weight of years admonishes me more and more that the shade of retirement is as necessary to me as it will be welcome. Satisfied that if any circumstances have given peculiar value to my services, they were temporary, I have the consolation to believe that, while choice and prudence invite me to quit the political scene, patriotism does not forbid it.

In looking forward to the moment which is intended to terminate the career of my public life, my feelings do not permit me to suspend the deep acknowledgment of that debt of gratitude which I owe to my beloved country for the many honors it has conferred upon me, still more for the steadfast confidence with which it has supported me and for the opportunities I have thence enjoyed of manifesting my inviolable attachment by services faithful and persevering, though in usefulness unequal to my zeal. If benefits have resulted to our country from these services, let it always be remembered to your praise and as an instructive example in our annals that, under circumstances in which the passions agitated in every direction were liable to

• This "bullet" symbol identifies statements or insertions which are not spoken by a Member of the Senate on the floor.



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mislead, amidst appearances sometimes dubious, vicissitudes of fortune often discouraging, in situations in which not unfrequently want of success has countenanced the spirit of criticism, the constancy of your support was the essential prop of the efforts and a guarantee of the plans by which they were effected. Profoundly penetrated with this idea, I shall carry it with me to my grave as a strong incitement to unceasing vows that Heaven may continue to you the choicest tokens of its beneficence; that your union and brotherly affection may be perpetual; that the free constitution, which is the work of your hands, may be sacredly maintained; that its administration in every department may be stamped with wisdom and virtue; that, in fine, the happiness of the people of these states, under the auspices of liberty, may be made complete by so careful a preservation and so prudent a use of this blessing as will acquire to them the glory of recommending it to the applause, the affection, and adoption of every nation which is yet a stranger to it.

Here, perhaps, I ought to stop. But a solicitude for your welfare, which cannot end but with my life, and the apprehension of danger natural to that solicitude, urge me on an occasion like the present to offer to your solemn contemplation, and to recommend to your frequent review, some sentiments which are the result of much reflection, of no inconsiderable observation, and which appear to me all important to the permanency of your felicity as a people. These will be offered to you with the more freedom as you can only see in them the disinterested warnings of a parting friend, who can possibly have no personal motive to bias his counsel. Nor can I forget, as an encouragement to it, your indulgent reception of my sentiments on a former and not dissimilar occasion.

Interwoven as is the love of liberty with every ligament of your hearts, no recommendation of mine is necessary to fortify or confirm the attachment.

The unity of government which constitutes you one people is also now dear to you. It is justly so; for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence, the support of your tranquility at home, your peace abroad, of your safety, of your prosperity, of that very liberty which you so highly prize. But as it is easy to foresee that, from different causes and from different quarters, much pains will be taken, many artifices employed, to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth; as this is the point in your political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (though often covertly and insidiously) directed, it is of infinite moment that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national Union to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual, and immovable attachment

to it; accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as of the palladium of your political safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can in any event be abandoned; and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts.

For this you have every inducement of sympathy and interest. Citizens by birth or choice of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name of American, which belongs to you in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism more than any appellation derived from local discriminations. With slight shades of difference, you have the same religion, manners, habits, and political principles. You have in a common cause fought and triumphed together. The independence and liberty you possess are the work of joint councils and joint efforts—of common dangers, sufferings, and successes.

But these considerations, however powerfully they address themselves to your sensibility, are greatly outweighed by those which apply more immediately to your interest. Here every portion of our country finds the most commanding motives for carefully guarding and preserving the Union of the whole.

The North, in an unrestrained intercourse with the South, protected by the equal laws of a common government, finds in the productions of the latter great additional resources of maritime and commercial enterprise and precious materials of manufacturing industry. The South in the same intercourse, benefitting by the agency of the North, sees its agriculture grow and its commerce expand. Turning partly into its own channels the seamen of the North, it finds its particular navigation invigorated; and while it contributes, in different ways, to nourish and increase the general mass of the national navigation, it looks forward to the protection of a maritime strength to which itself is unequally adapted. The East, in a like intercourse with the West, already finds, and in the progressive improvement of interior communications by land and water will more and more find a valuable vent for the commodities which it brings from abroad or manufactures at home. The West derives from the East supplies requisite to its growth and comfort—and what is perhaps of still greater consequence, it must of necessity owe the secure enjoyment of indispensable outlets for its own productions to the weight, influence, and the future maritime strength of the Atlantic side of the Union, directed by an indissoluble community of interest as one nation. Any other tenure by which the West can hold this essential advantage,

whether derived from its own separate strength or from an apostate and unnatural connection with any foreign power, must be intrinsically precarious.

While then every part of our country thus feels an immediate and particular interest in union, all the parts combined cannot fail to find in the united mass of means and efforts greater strength, greater resource, proportionably greater security from external danger, a less frequent interruption of their peace by foreign nations; and, what is of inestimable value! they must derive from union an exemption from those broils and wars between themselves which so frequently afflict neighboring countries not tied together by the same government, which their own rivalships alone would be sufficient to produce, but which opposite foreign alliances, attachments, and intrigues would stimulate and embitter. Hence likewise they will avoid the necessity of those overgrown military establishments, which under any form of government are inauspicious to liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to republican liberty. In this sense it is, that your Union ought to be considered as a main prop of your liberty, and that the love of the one ought to endeavor to you the preservation of the other.

These considerations speak a persuasive language to every reflecting and virtuous mind and exhibit the continuance of the Union as a primary object of patriotic desire. Is there a doubt whether a common government can embrace so large a sphere? Let experience solve it. To listen to mere speculation in such a case were criminal. We are authorized to hope that a proper organization of the whole, with the auxiliary agency of governments for the respective subdivisions, will afford a happy issue to the experiment. It is well worth a fair and full experiment. With such powerful and obvious motives to union affecting all parts of our country, while experience shall not have demonstrated its impracticability, there will always be reason to distrust the patriotism of those who in any quarter may endeavor to weaken its bands.

In contemplating the causes which may disturb our Union, it occurs as matter of serious concern that any ground should have been furnished for characterizing parties by geographical discriminations—northern and southern—Atlantic and western; whence designing men may endeavor to excite a belief that there is a real difference of local interests and views. One of the expedients of party to acquire influence within particular districts is to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other districts. You cannot shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heart burnings which spring from these misrepresentations. They tend to render alien to each other those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection. The inhabitants

of our western country have lately had a useful lesson on this head. They have seen in the negotiation by the executive—and in the unanimous ratification by the Senate—of the treaty with Spain, and in the universal satisfaction at that event throughout the United States, a decisive proof how unfounded were the suspicions propagated among them of a policy in the general government and in the Atlantic states unfriendly to their interests in regard to the Mississippi. They have been witnesses to the formation of two treaties, that with Great Britain and that with Spain, which secure to them everything they could desire, in respect to our foreign relations, towards confirming their prosperity. Will it not be their wisdom to rely for the preservation of these advantages on the Union by which they were procured? Will they not henceforth be deaf to those advisers, if such there are, who would sever them from their brethren and connect them with aliens?

To the efficacy and permanency of your Union, a government for the whole is indispensable. No alliances, however strict, between the parts can be an adequate substitute. They must inevitably experience the infractions and interruptions which all alliances in all times have experienced. Sensible of this momentous truth, you have improved upon your first essay by the adoption of a Constitution of government better calculated than your former for an intimate Union and for the efficacious management of your common concerns. This government, the offspring of our own choice uninfluenced and unawed, adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation, completely free in its principles, in the distribution of its powers uniting security with energy, and containing within itself a provision for its own amendment, has a just claim to your confidence and your support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true liberty. The basis of our political systems is the right of the people to make and to alter their constitutions of government. But the Constitution which at any time exists, until changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power and the right of the people to establish government presupposes the duty of every individual to obey the established government.

All obstructions to the execution of the laws, all combinations and associations under whatever plausible character with the real design to direct, control, counteract, or awe the regular deliberation and action of the constituted authorities, are destructive of this fundamental principle and of fatal tendency. They serve to organize faction; to give it an artificial and extraordinary force; to put in the place of the delegated will of the nation the

will of a party, often a small but artful and enterprising minority of the community; and, according to the alternate triumphs of different parties, to make the public administration the mirror of the ill concerted and incongruous projects of faction, rather than the organ of consistent and wholesome plans digested by common councils and modified by mutual interests. However combinations or associations of the above description may now and then answer popular ends, they are likely, in the course of time and things, to become potent engines by which cunning, ambitious, and unprincipled men will be enabled to subvert the power of the people and to usurp for themselves the reins of government, destroying afterwards the very engines which have lifted them to unjust dominion.

Towards the preservation of your government and the permanency of your present happy state, it is requisite not only that you steadily discountenance irregular oppositions to its acknowledged authority but also that you resist with care the spirit of innovation upon its principles, however specious the pretexts. One method of assault may be to effect in the forms of the Constitution alterations which will impair the energy of the system and thus to undermine what cannot be directly overthrown. In all the changes to which you may be invited, remember that time and habit are at least as necessary to fix the true character of governments as of other human institutions, that experience is the surest standard by which to test the real tendency of the existing constitution of a country, that facility in changes upon the credit of mere hypotheses and opinion exposes to perpetual change from the endless variety of hypotheses and opinion; and remember, especially, that for the efficient management of your common interests in a country so extensive as ours, a government of as much vigor as is consistent with the perfect security of liberty is indispensable; liberty itself will find in such a government, with powers properly distributed and adjusted, its surest guardian. It is indeed little else than a name, where the government is too feeble to withstand the enterprises of faction, to confine each member of the society within the limits prescribed by the laws, and to maintain all in the secure and tranquil enjoyment of the rights of person and property.

I have already intimated to you the danger of parties in the state, with particular reference to the founding of them on geographical discriminations. Let me now take a more comprehensive view and warn you in the most solemn manner against the baneful effects of the spirit of party, generally.

This spirit, unfortunately, is inseparable from our nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the human mind. It exists under different shapes in all governments, more or less stifled, controlled, or repressed; but in those of the popular form it is seen in

its greatest rankness and is truly their worst enemy.

The alternate domination of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge natural to party dissension, which in different ages and countries has perpetrated the most horrid enormities, is itself a frightful despotism. But this leads at length to a more formal and permanent despotism. The disorders and miseries which result gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an individual; and sooner or later the chief of some prevailing faction, more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this disposition to the purposes of his own elevation on the ruins of public liberty.

Without looking forward to an extremity of this kind (which nevertheless ought not to be entirely out of sight) the common and continual mischiefs of the spirit of party are sufficient to make it the interest and the duty of a wise people to discourage and restrain it.

It serves always to distract the public councils and enfeeble the public administration. It agitates the community with ill founded jealousies and false alarms, kindles the animosity of one part against another, foment occasionally riot and insurrection. It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which find a facilitated access to the government itself through the channels of party passions. Thus the policy and the will of one country are subjected to the policy and will of another.

There is an opinion that parties in free countries are useful checks upon the administration of the government and serve to keep alive the spirit of liberty. This within certain limits is probably true—and in governments of a monarchical cast patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favor, upon the spirit of party. But in those of the popular character, in governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged. From their natural tendency, it is certain there will always be enough of that spirit for every salutary purpose. And there being constant danger of excess, the effort ought to be by force of public opinion to mitigate and assuage it. A fire not to be quenched, it demands a uniform vigilance to prevent its bursting into a flame, lest instead of warming it should consume.

It is important, likewise, that the habits of thinking in a free country should inspire caution in those entrusted with its administration to confine themselves within their respective constitutional spheres, avoiding in the exercise of the powers of one department to encroach upon another. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one and thus to create, whatever the form of government, a real despotism. A just estimate of that love of power and proneness to abuse it which predominates in the human heart is sufficient to satisfy us of the

truth of this position. The necessity of reciprocal checks in the exercise of political power, by dividing and distributing it into different depositories and constituting each the guardian of the public weal against invasions by the others, has been evinced by experiments ancient and modern, some of them in our country and under our own eyes. To preserve them must be as necessary as to institute them. If in the opinion of the people the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way which the Constitution designates. But let there be no change by usurpation; for though this, in one instance, may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed. The precedent must always greatly overbalance in permanent evil any partial or transient benefit which the use can at any time yield.

Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism who should labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and to cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connections with private and public felicity. Let it simply be asked where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation desert the oaths, which are the instruments of investigation in courts of justice? And let us with caution indulge the supposition that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle.

It is substantially true that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government. The rule indeed extends with more or less force to every species of free government. Who that is a sincere friend to it can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric?

Promote then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened.

As a very important source of strength and security, cherish public credit. One method of preserving it is to use it as sparingly as possible, avoiding occasions of expense by cultivating peace, but remembering also that timely disbursements to prepare for danger frequently prevent much greater disbursements to repel it; avoiding likewise the accumulation of debt, not only by shunning occasions of expense, but by vigorous exertions in

time of peace to discharge the debts which unavoidable wars may have occasioned, not ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burden which we ourselves ought to bear. The execution of these maxims belongs to your representatives, but it is necessary that public opinion should cooperate. To facilitate to them the performance of their duty, it is essential that you should practically bear in mind that towards the payment of debts there must be revenue; that to have revenue there must be taxes; that no taxes can be devised which are not more or less inconvenient and unpleasant; that the intrinsic embarrassment inseparable from the selection of the proper objects (which is always a choice of difficulties) ought to be a decisive motive for a candid construction of the conduct of the government in making it, and for a spirit of acquiescence in the measures for obtaining revenue which the public exigencies may at any time dictate.

Observe good faith and justice towards all nations; cultivate peace and harmony with all; religion and morality enjoin this conduct, and can it be that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and, at no distant period, a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence. Who can doubt that in the course of time and things the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages which might be lost by a steady adherence to it? Can it be, that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a nation with its virtue? The experiment, at least, is recommended by every sentiment which ennobles human nature. Alas! is it rendered impossible by its vices?

In the execution of such a plan nothing is more essential than that permanent, inveterate antipathies against particular nations and passionate attachments for others should be excluded and that in place of them just and amicable feelings towards all should be cultivated. The nation which indulges towards another an habitual hatred, or an habitual fondness, is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest. Antipathy in one nation against another disposes each more readily to offer insult and injury, to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage, and to be haughty and intractable when accidental or trifling occasions of dispute occur. Hence frequent collisions, obstinate, envenomed, and bloody contests. The nation, prompted by ill will and resentment, sometimes impels to war the government, contrary to the best calculations of policy. The government sometimes participates in the national propensity and adopts through passion what reason would reject; at other times, it makes the animosity of the nation subservient to projects of hostility insti-

gated by pride, ambition and other sinister and pernicious motives. The peace often, sometimes perhaps the liberty, of nations has been the victim.

So likewise, a passionate attachment of one nation for another produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favorite nation, facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest in cases where no real common interest exists and infusing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and wars of the latter, without adequate inducement or justification. It leads also to concessions to the favorite nation of privileges denied to others, which is apt doubly to injure the nation making the concessions, by unnecessarily parting with what ought to have been retained and by exciting jealousy, ill will, and a disposition to retaliate in the parties from whom equal privileges are withheld. And it gives to ambitious, corrupted, or deluded citizens (who devote themselves to the favorite nation) facility to betray or sacrifice the interests of their own country without odium, sometimes even with popularity, gilding with the appearances of a virtuous sense of obligation, a commendable deference for public opinion, or a laudable zeal for public good, the base or foolish compliances of ambition, corruption, or infatuation.

As avenues to foreign influence in innumerable ways, such attachments are particularly alarming to the truly enlightened and independent patriot. How many opportunities do they afford to tamper with domestic factions, to practice the arts of seduction, to mislead public opinion, to influence or awe the public councils! Such an attachment of a small or weak towards a great and powerful nation dooms the former to be the satellite of the latter.

Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence (I conjure you to believe me, fellow citizens) the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake, since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government. But that jealousy to be useful must be impartial; else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided, instead of a defense against it. Excessive partiality for one foreign nation and excessive dislike of another cause those whom they actuate to see danger only on one side, and serve to veil and even second the arts of influence on the other. Real patriots, who may resist the intrigues of the favorite, are liable to become suspected and odious, while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people to surrender their interests.

The great rule of conduct for us in regard to foreign nations is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little political connection as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith. Here let us stop.

Europe has a set of primary interests, which to us have none or a very

remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence therefore it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves, by artificial ties, in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships or enmities.

Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one people under an efficient government, the period is not far off when we may defy material injury from external annoyance; when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality we may at any time resolve upon to be scrupulously respected; when belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation; when we may choose peace or war, as our interest guided by justice shall counsel.

Why forgo the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalship, interest, humor, or caprice?

It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world—so far, I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it, for let me not be understood as capable of patronizing infidelity to existing engagements (I hold the maxim no less applicable to public than to private affairs, that honesty is always the best policy)—I repeat it therefore, let those engagements be observed in their genuine sense. But in my opinion it is unnecessary and would be unwise to extend them.

Taking care always to keep ourselves, by suitable establishments, on a respectably defensive posture, we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies.

Harmony, liberal intercourse with all nations, are recommended by policy, humanity, and interest. But even our commercial policy should hold an equal and impartial hand: neither seeking nor granting exclusive favors or preferences; consulting the natural course of things; diffusing and diversifying by gentle means the streams of commerce but forcing nothing; establishing with powers so disposed—in order to give to trade a stable course, to define the rights of our merchants, and to enable the government to support them—conventional rules of intercourse, the best that present circumstances and mutual opinion will permit, but temporary, and liable to be from time to time abandoned or varied, as experience and circumstances shall dictate; constantly keeping in view, that it is folly in one nation to look for disinterested favors from another—that it must pay with a portion of its independence for whatever it may accept under that character—that by

such acceptance it may place itself in the condition of having given equivalents for nominal favors and yet of being reproached with ingratitude for not giving more. There can be no greater error than to expect or calculate upon real favors from nation to nation. It is an illusion which experience must cure, which a just pride ought to discard.

In offering to you, my countrymen, these counsels of an old and affectionate friend, I dare not hope they will make the strong and lasting impression I could wish—that they will control the usual current of the passions or prevent our nation from running the course which has hitherto marked the destiny of nations. But if I may even flatter myself that they may be productive of some partial benefit, some occasional good, that they may now and then recur to moderate the fury of party spirit, to warn against the mischiefs of foreign intrigue, to guard against the impostures of pretended patriotism—this hope will be a full recompense for the solicitude for your welfare by which they have been dictated.

How far in the discharge of my official duties I have been guided by the principles which have been delineated, the public records and other evidences of my conduct must witness to you and to the world. To myself, the assurance of my own conscience is that I have at least believed myself to be guided by them.

In relation to the still subsisting war in Europe, my proclamation of the 22d of April 1793 is the index to my plan. Sanctioned by your approving voice and by that of your representatives in both houses of Congress, the spirit of that measure has continually governed me, uninfluenced by any attempts to deter or divert me from it.

After deliberate examination with the aid of the best lights I could obtain, I was well satisfied that our country, under all the circumstances of the case, had a right to take—and was bound in duty and interest to take—a neutral position. Having taken it, I determined, as far as should depend upon me, to maintain it with moderation, perseverance, and firmness.

The considerations which respect the right to hold this conduct it is not necessary on this occasion to detail. I will only observe that, according to my understanding of the matter, that right, so far from being denied by any of the belligerent powers, has been virtually admitted by all.

The duty of holding a neutral conduct may be inferred, without anything more, from the obligation which justice and humanity impose on every nation, in cases in which it is free to act, to maintain inviolate the relations of peace and amity towards other nations.

The inducements of interest for observing that conduct will best be referred to your own reflections and experience. With me, a predominant motive has been to endeavor to gain time

to our country to settle and mature its yet recent institutions and to progress without interruption to that degree of strength and consistency which is necessary to give it, humanly speaking, the command of its own fortunes.

Though in reviewing the incidents of my administration I am unconscious of intentional error, I am nevertheless too sensible of my defects not to think it probable that I may have committed many errors. Whatever they may be, I fervently beseech the Almighty to avert or mitigate the evils to which they may tend. I shall also carry with me the hope that my country will never cease to view them with indulgence and that, after forty-five years of my life dedicated to its service with an upright zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities will be consigned to oblivion, as myself must soon be to the mansions of rest.

Relying on its kindness in this as in other things, and actuated by that fervent love towards it which is so natural to a man who views in it the native soil of himself and his progenitors for several generations, I anticipate with pleasing expectation that retreat, in which I promise myself to realize without alloy the sweet enjoyment of partaking in the midst of my fellow citizens the benign influence of good laws under a free government—the ever favorite object of my heart, and the happy reward, as I trust, of our mutual cares, labors and dangers.

GEO. WASHINGTON.

UNITED STATES, 19th September 1796.

I yield the floor.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

#### RECOGNITION OF THE MAJORITY LEADER

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority leader is recognized.

#### MEASURE PLACED ON THE CALENDAR—H.R. 4521

Mr. SCHUMER. Madam President, before I get into my remarks, I have one bit of business. I understand there is bill at the desk that is due for a second reading.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will read the bill by title for the second time.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (H.R. 4521) to provide for a coordinated Federal research initiative to ensure continued United States leadership in engineering biology.

Mr. SCHUMER. Madam President, in order to place the bill on the calendar—and this is H.R. 4521, the COM-PETES Act that came over from the

House—under the provisions of rule XIV, I would object to further proceedings.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Objection having been heard, the bill will be placed on the calendar.

Mr. SCHUMER. For the benefit of the public, that is done so we can actually move forward on the bill. In the arcane rules of the Senate, that is what we have to do.

#### WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS

Mr. SCHUMER. Madam President, first, I want to compliment Senator LEAHY, our Senate pro tempore, for his wonderful reading of George Washington's Address. This is a tradition in the Senate, and I am very glad we are continuing it.

#### UKRAINE

Mr. SCHUMER. Madam President, now, on world affairs, today I chose the colors of my suit and my tie in honor of the Ukrainian flag and in solidarity with the people of Ukraine during these hard times. I will have more to say about this later on in my speech.

#### REMEMBERING RICHARD C. BLUM

Mr. SCHUMER. Madam President, first, I was deeply saddened this morning to learn of the passing of my friend, and our dear colleague, Dick Blum, husband of over 40 years to our friend and colleague Senator FEINSTEIN. Senator FEINSTEIN is our Senate colleague, but Dick Blum was also a colleague because he was a friend and adviser to so many of us.

In his 86 years, Dick truly led a remarkable life. He was a force of nature, gifted with a winning smile and keen intellect that he applied to the benefit of California, America, and even international causes, including the American Himalayan Foundation, because he cared so much about those folks. Every now and then, he would call me with his frequently insightful—often brilliant—ideas. The only problem was his enthusiasm was so intense, it was sometimes hard to get him off the phone.

He was a strong and wonderful partner to Senator FEINSTEIN, and he fought valiantly against illness in the final chapters of his life—a life so well lived.

Our thoughts are with our friend Senator FEINSTEIN. She and he were so close. She was so dependent on him and he on her. And so our thoughts are with her during this time of mourning. We join her in both our grief and in remembering Dick's wonderful legacy.

I talked with Senator FEINSTEIN this afternoon. And I told her that when my father passed away a few months ago, I felt a loss, but some of the pain—a little bit—was sad because I would feel I was so close to him, he is still with me.

And I told her that is how I believed Dick will be with her. And she told me that gave her a little solace, so that made me feel OK.

#### NOMINATION OF KETANJI BROWN JACKSON

Mr. SCHUMER. Madam President, now, next, on Judge Ketanji Brown Jackson, on Friday, Joe Biden—President Biden—made history, wonderful history, by announcing his nominee to replace Stephen Breyer on the U.S. Supreme Court, Judge Ketanji Brown Jackson.

As promised, President Biden named, for the first time in history—the first time in history—a Black woman to sit on the High Court. As promised, his nominee is beyond qualified and brilliant. And as promised, the Senate will now begin the work of quickly confirming Judge Jackson to the Supreme Court of the United States of America.

Appointing individuals to the High Court, as we all know, is truly one of the awesome responsibilities of any President. And in choosing Judge Jackson, President Biden has hit a home run with an evenhanded and so gifted jurist.

More importantly, I congratulate Judge Jackson for this historic honor—one that reflects her skills, her accomplishments, and, above all, her dedication to our democracy. I have been doing a lot of reading on Judge Jackson over the last month, and I cannot recall any one of her colleagues, anyone from her private life, or anyone in the public sphere say anything negative about her. It is amazing. That is how fine a person she is and how fine a mind she has. Judge Jackson encapsulates the two b's: brilliant and beloved. That is a rare combination. And her nomination is a cause for immense celebration.

I will be meeting with Judge Jackson Wednesday when she comes to the Capitol for the first time. Meanwhile, I am working with Chairman DURBIN to schedule confirmation hearings on Judge Jackson as soon as we can. Once the Judiciary Committee completes its consideration of Judge Jackson, I will move to have her nomination come immediately to the floor of the Senate so the Senate wastes no time fulfilling its constitutional duty. We are going to have a fair but speedy process where Members from both sides will get to ask their questions and explore the judge's record.

Of course, Judge Jackson is no stranger to the Senate. This will be the fourth time—the fourth time—she comes before this body. In each previous instance, Republicans and Democrats together voted in favor of her various nominations. We voted last year to confirm Judge Jackson to the influential DC Circuit Court of Appeals, and she received support from all 50 Democrats and 3 Republicans. And, of course, the first time she came before us as a district court judge, it was

a voice vote, which meant no one objected to her getting on the Federal bench—no one in the Senate, anyway.

Judge Jackson's various nominations have won bipartisan support in the past, and her nomination now merits bipartisan support in the present. I hope both sides can work together in a fair and speedy way to make it happen.

I will have more to say on Judge Jackson's remarkable profile in the days and weeks ahead, but today, I want to congratulate her on her nomination. I thank President Biden for selecting her, and I look forward to meeting with her on Wednesday when she arrives at the Capitol.

#### UKRAINE

Mr. SCHUMER. Today is the fifth day since Russian President Vladimir Putin undermined decades—decades—of stability in Europe by launching an unprovoked, immoral, and terribly violent, vicious assault on Ukraine. This evening, the Senate will receive a classified update from the administration that Senator MCCONNELL and I have requested, and we will be briefed on the situation on the ground and the steps that President Biden has taken to help the Ukrainian people.

In the coming weeks, the Senate will also work on a bipartisan basis and in lockstep with the Biden administration to build a robust assistance package for Ukraine. The administration has asked for a \$6.4 billion package of humanitarian aid, of economic aid, and of the kind of military aid that will help the Ukrainians defend themselves, and we intend to work on a bipartisan basis to include it in the upcoming omnibus bill.

Already, the reports of civilian casualties in Ukraine are just tragic. At least 350 civilians have been killed according to the Ukrainian Government. But amidst the violence, one thing is clear: the Ukrainian people are giving Putin a tougher fight than he, in his monomaniacal overconfidence, bargained for.

There are two people in particular who deserve recognition in these early days: President Zelenskyy and President Biden. On the one hand, President Zelenskyy is facing the worst nightmare any head of state can face: a full assault on his country's sovereignty. But his bravery and defiance is inspiring. Many said he should leave the country. Putin thought he would run away. He said: Even though I may be their No. 1 target, I am staying. What courage. What strength. And it gave the Ukrainian people and all the people in the Western world courage and strength as well to unite and do everything we can, each in our own way, to help the Ukrainian people keep their independence, their freedom, and their sovereignty. President Zelenskyy is admired all around the globe and most by the Ukrainian people whom he stood so strong for.

President Biden also deserves credit—credit that is due him for successfully bringing democracies together against Putin with crushing sanctions and an outpouring of security assistance. Today, President Putin is more isolated than ever before while democracies have rallied together, and this is much to the credit of President Biden. He has done an amazing job.

Here in the United States, we stand unflinchingly with the people of Ukraine. Twenty-one years ago, in the aftermath of 9/11, Americans rallied together after our democracy was attacked here at home. Today, as democracy is under assault, we must come together in solidarity with the Ukrainian people. We should all be together supporting this country's efforts.

When I said the President did an amazing job, here is one thing I was referring to: No one thought that the Europeans would go along with removing parts of the SWIFT system from the Russian financial system; no one thought that we would sanction the Russian Central Bank—two of the most powerful weapons we have, but the Europeans were going to be reluctant. Because President Biden was strong, was patient, was persistent, and didn't let himself get pushed around by would-be critics, that is now happening. Over the next several months—even now, today, but even more so as time goes on—those are going to have severe effects on President Putin.

So he deserves a lot of credit, and I just hope we will all, all of us, come together, just as we did after 9/11 when freedom was under assault in our own country, and rally, united in supporting the President and what he is doing.

#### WOMEN'S HEALTHCARE PROTECTION ACT

Mr. SCHUMER. On the Women's Healthcare Protection Act, later today, the Senate is going to vote on a simple yet urgent question: Will this Chamber agree to begin debate on protecting a woman's right to make her own healthcare choices?

Across the country, it is a dark, dark time for women's reproductive rights. Last year, we saw the most—the most—abortion restrictions passed by State legislatures in a single year. Some of them were almost vicious—the vigilantism of Texas's law. I call it vicious vigilantism. Many of these new laws are downright extreme, effectively extinguishing women's ability to even exercise their rights at all. The new, extreme restrictions fly largely in the face of public opinion. They also fly in the face of commonsense health practices. Frankly, they fly against common decency itself, and sadly it seems like the Supreme Court is close to drastically restricting this long-established right in the coming months.

So the Senate today is going to take action because abortion has never been more at risk in America. Indeed, this

will be the first time the Senate takes a vote on a stand-alone bill to proactively codify Roe. Let me say that again. This will be the first time that the Senate takes a vote on a stand-alone bill to proactively codify Roe. Every American—every American—deserves to know where his or her Senator stands on an issue as important as the right to choose, and today's vote will do that.

From the moment that Roe was decided in 1973, the most extreme elements of the Republican Party have plotted its demise. The Federalist Society was founded with the intent of cultivating a generation of judges loyal to conservative causes.

Sadly, it seems like the Supreme Court is posed to severely limit abortion rights in the coming months. That is why this bill is essential.

Congress must codify into law what most Americans have long believed—that abortion is a fundamental right and that women's decisions over women's healthcare belong to women, not—to extremist rightwing legislatures.

We must vote in favor to hold a debate on this bill. I will proudly, strongly vote yes. I urge my colleagues to do the same.

#### POSTAL SERVICE REFORM ACT

Mr. SCHUMER. Finally, on postal, this week, the Senate is also going to keep working to pass long-overdue postal reform to strengthen mail deliveries, take care of our postal workers, and put the post office on a path to long-term stability.

I want to be clear that this bill has enough bipartisan support to ultimately become law. It is the product of weeks and months of good-faith negotiation by my colleagues, especially my friend Senator PETERS. We could have passed postal reform at the end of the last work period were it not for the capricious obstruction from the Senator from Florida. Nevertheless, postal reform remains on the right track, and I expect we will be able to send it to the President's desk very soon.

I yield the floor.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Ms. DUCKWORTH). The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

#### RECOGNITION OF THE MINORITY LEADER

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Republican leader is recognized.

#### UKRAINE

Mr. MCCONNELL. Madam President, last week, Putin again invaded the sov-

ereign territory of a neighboring country. Sadly, it was long clear that attempts to invoke genteel international norms would not move this self-styled czar.

Putin only cares about norms insofar as he wants to rewrite them. He only cares about the peaceful international order insofar as he wants to disrupt it.

Like his Soviet predecessors, Putin has always rejected the postwar order that held up states' sovereignty and territorial integrity as sacrosanct. Putin and Xi of China both want to replace this peaceful order with spheres of influence.

They want to bend other countries to their will and redraw borders by force. Make no mistake, this crisis does not and will not end with Ukraine. And the reason isn't simply that appetites grow with eating. Confrontation with the West is Putin's main objective.

He wants to restore the Russian empire. He said explicitly, he wants NATO rolled back to its 1997 borders. We have a dictator trying to dismember a U.S. partner, trying to decapitate its democratically elected government.

Does anybody really think it stops here? Does anybody think that Europe, or for that matter, Taiwan, will be safe if the world lets this stand?

We will only deter further Russian and Chinese aggression if Putin is made to pay a significant price. Massive and sustained sanctions that undermine his ability to wage war, now and into the future, will be necessary.

But sanctions alone will not suffice. Russia has massive currency reserves. It has options to blunt economic pain and to impose counterattacks on America and our partners, at least in the near term. The sanctions that would hurt Moscow the most would also have a significant impact on our friends in Europe. So there will continue to be resistance to maximalist sanctions.

To date, the Biden administration has sent mixed messages about its own sanctions policy. For months, we heard that prospective sanctions were being drafted to deter Putin's aggression. But last week, the President said he and his advisers never thought sanctions would deter Russia. Now, they are finally imposing sanctions but short of everything that is available.

So to what end exactly? What is the administration's coherent plan? I believe we should have used more of these tools prior to this brutal escalation to deter Putin and to weaken his capacity to wage war. Now, we must use these tools aggressively to impose massive costs for Putin's aggression, to demonstrate to other aggressors that we mean business, and to degrade Putin's longer-term ability to threaten NATO and compete with the West.

But ultimately, sanctions are no substitute for military power. They are no substitute for the steps we must take



to help Ukraine now and to defend ourselves in the future. Moscow and Beijing will only be deterred from aggression if they see concretely that military force cannot achieve their objectives and the cost of military aggression will be too high.

In the immediate term, we must ensure the Ukrainians can adequately defend themselves and impose costs on Russia that prove prohibitive. The administration brags about giving \$650 million to Ukraine last year, but the manner in which it did so deserves scrutiny.

When Putin built up forces along Ukraine's border last spring, the Biden administration delayed an arms assistance package, literally, for months.

A headline from last June read: "White House freezes Ukraine military package that includes lethal weapons."

Even as Putin began directly threatening Ukraine last fall, an assistance package languished for weeks at the White House before it was approved. This weekend, the administration rushed to announce another \$350 million in military assistance. For which weapons? On what timeline? And how will the weapons reach the brave Ukrainians who have lost ground?

So Congress must use its oversight tools to ensure we are providing Ukraine the weapons it needs as quickly as possible. The same goes for helping to shore up our NATO allies' defenses along the eastern flank. And we need to identify what shortfalls, red-tape, and limiting factors have slowed our assistance, so we are better prepared to help the next partner in need.

As I have warned repeatedly, we cannot afford to move at the speed of bureaucracy.

Beyond the immediate crisis in Ukraine, American Presidents, beginning with President Biden, must recommit our Nation to the longer-term challenges that we face. Seventy-two years ago, Harry Truman led the West in rebuffing the Communist assault in South Korea, as well as contesting Soviet domination over Europe.

America made sure NATO would not be a toothless political alliance, but rather a capable military fighting force. This meant sustained investment in American and allied military strength. Defense funding was the precondition for impactful diplomacy that kept the Cold War from going hot.

Now, it is this President's job to seriously meet the growing threats posed by Russia and China. The United States and our allies and partners must understand that the core of our competition with Russia and China is the military dimension.

President Biden's first budget proposed to actually cut defense spending in real terms. Congress had to take bipartisan action to beef up the NDAA to correct his error. Clearly, more investment is needed. Congress must keep strengthening defense capabilities as we work on appropriations.

But President Biden must lead by example. The President's next budget re-

quest must include at least a 5-percent increase in defense spending above inflation.

Russia and China have prioritized military modernization literally for decades.

They have invested in specific tools like long-range aerial defenses and hypersonic weapons that are designed to push the U.S. and our allies further away from the fight.

We are actually behind in this competition. We are actually behind. Hypersonic weapons, nuclear force modernization, power projection, global presence—these things cost money. It is a small price to pay for keeping security threats off of our shores. I have criticized NATO allies who failed to contribute fully to our collective security, but I am a strong supporter of the transatlantic alliance. I am encouraged by how our partners have responded, however belatedly, to the growing threat posed to our collective security.

For example, special praise to the courageous decision by Chancellor Scholz this weekend to seek an emergency appropriation of 100 billion euros for the German military. This effectively doubles Germany's military budget this year—doubles Germany's military budget this year.

He wants Germany to fulfill its pledge to spend 2 percent of GDP on defense. He wants to build liquefied natural gas terminals and make other energy investments to finally dial down Germany's dependence on Russia.

If our wary European friends are finally shaking off their slumber and getting serious, then certainly the United States of America can do the same.

President Biden must lead the charge and lead it now.

#### ABORTION

Mr. McCONNELL. Madam President, now, on an entirely different matter, with a cascade of major crises testing our country, Senate Democrats are prioritizing a show vote on mandating 9 months of abortion on demand across America.

Senate Democrats want to go on record supporting the radical and massively unpopular proposition that we should have functionally no restrictions on abortion whatsoever. Democrats already have the United States, one of just seven nations in the entire world that allows elective abortions after 20 weeks. This radical fringe policy places us in company like China and North Korea.

But now, Senate Democrats want to go even further than Chairman Xi and Kim Jong-Un. Ninety-one percent of Americans support some restrictions on abortion during the third trimester. The public overwhelmingly disagrees with Democrats' extreme obsession on this issue.

But yet again, our colleagues wish to demonstrate that the radical left fringe runs today's Democratic Party.

As the world prays for Ukraine and debates consequences for Putin, as American families contend with violent crime, open borders, and runaway inflation, Washington Democrats want to spend their time arguing for unlimited abortion on demand.

So I want to thank the majority leader for making it so clear where his party's priorities lie.

#### TRIBUTE TO JAMES M. INHOFE

Mr. McCONNELL. Madam President, now, on yet another matter, last week, our distinguished colleague, the senior Senator from Oklahoma, the ranking member of the Armed Services Committee, announced he will retire from the Senate at the end of this Congress. By this autumn, Senator JIM INHOFE will have been a stalwart champion for Oklahomans and a hugely impactful Senator for 28 years. He has led crucial committees, shaped major legislation, and helped keep the needs and concerns of middle America at the forefront of this institution and its work.

The fruits of Jim's labors are apparent across his beloved home State and our whole country. Most recently, atop the Armed Services Committee, he has been a remarkable advocate for fellow veterans, for today's servicemembers, and for the needs of our national security.

We will have much more to say about Senator INHOFE's storied service as we move through the remainder of this year and this Congress. But for now, I just want to congratulate our colleague, his wife Kay, and their 20 kids and grandkids on a well-earned retirement, to which they are now looking forward.

And I am very glad to have the Senator's wisdom and leadership to call upon for 10 more months, especially at a time such as this.

#### REMEMBERING RICHARD C. BLUM

Mr. McCONNELL. Now, on one final matter, I was saddened to hear this morning that Richard Blum, the husband of my friend and colleague Senator FEINSTEIN, has passed away following his fight with cancer.

For 30 years, Elaine and I have been privileged to cross paths with DIANNE and Dick in a number of ways, both professional and personal. It was always a great pleasure to break bread together, compare notes, and catch up.

Our colleague's very loving husband was, simply put, a fascinating person. He was highly successful, adventurous, brave, and curious. For years, he moved seamlessly between such things as creating major value in the highest ranks of the private sector and studying Tibetan Buddhism. His passion for the Himalayas led him to befriend both the Dalai Lama and Sir Edmund Hillary. I understand he even made his own attempt on Mount Everest.

Dick's appetites for adventure, for philanthropy, for civic engagement,



and business success all seemed to be truly boundless. He was full of life and kept impossibly busy with a wide array of projects that were both interesting and impacted his community for the good.

I know all Senators are grieving with and praying for our colleague Senator FEINSTEIN and their entire family at this very difficult time. Elaine and I join in those thoughts and prayers in a particular way.

#### CONCLUSION OF MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Morning business is closed.

#### LEGISLATIVE SESSION

#### WOMEN'S HEALTH PROTECTION ACT OF 2021—Motion to Proceed—Resumed

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate will resume consideration of the motion to proceed to H.R. 3755, which the clerk will report.

The bill clerk read as follows:

Motion to proceed to Calendar No. 139, H.R. 3755, a bill to protect a person's ability to determine whether to continue or end a pregnancy, and to protect a health care provider's ability to provide abortion services.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The senior Senator from Illinois.

REMEMBERING RICHARD C. BLUM

Mr. DURBIN. Madam President, I want to begin my remarks by joining Senator MCCONNELL in expressing my condolences to our friend and colleague Senator DIANNE FEINSTEIN on the passing of her husband and partner Richard Blum.

Dick Blum was a trailblazer in the Senate family, one of the first men to join the Senate Spouses club. He was proud of Senator FEINSTEIN's historic career in public service.

He was a success at business and invested his wealth in easing human suffering—from the streets of San Francisco to some of the poorest corners of the globe. He founded the American Himalayan Foundation to assist the people of the Himalayas. He also founded the Blum Center for Developing Economies at UC Berkeley to help teach students about microlending, social enterprise, and other ways for poor people in developing nations to lift themselves from poverty.

A story in today's Los Angeles Times contained an anecdote that captured well Dick's good humor and generous spirit.

He said that in all the conversations he had over the years with Buddhist friends in the Himalayas, no one had ever convinced him of the likelihood of reincarnation. Maybe that is why he worked so hard to achieve so much good in this one lifetime he was given. He did more to ease human suffering than others might do in a dozen lifetime opportunities.

To Senator DIANNE FEINSTEIN, their beloved daughters and grandchildren, and all who knew and loved him, Loretta and I offer our condolences.

Dick Blum's friendship was a gift, and his memory will be a blessing.

#### NOMINATION OF KETANJI BROWN JACKSON

Madam President, on another note, there was a historic announcement last Friday when President Joe Biden announced Judge Ketanji Brown Jackson as his choice to serve as Associate Justice of the Supreme Court. I am going to speak about her nomination at length tomorrow, but a few words now.

She is an extraordinary person. To become the first African-American woman nominated to serve on the Supreme Court, you have to be the best—and she has proven throughout her life that she is.

She was a clerk to the retiring Justice Stephen Breyer, whose seat she now aspires to. She worked in the practice of law in so many different aspects and then on three different occasions came before this U.S. Senate for approval, advise and consent. On all three occasions, she emerged with bipartisan support, and we certainly hope to see that revisited again.

She has authored some 500 different opinions, so there will be no mystery about her jurisprudence or her judicial philosophy. She has also been a person who has come before our committee as recently as last year when she was approved by the committee in June to serve on the DC Circuit Court.

I think she is an exceptional choice, and I want to make sure that the hearing that is given to her is respectful, fair, and professional. I have reached out to Senator GRASSLEY, my friend and the ranking member on the committee, to work toward that goal, and I hope all members of the committee will join us.

#### UKRAINE

Madam President, on a separate topic, I just returned from the Munich Security Conference and a visit to our NATO allies in Poland and Lithuania. On the latter part of that trip, I was joined by Senator CHRIS COONS of Delaware and Senator JEANNE SHAHEEN of New Hampshire.

Many here in this Chamber have heard me talk about my connection with my mother's birth in Lithuania and the fact that I have cared about that country in a special way ever since I have served in Congress.

Life was bleak and oppressive for the Lithuanian people and all the others in Eastern Europe living under the boot heel of the Russian czar. Countries such as Poland, which saw such devastation during World War II, found themselves suffering decades of communist dictatorship following the war. So it was no surprise that when the Soviet Union finally collapsed, these nations were determined to join the community of democracies and NATO. In fact, the Baltic States of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia helped lead this historic path to freedom.

I remember so many aspects of it. In the shivering cold winter of 1991, millions of people joined hands to form a human chain, connecting all three nations in the Baltic area. They called for change. Then in January 1991, the Soviets sent their tanks into Lithuania and Latvia and other places. The net result was deadly. Those Soviet tanks killed 13 innocent people, and hundreds were injured in Lithuania. What were they asking for? Freedom. A chance to vote for their own future. Well, soon, the Baltic States stepped out even further and courageously declared independence from the Soviet Union. They wanted to reclaim their freedom.

I remember visiting Lithuania in those days, seeing sandbags stacked up outside the Parliament, which they called the Seimas, and schoolkids who were taking a break from class to come pray the Rosary in front of those barricades, light a couple candles—basically to be there for their country at that moment of testing.

If this sounds familiar with what we are hearing in Ukraine today, it is.

Those earlier days of independence had many brave souls coming forward with nothing but determination. Their small "arsenal of freedom," as they called it, which they brought me in the backdoor to show me, consisted of a broom closet with about 8 or 10 rifles in it. They were ready to stare down the Soviets if necessary.

I was so honored on this trip recently to visit with one of the champions of the restoration of freedom and Lithuania's Vytautas Landsbergis. Dr. Landsbergis is a music professor and was a leader of their revolution back to freedom in Lithuania. At 95 years of age, he remains a fierce champion of democracy, as he was in those early days confronting the Soviets.

I also met with former Lithuanian President Valdas Adamkus, who left Lithuania for Chicago as a teenager and returned decades later to serve two terms as President and shepherd his nation, Lithuania, into the European Union and NATO.

I visited military bases in both Poland and Lithuania, where I met U.S. troops supporting the NATO mission to protect the young democracies from Russian aggression. Among the servicemembers were several from my State of Illinois—from Latham, IL, which is near Decatur; Montgomery, IL, near Aurora; and Kankakee. They came and told stories of their service in the Regular Army and how they were now working in Lithuania to prepare their armies for any possible battles in the future. It has been a wonderful, strong relationship.

In Poland, when you mention you are from Illinois, virtually every military officer says they have been our friends for a long time, and they have been because for over 20 years, the Illinois National Guard has been a direct contact with the Polish military forces, modernizing them and preparing them for any challenges that might come.

Eastern European allies know the Russian threat far better than we do. Look at these maps of Russian troop movements in and around Ukraine and the borders of our NATO allies. As you can see here, Russia, Kyiv, Kharkiv, Mariupol, they are in the news virtually on a constant basis.

You can see those troop movements, hundreds of thousands of troops that are moving from the Russian front into Ukraine these days. With the Russian troops now flooding into Belarus in the area of the far corner here, they are essentially taking over that country too.

Nations on the other side—Poland you can see on that map—Poland, Lithuania, and Latvia understand that the threat today is very real for them. They share a 60-mile border that connects the Russian territory of Kaliningrad with Belarus. And the Suwalki gap is one that they are very concerned about keeping peaceful. It is a real threat, and they worry that the Russians are going to take this opportunity in Ukraine to extend their forces into Poland and into Lithuania and into Latvia.

Poland in particular is already generously hosting hundreds of thousands of Ukrainian refugees pouring across the border. It is an inspiration to me to see this country of Poland reach out to accept these Ukrainian refugees. The United States has to step into this picture with humanitarian assistance for Poland and all the other countries, Moldova, Romania, and others taking in Ukrainian refugees. We have to help them feed, clothe, and shelter these people during this period of invasion by the Russians.

Russia is unleashing a brutal war of choice against a free nation that wants to choose its own path, the path of democracy, and the result is sickening.

This shows what is going on in the subways in Ukrainian cities. People are bringing their children to escape the bombing that Putin is initiating above. We have many millions of people in that country in peril, and some are taking their kids and trying to escape to a safe place like Poland.

There has been terrible destruction that has gone on there as well. We have seen it on television right in the—this lady was in front of her own home at the time a rocket attacked it on February 25.

This is a picture which I saw in this morning's Washington Post. It is a most touching scene. You can barely see this father down here, covered in blood, bringing his daughter to this paramedic. The paramedic really tried to perform CPR on this little girl who was injured in the shelling by Putin and his troops. Unfortunately, she did not survive. That is the reality of what Vladimir Putin is doing today. The American people know it, and the strength and courage of the people in Ukraine resisting these advances is an example to the world.

We are seeing demonstrations of support across all of the world, the people

of Ukraine. The Eiffel Tower, Empire State Building—I have to move some of these charts around. This one was especially impressive, the Brandenburg Gate in Berlin. Look at the crowds supporting the people of Ukraine.

It isn't lost on us because we have a wonderful Ukrainian community in Chicago. Here they are at the church on Chicago Avenue just this last weekend, and they have been coming back on a regular basis. I was there on Friday. I spoke to many of these same people about the situation which they are facing in Ukraine. They would come up to me afterwards and say they have been on the telephone with members of their family who are frightened for their lives, didn't know if they could survive this aggression by Vladimir Putin.

When you think about what he has done, sadly, he has failed on so many fronts. How could he get so many things so wrong?

He has unified NATO and support for NATO in a way which was unimaginable just a few years ago. NATO stands unified now in defense of Ukraine and in confronting the aggression of Vladimir Putin.

He has also unified the European Union. Countries like Sweden and Switzerland, which famously have been neutral in most of these conflicts, are now openly supporting the European Union's efforts to put pressure on Vladimir Putin—sanctions that will stop him from this aggression in Ukraine.

He has certainly, in the process, destroyed the reputation of his country as a reliable partner in the future. The Germans had entered into an agreement for a gas pipeline. Many of us questioned it from the start, but that was their decision—Nord Stream 2, drawing natural gas from Russia into Germany. Well, that pipeline is closed down now. Chancellor Scholz has announced he is looking for other services, such as LNG, to replace the gas resources which were supposed to be sent in from Russia for a long time to come. It is going to lead to our energy independence in Europe—independence certainly from the unpredictable and unimaginable Vladimir Putin.

I remember not so many years ago—30 years, as a matter of fact—when countries like the Baltics and Poland were finally given an opportunity for freedom. There were extraordinary examples of courage in each of those countries. I was lucky to be there to witness some of it. But what we are seeing now today in Ukraine is exceptional. The military experts thought they would last a matter of hours. Now, it is days, and maybe it is weeks. I hope it is months and even longer because they have the courage to stand up. Ordinary citizens who are showing up at recruiting offices for homeland defense are being given Kalashnikovs and other weapons sent out to stop the Russians. You can see that they are inspiring the world, as they should. It is

a reminder to all of us that Vladimir Putin and his brand of aggression has been seen so many times in history. Someone like him or Lukashenka in Belarus think they are so powerful that they are above accountability, but that is not the case. We have got to make certain, as we go forward, that we stand with the people of Ukraine; that they know we are their friends; that we aspire to the same values.

And I want to thank President Biden for his leadership. I am going to be calling on him with many others. The first thing that I am going to do is send a letter, which will be headed out this evening, signed by colleagues on both sides of the aisle. What we are asking the President to do—and it is within his authority—is to grant temporary protected status to Ukrainians now on visas in the United States. Some of them are tourists; some of them are students; and some are on work visas, but oftentimes, those visas expire, and they are supposed to return home to their own countries at the moment of expiration. If there are circumstances in those home countries, the President has the authority to give temporary protected status to allow them to stay in the United States.

The Senators who are joining me in this letter will ask President Biden to extend temporary protected status to the people of Ukraine who are on visas in the United States and are present in our country. That, to me, is a way to give him them some peace of mind. We certainly wouldn't want them to return to that war scene that we have seen over and over broadcast on television.

And there is more to do, whether it is humanitarian assistance in countries like Poland or where it is lethal aid to help the insurgents in Ukraine defend their country, the United States needs to be there.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Montana.

H.R. 3755

Mr. DAINES. Madam President, this evening, the U.S. Senate will be voting on the most extreme legislation on abortion ever considered in the history of this body. The deceptively named "Women's Health Protection Act" is more accurately called the "Abortion on Demand Until Birth Act." No wonder it is being held on a Monday, as we call these the flyback votes, in the midst of this crisis in Ukraine—that it be tonight that they want to slip in this vote, the most extreme abortion vote ever—ever—considered in the history of this body.

This bill would force every single State to be a late-term abortion State. This bill allows abortion up until the very moment of birth itself. That is simply infanticide.

This legislation goes beyond codifying the wrongly decided *Roe v. Wade* case and would ban many lifesaving State laws currently in effect that limit abortion and enjoy the broad support from Americans, I might add.

When our Founding Fathers laid out the founding principles of America in the Declaration of Independence, they talked about life; they talked about liberty and the pursuit of happiness. The bottom line is, you can't have liberty and you can't have happiness, or even the pursuit of it, without first having that inalienable right given by God, and that is the right to life.

The "Abortion on Demand Until Birth Act" would impose a horrifying abortion regime across the land that violates the right to life and is completely contrary to the kind of Nation America is and aspires to be.

In this bill's America, every State, despite the voices of its own citizens, would become New York or California, where abortion is celebrated and unborn children are denied the most basic human rights. In this bill's America, a pregnant mother could elect to have a birth-day abortion for a full-term, 8-pound baby on the day of the baby's due date. In this bill's America, late-term abortions could be committed on demand through brutal dismemberment procedures in which the unborn child bleeds and feels excruciating pain as she dies from being pulled apart, limb from limb.

In this bill's America, an unborn baby could be cruelly targeted for abortion because the parents learned she was a girl or that she might have Down syndrome. In this bill's America, parents would not know or have any say over whether their young daughter has a life-altering abortion. In this bill's America, vulnerable women and girls could receive dangerous, do-it-yourself chemical abortion drugs by mail without ever seeing a doctor in person.

In this bill's America, pregnant mothers would be denied the opportunity to see the ultrasounds of their babies. In this bill's America, a doctor or a nurse who doesn't want to perform an abortion could be forced to do so in violation of his or her deeply held moral or religious beliefs. That is specifically struck out in this bill—the religious exemption.

In this bill's America we would be only one of seven countries—seven—including brutal regimes like North Korea and China, that would allow abortion-on-demand after 5 months of pregnancy.

In this bill's America, a baby bald eagle or a baby sea turtle still in its eggshell would be protected under Federal law while an unborn child at any stage of pregnancy could be brutally killed with no repercussions for the abortionists. In a nutshell, this radical bill would make the United States of America one of the most dangerous places in the world to be an unborn child.

According to a Marist poll just last month, the overwhelming majority of Americans reject abortion-on-demand up to birth and especially its imposition by the Federal Government on the States—71 percent of Americans, including 70 percent of Independents and

49 percent of Democrats, want abortion to be limited, at most, to the first 3 months of pregnancy.

Sixty-one percent of Americans say abortion should either be illegal or the policy decision should be up to the States. Rather than listen to the American people—who don't want late-term abortion or a Federal abortion mandate—the "Abortion on Demand Until Birth Act" would enshrine in Federal law the most far-reaching goals of the predatory abortion industry.

We are just a few weeks or months away from a pivotal point in our Nation's history. I pray in the Dobbs Mississippi late-term abortion case that we will see the Supreme Court right a historic injustice and overturn *Roe v. Wade*. This will return the power to protect unborn children to the people's representatives at the State and the Federal levels, to modernize our laws to catch up with great advances in science, technology, and medicine that indisputably show the humanity of a child in the womb.

I would challenge anybody listening to these remarks tonight to take their smartphone and Google "15-week baby" or "20-week baby" and press on "Images" and look at that image.

Instead, the "Abortion on Demand Until Birth Act" ignores the science entirely and would erase unborn children and even the most modest protections of their right to life in the laws of every single State. It is completely indefensible. It is extreme. It is an egregious violation of the most fundamental of all human rights, and that is the right to life.

I pray and I urge my colleagues to reject this horrific, barbaric, extreme legislation that the Senate will vote on here in the next couple of hours and take a stand for defending the most vulnerable among us.

I yield the floor.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oklahoma.

MR. LANKFORD. Madam President, a week ago, the Senate went on a short 1-week recess back in our State. It was already scheduled for us to be in our State getting a chance to be able to just interact with people at home. It was a good week to be able to interact with a lot of people back home for me personally. But we all watched as we were scattered around the country in the past week, Russia rolled tanks into Ukraine. And we watched in horror as Russian aircraft flew over Ukrainian cities, as they fired their missiles into Ukrainian apartment complexes, as they have slaughtered their neighbors because Putin wanted their land and to dominate the region.

All of us, as we got back together this week, were ready to be able to speak to the issues with Ukraine, ready to be able to stand with the people of Ukraine, ready to be able to talk about the sanctions and what was going to happen and how we were going to actually respond to the Russians murdering

their neighbors and a dictator thug trying to dominate the region.

But instead of that, my Democratic colleagues decided not to talk about Ukraine when we got back together, but instead they want to talk about expanding abortion in America.

How incredibly tone-deaf is that?

The whole world is talking about Ukraine and the repression they are experiencing, and the U.S. Senate is talking about how do we get more abortions in America? That is what we are going to vote on? That is what we are going to debate, is how do we increase abortions in America when the world sees what is happening in Ukraine?

What in the world? How tone-deaf can we be?

This body should be the place we are actually debating the biggest issues of the day, and, apparently, to my Democratic colleagues, the biggest issue of the day is how many more abortions can we give in America because that seems to be bigger than Ukraine, bigger than 7.5 percent inflation, bigger than \$30 trillion in debt, bigger than anything. The most important thing is, how can we take the life of more children?

What has this body become when there is an obsession with abortion? This is the most pro-abortion President this country has ever had and the most pro-abortion Democratic Party our country has ever seen.

It is now impermissible to be a Democrat and to support the life of children. You are pushed out of the party. And it has moved from where it used to be that the vast majority of Democrats were pro-life Democrats. Then it was fewer and fewer and fewer. And now it has moved from you can't just not be pro-life, now you have to actually be pro-abortion—well beyond pro-choice. Now you have to find ways to increase abortions in America to be accepted in the party.

This is not where America is.

The bill that is being brought to the floor in just minutes from now—in the middle of a war in Ukraine—is not about protecting Ukrainians. It is not even about protecting children in our country. It is about destroying children in our country.

This bill is being advertised as we are just going to codify *Roe*. It is not just going to codify *Roe*. This is talking about stripping away every protection from every child in the womb from any State in the country.

This particular bill prohibits parental notification. If a child wants to get an abortion, this bill says to the parents: You don't get to know if your child is having an abortion.

By the way, name another medical procedure that the parents are not allowed to be able to know about for their own child.

This takes away waiting periods. It takes away health and safety standards for abortion clinics. Abortion clinics in every State can't have health and safety standards because, for those clinics

that take the lives of children, we don't care what they look like or about the health and safety standards of them.

It takes away ultrasound requirements. This bill literally says to expectant moms: You don't need to know what is going on in your body. We will just take care of it for you.

So no State is allowed to be able to inform a mom of what is actually happening in her own body because the goal of this is not getting information to moms; the goal of this is to increase abortions because all that happens with an ultrasound is the giving of information to the mom and letting her choose. Oh, no. That is not acceptable because she may choose life, and this bill is determined to increase the number of abortions in America.

I remember a time when my Democrats used to talk about safe, legal, and rare. Now, they just want it safe, legal, and common. What have we become?

This bill is the "1 Minute from Infanticide" bill. It mandates abortion in every State up to the moment of birth. That is North Korea. That is China. It is not the United States of America except for this Senate. They want to be more like North Korea and China, apparently, and to be able to follow their great humanitarian example and be a nation that takes the lives of children rather than protects each child as precious.

They look in the womb and see a business model. I look in the womb and see 10 fingers and 10 toes and a beating heart and a functioning nervous system and DNA that is different than the mom's or the dad's DNA. In every definition of science, that is a unique person and a unique child, but it only seems to be a nuisance to some. I don't think children are a nuisance; I think children are precious.

On a day when we should be talking and debating about protecting life in Ukraine, this body, instead, and my Democratic colleagues don't want to talk about Ukraine; they just want to talk about abortion—again. It is heartbreaking that that is where we are.

It is also heartbreaking that this body has become this focused when the rest of the country is saying: How can we add limits to abortion?

The latest poll reads that 71 percent of Americans want at least some restrictions on abortion, but, oh, no, not in this body. Apparently, there are people who disagree with the American people, and they say: No limits—any moment, any time, any child.

I don't believe a single person in this Chamber should vote for this bill, not only because of what it does to the States but because of what it does to just decent people. If you are an individual, working in a hospital today who, when you were hired, said, "I went into the medical profession to save life, not take it," and when you were hired as a nurse or as a doctor, you said, "I don't want to perform abortions," that is allowed right now

under law. It wouldn't be under this. If you go into the medical profession, you will perform abortions when the Democrats in DC tell you to perform abortions, because they want more.

Conscience protections are taken away in this bill. People of conscience, people of faith, who say "I don't want to take the lives of children" will be required or they will lose their jobs. Oh. By the way, if you try to slow someone down from getting an abortion, this bill actually gives someone the right to sue you if you try to limit them from having an abortion.

This is, by far, the most extreme pro-abortion bill that has ever been put in front of Congress—ever. It was done when we should have been debating Ukraine, but Ukraine is not important—abortion is. So my Democratic colleagues did this instead, today, as the callback vote in their response to Putin's aggression. Well, I disagree. I disagree.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Kansas.

Mr. MARSHALL. Madam President, at a time when Vladimir Putin is killing Ukrainians, my Democratic colleagues want to kill more unborn American children for any reason up until the moment the baby takes its first breath—up until the moment the baby takes its first breath. Indeed, this bill should be called the "Abortion on Demand Until Birth Act."

This is the most egregious, horrific attack on the lives of unborn children and the health of moms in American history. In fact, if my Democratic colleagues had their way, this baby whom I delivered years ago could have been murdered—aborted—the moment prior to this cesarean section.

Listen, just for a moment, to what this bill would do.

No. 1, it goes far and beyond Roe v. Wade by invalidating State laws that protect the unborn child and the health and the well-being of moms. It would likely lead to taxpayer-funded abortions at home and abroad.

It would tie up faith-based hospitals in courts for their not offering abortion services.

This bill fully blows open the door to sex-based abortions.

It eliminates the requirement for informed consent or parental consent.

It eliminates conscience protections. I can tell you, as a physician myself, I wouldn't be surprised if half of the medical students in the Nation and half of the nursing students in the Nation would quit medical school or nursing school if they were going to be forced into participating in abortions.

This bill has a total disregard for women's health. Instead of the standards of a surgery center, this bill would allow for these services to be offered in a garage or in a backroom apartment.

The bill provides the right to provide abortions by any healthcare provider. No longer would it take a physician to do abortions. It would allow nurse mid-

wives, nurse practitioners, and physician assistants to do abortions.

I had to take care of women who had gone through miscarriages at every gestational age. This is not a job for a nurse midwife, a physician assistant, a nurse practitioner. Before we would let residents take care of this type of a miscarriage, they would have gone through 4 years of medical school, and they would have been, most likely, in their second or third year of training before we would have entrusted them with this type of procedure. Again, for a woman who has had a miscarriage, the risks of infection, of hemorrhage, and creating infertility are too great.

This bill would allow States to go unrestricted as to any type of telehealth abortions—abortion by phone. In my opinion, it is malpractice to prescribe such a medicine without examining the patient, seeing how big the uterus is, seeing what the size of the baby is. This procedure is wrought with complications. I am the person who had to take care of those complications. Wichita, KS, was home to one of the biggest abortion clinics in the country, and just 2 hours down the road was Great Bend. Time after time, patients would show up in our emergency room with complications from the procedure or this pill.

I never—I never, ever—imagined, when I would come to the Senate, that I would be fighting harder on the Senate floor to save the lives of moms and babies than I did in the emergency room and the delivery room.

Before I close, I want to say a heartfelt thanks to all of the pro-life advocates across the country who have worked so hard, especially those folks who are part of Kansans for Life and all the pro-life advocates in Kansas who have worked so hard to pass previous legislation to protect the lives of moms and unborn babies that this bill would wipe out with one swoop. I am so proud of the Kansans for Life and their advocacy of the Value Them Both amendment—again, protecting the life of the mom and the baby.

Our work is not done yet. We can't let up. We have more work to do. I can promise you I have only just begun to fight to protect the lives of unborn babies and to protect the health and well-being of mothers.

I urge my colleagues tonight to vote no on this most extreme anti-life legislation.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Minnesota.

Ms. SMITH. Madam President, I rise in support of the Women's Health Protection Act.

I am here today because I believe, as do most in this country, that people should have the freedom to receive the reproductive healthcare they need, including abortion. The Women's Health Protection Act would protect that freedom.

Now, I am the only Senator in this body who has ever worked for Planned

Parenthood. I learned firsthand in that job that, if people don't control their reproductive lives, they don't control anything in their lives. Working at Planned Parenthood in Minnesota was an honor, and I had the opportunity to hear the stories of patients, each with individual, unique, personal reasons for receiving an abortion. This is still the case for the patients who visit all of these clinics today.

Here is one story about a woman named Liz from Edina, MN.

At Liz's 18th-week ultrasound appointment, Liz's doctor told her that her pregnancy was incompatible with life. She would either miscarry or the baby would die moments after birth. Because of this diagnosis, Liz decided to have an abortion. It was an agonizing experience for her, but she was able to make the decision on her own terms.

Another story I want to share today comes from a patient from Minneapolis.

At the age of 20, they were in an abusive relationship and found themselves 7 weeks pregnant. They went to Planned Parenthood for their abortion, and that abortion helped them to break from their affiliation with their abuser. They eventually got back on their feet, and they could pursue their dream of going to law school and starting a marketing firm and having a family with somebody who they loved.

These are the stories of people facing one of the most important decisions we humans will ever make: whether to become a parent. They were able to make these decisions freely and for themselves. We should all have this freedom. We should all be able to make these decisions for ourselves, free from politicians and judges looking over our shoulders and deciding for us. A majority of Americans agree with this. They agree that abortion should be legal, and they understand that reproductive healthcare, including abortion, is healthcare.

Yet, today, the reproductive rights of women in this country are at their greatest risk since *Roe v. Wade* was decided decades ago, and it is no mystery as to how we got here. What is happening today is the culmination of a nearly 40-year effort by conservatives in the Republican Party to radically remake the courts. It is 2022, and that moment is here. The Supreme Court seems poised to overturn *Roe*, and if that happens, half the States in this country will ban abortion entirely—half the States.

In anticipation of this moment, rightwing Republican State legislatures have been working to pass laws that will gut women's healthcare and severely restrict our freedom. What this means is that women's freedom and autonomy over our own bodies—our right to reproductive healthcare, the healthcare that we need—will basically depend on who we are and where we live. Make no mistake. Abortion care will always—it will always—be available to women who have money. It

will be poor women and women of color who will lose this right.

This is why the Women's Health Protection Act is so important. We need to listen to the voices of the majority of Americans who agree: Women deserve the freedom and the dignity to make their own decisions about their own bodies and their own lives. But the reality is, we can no longer rely on the courts to protect this right. That is why we need to pass the Women's Health Protection Act.

In a few minutes, we will vote on this bill, which would protect the right to abortion in every State. It would advance racial justice. It would limit the structural barriers to accessing abortion care and protect everybody's freedom to make the best decisions for themselves, for their health, for their families, and for their futures.

Colleagues, I urge you to vote to pass the Women's Health Protection Act.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Kansas.

#### "SIX TRIPLE EIGHT" CONGRESSIONAL GOLD MEDAL ACT

Mr. MORAN. Madam President, I rise this afternoon to celebrate the passage of the "Six Triple Eight" Congressional Gold Medal Act. This bill honors the women of the only all-Black, all-female unit to serve overseas during World War II as part of the 6888th Central Postal Directory Battalion.

Passage of this legislation is long overdue and will award the Congressional Gold Medal to these brave women of the Six Triple Eight for their devotion to duty, military service, and their extraordinary efforts to boost the morale of personnel stationed in Europe during World War II.

Today, it is easy to connect with our loved ones through text, emails, or social media. Communication is more convenient, and consequently, many of us take the ease of that communication for granted. But during World War II, the only connection people like my mom and dad had while my father was deployed in Europe was our mail system. The mail delivered love and inspiration to our troops huddled in foxholes and fighting for our freedom. The mail kept them going through the dark and troubled times of World War II. The mail anchored our troops and connected them to home.

The women of the Six Triple Eight delivered the mail although the deck was stacked against them from the start. While crossing the Atlantic to Europe, the troop convoy carrying the Six Triple Eight encountered German U-boats, forcing the convoy to take defensive actions and change course. Shortly after their arrival in the European theater, a German V1 dove at them, forcing them to take cover out of fear of being bombed.

Physical dangers aside, the women of the Six Triple Eight faced sexism and racism. In Birmingham, England, the very same soldiers the Six Triple Eight were committed to helping spread vial

rumors just because they were Black women.

On top of the physical dangers and the social injustice they faced were the challenges of the mail mission itself. Handling and sorting the mail was no easy task. The Six Triple Eight found warehouses crammed from floor to ceiling with mail whose delivery was long, long overdue, sometimes over years. They found giant rats tearing apart the undelivered Christmas care packages. There was little, if any, organization. They had to sort this mail in poor working conditions—warehouses that were poorly lit, damp, and without heat.

Undeterred, the women of the Six Triple Eight rolled up their sleeves and dug in. Fixing the mail backlog was estimated to take at least 6 months, possibly even a year. The Six Triple Eight organized the millions of letters and packages in just 3 months. They firmly believed in the motto "no mail, low morale."

Their diligence, their commitment to excellence, dignity, and class, and their relentless drive to get the mail into the hands of the troops won them admiration throughout the European theater. Their actions boosted the spirits of thousands of soldiers like my dad by reconnecting them with their family and friends back home and giving them a renewed vigor to fight.

I want to thank Representative GWEN MOORE and Representative JAKE LATURNER for leading this effort in the House, and I want to thank my colleagues in both the House and Senate who have supported this bill and made awarding the Congressional Gold Medal to these brave women possible. There were lots of challenges: Black women serving in the military—only ones seemingly willing to volunteer to go to Europe to meet the needs of those who serve.

I would also like to thank COL Edna Cummings for her dedication to make certain the stories of the Six Triple Eight are remembered and honored.

In 2018, I was at Fort Leavenworth in Kansas to dedicate the Six Triple Eight monument. I was honored to meet these women and was inspired to make certain more Americans knew of their incredible service during World War II.

Of the over 300 members of the Six Triple Eight, I would like to recognize and thank the surviving members and make sure their names are included in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD: Hilda Griggs, Anna Robertson, Romay Davis, Cresencia Garcia, Fannie Griffin McClendon, and Lena Kings.

The Six Triple Eight served our country selflessly and were a crucial asset in the war effort. This is one more way our Nation can say to these incredible women: Thank you for your service. We respect you, and we love you.

It is my honor to celebrate the passage of this bill today.

UKRAINE

Madam President, Vladimir Putin is a thug and is solely responsible for the

invasion of Ukraine. Putin—I condemn him, and he is even being condemned by his own people in Russia and a growing alliance around the world.

There is nothing that justifies Russia invading Ukraine. This is the most significant intrusion from one country into another since the beginning of the 1930s in what resulted in World War II. I pray for the safety of the Ukrainian people and a rapid end to this unprovoked war.

As we hear stories about their bravery and resolve, I am inspired by their dedication to defend their freedom. The United States is making it clear we stand with and support them.

This war is a terrible tragedy, but it is also a wake-up call for the United States of America. When it comes to defense spending, energy production, and humanitarian assistance, our commitments to these issues demonstrate our commitment to global security.

We must recognize that we have adversaries who seek to use force to recover claimed territory, possess weapons of mass destruction, and otherwise destabilize our country and our allies and partners. For those of us in Congress, to ignore these threats would be derelict in our duty to preserve American security and prosperity. We would be derelict to the people of the United States of America.

This recognition begins with a strong national defense. It is unacceptable that we have failed to pass appropriations for the Pentagon, State Department, and other national security Agencies essential to protecting and projecting our strength abroad. As a result, new programs necessary to meeting the challenges in the years to come are stuck in limbo.

In classified briefings for the Appropriations Committee, we have heard about the advances the militaries of our adversaries are making, and it is alarming.

For 6 months, Congress has imposed a spending freeze while other countries press ahead. When the latest continuing resolution expires in 10 days, we need an agreement on this spending, and we should not allow and we cannot afford another delay.

As we prepare to receive President Biden's budget for the coming fiscal year, it will be important that his top-line figure for our Nation's defenses exceed inflation. MacKenzie Eaglen at the American Enterprise Institute writes that \$2 to \$4 billion is being lost per month to cover inflationary costs, reducing the buying power of our military. President Biden must take this into account.

He famously said: "Show me your budget, and I'll tell you what you value." When it comes to our national spending, our enemies are watching also. Our values extend to our concern for the people impacted by this war. Russia's war with Ukraine is already a humanitarian calamity. Children have been killed and wounded and families split apart as some flee and some loved

ones stay. As of today, this conflict has created more than 400,000 refugees, and the U.N. predicts that number can climb to 5 million.

I commend our European allies for their response in welcoming refugees, and I expect our own Nation will be generous with financial support for those seeking safety. But this war will have a humanitarian consequence that goes beyond those directly impacted by the fighting.

Ukraine and Russia account for more than one-quarter of the world's wheat production. It is impossible to believe that such production won't be impacted by the fighting and sanctions, especially as we have seen their ports close. This will make food shortages around the world more severe. No government in the world is as generous with its resources for international food assistance as the United States, but I again point out the excess production of our American farmers that can be shared. There really is no excess production; the need is so great, whatever we produce will feed people. Our government should utilize the resources of its farmers and promote stability where hungry societies are fragile.

Russia's aggression must also be a wake-up call to our dependence on foreign oil. Prior to the invasion, the United States was directly paying Russia, our third largest supplier of oil, around \$70 million per day for oil and refined products, or over 700,000 barrels of petroleum products per day. We are financing with our oil purchases the ability of Russia to do harm around the world.

Combined with our European allies, who are even more dependent on Russian energy, Putin's profit before the invasion was \$330 million each day. We are subsidizing aggression in Moscow, and it extends to the Middle East as well. This must end.

I believe in an "all of the above" approach to energy production, and our oil and gas producers must play a role. The Biden administration should reinstate the Keystone XL Pipeline and promote commonsense solutions that boost jobs at home and keep money out of the pockets of our adversaries. It also would be helpful in our battle against inflation here in the United States.

Each of these challenges can be met if we in the Senate are unified in purpose. The American people and the world view this body as divided, unable to come together on many important issues. I don't believe it has to be that way. I certainly stand willing and able to work with my colleagues to find common ground as we respond to this invasion.

We know lots of examples we can point to where we do work together and pass critical legislation. We must find compromise and immediately move on sanctions legislation. We must pass defense appropriations. We must focus on an "all of the above" energy

strategy to address our dependence upon foreign oil. We have done it before, and we can do it again.

Winston Churchill—in my view, the most inspiring leader of the 20th century—I thought of him as I watched Ukraine's own inspirational President and the response of his people. I share today a quote from Churchill that meets the occasion:

Very few wars have been won by mere numbers alone. Quality, will power, geographical advantages . . . the command of the sea, and, above all, a cause which rouses the spontaneous surgings of the human spirit in millions of hearts—these have proved to be the divisive factors in the human story.

Americans—Americans of all stripes—share that human spirit with Ukrainians today.

I ask God to bless Ukraine and its people, and God bless the United States of America as we do our part to support their people.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Connecticut.

Mr. BLUMENTHAL. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the following Senators be permitted to speak prior to the scheduled vote: Myself for up to 5 minutes, Senator MURRAY for up to 5 minutes, and Senator SCHUMER up to 3 minutes.

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

H.R. 3755

Mr. BLUMENTHAL. Madam President, we will be voting in just a few minutes on the Women's Health Protection Act, which I have proudly sponsored, first introduced in 2013. I want to thank particularly Senator SCHUMER for his leadership and Senator MURRAY for enabling us to have this historic vote. It is historic, the first vote that we will take guaranteeing the right of a provider to provide abortion care, which is healthcare, and the right of a patient to receive that care. There are very few votes that we will take in the U.S. Senate in the course of our career that will have as profound and dramatic an impact on the lives of all Americans.

Yes, reproductive healthcare is women's healthcare by and large, but it is human healthcare. Women's rights are human rights. And the decisions that women make about when and whether to become pregnant are intensely personal. They should not be interfered with by any of us, anyone from the government, anyone else. That right is protected by the Constitution. Today's vote comes at a time of unparalleled attack on equal access to abortion care in this country.

I clerked for Justice Harry Blackmun on the U.S. Supreme Court in the term after he wrote the majority opinion in *Roe v. Wade*. And at that time, we all believed that the decision would put an end to this controversy, this debate, once and for all. And yet here we are, five decades later; what was then unthinkable now has happened.

The U.S. Supreme Court has voluntarily taken a case that calls into question a woman's right to choose. And



the U.S. Supreme Court seems to be on track, based on its refusal to stop implementation of the Texas 5-week ban on abortion, to overturning *Roe v. Wade*.

Now, the U.S. Supreme Court will never say that “we hereby overturn *Roe v. Wade*.” This majority, influenced by rightwing ideology, will, in effect, overturn it without saying so because across the street in *Dobbs v. Jackson Women’s Healthcare Organization*, the question of whether Mississippi’s ban on abortion after 15 weeks is constitutional is squarely before the Court. And, make no mistake, if the Court upholds that Mississippi law, *Roe v. Wade* will no longer be the law of the land. *Planned Parenthood v. Casey* will no longer be the law of the land. Fifty years of jurisprudence will be gone without ever telling us that *Roe* is overturned. The Court will move that goalpost, and *Roe* will fall. And at least 20 States, through trigger laws, are prepared to immediately prohibit abortion completely and entirely.

If you don’t understand this threat, just ask the women of Texas. They are currently living in a State without protections of *Roe*. That dangerous anti-abortion law, SB 8, contains a 6-week abortion ban—6 weeks—far before many women even know that they are pregnant. And even worse, the law’s divisive bounty hunter provision deputizes a woman’s neighbors, friends, family, and acquaintances.

Last year alone, 19 States enacted 106 restrictions, including 12 abortion bans. For the first time ever, States enacted more than 100 abortion restrictions in a single year. My bill—the Women’s Health Protection Act—would put an end to this relentless and ever-growing attack on reproductive rights. It would create a Federal statutory right for healthcare providers to provide abortion care. It would provide a right for patients to receive that care, free from medically unnecessary restrictions that single out and impede abortion access.

Let’s not forget for one moment the reality on the ground. The reality is for millions of Americans, their futures—in some cases, their lives—depend on accessible abortion care. And the implications and ramifications affect men as well as women, families as well as moms.

We have had enough meddling by politicians and politically motivated judges getting between Americans and their personal healthcare decision. We have had enough with the shameful assaults on people’s freedoms and futures. We can’t go back, and we need this action now. It is time. It is time to pass the Women’s Health Protection Act.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Washington.

#### UKRAINE

Mrs. MURRAY. Madam President, I want to first briefly address what is happening in Ukraine. The Ukrainian people are being plunged into a deadly

and devastating war. We are already seeing hundreds of thousands of refugees fleeing the destruction and leaving their lives behind. We have seen heartbreaking images of children huddled in basements—all of this tragedy for no other reason than the cruel ambition of one dictator.

Make no mistake, every life lost, every community torn apart, the fault for this conflict lies solely at the feet of Vladimir Putin.

I strongly support continued efforts to inflict severe sanctions on Russia for this unjustified war of aggression. Russia must pay a crushing price for invading a sovereign democracy unprovoked. This is a time for our country and the world to remain united in strong support of Ukraine and firmly against Putin.

So today I am thinking of my constituents with friends and family and loved ones in Ukraine, and my heart is with the Ukrainian people who only want peace. I want them to know I will continue to do everything in my power to make sure the United States is doing its utmost to support the Ukrainian people.

H.R. 3755

Now, Madam President, I want to address the vote we are about to take. And I will start with a few simple questions for my colleagues: Do you trust women? Do you trust patients? Do you trust doctors? Do you believe every American should be able to make deeply personal decisions about pregnancy and parenting according to their own beliefs without the government interfering?

Well, if you answer yes to those questions, then your job tonight is pretty easy, vote for the Women’s Health Protection Act. What this bill does is simple. It follows the Constitution in nearly a half a century of precedent and gives patients the right to get an abortion and doctors the right to provide abortion care no matter where in America that patient or that doctor lives.

We might ask: Well, why do you need a bill like this if the right is already in the Constitution? Sadly, we need this bill because too many extreme rightwing politicians, too many well-funded conservative interest groups, and too many conservative lawyers jammed into our judicial system at every level clearly do not trust women or patients or doctors.

Now, you might say that assertion is unfair. But I am looking at actions not words, and here is what I see. In 2021 alone, Republican legislators across the country passed more than 100 abortion restrictions. In Texas, there is a law that has been in effect for nearly 6 months that bans abortion before women even know they are pregnant. And not only that, Texas has empowered citizens to sue one another personally for the “crime” of helping someone get an abortion or providing abortion care.

The Supreme Court has already rubberstamped this appalling divisive

law, and there is a very real threat that in a matter of months, they will end the constitutional right to abortion in *Roe v. Wade*.

What Republicans like to say, if *Roe v. Wade* is gone, that abortions will end. That is not true. Abortions will still happen. People will find a way, but many won’t have safe options, and their health and even their lives will be at risk. Even more so than today, women who don’t have the money or the time off or some other way—don’t have the means—won’t be able to get them.

And this cruelty will fall hardest on women of color, women who have low incomes, women in rural parts of the country, and the LGBTQ community. To me and to many Democrats here today, that is just so wrong. A person’s ability to make the right decision for themselves about pregnancy and parenting shouldn’t only be available to the rich or depend on what ZIP Code you live in.

Unfortunately, that is the future the Republican Party wants for America, but it is not what Democrats want, and it is certainly not what my constituents in Washington State want. And it is actually not what the vast majority of Americans across the country want either.

Sometime in the next few months, we will very likely see a historic reversal of a fundamental right Americans have known for nearly 50 years regarding one of the most personal decisions any individual can make—a right generations of women and Americans have grown up depending on and want to see it protected.

That means that this vote tonight is historic as well. This is each Senator’s chance to stand up for an individual’s right to decide what to do with their own body and their own future. Tonight the Democratic position is clear: We trust women and patients, and we believe that *Roe* should be the law of the land.

I hope Senate Republicans vote with us. But if they don’t, make no mistake, 72 million Americans of reproductive age today may soon lose a constitutional right every generation has known since *Roe* was decided in 1973. And if they do, they are going to know exactly who is responsible—the Republican Party.

I yield the floor.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

Mr. SCHUMER. Madam President, the vote before the Senate asks a simple question: As women’s healthcare comes under assault in ways we have not seen in living memory, shall the Senate respond? The legislation we are



considering today, the Women's Health Protection Act, is the first time—the first time—the Senate has taken an affirmative vote on stand-alone legislation to enshrine the right to an abortion in law.

And it is needed now more than ever, as reproductive rights are on the chopping block in the legislatures, in the courts, and, most dreadfully perhaps, even in the Supreme Court. The right to choose is intensely personal, and, by and large, the American people support the protections enshrined in Roe. So Americans deserve to know where their Senators stand on this crucial issue. This vote—because we are in the majority—will, for the first time, accomplish that. The other side did not want to put this vote on the floor.

When the House passed abortion rights legislation last fall, I said the Senate would act, and now we are holding a vote. I want to thank Senators Blumenthal, Baldwin, and Murray for their leadership in pushing the Women's Health Protection Act. And it is with strong enthusiasm that I will vote yes.

I yield the floor.

#### 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. 139, H.R. 3755, a bill to protect a person's ability to determine whether to continue or end a pregnancy, and to protect a health care provider's ability to provide abortion services.

Charles E. Schumer, Alex Padilla, Patty Murray, Christopher Murphy, Edward J. Markey, Gary C. Peters, Brian Schatz, Jack Reed, Tammy Duckworth, John W. Hickenlooper, Sheldon Whitehouse, Tim Kaine, Richard Blumenthal, Christopher A. Coons, Margaret Wood Hassan, Jeanne Shaheen, Patrick J. Leahy, Debbie Stabenow.

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 motion to proceed to H.R. 3755, a bill to protect a person's ability to determine whether to continue or end a pregnancy, and to protect a health care provider's ability to provide abortion services, shall be brought to a close?

The yeas and nays are mandatory under the rule.

The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. DURBIN. I announce that the Senator from California (Mrs. FEINSTEIN), the Senator from New Mexico (Mr. LUJÁN), and the Senator from Georgia (Mr. WARNOCK) are necessarily absent.

Mr. THUNE. The following Senators are necessarily absent: the Senator

from Oklahoma (Mr. INHOFE), the Senator from Louisiana (Mr. KENNEDY), and the Senator from Kentucky (Mr. PAUL).

The yeas and nays resulted—yeas 46, nays 48, as follows:

#### [Rollcall Vote No. 65 Leg.]

##### YEAS—46

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

##### NAYS—48

|           |            |            |
|-----------|------------|------------|
| Barrasso  | Fischer    | Portman    |
| Blackburn | Graham     | Risch      |
| Blunt     | Grassley   | Romney     |
| Boozman   | Hagerty    | Rounds     |
| Brown     | Hawley     | Rubio      |
| Burr      | Hoeven     | Sasse      |
| Capito    | Hyde-Smith | Scott (FL) |
| Cassidy   | Johnson    | Scott (SC) |
| Collins   | Lankford   | Shelby     |
| Cornyn    | Lee        | Sullivan   |
| Cotton    | Lummis     | Thune      |
| Cramer    | Manchin    | Tillis     |
| Crapo     | Marshall   | Toomey     |
| Cruz      | McConnell  | Tuberville |
| Daines    | Moran      | Wicker     |
| Ernst     | Murkowski  | Young      |

##### NOT VOTING—6

|           |         |         |
|-----------|---------|---------|
| Feinstein | Kennedy | Paul    |
| Inhofe    | Luján   | Warnock |

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. HEINRICH). On this vote, the yeas are 46, the nays are 48.

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

#### 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. 273, H.R. 3076, a bill to provide stability to and enhance the services of the United States Postal Service, and for other purposes.

Charles E. Schumer, Alex Padilla, Christopher Murphy, Edward J. Markey, Gary C. Peters, Brian Schatz, Jack Reed, Tammy Duckworth, John W. Hickenlooper, Sheldon Whitehouse, Tim Kaine, Richard Blumenthal, Christopher A. Coons, Margaret Wood Hassan, Jeanne Shaheen, Patrick J. Leahy, Debbie Stabenow.

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 motion to proceed to H.R. 3076, a bill to provide stability to and enhance the services of the United States Postal Service, 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 bill clerk called the roll.

Mr. DURBIN. I announce that the Senator from California (Mrs. FEINSTEIN), the Senator from New Mexico (Mr. LUJÁN), and the Senator from Georgia (Mr. WARNOCK) are necessarily absent.

Mr. THUNE. The following Senators are necessarily absent: the Senator from Oklahoma (Mr. INHOFE), the Senator from Louisiana (Mr. KENNEDY), and the Senator from Kentucky (Mr. PAUL).

The yeas and nays resulted—yeas 74, nays 20, as follows:

#### [Rollcall Vote No. 66 Leg.]

##### YEAS—74

|              |              |            |
|--------------|--------------|------------|
| Baldwin      | Graham       | Peters     |
| Bennet       | Grassley     | Portman    |
| Blumenthal   | Hassan       | Reed       |
| Blunt        | Hawley       | Romney     |
| Booker       | Heinrich     | Rosen      |
| Boozman      | Hickenlooper | Rounds     |
| Brown        | Hirono       | Sanders    |
| Burr         | Hoeven       | Schatz     |
| Cantwell     | Hyde-Smith   | Schumer    |
| Capito       | Kaine        | Shaheen    |
| Cardin       | Kelly        | Sinema     |
| Carper       | King         | Smith      |
| Casey        | Klobuchar    | Stabenow   |
| Cassidy      | Leahy        | Sullivan   |
| Collins      | Manchin      | Tester     |
| Coons        | Markey       | Thune      |
| Cortez Masto | Marshall     | Tillis     |
| Cotton       | Menendez     | Van Hollen |
| Cramer       | Merkley      | Warner     |
| Daines       | Moran        | Warren     |
| Duckworth    | Murkowski    | Whitehouse |
| Durbin       | Murphy       | Wicker     |
| Ernst        | Murray       | Wyden      |
| Fischer      | Ossoff       | Young      |
| Gillibrand   | Padilla      |            |

##### NAYS—20

|           |           |            |
|-----------|-----------|------------|
| Barrasso  | Johnson   | Sasse      |
| Blackburn | Lankford  | Scott (FL) |
| Braun     | Lee       | Scott (SC) |
| Cornyn    | Lummis    | Shelby     |
| Crapo     | McConnell | Toomey     |
| Cruz      | Risch     | Tuberville |
| Hagerty   | Rubio     |            |

##### NOT VOTING—6

|           |         |         |
|-----------|---------|---------|
| Feinstein | Kennedy | Paul    |
| Inhofe    | Luján   | Warnock |

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Ms. SMITH). On this vote, the yeas are 74, the nays are 20.

Three-fifths of the Senators duly chosen and sworn having voted in the affirmative, the motion is agreed to.

The motion was agreed to.

#### POSTAL SERVICE REFORM ACT OF 2022—Motion to Proceed

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Cloture having been invoked, the clerk will report the motion.

The bill clerk read as follows:

Motion to proceed to Calendar No. 273, H.R. 3076, a bill to provide stability to and enhance the services of the United States Postal Service, and for other purposes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Dakota.

#### UNANIMOUS CONSENT AGREEMENT—H.R. 3076

Mr. CRAMER. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate stand in recess subject to the call of the Chair and that all time during any period of morning business, adjournment, recess, and leader remarks

count postcloture on the motion to proceed to H.R. 3076.

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

# RECESS SUBJECT TO THE CALL OF THE CHAIR

Mr. CRAMER. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate stand in recess subject to the call of the Chair.

There being no objection, the Senate, at 7:24 p.m., recessed subject to the call of the Chair and reassembled at 8:43 p.m. when called to order by the Presiding Officer (Ms. SMITH).

## POSTAL SERVICE REFORM ACT OF 2022—Motion to Proceed—Continued

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Ohio.

### UKRAINE

Mr. PORTMAN. Madam President, this is the fourth time I have come to the floor of the Senate in the past month to talk about the crisis in Ukraine and to talk about what we can do here in the U.S. Congress to try to help the great people of Ukraine.

Today, I come to the floor to express my solidarity with the courageous people of Ukraine, who, as we speak, are under attack in Kyiv and Kharkiv, and in so many other cities and towns throughout Ukraine.

Russia's attack on Ukraine is a brutal, unprovoked invasion of a democracy—an ally and a sovereign nation. It must not be allowed to stand or it will create a precedent that unravels the international order that has kept the peace in Europe for nearly 80 years.

Earlier today, Senator DURBIN and I organized a meeting of the Ukraine Caucus. We are the cochairs. We had Ambassador Markarova come, who is the Ukrainian Ambassador to the United States. Along with her came a member of the Rada, their Parliament, who happened to be in the United States when the attack began. They spoke with emotion about their country, about what they needed—Stinger missiles, Javelin missiles—to be able to fight against superior Russian air power and Russian tanks.

But they also spoke with compassion about the people of Ukraine, about the sacrifice and the courage that they are showing. From the woman who has never fought before who now has an AK-47 and is defending her family in her apartment building to the President of the Republic, President Zelenskyy, all of them are showing courage in defending their homeland, their way of life, and democracy.

I also just left a briefing that was an opportunity to hear from the Secretary of State, the Secretary of Defense, and other American officials about what we are doing as a country and to give us an update on their view as to what is happening in Ukraine.

Just as the conversation with Ambassador Markarova and a member of

the Rada was inspiring to hear about the courage and the resilience of the people of Ukraine, the briefing with our American officials was sobering.

It was encouraging to see America stand up to protect freedom; but also, an understanding that the Russian forces outnumber those in Ukraine—and certainly their equipment, technology, their planes, and their tanks, and their ships are going to make this a very, very difficult battle.

Thankfully, the world is rallying on this side of freedom. That is encouraging and inspiring.

I was in Cleveland, OH, last night at a prayer vigil and then a rally. Over 1,000 people showed up. Many were Ukrainian Americans who live in Northeast Ohio—it is a strong community—but many were not. Many were from other countries: Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Poland, people who have family from Romania, Bulgaria, people from the entire region—including some from Russia—but all standing firmly with the people of Ukraine.

As was said last night at the prayer vigil: Tonight, we are all Ukrainians. Tonight, we are all Ukrainians.

There were also demonstrations and rallies all around the country yesterday. We are told over 40 cities had rallies to support Ukraine and the people of Ukraine.

Last night, I heard stories about family members who are in harm's way. Again, people with their voices choked with emotion were talking about what is going on, what they are hearing from their family members back in Ukraine. One guy who I know told me that his brother-in-law back in Ukraine who, again, has never picked up a weapon before in his life, has joined the military. He is probably about my age. He has joined the military to put his life at risk for his country and for his neighbors.

The people of Ukraine did nothing to cause this invasion—nothing. Their only desire is to live in peace. As Ambassador Markarova said this afternoon: Ukrainians never attack anybody. We just want to live in peace. Allow us to determine our own fate, our own destiny.

That is what Vladimir Putin cannot abide, and that is what we in America and the rest of the free world must support Ukrainians in doing, to allow them to have the future that they choose through a duly elected government. The freedoms and democracy and prosperity that we take for granted so often in this country, they relish.

In 2014, at the Maidan, once again they threw off the shackles of a Russian-backed government. They know what it is like to live under the thumb of Russia, under the thumb of the Soviet Union before that. They don't want to go back. In 2014, they made a conscious decision to go forward, looking to the West, to stand with us.

I was there while the Maidan was still smoldering. The tires were still smoldering. People were still there,

gathered. Even though the Russian-backed government had been removed, they still weren't sure what would happen. Then an election occurred, a democratic election. And a President was elected. And a parliament, a Rada, was elected. And they began to fight for not just the freedom of Ukraine and the democracy in Ukraine but the rule of law to get rid of some of the oligarchical structure that Russia had left, the corruption. And now this, after so much progress. Since 2014, they have fought and fought and fought to be like us. And now this.

Hundreds of innocent Ukrainians—men, women, and children—have already lost their lives in this invasion. Nobody knows the exact number. But we saw footage today on CNN, on FOX, on the networks, of apartment buildings that had been attacked by missiles. We heard from the Ambassador that two five-story apartment buildings had been attacked today, and women and children had lost their lives.

This humanitarian crisis, of course, is pouring refugees into other countries as well. Hundreds of thousands of people have escaped to Poland, mostly women and children. Romania is also taking its share of refugees.

But make no mistake: Ukrainians are fighting. They are fighting back bravely. And they have inflicted great costs already on their Russian invaders.

I commend those brave Ukrainians and Armed Forces who picked up arms against these great odds and have already denied President Putin his initial objective and immediate occupation.

I want to particularly commend the brave leadership of Ukraine President Vladimir Zelenskyy. His defiance in the face of evil is what leads free countries and societies through difficult and dark days like Ukraine is experiencing right now. When it was suggested to him that the West would like to help him to find a way to escape, his response this week was: "I need ammunition, not a ride." "I need ammunition, not a ride."

This has been a rallying cry not only for the people of Ukraine but around the world. Unfortunately, Ukraine is used to this Russian aggression. They have suffered already during an 8-year war on Ukraine since 2014, since the Revolution of Dignity, since the events under Maidan I talked about earlier. Fourteen thousand Ukrainian citizens have lost their lives at the hands of Russian snipers, Russian military, and artillery.

I have been to the front. They call it the line of contact. It is the border now between Ukraine and these so-called occupied territories, the Donbas. "Line of contact" is a euphemism. It makes it sound like there are gloves touching at the contact. It is a line of war, and it has been for 14 years. Again, 14,000 Ukrainians have lost their lives.

I had to wear the helmet and the flak jacket because there were snipers that

day taking pot shots at Ukrainian soldiers. But I saw with those Ukrainian soldiers the patriotism, the nationalism that I knew would lead them to fight; that the miscalculation by President Putin was that, somehow, Russia would be greeted as victors. Some even said that he thought he would be greeted with flowers. Instead, they are being greeted with AK-47s. And having been there on the frontlines, you knew this would happen. These Ukrainians are not going to give up their country.

When President Putin decided to invade Ukraine in 2014 and seize Crimea and come into the Donbas, it was clear that Russia was not a rational actor but one motivated by the irrational dreams of recreating an empire at all costs. The world warned Russia to stand down then, and they refused. And the sanctions were too weak. This time, the world again has warned Vladimir Putin to stand down. Instead, he has ordered airstrikes into the capital city of Kyiv. Now there are reports of Russian military deliberately striking hospitals, kindergartens, and apartment complexes, as I talked about a moment ago.

These are war crimes, and the world is watching. I would say to Russian officials tonight, Russian commanders, there is another way. Stop this atrocity. The world is watching, and the war crimes are being recorded. You can refuse these orders—and you must for the sake of humanity. Why would you want to kill your neighbors in Ukraine who are innocent and just want to have the opportunity to lead their life as they see fit?

These are not just war crimes; they are a clear violation of Russia's international commitments under the Budapest Memorandum, the Minsk agreements, the U.N. Charter, international law—as was the decree issued earlier in February, about 2 weeks ago, by President Putin, which recognized the independence of parts of Ukraine, the Donetsk People's Republic, the Luhansk People's Republic. He did so as a pretext to ordering the Russian military to conduct so-called peace-keeping missions in occupied Ukrainian territories.

We now see that this was one more case of disinformation. The lies and disinformation will continue, as they did today. But they are taking in fewer and fewer people because people can see what is happening. This is the age of digital communications, where people can see videos in realtime of the war crimes being committed.

I was among those advocating for tougher sanctions upfront, preinvasion, believing that might dissuade Russia from launching a full-scale assault. I cosponsored legislation to do just that and had hoped Congress would pass bipartisan legislation mandating tough financial sanctions, Nord Stream 2 sanctions, assistance to combat cyber attacks, disinformation, in addition to advanced military aid.

I honestly don't know whether it would have kept Vladimir Putin from

making this terrible mistake, but I thought it was something we should have done. We chose not to. And we are where we are. And now, we are seeing not just the United States but the rest of the world step forward with these tough sanctions.

And I congratulate the Biden administration for getting the rest of the world on board, as they have. There is more to do. We have now targeted Russian banks, Russian elites with sanctions, placed limits on high-tech commerce and Russia's ability to do business in dollars. All are welcome. In particular, the Treasury Department's imposition of economic measures that target the core infrastructure of Russia and more than 50 percent of the total banking system in Russia will have a devastating economic effect over time. Already today, they closed down their markets in Russia, their stock market. They are saying that foreign reserve cannot leave the country. So it is already having an impact.

In addition, the administration's announcement that they will sell 250 M1A2 battle tanks to Poland, I commend. I have been pushing for that for some time. These are the best tanks in the world. And Poland wanted them, and it is great we are now delivering those.

We have now deployed more U.S. troops to Germany and Eastern Europe to enhance NATO defenses. That is necessary, in my view. We are not in Ukraine but in the countries around Ukraine to ensure that, should Vladimir Putin expand this war—and who knows whether he will or not—he will meet even stiffer resistance from NATO.

We must make it part of a deliberate, coordinated strategy to enhance the military readiness of our Eastern European allies and do so quickly.

I also applaud the United States working with our European allies—with Australia, with Canada, with South Korea, Japan, Taiwan, and Singapore on a coordinated export control response. Combined, by the way, these four Asian countries I named account for over 70 percent of the world's semiconductor production. A ban on semiconductors, on chips, would be very costly to Russia's ability to arm and resupply its military. We must be sure this action comes to fruition. This must happen.

However, these are just first steps, in my view. We can and should do more. And I think there is a bipartisan consensus now here on Capitol Hill to do just that. Let me offer a few more suggestions.

I welcome the news from this weekend that we are going to be joined by a number of allies in sanctioning Russia's central bank and cutting off a number of their institutions from the SWIFT financial system. We are still seeing details of these plans. But as of now, it looks like they still have some carve-outs in this plan for certain financial institutions when it comes to

SWIFT. I think it is a better idea to put all of Russia's banks on this sanctioning list.

As for the central bank, I am glad we are getting global cooperation, but who we really need to step up to the plate is China. I am told China holds 14 percent of Russia's finances in reserves. China needs to know that this is a decision point. Will they stand against this tyranny that the global community is standing against or not?

I believe we should also target Russia's trade sector by revoking our permanent normal trade relationship, or PNTR, with Russia. In other words, the United States should no longer give Russia unrestricted access in trade to our country. This would have the effect of raising tariffs on goods from Russia to the rates at which they were before Russia joined the World Trade Organization and received this special status, PNTR, from the U.S. Congress.

When I was U.S. Trade Representative, I helped negotiate this agreement, and it does give them certain privileges with regard to our economy. Free trade with the United States is a privilege, not a right. After Russia joined the WTO in 2012, Congress passed legislation to expand trade between our countries by eliminating tariffs on some of these imports. But as easily as we granted PNTR, Congress can take it away. Invading a sovereign nation, a democracy no less, is certainly grounds for us to take away that privilege. And we have the right to undo it under the WTO rules for national security reasons.

It would not be unprecedented. In 1992, Congress revoked market access for Serbia and Montenegro as a result of their aggression in the wake of the breakup of Yugoslavia.

Today, I will be introducing bipartisan legislation to revoke unrestricted market access for countries who invade their neighbors, period. I call upon our trading partners to invoke their own national security rights at the WTO and similarly take away market access Russia, until this point, has enjoyed in their economies.

This should be ended, this market access, unless and until Ukraine's territorial integrity and sovereignty are as they were prior to the Russian invasion.

I was also glad to see the Germans have reversed their policy of not allowing arms that were originally produced in Germany to be sent to Ukraine. This is a big deal. They are now joining our other allies that have sent weapons in the past and are sending more now.

Germany is allowing another ally, the Netherlands, to send rocket-propelled grenades. I have been critical of Germany. I have been critical of Germany on this very floor—also, when I was at the Munich conference in Germany last week. I wish they had taken these steps sooner, but I commend them for taking these steps now.

We also need to increase shipments of lethal military arms to Ukraine, to the

Baltics, to Poland, Romania—as well as increasing defense spending here at home. This weekend, the administration authorized an additional \$350 million in lethal defensive arms for Ukraine. That is a positive development, and we need to get those weapons there immediately. I understand that some have gone. Others have not. These Javelins and Stingers and other military equipment need to be in Ukraine as soon as possible. The Ambassador told me today they need them badly, and there is absolutely no time to lose.

I understand the administration has also recently requested \$6.4 billion in aid for Ukraine in an emergency supplemental. I don't know if that is enough. With hundreds of thousands of Ukrainian refugees fleeing to Poland and other countries supporting Ukraine, we need to provide these allies with help to deal with this crisis.

I also want to take a hard look at the amount we are spending on arming Ukraine and our allies. Now is the time to provide them with what they need. An aid package should increase our lethal defensive assistance, provide critical support to combat enhanced cyber attacks against Ukraine and disinformation, and prepare for a refugee flow out of Ukraine into Europe.

By the way, we also need to enhance our own tools against cyber security right here in this country. Russia's cyber warfare against America continues, and it could increase. There is legislation actually on the floor this week to do just that, the Cyber Incident Reporting for Critical Infrastructure Act and two other pieces of legislation, FedRAMP and FISMA, our legislation to help protect our critical infrastructure on the private sector side but also protect our sensitive government information, national security data. So we can do something this week by passing that legislation.

Finally, Ukraine and Georgia should be allowed to begin the process to become part of NATO. You may remember it has been 14 years since NATO told Ukraine and Georgia they were in line for NATO membership. It was back in 2008.

I do not believe this invasion would have happened had Ukraine been part of NATO, period. I was told when I promoted this idea over the last several years that we couldn't do it because it would make Russia mad. I don't know what the reason is now.

These two countries, Ukraine and Georgia, along perhaps with Sweden and Finland, if they are interested—I understand the Finnish Parliament is going to take this up tomorrow—could join the so-called MAP process, or Mutual Action Plan, in NATO, laying out the specific roadmap for entry. It is time to put Ukraine on that final track toward NATO membership.

Let me remind everyone that Ukraine is not asking us to fight their wars for them. In fact, the world continues to watch and see images of

Ukrainian forces and regular civilians picking up arms and defending their homeland. They are just asking for enough help to defend themselves.

This is about the fight for freedom, and it is taking place right now at this time in the country of Ukraine. It is taking place in places all around the world. I am told that today there is a move toward more authoritarianism; that more people live under authoritarian regimes than under democratic regimes, based on some analysis; that it is shifting in the wrong direction.

Well, why then would we not stand by Ukraine? Because Ukraine is moving in the right direction. In 2014, they moved from being under the Russian thumb, authoritarianism, to democracy, and now Russia is trying to reverse that. We must stand for freedom. Why? Because it is in our interests.

Ultimately, we are the beacon of hope for opportunity for the rest of the world because of our freedoms here, but they are tenuous, and they depend on the allies around the world who also treasure freedom.

There are two quotes from two U.S. Presidents that come to mind. One is from a Republican and one is from a Democrat. The Democrat is John F. Kennedy. And these are words that he actually never spoke, but he wrote them. And it was from a speech that he was meant to give on the afternoon that he was assassinated in Dallas. He was to say, at this time:

[I]n this country, in this generation, [we] are—by destiny rather than choice—the watchmen on the walls of world freedom.

We are the watchmen on the walls of world freedom.

Senator KENNEDY served in this Chamber. President Kennedy was right. Just as he stood up to the Cuban Missile Crisis, he understood that by destiny rather than choice, it is up to us.

Ronald Reagan famously said that you get “[p]eace through [s]trength.”

To me, that is one of the great truisms of our last couple of decades in this country; that we have to have a strong military if we want to have peace because only by the projection of force can we ensure that we can keep peace around the world.

He also said:

We know only too well that war comes not when the forces of freedom are strong, but when they are weak. It is then that tyrants are tempted.

Think of the situation in Ukraine. It is then that tyrants are tempted.

There is strong bipartisan support now for Ukraine. And this week, we should work hard to ensure that we pass this supplemental appropriations bill we talked about that includes the assistance for Ukraine but also to strengthen our ability to protect against cyber attacks; also to do what we can in terms of trade—cutting off the normal trade status with Russia, tightening up the sanctions on the central bank we talked about.

There is so much more we can and should do. But I find there is no lack of

resolve right now from this Congress in its support for Ukraine and their people—their people who are just choosing a democratic and free future, free from tyranny.

The Ukrainian dream is now under attack by a brutal dictator who wants to remake Europe and disrupt the international order that has kept the peace for nearly 80 years. It is time for this Congress to speak with one voice. Freedom in Eastern Europe depends upon it, but so does global freedom and our freedom. Our allies and our adversaries are watching.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Nebraska.

Mr. SASSE. Madam President, first I would like to associate myself with the comments of the Senator from Ohio, Senator PORTMAN. He was eloquent, as always, about a pressing issue—not only the defense budget issues but the heroism of the Ukrainian people and the implications it should have for us in this Chamber this week and beyond.

Thank you, Senator PORTMAN.

Madam President, it is a little after 4 a.m. in Kyiv, the capital of Ukraine, and President Zelenskyy is still fighting. Ukrainians are still fighting, and Americans need to know their stories. Ukrainians need us to tell their stories.

This story starts, of course, with an unjust, unprovoked invasion. The people of Ukraine posed no threat. They provoked no violence. They lived freely on Russia's southwest border with their iconic wheat fields.

Many of us have been to Ukraine. We made friends there, but we also have Ukrainian American friends back in our States.

Living freely on the southwest border of Russia was enough to provoke the small man—the tyrant of Russia—to hatred. It is bizarre. They lived in freedom. So Putin decided he was threatened.

Vladimir Putin, Russia's desperate Nebuchadnezzar, thought he could crush Ukraine. He thought he could break their spirit. He thought he could put his boot on their neck. He actually thinks that freedom makes people soft; so he thought this would be easy.

He was wrong. Over the last week, Ukrainians have shown us their fighting spirit. They have shown the world their fighting spirit. They are standing firm against onslaught after onslaught, including the relentless targeting of now-civilian populations.

Outmanned and outgunned, the Ukrainian Army is making Putin pay pints of blood for every inch his army advances. The truth is, Putin didn't expect to encounter much resistance. He looked back on his experience in the Donbas, where he took big swaths of territory with a few dozen bullets, and he was convinced that the Ukrainian people would fold in the face of his giant army. He has been caught off guard, and his plans have been set back.

He didn't anticipate the bravery. He didn't anticipate the passion. He didn't

anticipate the heroism. He didn't anticipate the Ukrainian people. He didn't anticipate the way ordinary villagers would stand and rise up against their occupiers, like the one small woman who approached a group of Russian soldiers and began handing them handfuls of sunflower seeds. Why? She told them it was so that flowers—something beautiful—could grow on the places where their bodies rot after they were killed in the Ukraine.

She spoke for all Ukrainians. She spoke for the Kyiv grandmas arming up with AK-47s. She spoke for the grandpas who are having to reenlist in their late years. She spoke for the students now learning how to make Molotov cocktails. She spoke for fathers who have to kiss their children goodbye as they head back to the frontlines of battle. And she is speaking prophetically in advance for the mothers who are going to bury their sons.

The truth is, Putin has been embarrassed over the last 5 or 6 days by the Ukrainians.

Modern tyrants have developed a few strategies to fight truth-telling. The Chinese Communist Party's version is trying to suppress all information—to choke it off, to make sure no one says anything that is true. Others, like in Russia, decide to blast a billion lies through state-run media, hoping that they can just blot out the truth and sow so much confusion and nonsense that people can't find the needle in the haystack that is the truth.

But in the middle of this crisis, these strategies are failing because people are hungry for stories. People need stories. We need stories. The best and the most powerful stories are almost always the true stories. And, right now, Ukraine is retelling an age-old story of good and evil. And the reason their story is so powerful is because they are telling the true story. If we were to stand here tonight—and Senator PORTMAN and I and many others have been in the SCIF today for many, many hours. I have been there four or five times, and most of us have been there the last hour and a half, 2 hours. And if we were to tell every story of Ukrainian bravery, the Senate wouldn't have time to get anything else done this week.

But there is one store that stands out over the course of this last week, since Putin began his unjust invasion. It has given rise for the courageous Ukrainian resistance to find for themselves a new motto, and this is the story of Snake Island.

There is this little island in the Black Sea, near the mouth at the bottom of the Danube Delta. It is called Snake Island, and it is really small, but it is both strategically and symbolically important because it marks the boundary of Ukraine's territorial waters. Ukraine has always stationed a small number of border guards on this island to keep watch.

In 2019, the current President, Zelenskyy, went to this tiny little

piece of rock and he declared: "This island, like the rest of our territory, is Ukrainian land, and we will defend it with all our might."

Nobody in 2019 knew he was speaking prophecy. But, right now, over the course of the last week, the world has seen and the world has heard the story. The world has heard the recording of what those 13 Ukrainian heroes did last Thursday as they sought to defend that little piece of rock because it was symbolically important, as all of Ukraine was, that it is not Russia.

Shortly after Putin ordered his troops to attack Ukraine, two Russian naval vessels approached Snake Island and their intent was to seize it. The Russian commander ordered the Ukrainian border guards that they must surrender. He thought he could intimidate them. But like their commander in chief, the dictator—the liar Putin—he was wrong. They couldn't intimidate these men. So he announced that they needed to surrender or they would be fired upon. The Snake Island guards refused to give an inch. One Ukrainian, after conversing with some of his colleagues a little bit—on a recording many of you may have now heard—decided to turn up the volume and he announced: "Russian warship, idi nahui"—"idi nahui."

Russians decided to open fire on the island, pounding it with heavy ordnance and, eventually, troops would storm the beach and capture the garrison. But that one sentence—"Russian warship, idi nahui"—that is now the rallying cry of the Ukrainian resistance. It was heard this morning when a Georgian gas station on the sea decided that it wouldn't refuel the Russian ship. And when the Russian ship said, "What are you talking about?" they said: No, you are the bad guys.

The Russians said: Why can't we put politics aside? Just let us buy some gas.

These Georgians decided to repeat the new Ukrainian motto back to the gas station and said: Get the hell out of here.

And the gas station pulled away and said: Russian warship, you guys look strong enough. Why don't you row?

That sentence sums up the spirit of countless courageous, brave Ukrainians and what they are doing as they stand in the face of the much larger invading forces.

Snake Island is incomprehensible to a man like Vladimir Putin. He doesn't understand human dignity. He doesn't understand courage. He doesn't understand principle. He is too small. He doesn't understand why people would fight for freedom. This is a man who spent the last 30 years—20 of them now—as the ruler fighting to return Russia to tyranny, fighting to take away the freedom of his people, fighting to take away the liberty and freedom of those on Russia's borders. He doesn't want any of his near neighbors to know freedom. He thinks tyranny is the order of things. And, again, he is wrong.

Unlike Putin, though, our people—the reason so many Americans have been rallying to the Ukrainian cause over the course of the last week—our people fully understand the spirit of Snake Island. We may not know Snake Island geographically, but we understand what is beating in the hearts of the people who now wanted to echo that motto.

We breathe freedom. We believe in the ideas of the Declaration of Independence. We strive to create a more perfect Union here, where everyone is recognized as having been created equal. We often fail in our execution, but it is our aspiration to affirm universal human dignity and the destiny of people to be free, for we believe that every human is created in the image of God, and there is nothing government can do to erase that.

We have no love for strong men and tyrants. We understand the men of Snake Island in a way that Vladimir Putin cannot, for we believe in human dignity. We believe in universal rights. We believe in freedom from oppression. What we love, Vladimir Putin hates.

Today, Ukraine is standing against a dictator who rejects each and every one of the principles that we have affirmed in our credo founding documents. The defenders of Snake Island and, indeed, all the members of the Ukrainian resistance now are looking to add their names to the list of heroes, from the warriors of Thermopylae to the activists who brought down the Iron Curtain. This heroism is timeless.

Loving freedom didn't make Snake Island's defenders weak. Though they were outgunned, they were strong. The Ukrainians are fighting for a reason: love of country, hatred of oppression, and the aim they have to pass on a free Ukraine to their children for generations to come.

This national resistance, expressed so eloquently by these guards of Snake Island, has also come to find itself embodied in another one of the great new heroes on the global stage, and that is President Zelenskyy. Just a few years ago, this man was an actor and a comedian. Now, though, he has shown such bravery that we see his name listed alongside heroes and great statesmen like Winston Churchill and Charles de Gaulle.

As Russian troops bore down on Kyiv, Zelenskyy could have chosen to flee his country. You might have read some reports that the U.S. State Department allegedly offered to evacuate him and his family. But, instead, Zelenskyy chose that he would stay on the frontlines and lead his people. "The fight is here," he said. "I need ammunition, not a ride."

Putin, meanwhile, is off hiding in a bunker, trembling in fear of his own people. People are marching in the streets to oppose his pointless war, and his only response is to try to choke off their speech and to imprison them.

Zelenskyy, on the other hand, fights shoulder to shoulder with the men and

women who are trying to defend his country. You may have seen him breaking bread with some guys this morning. He has put his life on the line for his country, and he is not backing down, and his bravery has changed the world this week.

We don't know how things are going to unfold over the course of the next weeks and months, but Zelenskyy has changed the trajectory this week of Germany, of Finland, of Sweden, of Switzerland, and of kids all over the 7.8 billion-person planet. Zelenskyy is a symbol, and as a courageous man, he has already changed the world. He is a bigger man than Putin. The whole world knows that. Putin's own army knows that. Even Putin's cronies now know that.

But it is not just the Ukrainians who are going to be burying their dead. Russians are going to be burying many of their sons, as well. Thousands of Russians—many of whom are conscripts—will have died needlessly for Vladimir Putin's lies and his vanity.

Putin told Russian parents that their sons were off on training exercise and that they would be welcomed as heroes at the end of these exercises. He didn't tell them they would be shot, lit on fire, blown to bits. He didn't say these things because he is a liar.

While we applaud the bravery of Ukrainians, we should not overlook the humanity of these Russians who will also die, for the West's battle—freedom's battle—is not with Russian moms who didn't even know their boys were being deployed, women who would not desire to have the dictator Putin send their sons to ruin. Human beings are made in the image of God and are dying, and Vladimir Putin alone bears responsibility.

His evil ambitions are destroying not just Ukrainian bodies and souls but also Russian bodies and souls, and this conflict, this chosen war of aggression by Vladimir Putin, is disgusting, and if he actually cared for anything bigger than his ego, if he actually cared for his people, if he actually cared for his nation, the generations of Russians whom this war is going to impoverish, then he would find an off-ramp now. That is what a bigger man would do.

Ukraine, on the other hand, is not the aggressor here. We are seeing a people fighting for their survival because Putin has given them no other choice, and his thugs will keep on killing innocents until they are expelled from Ukraine's borders.

We obviously don't know how history will unfold here, but we do know that truth is on the Ukrainians' side, and the truth is this: that the boys of Snake Island and President Zelenskyy and the broader Ukrainian national resistance are mounting a defense of freedom unlike anything the West has seen since the end of the Cold War.

And that is why this story of Snake Island matters. It is why Zelenskyy's bravery is so important, not just for

Ukraine but for the whole world. And it is why that little woman's sunflower seeds are so inspired—for ordinary Ukrainians are responding to Putin's aggression with extraordinary heroism.

We should be in awe of what our friends are accomplishing. Make no mistake though, war is not an abstraction. Our 21st century jargon about kinetic action and lethal force tries to paper over a reality as old as Cain and Abel. War is young men and young women struggling for a last gasp of air while their blood soaks into the mud.

War is started by the old but usually waged by the young, and no one in their right mind would ever wish for war, for it is ugly. But the cause can be necessary, and, in this case, the Ukrainian cause is just. Their war for their country, for their freedom, and for their kids' futures is just. The Ukrainians are willing to shed their blood for their cause, but, as importantly, they are willing to soak the streets with the blood of Russians, who have been sent by the comfortable tyrant Putin, who sends his people to die pointlessly far from home while he consumes the billions that he has stolen from those same people.

Let's be steely-eyed about the coming days and weeks, because things tonight, at 4:30 in the morning, in Ukraine, are ugly, and they are going to get much, much worse. But Ukraine's heroes, despite of the dark nights that are ahead—their heroes—deserve our reverence. While it is ugly in Ukraine, their stories need to be told around the world by free people who believe in human dignity, for there is a great pantheon of freedom fighters across time, men and women who have died fighting tyrants, and we should tell their story. We must celebrate their cause, and we should arm them with as many Javelins and Stingers and rifles as they can possibly use.

We should ship them rations and ammo, and we should share actionable intelligence in realtime with them so they can try to repel the invading force, for as long as they are fighting tyrants, America stands with them and America will arm them, and I am convinced that this Senate will rise to the call to arm these Ukrainian freedom fighters in memory of those boys from Snake Island and all those who are joining their throng.

Glory to Ukraine. Glory to her heroes. America stands with you.

#### MORNING BUSINESS

##### WOMEN'S HEALTH PROTECTION ACT

Mr. DURBIN. Madam President, 49 years ago, the Supreme Court issued its landmark decision in *Roe v. Wade*. By an overwhelming, 7-2 vote, the Justices declared that a woman's choice to have an abortion is a constitutionally protected right.

For nearly five decades, the Supreme Court's holding in *Roe v. Wade* has en-

sured that millions of Americans can access their essential, reproductive healthcare rights. But today, *Roe v. Wade* is hanging by a thin thread. A majority of the current conservative Court appears poised to overturn *Roe* at the first opportunity. It is up to Congress to safeguard the protections guaranteed under *Roe v. Wade* by passing the Women's Health Protection Act, also known as WHPA.

For decades, abortion opponents have waged a relentless assault on women's right to choose. And for decades, the Supreme Court—even with conservative majorities—has protected the core principles of *Roe*. But the tides are turning rapidly.

In December, the Justices heard oral arguments in the case of a Mississippi law banning nearly all abortions after 15 weeks of pregnancy. Because the Mississippi law is clearly unconstitutional under *Roe* and its progeny, it was blocked by lower courts. But this Supreme Court, with its far-right majority, granted review anyway. And in their questioning, several conservative Justices seemed ready to overturn *Roe*.

This threat to women's health and freedom is unprecedented. In the words of U.S. Solicitor General Elizabeth Prelogar, who argued before the Supreme Court on behalf of the Federal Government: "The Court has never revoked a right that is so fundamental to so many Americans and so central to their ability to participate fully and equally in society."

Even without the threat from the Supreme Court, the right of women to control their reproductive health and lives is under attack. Last year, lawmakers in 47 States introduced more than 560 laws imposing new restrictions on reproductive rights.

In the face of this unprecedented assault on reproductive rights, Congress must step up and pass WHPA. WHPA would protect the right to access reproductive healthcare, free from medically unnecessary restrictions, no matter where you live.

I commend Senator BLUMENTHAL—the lead sponsor—and all of my colleagues who support this important and necessary measure, and I hope we will have bipartisan support in passing it.

(At the request of Mr. SCHUMER, the following statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD.)

##### WOMEN'S HEALTH PROTECTION ACT

• Mrs. FEINSTEIN. Madam President, I am proud to be an original cosponsor of the Women's Health Protection Act and pleased to submit my remarks regarding this critical legislation. I regret that I am unable to attend the full Senate vote on this bill today due to a death in the family.

The Women's Health Protection Act would guarantee the right to an abortion. The bill would allow a patient to access an abortion and ensure providers are able to deliver those services



without the burden of medically unnecessary restrictions.

Now more than ever, we need to protect this fundamental right. Nearly 50 years after the Supreme Court guaranteed the right to safe and legal abortion in *Roe v. Wade*, reproductive rights are under direct attack.

States are introducing laws at an alarming rate that seek to dramatically limit or outright ban abortion access. Some of these restrictive laws ban abortion after the 6th week of pregnancy, before many people know they are pregnant.

Even more concerning, we may no longer be able to rely on the Supreme Court to protect reproductive rights. The Supreme Court recently finished hearing oral arguments in a case about Mississippi's restrictive abortion law. Many Americans, including myself, are worried that the Supreme Court could significantly diminish or altogether overturn *Roe v. Wade*.

The repercussions of such a decision would be devastating. According to the Guttmacher Institute, more than half of U.S. States are poised to ban or severely restrict abortion access if this landmark decision is overturned. I remember what it was like prior to *Roe v. Wade*. I understand the heart-breaking and often unsafe situations that pregnant individuals face.

We must respond by passing the Women's Health Protection Act. Congress must do everything it can to ensure that individuals are able to access critical medical care and make the best decisions possible for their health. I am proud to cosponsor this important bill, and I won't stop fighting to protect fundamental reproductive rights.●

#### THE WOMEN'S HEALTH PROTECTION ACT

Mr. KING. Madam President, I voted to proceed to the consideration of the Women's Health Protection Act today with some reluctance, not because of any doubts about the substance of the bill—I have been a strong supporter of reproductive choice throughout my public life—but because of concern about and disagreement with some of the provisions of its introductory "Findings" section.

Several of these provisions assert that opposition to reproductive services, including abortion, is rooted in racism and misogyny. I don't believe that this is true, and I do believe that it is unfair and insulting to the millions of Americans whose opposition to abortion is rooted in their faith and deeply held moral principles. While I disagree with their conclusion—that it is appropriate for the government to impose these beliefs on others who do not share them and thereby intrude into the personal medical choices of all women—I don't question their motives and strongly disagree with the language of the bill that does so.

My vote today was not a vote on the final passage of the bill, but only to

bring it to the Senate floor for debate and amendment. Had the motion succeeded, I, along with many of my colleagues, would have voted to remove this inflammatory and unnecessary language from the bill.

Fundamentally, this issue is about who should have the power to make this most personal and difficult choice, the government or individual women in consultation with their doctors. While respecting the motives of those who disagree, I think that power should rest with the woman.

#### WOMEN'S HEALTH PROTECTION ACT

Ms. SINEMA. Madam President, I strongly believe a woman's healthcare decisions should be between her, her doctor, and her family, which is why I voted to advance today's bill. If it advanced, I would have offered an amendment to remove editorial language that has no legislative effect and needlessly disparages everyday Americans based on their deeply and sincerely held beliefs. On issues so important and personal to many Americans, both parties should seek respectful understanding instead of ascribing motives or insulting those who hold different beliefs.

#### WOMEN'S HEALTH PROTECTION ACT

Mr. OSSOFF. Madam President; today, I voted that the Senate should proceed to consider H.R. 3755, the Women's Health Protection Act, which would codify in Federal law the privacy of women's reproductive healthcare established by the Supreme Court's *Roe v. Wade* decision.

I support the privacy of women's healthcare, codification of *Roe v. Wade*, and proceeding to consideration of this measure. Should the Senate proceed, however, nonbinding commentary in the bill's preamble as currently drafted wrongly and unfairly impugns the motives and integrity of fellow Americans who view this issue differently.

I represent a State with a broad diversity of views, and I respect that diversity. I respect the opinions of my constituents even when I do not share them, and I recognize that good people may arrive at different opinions in good faith.

So should the Senate proceed to consider this measure, as I will vote that it should, it must remove from the preamble to this bill divisive rhetoric that wrongly accuses Georgians who hold a different view than mine of having views rooted in misogyny. In a country so politically polarized and divided, we must recommit to tolerance and mutual respect.

#### ARMS SALES NOTIFICATION

Mr. MENENDEZ. Madam President, section 36(b) of the Arms Export Con-

trol Act requires that Congress receive prior notification of certain proposed arms sales as defined by that statute. Upon such notification, the Congress has 30 calendar days during which the sale may be reviewed. The provision stipulates that, in the Senate, the notification of proposed sales shall be sent to the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

In keeping with the committee's intention to see that relevant information is available to the full Senate, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the notifications which have been received. If the cover letter references a classified annex, then such annex is available to all Senators in the office of the Foreign Relations Committee, room SD-423.

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

DEFENSE SECURITY  
COOPERATION AGENCY,  
Arlington, VA.

Hon. ROBERT MENENDEZ,  
Chairman, Committee on Foreign Relations,  
U.S. Senate, Washington, DC.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: Pursuant to the reporting requirements of Section 36(b)(1) of the Arms Export Control Act, as amended, we are forwarding herewith Transmittal No. 22-15, concerning the Air Force's proposed Letter(s) of Offer and Acceptance to the Government of Australia for defense articles and services estimated to cost \$122 million. After this letter is delivered to your office, we plan to issue a news release to notify the public of this proposed sale.

Sincerely,

JAMES A. HURSCH,  
Director.

Enclosures.

TRANSMITTAL NO. 22-15

Notice of Proposed Issuance of Letter of Offer Pursuant to Section 36(b)(1) of the Arms Export Control Act, as amended

(i) Prospective Purchaser: Government of Australia.

(ii) Total Estimated Value:  
Major Defense Equipment\* \$34 million.  
Other \$88 million.  
Total \$122 million.

(iii) Description and Quantity or Quantities of Articles or Services under Consideration for Purchase: The Government of Australia has requested the possible sale of AN/AAQ 24(V)N Large Aircraft Infrared Countermeasures (LAIRCM) component systems required to support an ongoing upgrade of its large Air Mobility Platforms, which include C-17As, KC-30As, and C-130Js.

Major Defense Equipment (MDE):  
Twenty-seven (27) AN/AAQ 24(V)N Large Aircraft Infrared Countermeasures (LAIRCM) System Processor Replacements (LSPR) (27 installed, 0 spares).

Thirty (30) Guardian Laser Turret Assemblies (GLTA) (30 installed, 0 spares).

Non-MDE: Also included are LAIRCM Control Indicator Unit Replacements (CIURs); Advanced Threat Missile Warning Sensors (ATWs); Smart Card Assemblies (SCAs); High Capacity Cards/User Data Memory Cards (HCCs/UDMs) (installed and spares); Simple Key Loaders; initial spares, consumables, and repair/return support; support and test equipment; integration and test support; personnel training, publications and technical documentation; U.S. Government and contractor engineering, technical and logistics support services; and other related elements of logistical and program support.



(iv) Military Department: Air Force (AT-D-BAA).

(v) Prior Related Cases, if any: AT-D-QCR, AT-D-QAE, AT-D-QCS, AT-D-SAQ, AT-D-SEN, AT-D-SGT.

(vi) Sales Commission, Fee, etc., Paid, Offered, or Agreed to be Paid: None.

(vii) Sensitivity of Technology Contained in the Defense Article or Defense Services Proposed to be Sold: See Attached Annex.

(viii) Date Report Delivered to Congress: February 22, 2022.

\*As defined in Section 47(6) of the Arms Export Control Act.

#### POLICY JUSTIFICATION

##### Australia—LAIRCM Line Replaceable Units (LRUs)

The Government of Australia has requested the possible sale of AN/AAQ 24(V)N Large Aircraft Infrared Countermeasures (LAIRCM) component systems required to support an ongoing upgrade of its large Air Mobility Platforms, which include C-17As, KC-30As, and C-130Js. As such, the Government of Australia has requested to buy twenty-seven (27) AN/AAQ 24(V)N Large Aircraft Infrared Countermeasures (LAIRCM) System Processor Replacements (LSPR) (27 installed, 0 spares); and thirty (30) Guardian Laser Turret Assemblies (GLTA) (30 installed, 0 spares). Also included are LAIRCM Control Indicator Unit Replacements (CIURs); Advanced Threat Missile Warning Sensors (ATWs); Smart Card Assemblies (SCAs); High Capacity Cards/User Data Memory Cards (HCCs/UDMs) (installed and spares); Simple Key Loaders; initial spares, consumables, and repair/return support; support and test equipment; integration and test support; personnel training, publications and technical documentation; U.S. Government and contractor engineering, technical and logistics support services; and other related elements of logistical and program support. The estimated total value is \$122 million.

This proposed sale will support the foreign policy and national security objectives of the United States. Australia is one of our most important allies in the Western Pacific. The strategic location of this political and economic power contributes significantly to ensuring peace and economic stability in the region. It is vital to the U.S. national interest to assist our ally in developing and maintaining a strong and ready self-defense capability.

The proposed sale will improve Australia's capability to meet current and future threats by providing modern protection for large air mobility platforms. These countermeasures are crucial to defeating modern threats. Australia will have no difficulty absorbing these articles into its armed forces.

The proposed sale of this equipment and support will not alter the basic military balance in the region.

The principal contractors will be Northrup Grumman Corporation, Rolling Meadows, IL; and The Boeing Company, Long Beach, CA, and San Antonio, TX. There are no known offset agreements proposed in connection with this potential sale.

Implementation of this proposed sale will require the assignment of 0.5 Full-Time Equivalent (FTE) additional U.S. Government representatives and 0.5 FTE U.S. contractor representatives to support Australia from the U.S. for a duration of five (5) years to support program management and engineering activities necessary to field and sustain LAIRCM on multiple Royal Australian Air Force platforms.

There will be no adverse impact on U.S. defense readiness as a result of this proposed sale.

TRANSMITTAL NO. 22-15

*Notice of Proposed Issuance of Letter of Offer Pursuant to Section 36(b)(1) of the Arms Export Control Act*

#### Annex Item No. vii

##### (vii) Sensitivity of Technology:

1. The AN/AAQ-24(V)N LAIRCM system is a self-contained, directed-energy countermeasures system designed to protect aircraft from infrared-guided surface-to-air missiles. The LAIRCM system features digital technology micro-miniature solid-state electronics. The system operates in all conditions, detecting incoming missiles and jamming infrared-seeker equipped missiles with aimed bursts of laser energy. The LAIRCM system consists of the Guardian Laser Transmitter Assembly (GLTA), LAIRCM System Processor Replacement (LSPR), multiple Advanced Threat Missile Warning Sensors (ATW), the Control Interface Unit Replacement (CIUR), and the Classified Memory Card User Data Module. The AN/PYQ-10 Simple Key Loader is also a necessary device.

2. The Guardian Laser Transmitter Assembly (GLTA) is a laser transmitter pointer/tracker subsystem designed to track the inbound threat missile and point the laser jam source at the missile's seeker. The GLTA automatically deploys the countermeasure.

3. The LAIRCM System Processor Replacement (LSPR) analyzes the data from each Missile Warning Sensor and automatically deploys the appropriate countermeasure via the GLTA. The LSPR contains Built-in-Test (BIT) circuitry.

4. The AN/PYQ-10 Simple Key Loader is a portable, hand-held device used for securely receiving, storing, and transferring data between compatible cryptographic and communications equipment.

5. The Advanced Threat Missile Warning Sensors (ATW) detect and declare threat missiles. The sensors are mounted on the aircraft exterior to provide omni-directional protection. The sensors detect the rocket plume of missiles and send appropriate data signals to the LSPR for processing.

6. The Control Interface Unit Replacement (CIUR) displays the incoming threat for the pilot to take appropriate action. The CIUR also provides operator interface to program the LAIRCM system to initiate built-in-test (BIT), to display system status, and to provide the crew with bearing to threat missile launch.

7. The Classified Memory Card User Data Module contains the laser jam codes. The Classified Memory Card User Data Module is loaded into the LSPR prior to flight; when not in use, the Classified Memory Card User Data Module is removed from the LSPR and put in secure storage.

8. The highest level of classification of defense articles, components, and services included in this potential sale is SECRET.

9. If a technologically advanced adversary were to obtain knowledge of the specific hardware and software elements, the information could be used to develop countermeasures that might reduce weapon system effectiveness or be used in the development of a system with similar or advanced capabilities.

10. A determination has been made that Australia can provide substantially the same degree of protection for the sensitive technology being released as the U.S. Government. This sale is necessary in furtherance of the U.S. foreign policy and national security objectives outlined in the Policy Justification.

11. All defense articles and services listed in this transmittal have been authorized for release and export to the Government of Australia.

#### ARMS SALES NOTIFICATION

Mr. MENENDEZ. Madam President, section 36(b) of the Arms Export Control Act requires that Congress receive prior notification of certain proposed arms sales as defined by that statute. Upon such notification, the Congress has 30 calendar days during which the sale may be reviewed. The provision stipulates that, in the Senate, the notification of proposed sales shall be sent to the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

In keeping with the committee's intention to see that relevant information is available to the full Senate, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the notifications which have been received. If the cover letter references a classified annex, then such annex is available to all Senators in the office of the Foreign Relations Committee, room SD-423.

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

DEFENSE SECURITY  
COOPERATION AGENCY,  
Arlington, VA.

Hon. ROBERT MENENDEZ,  
Chairman, Committee on Foreign Relations,  
U.S. Senate, Washington, DC.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: Pursuant to the reporting requirements of Section 36(b)(1) of the Arms Export Control Act, as amended, we are forwarding herewith Transmittal No. 21-59 concerning the Army's proposed Letter(s) of Offer and Acceptance to the Government of Kuwait for defense articles and services estimated to cost \$1 billion. After this letter is delivered to your office, we plan to issue a news release to notify the public of this proposed sale.

Sincerely,

JAMES A. HURSCH,  
Director.

Enclosures.

TRANSMITTAL NO. 21-59

*Notice of Proposed Issuance of Letter of Offer Pursuant to Section 36(b)(1) of the Arms Export Control Act, as amended*

(i) Prospective Purchaser: Government of Kuwait.

(ii) Total Estimated Value:  
Major Defense Equipment \* \$0 billion.  
Other \$1 billion.  
Total \$1 billion.

(iii) Description and Quantity or Quantities of Articles or Services under Consideration for Purchase:

Major Defense Equipment (MDE): None.

Non-MDE: Planning, design, construction, and associated procurement of Kuwait Ministry of Defense (KMOD) Headquarters Complex in Kuwait. This includes provisions for all physical building and infrastructure construction costs. The U.S. Army Corps of Engineers will provide life cycle design, construction, and project management, engineering services, technical support, facility and infrastructure assessments, surveys, planning, programming, design, acquisition, contract administration, construction management, and other technical services. The overall project includes over twenty facilities, including primary headquarters facilities for both civilian and military leadership, as well as any and all engineering studies, designs, construction, and construction management services necessary in order to provide a fully functioning headquarters complex.

(iv) Military Department: Army (KU-B-HBJ).

(v) Prior Related Cases, if any: KU-B-BAT.  
 (vi) Sales Commission, Fee, etc., Paid, Offered, or Agreed to be Paid: None known.

(vii) Sensitivity of Technology Contained in the Defense Article or Defense Services Proposed to be Sold: None.

(viii) Date Report Delivered to Congress: February 22, 2022.

\*As defined in Section 47(6) of the Arms Export Control Act.

#### POLICY JUSTIFICATION

Kuwait—Design and Construction of the Kuwait Ministry of Defense Headquarters Complex

The Government of Kuwait has requested to buy planning, design, construction, and associated procurement of Kuwait Ministry of Defense (KMOD) Headquarters Complex in Kuwait. This includes provisions for all physical building and infrastructure construction costs. The U.S. Army Corps of Engineers will provide life cycle design, construction, and project management, engineering services, technical support, facility and infrastructure assessments, surveys, planning, programming, design, acquisition, contract administration, construction management, and other technical services. The overall project includes over twenty facilities, including primary headquarters facilities for both civilian and military leadership, as well as any and all engineering studies, designs, construction, and construction management services necessary in order to provide a fully functioning headquarters complex. The estimated total cost is \$1 billion.

This proposed sale will support the foreign policy and national security objectives of the United States by helping to improve the infrastructure of a Major Non-NATO ally that has been an important force for political stability and economic progress in the Middle East.

This proposed sale will improve Kuwait's capability to meet current and future threats by modernizing the KMOD headquarters and associated infrastructure. Kuwait will have no difficulty absorbing this infrastructure, support, and associated services into its armed forces.

The proposed sale of this infrastructure and support will not alter the basic military balance in the region.

No principal contractor has been identified for this sale. Contracts funded by this case are likely to be competitive acquisitions. The host nation has the ability to limit competition if they so choose, but has not requested to do so at this time. There are no known offset agreements proposed in connection with this potential sale.

Implementation of this proposed sale will require the assignment of as many as ten (10) additional U.S. Government or U.S. contractor representatives to Kuwait for a duration of up to seven (7) years to provide construction management and oversight. It may be possible to utilize locally available labor to provide some oversight services in lieu of the assignment of U.S. personnel to the program.

There will be no adverse impact on U.S. defense readiness as a result of this proposed sale.

#### ARMS SALES NOTIFICATION

Mr. MENENDEZ. Madam President, section 36(b) of the Arms Export Control Act requires that Congress receive prior notification of certain proposed arms sales as defined by that statute. Upon such notification, the Congress has 30 calendar days during which the

sale may be reviewed. The provision stipulates that, in the Senate, the notification of proposed sales shall be sent to the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

In keeping with the committee's intention to see that relevant information is available to the full Senate, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the notifications which have been received. If the cover letter references a classified annex, then such annex is available to all Senators in the office of the Foreign Relations Committee, room SD-423.

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

DEFENSE SECURITY  
 COOPERATION AGENCY,  
 Arlington, VA.

Hon. ROBERT MENENDEZ,  
 Chairman, Committee on Foreign Relations,  
 U.S. Senate, Washington, DC.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: Pursuant to the reporting requirements of Section 36(b)(5)(C) of the Arms Export Control Act (AECA), as amended, we are forwarding Transmittal No. 22-0C. This notification relates to enhancements or upgrades from the level of sensitivity of technology or capability described in the Section 36(b)(1) AECA certification 20-35 of September 30, 2020.

Sincerely,

JEDIDIAH P. ROYAL  
 (For James A. Hursch, Director).

Enclosures.

TRANSMITTAL NO. 22-0C

Report of Enhancement or Upgrade of Sensitivity of Technology or Capability (Sec. 36(B)(5)(C), AECA)

(i) Purchaser: Government of Switzerland.  
 (ii) Sec. 36(b)(1), AECA Transmittal No.: 20-35.

Date: September 30, 2020.

Implementing Agency: Air Force, Navy.

(iii) Description: On September 30, 2020, Congress was notified by Congressional certification transmittal number 20-35 of the possible sale, under Section 36(b)(1) of the Arms Export Control Act, of up to forty (40) F-35 Joint Strike Fighter Conventional Take Off and Landing (CTOL) aircraft; forty-six (46) Pratt & Whitney F-135 engines; forty (40) Sidewinder AIM-9X Block II+ (Plus) Tactical Missiles; fifty (50) Sidewinder AIM-9X Block II Captive Air Training Missiles (CATMs); six (6) Sidewinder AIM-9X Block II Special Air Training Missiles (NATMS); four (4) Sidewinder AIM-9X Block II Tactical Guidance Units; ten (10) Sidewinder AIM-9X Block II CATM Guidance Units; eighteen (18) KMU-572 JDAM Guidance Kits for GBU-54; twelve (12) Bomb MK-82 500LB, General Purpose; twelve (12) Bomb MK-82, Inert; twelve (12) GBU-53/B Small Diameter Bomb II (SDB II) All-Up Round (AUR); and eight (8) GBU-53/B SDB II Guided Test Vehicle (GTV). Also included are Electronic Warfare Systems; Command, Control, Communications, Computer and Intelligence/Communications, Navigational, and Identification (C4I/CNI); Autonomic Logistics Global Support System (ALGS); Autonomic Logistics Information System (ALIS); Full Mission Trainer; Weapons Employment Capability and other Subsystems, Features, and Capabilities; F-35 unique infrared flares; reprogramming center access; F-35 Performance Based Logistics; software development/integration; flight test instrumentation; aircraft ferry and tanker support; Detector Laser DSU-38A/B, Detector Laser DSU-38A(D-2)/B, FMU-139D/B Fuze, KMU-572(D-2)/B Trainer

(JDAM), 40 inch Wing Release Lanyard; GBU-53/B SDB II Weapon Load Crew Trainers (WLCT); Cartridge, 25 mm PGU-23/U; weapons containers; aircraft and munitions support and test equipment; communications equipment; spares and repair parts; repair and return support; personnel training and training equipment; publications and technical documents; U.S. Government and contractor engineering, technical, and logistics support services; and other related elements of logistical and program support. The total estimated cost was \$6.58 billion. Major Defense Equipment (MDE) constituted \$4.08 billion of this total.

On December 4, 2020, Congress was notified by Congressional certification transmittal number 0B-21 of a clarification of eighteen (18) FMU-139D/B Fuzes as MDE items. This transmittal further reported a clarification of the description for AIM-9X Guidance Units from "four (4) Sidewinder AIM-9X Block II Tactical Guidance Units" to "four (4) Sidewinder AIM-9X Block II+ (plus) Tactical Guidance Units." The total MDE remained \$4.08 billion. The total case value remained \$6.58 billion.

This transmittal reports an extension of operation and sustainment costs for Switzerland's F-35 (non-MDE articles and services). There is no additional MDE being reported with this notification; as such, the total MDE value remains \$4.08 billion. The total cost of the new non-MDE articles and services is \$1.95 billion. The total case value will increase to \$8.53 billion.

(iv) Significance: This notification is provided due to the increased costs associated with the request for a longer period of Operations and Sustainment costs, as modified by the Swiss government from their original request.

(v) Justification: This proposed sale will support the foreign policy and national security of the United States by helping to improve the security of a friendly European nation that continues to be an important force for political stability and economic progress in Europe.

(vi) Sensitivity of Technology: The Sensitivity of Technology Statement contained in the original notification applies to articles and services here.

(vii) Date Report Delivered to Congress: February 18, 2022.

#### TRIBUTE TO DR. SALLY ROCKEY

Ms. STABENOW. Mr. President, it is my privilege to recognize and honor Dr. Sally Rockey, the inaugural executive director of the Foundation for Food and Agriculture Research, and a pioneer in Federal research, on the occasion of her well-earned retirement.

Dr. Rockey's career has improved countless people's lives through research, and she continues this mission today. She has been a leader in the advancement of research programs in both agriculture and biomedicine. She spent almost 20 years with the U.S. Department of Agriculture managing competitive research grant programs, and she was with the National Institutes of Health—NIH—for 11 years as the NIH Deputy Director for Extramural Research, where she led the operations of the world's largest extramural research program.

Together with Senator Pat Roberts, I established the Foundation for Food and Agriculture Research in the 2014

farm bill. Under Dr. Rockey's leadership, the foundation has become a significant force in the agriculture research community by developing innovative private-public partnerships to fund rigorous food and agriculture research. During Dr. Rockey's 6 years at the helm, the foundation awarded more than 250 grants in collaboration with over 550 partners. Her engagement with a broad swath of partners helps leverage \$1.40 for every dollar allocated by Congress. To put this into perspective, with Congress' investment of \$385 million over 10 years, along with the matching funds, the Foundation for Food and Agriculture Research is on track to invest nearly a billion dollars in agriculture research, an impressive feat for a new initiative and a testament to Dr. Rockey's leadership.

Dr. Rockey's legacy is not only audacious research—and the lives that are impacted by this research—but also the invaluable support the foundation provides to the next generation of scientists. During her tenure, the foundation established several programs that specifically prepare today's young scientists to address the food and agriculture challenges of tomorrow.

Dr. Rockey's future-focused perspective has led the foundation to create AgMission. Founded in partnership with U.S. Farmers and Ranchers in Action and World Farmers Organization, AgMission is an unprecedented global collaboration of farmers, ranchers, and scientists co-creating and rapidly expanding innovation, adaptation, and the adoption of climate-smart technologies. AgMission embodies our shared vision that agriculture can be mobilized to address the climate crisis.

I want to personally congratulate Dr. Rockey on the conclusion of her spectacular career in public service and wish her the best of luck on the start of the next chapter of her life.

We wish you well, Sally.

#### MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Messages from the President of the United States were communicated to the Senate by Mrs. Neiman, one of his secretaries.

#### EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

As in executive session the Presiding Officer laid before the Senate messages from the President of the United States submitting sundry nominations which were referred to the appropriate committees.

(The messages received today are printed at the end of the Senate proceedings.)

#### MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE RECEIVED DURING ADJOURNMENT

##### ENROLLED BILL SIGNED

Under the authority of the order of the Senate of January 3, 2021, the Secretary of the Senate, on February 18,

2022, during the adjournment of the Senate, received a message from the House of Representatives announcing that the Speaker pro tempore (Mr. RASKIN) had signed the following enrolled bill:

H.R. 6617. An act making further continuing appropriations for the fiscal year ending September 30, 2022, and for other purposes.

Under the authority of the order of the Senate of January 3, 2021, the enrolled bill was signed on February 18, 2022, during the adjournment of the Senate, by the President pro tempore (Mr. LEAHY).

#### MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

##### ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

At 3:02 p.m., a message from the House of Representatives, delivered by Mrs. Alli, one of its reading clerks, announced that the Speaker has signed the following enrolled bills:

H.R. 189. An act to amend the Public Health Service Act to provide that the authority of the Director of the National Institute on Minority Health and Health Disparities to make certain research endowments applies with respect to both current and former centers of excellence, and for other purposes.

H.R. 960. An act to designate the facility of the United States Postal Service located at 3493 Burnet Avenue in Cincinnati, Ohio, as the "John H. Lehr and Herbert M. Heilbrun Post Office".

H.R. 1667. An act to address behavioral health and well-being among health care professionals.

H.R. 2044. An act to designate the facility of the United States Postal Service located at 17 East Main Street in Herington, Kansas, as the "Captain Emil J. Kapaun Post Office Building".

H.R. 2497. An act to establish the Amache National Historic Site in the State of Colorado as a Unit of the National Park System, and for other purposes.

H.R. 3210. An act to designate the facility of the United States Postal Service located at 1905 15th Street in Boulder, Colorado, as the "Officer Eric H. Talley Post Office Building".

H.R. 3419. An act to designate the facility of the United States Postal Service located at 66 Meserole Avenue in Brooklyn, New York, as the "Joseph R. Lentol Post Office".

The enrolled bills were subsequently signed by the President pro tempore (Mr. LEAHY).

The message further announced that the House agree to the numbered amendments 1 through 5 of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 2497) entitled "An act to establish the Amache National Historic Site in the State of Colorado as a Unit of the National Park System, and for other purposes".

The message also announced that pursuant to section 1094(c)(2)(A)(i) of the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2022 (Public Law 117-81), the Minority Leader appoints the following member to the Afghanistan War Commission: Mr. Jeffrey Dressler of Hartford, Connecticut.

#### MEASURES PLACED ON THE CALENDAR

The following bill was read the second time, and placed on the calendar:

H.R. 4521. An act to provide for a coordinated Federal research initiative to ensure continued United States leadership in engineering biology.

#### EXECUTIVE AND OTHER COMMUNICATIONS

The following communications were laid before the Senate, together with accompanying papers, reports, and documents, and were referred as indicate:

EC-3275. A communication from the Board Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Farm Credit Administration, transmitting, pursuant to law, the Administration's Fiscal Year 2021-2022 Federal Information Security Management Act (FISMA) and Privacy Management Report received in the Office of the President pro tempore of the Senate; to the Committees on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry; Appropriations; Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs; and Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-3276. A communication from the Chief of the Planning and Regulatory Affairs Branch, Food and Nutrition Service, Department of Agriculture, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Child Nutrition Programs: Transitional Standards for Milk, Whole Grains and Sodium" (RIN0584-AE81) received in the Office of the President of the Senate on February 16, 2022; to the Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry.

EC-3277. A communication from the Director of the Regulations Management Division, Rural Development, Department of Agriculture, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Mandatory use of Guarantee Underwriting System (GUS) and Lender Loan Closing (LLC)" (RIN0575-AD21) received in the Office of the President of the Senate on February 16, 2022; to the Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry.

EC-3278. A communication from the Chief Innovation Officer, Rural Housing Service, Department of Agriculture, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Direct Single Family Housing Loans and Grants Programs" (RIN0575-AD14) received in the Office of the President of the Senate on February 16, 2022; to the Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry.

EC-3279. A communication from the Associate Director of the Regulatory Management Division, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Bacillus subtilis strain CH3000; Exemption from the Requirement of a Tolerance" (FRL No. 9093-01-OCSPP) received in the Office of the President of the Senate on February 16, 2022; to the Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry.

EC-3280. A communication from the Associate Director of the Regulatory Management Division, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Bacillus paralicheniformis strain CH2970; Exemption from the Requirement of a Tolerance" (FRL No. 9094-01-OCSPP) received in the Office of the President of the Senate on February 16, 2022; to the Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry.

EC-3281. A communication from the Acting Director of the Regulatory Management Division, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of

a rule entitled "Saccharomyces cerevisiae strain LAS02; Exemption from the Requirement of a Tolerance" (FRL No. 9253-01-OCSPP) received in the Office of the President of the Senate on February 16, 2022; to the Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry.

EC-3282. A communication from the Acting Director of the Regulatory Management Division, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Poly(oxy-1,2-ethanediyl)-a-hydro-w-hydroxy-, polymer with poly(isocyanatoalkyl) benzene, alkylol-blocked; Tolerance Exemption" (FRL No. 9399-01-OCSPP) received in the Office of the President of the Senate on February 16, 2022; to the Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry.

EC-3283. A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to the International Emergency Economic Powers Act, a report relative to the issuance of an Executive Order declaring a national emergency with respect to the widespread humanitarian crisis in Afghanistan, received in the Office of the President of the Senate on February 16, 2022; to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

EC-3284. A communication from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting, pursuant to law, a six-month periodic report on the national emergency that was declared in Executive Order 12957 with respect to Iran; to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

EC-3285. A communication from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting, pursuant to law, a six-month periodic report on the national emergency that was declared in Executive Order 13712 with respect to Burundi; to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

EC-3286. A communication from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting, pursuant to law, a six-month periodic report on the national emergency that was declared in Executive Order 13692 with respect to Venezuela; to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

EC-3287. A communication from the Congressional Affairs Director, Export-Import Bank of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a vacancy in the position of President, Export-Import Bank of the United States, received in the Office of the President of the Senate on February 16, 2022; to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

EC-3288. A communication from the Acting Director, Bureau of Consumer Financial Protection, transmitting, pursuant to law, the Bureau's strategic plan for fiscal years 2022-2026; to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

EC-3289. A communication from the Sanctions Regulations Advisor, Office of Foreign Assets Control, Department of the Treasury, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Ethiopia Sanctions Regulations" (31 CFR Part 550) received in the Office of the President of the Senate on February 16, 2022; to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

EC-3290. A communication from the Sanctions Regulations Advisor, Office of Foreign Assets Control, Department of the Treasury, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Inflation Adjustment of Civil Monetary Penalties" (31 CFR Chapter V) received in the Office of the President of the Senate on February 16, 2022; to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

EC-3291. A communication from the Sanctions Regulations Advisor, Office of Foreign Assets Control, Department of the Treasury,

transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Burundi Sanctions Regulations" (31 CFR Part 554) received in the Office of the President of the Senate on February 16, 2022; to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

EC-3292. A communication from the Congressional Assistant, Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Federal Reserve Bank Capital Stock" (RIN7100-AG13) received in the Office of the President of the Senate on February 16, 2022; to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

## REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

The following reports of committees were submitted:

By Mr. PETERS, from the Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs, with an amendment in the nature of a substitute:

S. 3035. A bill to establish the Artificial Intelligence Hygiene Working Group, and for other purposes (Rept. No. 117-82).

By Mr. MANCHIN, from the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources, with an amendment in the nature of a substitute:

S. 904. A bill to require the Secretary of the Interior, the Secretary of Agriculture, and the Assistant Secretary of the Army for Civil Works to digitize and make publicly available geographic information system mapping data relating to public access to Federal land and waters for outdoor recreation, and for other purposes (Rept. No. 117-83).

By Mr. MANCHIN, from the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources, with amendments:

S. 1354. A bill to amend the National Trails System Act to designate the Chilkoot National Historic Trail and to provide for a study of the Alaska Long Trail, and for other purposes (Rept. No. 117-84).

By Mr. MANCHIN, from the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources, without amendment:

S. 1583. A bill to reauthorize the Lake Tahoe Restoration Act, and for other purposes (Rept. No. 117-85).

S. 1620. A bill to direct the Secretary of the Interior to convey to the city of Eunice, Louisiana, certain Federal land in the State of Louisiana, and for other purposes (Rept. No. 117-86).

## INTRODUCTION OF BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS

The following bills and joint resolutions were introduced, read the first and second times by unanimous consent, and referred as indicated:

By Mr. LEE:

S. 3707. A bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act to allow disabled individuals with incurable terminal illnesses listed on the Compassionate Allowance list to receive disability insurance benefits without a waiting period, to prohibit concurrent receipt of disability insurance benefits and unemployment insurance, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. PORTMAN (for himself and Mr. COONS):

S. 3708. A bill to provide the President with authority to enter into certain plurilateral trade agreements with benefits only applying to signatories of those agreements, and for other purpose; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. THUNE (for himself and Mr. BARRASSO):

S. 3709. A bill to require the Secretary of Agriculture to carry out vegetation management projects and timber production projects on certain National Forest System land in the States of Montana, South Dakota, and Wyoming, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

By Mr. BOOKER (for himself and Mr. SCOTT of South Carolina):

S. 3710. A bill to amend section 249 of title 18, United States Code, to specify lynching as a hate crime act; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BRAUN (for himself and Ms. DUCKWORTH):

S. 3711. A bill to ensure that no cost reduction or cash refund is due under certain transportation cost-reimbursement contracts on the basis of the forgiveness of certain covered loans, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

By Mr. KAINE:

S. 3712. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 and the Employee Retirement Income Security Act of 1974 to provide for periodic automatic reenrollment under qualified automatic contribution arrangements, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions.

By Ms. COLLINS (for herself and Ms. MURKOWSKI):

S. 3713. A bill to codify the essential holdings of *Roe v. Wade* (410 U.S. 113 (1973)) and *Planned Parenthood of Southeastern Pennsylvania v. Casey* (505 U.S. 833 (1992)); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HAWLEY (for himself, Mr. GRASSLEY, Mr. HAGERTY, and Mr. TUBERVILLE):

S. 3714. A bill to prioritize United States energy independence, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

## SUBMISSION OF CONCURRENT AND SENATE RESOLUTIONS

The following concurrent resolutions and Senate resolutions were read, and referred (or acted upon), as indicated:

By Mr. OSSOFF:

S. Res. 528. A resolution designating February 16 of each year as "International Black Aviation Professionals Day"; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

## ADDITIONAL COSPONSORS

S. 181

At the request of Ms. HIRONO, the name of the Senator from New Jersey (Mr. BOOKER) was added as a cosponsor of S. 181, a bill to posthumously award a Congressional Gold Medal to Fred Korematsu, in recognition of his dedication to justice and equality.

S. 773

At the request of Mr. THUNE, the name of the Senator from Illinois (Mr. DURBIN) was added as a cosponsor of S. 773, a bill to enable certain hospitals that were participating in or applied for the drug discount program under section 340B of the Public Health Service Act prior to the COVID-19 public health emergency to temporarily maintain eligibility for such program, and for other purposes.

S. 819

At the request of Mr. BARRASSO, the name of the Senator from Alabama

(Mr. TUBERVILLE) was added as a cosponsor of S. 819, a bill to enhance the security of the United States and its allies, and for other purposes.

S. 1408

At the request of Mr. MARKEY, the name of the Senator from North Carolina (Mr. TILLIS) was added as a cosponsor of S. 1408, a bill to posthumously award the Congressional Gold Medal, collectively, to Glen Doherty, Tyrone Woods, J. Christopher Stevens, and Sean Smith, in recognition of their contributions to the Nation.

S. 1452

At the request of Mr. GRASSLEY, the name of the Senator from Pennsylvania (Mr. CASEY) was added as a cosponsor of S. 1452, a bill to require a standard financial aid offer form, and for other purposes.

S. 1780

At the request of Mr. BOOKER, the name of the Senator from Nevada (Ms. CORTEZ MASTO) was added as a cosponsor of S. 1780, a bill to remove college cost as a barrier to every student having access to a well-prepared and diverse educator workforce, and for other purposes.

S. 2607

At the request of Mr. PADILLA, the name of the Senator from Arizona (Ms. SINEMA) was added as a cosponsor of S. 2607, a bill to award a Congressional Gold Medal to the former hostages of the Iran Hostage Crisis of 1979-1981, highlighting their resilience throughout the unprecedented ordeal that they lived through and the national unity it produced, marking 4 decades since their 444 days in captivity, and recognizing their sacrifice to the United States.

S. 2750

At the request of Mrs. FISCHER, the name of the Senator from Wyoming (Ms. LUMMIS) was added as a cosponsor of S. 2750, a bill to amend the Food, Conservation, and Energy Act of 2008 to establish a precision agriculture loan program, and for other purposes.

S. 2773

At the request of Mr. LEAHY, the name of the Senator from Hawaii (Ms. HIRONO) was added as a cosponsor of S. 2773, a bill to amend the Leahy-Smith America Invents Act to address satellite offices of the United States Patent and Trademark Office, and for other purposes.

S. 3037

At the request of Mr. COTTON, the names of the Senator from Arkansas (Mr. BOOZMAN) and the Senator from South Dakota (Mr. THUNE) were added as cosponsors of S. 3037, a bill to require elementary schools and secondary schools that receive Federal funds to obtain parental consent before facilitating a child's gender transition in any form, and for other purposes.

S. 3052

At the request of Mr. MARKEY, the name of the Senator from Maryland

(Mr. CARDIN) was added as a cosponsor of S. 3052, a bill to promote free and fair elections, democracy, political freedoms, and human rights in Cambodia, and for other purposes.

S. 3111

At the request of Mr. COONS, the name of the Senator from Colorado (Mr. HICKENLOOPER) was added as a cosponsor of S. 3111, a bill to require the Secretary of Energy to establish a grant program to support hydrogen-fueled equipment at ports and to conduct a study with the Secretary of Transportation and the Secretary of Homeland Security on the feasibility and safety of using hydrogen-derived fuels, including ammonia, as a shipping fuel.

S. 3112

At the request of Mr. COONS, the name of the Senator from Colorado (Mr. HICKENLOOPER) was added as a cosponsor of S. 3112, a bill to amend the Energy Policy Act of 2005 to establish a Hydrogen Technologies for Heavy Industry Grant Program, and for other purposes.

S. 3374

At the request of Ms. KLOBUCHAR, the name of the Senator from North Carolina (Mr. TILLIS) was added as a cosponsor of S. 3374, a bill to reauthorize the COPS ON THE BEAT grant program.

S. 3397

At the request of Ms. ROSEN, the name of the Senator from Nevada (Ms. CORTEZ MASTO) was added as a cosponsor of S. 3397, a bill to direct the Secretary of Veterans Affairs to establish the Zero Suicide Initiative pilot program of the Department of Veterans Affairs.

S. 3481

At the request of Mr. COTTON, the name of the Senator from Kansas (Mr. MARSHALL) was added as a cosponsor of S. 3481, a bill to secure the dignity and safety of incarcerated women.

S. 3531

At the request of Mr. COONS, the name of the Senator from South Carolina (Mr. GRAHAM) was added as a cosponsor of S. 3531, a bill to require the Federal Government to produce a national climate adaptation and resilience strategy, and for other purposes.

S. 3541

At the request of Mr. OSSOFF, his name was added as a cosponsor of S. 3541, a bill to improve health care and services for veterans exposed to toxic substances, and for other purposes.

S. 3580

At the request of Ms. KLOBUCHAR, the names of the Senator from Georgia (Mr. WARNOCK), the Senator from Idaho (Mr. RISCH), the Senator from Colorado (Mr. BENNET), the Senator from North Dakota (Mr. CRAMER), the Senator from Oregon (Mr. WYDEN) and the Senator from Missouri (Mr. BLUNT) were added as cosponsors of S. 3580, a bill to amend title 46, United States Code, with respect to prohibited acts by

ocean common carriers or marine terminal operators, and for other purposes.

S. 3600

At the request of Mr. PETERS, the name of the Senator from Colorado (Mr. BENNET) was added as a cosponsor of S. 3600, a bill to improve the cybersecurity of the Federal Government, and for other purposes.

S. 3607

At the request of Mr. WHITEHOUSE, the name of the Senator from New Jersey (Mr. BOOKER) was added as a cosponsor of S. 3607, a bill to award a Congressional gold medal, collectively, to the First Rhode Island Regiment, in recognition of their dedicated service during the Revolutionary War.

S. 3621

At the request of Ms. HIRONO, the name of the Senator from Minnesota (Ms. KLOBUCHAR) was added as a cosponsor of S. 3621, a bill to direct the Secretary of the Interior to establish to establish a National Climate Adaptation Science Center and Regional Climate Adaptation Science Centers to respond to the effects of extreme weather events and climate trends, and for other purposes.

S. 3701

At the request of Mr. SCOTT of Florida, the name of the Senator from Florida (Mr. RUBIO) was added as a cosponsor of S. 3701, a bill to exempt commercial truck drivers from Canada or Mexico who are seeking to temporarily enter the United States for business through a land port of entry from any COVID-19 vaccination requirement.

S. CON. RES. 3

At the request of Mr. MANCHIN, the name of the Senator from Connecticut (Mr. BLUMENTHAL) was added as a cosponsor of S. Con. Res. 3, a concurrent resolution authorizing the use of the rotunda of the Capitol for the lying in state of the remains of the last Medal of Honor recipient of World War II, in order to honor the Greatest Generation and the more than 16,000,000 men and women who served in the Armed Forces of the United States from 1941 to 1945.

S. CON. RES. 21

At the request of Mr. TILLIS, the name of the Senator from North Carolina (Mr. BURR) was added as a cosponsor of S. Con. Res. 21, a concurrent resolution establishing deadlines for the Joint Committee of Congress on the Library to approve or deny the statue of the Reverend William Franklin "Billy" Graham, Jr., for placement in the National Statuary Hall.

S. RES. 458

At the request of Mr. COONS, the name of the Senator from Connecticut (Mr. BLUMENTHAL) was added as a cosponsor of S. Res. 458, a resolution recognizing the 75th anniversary of the establishment of the United Nations Children's Fund.

## STATEMENTS ON INTRODUCED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS

By Mr. THUNE (for himself and Mr. BARRASSO):

S. 3709. A bill to require the Secretary of Agriculture to carry out vegetation management projects and timber production projects on certain National Forest System land in the States of Montana, South Dakota, and Wyoming, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

Mr. THUNE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the text of the bill be printed in the RECORD.

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

S. 3709

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*

### SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the “Black Hills Forest Protection and Jobs Preservation Act of 2022”.

### SEC. 2. VEGETATION MANAGEMENT PROJECTS ON BLACK HILLS NATIONAL FOREST USING EXPEDITED NEPA AUTHORITIES.

The Secretary of Agriculture, acting through the Chief of the Forest Service (referred to in this Act as the “Secretary”), shall issue 1 or more decisions using expedited authorities for compliance with the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 (42 U.S.C. 4321 et seq.), including sections 603 and 605 of the Healthy Forests Restoration Act of 2003 (16 U.S.C. 6591b, 6591d) and a determination of NEPA adequacy described in section 220.4(j) of title 36, Code of Federal Regulations (or successor regulations), to carry out vegetation management projects on land in the Black Hills National Forest.

### SEC. 3. FUNDING FOR TIMBER PRODUCTION PROJECTS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Of the amounts made available to the Secretary by section 40803(c)(11) of the Infrastructure Investment and Jobs Act (16 U.S.C. 6592(c)(11)), the Secretary shall use \$40,000,000 for the period of fiscal years 2022 through 2026 to carry out projects on the Bighorn National Forest, the Custer Gallatin National Forest, and the Black Hills National Forest that will result in timber production.

(b) USE OF CATEGORICAL EXCLUSION AND EMERGENCY ACTION AUTHORITIES.—In carrying out projects under subsection (a), the Secretary shall use, to the extent practicable—

(1) the categorical exclusion established by section 40806(b) of the Infrastructure Investment and Jobs Act (16 U.S.C. 6592b(b)); and

(2) the emergency action authority under section 40807 of that Act (16 U.S.C. 6592c).

(c) EXCESS AMOUNTS.—If any amounts made available under subsection (a) are not used by the Secretary by September 30, 2026, and the Secretary has exhausted all reasonable means to use those amounts for the purposes described in that subsection, those amounts shall remain available to the Secretary until expended to carry out projects described in section 40803(c)(11) of the Infrastructure Investment and Jobs Act (16 U.S.C. 6592(c)(11)).

### SEC. 4. WOOD PRODUCTS INFRASTRUCTURE.

In the ranking system developed under section 40804(d)(1) of the Infrastructure Investment and Jobs Act (16 U.S.C. 6592a(d)(1)), the Secretary shall categorize the Black Hills National Forest and the Bighorn National

Forest as being very high priority for ecological restoration involving vegetation removal.

### SEC. 5. ADMINISTRATION.

(a) JUDICIAL REVIEW.—A project carried out under section 2 or 3 shall not be subject to judicial review.

(b) EXCLUDED LAND.—A project carried out under section 2 or 3 may not be carried out on—

- (1) a component of the National Wilderness Preservation System; or
- (2) an inventoried roadless area.

By Mr. KAINÉ:

S. 3712. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 and the Employee Retirement Income Security Act of 1974 to provide for periodic automatic reenrollment under qualified automatic contribution arrangements, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions.

Mr. KAINÉ. Mr. President, today I am introducing the Auto Reenroll Act of 2022, alongside Representative KATHY MANNING, who has introduced companion legislation in the House of Representatives. Enacting this bill would improve financial security for Americans by strengthening their private retirement savings.

Nearly 7 in 10 Americans working in the private sector have access to employer-sponsored retirement plans, but a quarter of those with access do not participate in those plans. This means less money saved for retirement. Often, it means leaving money on the table, in the form of employer-matching contributions. Encouraging more employees to participate in their workplace plans would increase their overall compensation and improve their financial security and retirement outlook.

The Auto Reenroll Act of 2022 would boost participation through a simple change to the automatic enrollment safe harbor. Automatic enrollment plans have been tremendously successful at encouraging workers to participate in employer-sponsored plans, but employees who opt out of participating at the beginning of their tenure will likely never reconsider that decision. This bill would build on the success of auto enrollment by having employers reenroll nonparticipants once every 3 years, providing them another opportunity to consider participation. This would encourage those employees to reassess their nonparticipation as their financial situation evolves.

I encourage my colleagues to support this commonsense legislation to bolster private retirement savings.

By Ms. COLLINS (for herself and Ms. MURKOWSKI):

S. 3713. A bill to codify the essential holdings of Roe v. Wade (410 U.S. 113 (1973)) and Planned Parenthood of Southeastern Pennsylvania v. Casey (505 U.S. 833 (1992)); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Ms. COLLINS. Mr. President, I rise today to introduce the Reproductive Choice Act with my colleague and friend Senator LISA MURKOWSKI, which

would codify the protections for reproductive rights established by the Supreme Court's decisions in Roe v. Wade in 1973 and affirmed by Planned Parenthood v. Casey in 1992. We are introducing the Reproductive Choice Act as a substitute amendment to the Women's Health Protection Act before us today and as a standalone bill for future consideration.

Unfortunately, the Women's Health Protection Act goes far beyond codifying Roe and Casey. Among other issues, this legislation would severely weaken protections afforded to healthcare providers who refuse to perform abortions on religious grounds. Rather than just codifying Roe's protections, the bill would undercut Federal and State laws that have been in place for decades and call into question basic conscience protections.

The Reproductive Choice Act that Senator MURKOWSKI and I are introducing today would simply codify the essential holdings of the U.S. Supreme Court's 1973 decision in Roe v. Wade and 1992 decision in Planned Parenthood of Southeastern Pennsylvania v. Casey. Our bill carefully tracks the Supreme Court's language and would provide reassurance to women that the reproductive rights they have relied on for nearly 50 years will continue to be the law of the land.

Specifically, the Reproductive Choice Act would make clear in Federal law that States may not impose an “undue burden” on the ability of a woman to choose whether or not to terminate a pregnancy prior to viability. It would still allow States to enact regulations to further the health or safety of a woman seeking to terminate a pregnancy, while stating that regulations that have the purpose or effect of presenting a “substantial obstacle” to a woman seeking to terminate a pregnancy would be considered an “undue burden.”

As is currently permitted under Roe and Casey, our legislation would allow individual States to impose restrictions on terminating a pregnancy after fetal viability, except when necessary to preserve the life or health of the woman. Notably, unlike the Women's Health Protection Act, our bill would not restrict laws regarding conscience protections, including laws that protect healthcare providers who refuse to provide pregnancy termination services for moral or religious reasons.

Women should be assured privacy in making their reproductive choices, and I oppose efforts to overturn the U.S. Supreme Court's decision in Roe v. Wade. It is my hope that the Reproductive Choice Act will be enacted to ensure that women in this country are able to make their own reproductive choices as established in the landmark Roe decision.



## SUBMITTED RESOLUTIONS

## SENATE RESOLUTION 528—DESIGNATING FEBRUARY 16 OF EACH YEAR AS “INTERNATIONAL BLACK AVIATION PROFESSIONALS DAY”

Mr. OSSOFF submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary:

S. RES. 528

Whereas, since the birth of aviation, Black Americans have made and continue to make significant contributions to flight, space exploration, and the aviation industry as a whole, despite significant adversity;

Whereas aviation trailblazers like Emory C. Malick, the first licensed Black pilot, James H. Banning, the first Black pilot to fly across the United States, and Bessie “Queen” Coleman, the first licensed Black woman pilot, barnstormed through barriers such as racism and sexism to have careers in aviation;

Whereas Black American visionaries like William J. Powell, Jr., established the Bessie Coleman Flying Club, sponsored the first all-Black American airshow, wrote the book entitled “Black Wings”, produced a documentary film entitled “Unemployment, the Negro and Aviation”, and worked tirelessly to mobilize Black American youth to pursue careers in aviation;

Whereas Cornelius Coffey, a skilled Black American auto mechanic who dreamed of flying, and Willa Brown, the first Black woman to earn both a pilot's license and a commercial license and the first Black woman to become an officer in the Illinois Civil Air Patrol, organized a group of Black air enthusiasts, established training classes and a school of aeronautics, and helped promote the 1939 flight of Chauncey Spencer and Dale White from Chicago to Washington, D.C., to campaign for an end to racial segregation in aviation;

Whereas the Tuskegee Army Airfield, after which the Tuskegee Airmen were named, became a vital center for Black American servicemen and servicewomen to train as mechanics, control-tower operators, and pilots of military aircrafts, launching the careers of many notable Black aviators, including General Benjamin O. Davis, Jr., Amelia Jones, Linkwood Williams, Lieutenant Colonel Lee A. Archer, Major Charles Hall, Brigadier General Charles McGee, and many others;

Whereas the Red Tails of the 99th Fighter Squadron and later the 332d Fighter Group known as the Tuskegee Airmen made pioneering contributions to the United States war effort during World War II and the subsequent drive to end racial segregation in the Armed Forces;

Whereas, in 1958, Ruth Carol Taylor became the first Black regional flight attendant in the United States;

Whereas, in 1956, Patricia Banks-Edmiston filed, and, in 1960, ultimately won, a discrimination case against Capital Airlines, paving the way for her to become the first Black commercial flight attendant in the United States;

Whereas these historic firsts opened the skies for Black flight attendants, including Joan Dorsey, Diane Hunter, Patricia Grace Murphy, Undra Mays, Sheila Nutt, and Margaret Grant;

Whereas Oscar Wayman Holmes was the first Black air traffic controller and served as the first Black aircraft pilot and the first Black commissioned officer in the Navy, and Eleanor Williams became the first Black woman air traffic controller in 1971;

Whereas Black scientists have played an integral role in the United States, reaching the stars through the brilliance and fortitude of historically overlooked and unappreciated figures, including Katherine Johnson, Dorothy Vaughn, and Mary Jackson, whose contributions in astrophysics allowed the United States to send humans into space;

Whereas Black Americans finally soared amongst the stars when Guion “Guy” Bluford and Mae Jemison became the first Black American man and woman, respectively, to venture into space;

Whereas the research of Black Americans like physician Vance H. Marchbanks and psychophysiologist Patricia Cowings made it safer for astronauts to travel to space;

Whereas Black American inventors helped revolutionize air and space travel, including through the long-distance airplane designed by Charles W. Chappelle, contributions by Gladys West to the development of the Global Positioning System (GPS), technology created by George Robert Carruthers that allowed for photography in space, and the power source created by Lonnie Johnson for the National Aeronautics and Space Administration's Galileo mission to Jupiter;

Whereas Maynard Holbrook Jackson, Jr., the first Black mayor of the City of Atlanta, Georgia, is renowned for his major initiative, a diversity and inclusion plan to ensure Black business owners had the opportunity to participate in the expansion of Hartsfield-Jackson Atlanta International Airport into a major transportation hub, ahead of schedule and under budget, all while paving the way for minority-owned businesses to support the aviation industry through construction, management, and concessions programs at airports across the United States;

Whereas, on February 12, 2009, on a flight from Atlanta to Nashville, Captain Rachelle Jones Kerr, First Officer Stephanie Grant, and flight attendants Robin Rogers and Diana Galloway made history as the first all-female, all-Black American flight crew;

Whereas Casey Grant, an author, aviator, and pioneer in her own right as one of the earliest Black flight attendants, has made it her mission to honor the legacy and contributions of Black pioneers in aviation through her books entitled “Stars in the Sky” and “Stars and Beyond” and her efforts to introduce a new generation of young Black individuals across the United States and in Ghana to the field of aviation;

Whereas organizations, including the Organization of Black Aerospace Professionals, the Black Aviation Airline Pioneers, the Sisters of the Skies, the Bessie Coleman Aviation All-Stars, and the Black Flight Attendants of America, Inc., continue to preserve the legacy of Black Americans in aviation;

Whereas Black Americans have long served in every aspect of aviation, from skycaps, who greet travelers arriving at the airport, and ticketing agents, who ensure itineraries are in order, to ground crew, mechanics, and many others, who make the aviation industry safe and reliable;

Whereas the Federal Aviation Administration provides opportunities to eligible students from historically underrepresented backgrounds in the fields of aviation, aeronautics, and science, technology, engineering, and math (STEM) through the STEM Aviation and Space Education Program by recruiting candidates from historically Black colleges and universities for programs such as the Minority Serving Institutions Intern Program; and

Whereas public and private sector efforts to recruit, retain, and promote talented Black Americans through increased emphasis on intentional diversity, equity, and inclusion initiatives, programs, and commit-

ments and investments in programs that expose underrepresented groups to careers in aviation will ultimately help diversify the workforce for decades to come: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved*, That the Senate—

(1) designates February 16 of each year as “International Black Aviation Professionals Day”;

(2) encourages the observation of “International Black Aviation Professionals Day” through the recognition and celebration of the contributions of Black aviation professionals; and

(3) requests that the President issue a proclamation calling upon the people of the United States—

(A) to recognize the stories and contributions of Black American aviation professionals who broke barriers, innovated, and took aviation to greater heights;

(B) to provide enhanced curriculum in schools, libraries, and other places of learning to educate all people of the United States with respect to the contributions of Black aviation pioneers; and

(C) to support greater opportunities for Black Americans in all areas of aviation.

## AMENDMENTS SUBMITTED AND PROPOSED

SA 4932. Ms. COLLINS (for herself and Ms. MURKOWSKI) submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by her to the bill H.R. 3755, to protect a person's ability to determine whether to continue or end a pregnancy, and to protect a health care provider's ability to provide abortion services; which was ordered to lie on the table.

SA 4933. Mr. SCOTT of Florida submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill H.R. 3076, to provide stability to and enhance the services of the United States Postal Service, and for other purposes; which was ordered to lie on the table.

## TEXT OF AMENDMENTS

SA 4932. Ms. COLLINS (for herself and Ms. MURKOWSKI) submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by her to the bill H.R. 3755, to protect a person's ability to determine whether to continue or end a pregnancy, and to protect a health care provider's ability to provide abortion services; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

Strike all after the enacting clause and insert the following:

## SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the “Reproductive Choice Act”.

## SEC. 2. PURPOSE.

It is the purpose of this Act to codify the essential holdings of *Roe v. Wade* (410 U.S. 113 (1973)) and *Planned Parenthood of Southeastern Pennsylvania v. Casey* (505 U.S. 833 (1992)).

## SEC. 3. CLARIFICATION OF ALLOWABLE STATE REQUIREMENTS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—A State—

(1) may not impose an undue burden on the ability of a woman to choose whether or not to terminate a pregnancy before fetal viability;

(2) may restrict the ability of a woman to choose whether or not to terminate a pregnancy after fetal viability, unless such a termination is necessary to preserve the life or health of the woman; and

(3) may enact regulations to further the health or safety of a woman seeking to terminate a pregnancy.



(b) CLARIFICATION.—For purposes of this Act, unnecessary health regulations that have the purpose or effect of presenting a substantial obstacle to a woman seeking to terminate a pregnancy impose an undue burden.

(c) RULE OF CONSTRUCTION.—Nothing in this Act shall be construed to have any effect on laws regarding conscience protection.

#### SEC. 4. DEFINITIONS.

In this Act:

(1) STATE.—The term “State” includes the District of Columbia, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, and each other territory or possession of the United States, and any subdivision of any of the foregoing.

(2) UNDUE BURDEN.—The term “undue burden” means any burden that places a substantial obstacle in the path of a woman seeking to terminate a pregnancy prior to fetal viability.

**SA 4933.** Mr. SCOTT of Florida submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill H.R. 3076, to provide stability to and enhance the services of the United States Postal Service, and for other purposes; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the end of section 101(d), add the following:

(6) CONTINUING REIMBURSEMENT BY POSTAL SERVICE FOR INCREASED MEDICARE COSTS.—The Postal Service shall reimburse the Secretary of Health and Human Services (to be deposited in the Treasury to the credit of the Federal Hospital Insurance Trust Fund under section 1817 of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1395i) and the Federal Supplementary Medical Insurance Trust Fund under section 1841 of such Act (42 U.S.C. 1395t) in such proportions as the Secretary determines appropriate) on a quarterly basis for any increased Federal costs incurred under the Medicare program under title XVIII of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1395 et seq.) by reason of the enactment of this section, not including—

(A) any amounts required to be reimbursed by the Postal Service under section 1839(e) of such Act (42 U.S.C. 1395r(e)), as amended by this section; or

(B) the amounts required to be credited to the Treasury by the Postal Service under paragraph (4) of this subsection.

#### PRIVILEGES OF THE FLOOR

Mr. PORTMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Renee Sheehy, a Postal IG detailee from my staff, be granted floor privileges for the remainder of this Congress.

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

#### APPOINTMENT

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair, on behalf of the Ranking Member of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, pursuant to the provisions of Public Law 117–81, appoints the following individual to serve as a member of the Afghanistan War Commission: Daniel P. Fata of Massachusetts.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority leader.

#### AUTHORIZING APPOINTMENT OF ESCORT COMMITTEE

Mr. SCHUMER. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the Presiding Officer of the Senate be authorized to appoint a committee on the part of the Senate to join with a like committee on the part of the House of Representatives to escort the President of the United States into the House Chamber for the joint session to be held at 9 p.m. on Tuesday, March 1, 2022.

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

#### ORDERS FOR TUESDAY, MARCH 1, 2022

Mr. SCHUMER. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate completes its business today, it adjourn until 10:15 a.m. on Tuesday, March 1; that following the prayer and pledge, the morning hour be deemed expired, the Journal of proceedings be approved to date, the time for the two leaders be reserved for their use later in the day, and morning business be closed; that upon the conclusion of morning business, the Senate resume consideration of the motion to proceed to Calendar No. 273, H.R. 3076, Postal Service Reform, postcloture; that the Senate recess from 12:30 p.m. until 2:15 p.m. to allow for the weekly caucus meetings.

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

#### ADJOURNMENT UNTIL 10:15 A.M. TOMORROW

Mr. SCHUMER. Madam President, if there is no further business to come before the Senate, I ask unanimous consent that it stand adjourned under the previous order.

There being no objection, the Senate, at 9:48 p.m., adjourned until Tuesday, March 1, 2022, at 10:15 a.m.

#### NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate:

##### DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

WILLIAM A. LAPLANTE, JR., OF MASSACHUSETTS, TO BE UNDER SECRETARY OF DEFENSE FOR ACQUISITION AND SUSTAINMENT, VICE ELLEN M. LORD.

##### SECURITIES INVESTOR PROTECTION CORPORATION

WILLIAM BRODSKY, OF ILLINOIS, TO BE A DIRECTOR OF THE SECURITIES INVESTOR PROTECTION CORPORATION FOR A TERM EXPIRING DECEMBER 31, 2023, VICE ANTHONY FRANK D'AGOSTINO, TERM EXPIRED.

##### DEPARTMENT OF ENERGY

KATHRYN HUFF, OF ILLINOIS, TO BE AN ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF ENERGY (NUCLEAR ENERGY), VICE RITA BARANWAL.

##### SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES

KETANJI BROWN JACKSON, OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, TO BE AN ASSOCIATE JUSTICE OF THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES, VICE STEPHEN G. BREYER, RETIRING.

##### IN THE AIR FORCE

THE FOLLOWING NAMED OFFICERS FOR APPOINTMENT TO THE UNITED STATES AIR FORCE TO THE GRADE INDICATED UNDER TITLE 10, U.S.C., SECTION 624:

##### To be brigadier general

COL. KIRSTEN G. AGUILAR

COL. JASON E. BARTOLOMEI  
COL. PAUL R. BIRCH  
COL. HEATHER W. BLACKWELL  
COL. PETER M. BONETTI  
COL. MAURIZIO D. CALABRESE  
COL. DANIEL C. CLAYTON  
COL. RICHARD R. DICKENS  
COL. DAVID A. DOSS  
COL. JON A. EBERLAN  
COL. DAVID C. EPPERSON  
COL. WILLIAM C. FREEMAN  
COL. LANCE R. FRENCH  
COL. JESSE J. FRIEDEL  
COL. JEFFREY T. GERAGHTY  
COL. RICHARD A. GOODMAN  
COL. DOUGLAS D. JACKSON  
COL. JASON M. JANAROS  
COL. RYAN P. KEENEY  
COL. DAVID R. LOPEZ  
COL. GAVIN P. MARKS  
COL. ROGER R. MESSER  
COL. PATRICK G. MILLER  
COL. BRIAN R. MOORE  
COL. NATHAN L. OWENDOFF  
COL. WILLIAM S. ROGERS  
COL. JOCELYN J. SCHERMERHORN  
COL. JEFFREY T. SCHREINER  
COL. TRAVIS A. SIMMONS  
COL. MELISSA A. STONE  
COL. GEOFFREY F. WEISS  
COL. MICHAEL J. ZUHLSDORF

##### IN THE NAVY

THE FOLLOWING NAMED OFFICER FOR APPOINTMENT AS CHIEF OF CHAPLAINS OF THE NAVY AND APPOINTMENT TO THE GRADE INDICATED IN THE UNITED STATES NAVY WHILE SERVING IN THAT POSITION UNDER TITLE 10, U.S.C., SECTION 8082:

##### To be rear admiral

REAR ADM. (LH) GREGORY N. TODD

##### IN THE AIR FORCE

THE FOLLOWING NAMED OFFICERS FOR APPOINTMENT TO THE GRADE INDICATED IN THE RESERVE OF THE AIR FORCE UNDER TITLE 10, U.S.C., SECTION 12203:

##### To be colonel

NEALY P. BROWN  
GLORIA ANN BUN  
TERRY LEE FOX  
JOSHUA KIM  
ANTONIO JAVIER ORTIZGUZMAN  
RICHARD ALTON STEEN

THE FOLLOWING NAMED OFFICERS FOR APPOINTMENT TO THE GRADE INDICATED IN THE RESERVE OF THE AIR FORCE UNDER TITLE 10, U.S.C., SECTION 12203:

##### To be colonel

GEORGE A. GONZALEZ  
STEVEN H. HAKIM  
CLAYTON L. RICKS

THE FOLLOWING NAMED OFFICERS FOR APPOINTMENT TO THE GRADE INDICATED IN THE RESERVE OF THE AIR FORCE UNDER TITLE 10, U.S.C., SECTION 12203:

##### To be colonel

REBECCA A. BURBRIDGE  
CHARLES B. DISHMAN  
OMAR EBARB  
MICHAEL J. FELSEN  
NATHAN N. FROST  
ELAINE P. HO  
JEREMY K. MCKISSACK  
ERIC P. MERRIAM  
MEGAN E. MIDDLETON  
MONICA E. NUSSBAUM  
JAMES M. REED  
JENNIFER B. SCHMIDLY  
ELLIOT R. SELLE  
JOHN M. SIMMS  
MICHAEL J. TABER  
BRIAN A. YOUNG

THE FOLLOWING NAMED OFFICERS FOR APPOINTMENT TO THE GRADE INDICATED IN THE RESERVE OF THE AIR FORCE UNDER TITLE 10, U.S.C., SECTION 12203:

##### To be colonel

DARREN STEELE BEASLEY  
ALVIN JAY BRADFORD  
DANIEL B. COX  
JOEL B. ELTERMAN  
STACY F. FLETCHER  
BRUCE JAY GARDNER II  
DAVID EMERSON GOOD  
JOSHUA A. HARTMAN  
BENJAMIN J. MITCHELL  
STEVEN D. PODNOS  
MARK E. SHEPHERD  
RAJA R. TALATI  
DAVID BRIAN TROWBRIDGE  
WENDY J. WILCOXSON  
JEFFREY M. YOUNG

THE FOLLOWING NAMED OFFICERS FOR APPOINTMENT TO THE GRADE INDICATED IN THE RESERVE OF THE AIR FORCE UNDER TITLE 10, U.S.C., SECTION 12203:

##### To be colonel

TRAVIS W. GERLACH  
BRIAN S. JOHNSTON  
BEN C. ROBINSON  
BENJAMIN G. ROMICK

THE FOLLOWING NAMED OFFICERS FOR APPOINTMENT TO THE GRADE INDICATED IN THE RESERVE OF THE AIR FORCE UNDER TITLE 10, U.S.C., SECTION 12203:

*To be colonel*

JENNIFER J. ANDERSON  
ROBERT A. BARTH  
JESSICA M. BRANTNER  
JENNIFER M. BROTHERS  
MANDI S. GABRIELE  
MATTHEW L. GRIMES  
BARBARA A. MILLER  
AMY ASKEW SANDERSON  
LADONNA K. SCHREFFLER  
ALEXIS K. STUCKI

THE FOLLOWING NAMED OFFICERS FOR APPOINTMENT TO THE GRADE INDICATED IN THE RESERVE OF THE AIR FORCE UNDER TITLE 10, U.S.C., SECTION 12203:

*To be colonel*

MICHAEL M. AFLAGUE  
MERRITT M. BROCKMAN  
JODY L. COWAN  
ALYSON B. EISENHARDT  
SYLVIA A. FERNANDEZ  
ROSALIND DENISE JOHNSON  
JAMES B. MCMANUS

THE FOLLOWING NAMED OFFICERS FOR APPOINTMENT TO THE GRADE INDICATED IN THE RESERVE OF THE AIR FORCE UNDER TITLE 10, U.S.C., SECTION 12203:

*To be colonel*

JARED ROBERT BRANDT  
JENNIFER L. CARVER  
JENNY COUSE  
JENNIFER M. GILLETTE  
BRANDE C. NEWSOME  
GREGG ERIC RUSSELL  
JONI C. SCOTTWEIDEMAN  
SARAH R. SPETH

THE FOLLOWING NAMED OFFICERS FOR APPOINTMENT TO THE GRADE INDICATED IN THE RESERVE OF THE AIR FORCE UNDER TITLE 10, U.S.C., SECTION 12203:

*To be colonel*

ANTHONY S. ALEXANDER  
THAD T. AMUNDSON  
JOHN F. BENSON  
MATTHEW P. BRADLEY  
SCOTT R. BRADLEY  
RAYMOND C. BRADSHAW  
KURT M. BRUGGEMAN  
JAMES L. BURGESS  
KEVIN J. CAMPANILE  
KRISTIN MARIE G. CULLINAN  
BRIAN S. DANNAKER  
MICHAEL JAMES DELANEY  
SHANE M. DEVLIN  
WILLIAM W. DEWALT  
SUMMER A. FIELDS  
WILLIAM E. FIELDS  
JOSHUA MARTIN FLATLEY  
THOMAS R. FUHRMAN  
MICHAEL H. GARNER  
MATTHEW P. GIESE  
GREGORY R. HAFNER  
JOHANA A. HERNANDEZ  
DUSTIN R. HIRS  
JESSE W. HIGER  
HANS J. HILTERMAN  
RICARDO HIRALDO  
MARK H. JONES  
ROBERT M. KRUEGER  
BREANNA K. LANKFORD  
SCOTT E. LAWSON  
THOMAS F. LESSNER  
NATHAN A. LITZ  
BRANDON M. LORTON  
THERESA A. MALLORY  
DANIELA M. MARTIAN  
PRESTON J. MCCONNELL  
PATRICK JOHN MCMAHON  
AMY M. MEIER  
UVALDE ELMES MENDEZ  
CHRISTOPHER J. MOHR  
KIMBERLY L. MONK  
JULIE C. MOORE  
BIREN OBEROI  
TROY L. OGLE  
NATHANIEL BENTZIN OTT  
MICHAEL D. PARKER  
GREGORY J. PREISSER  
JOHN D. RAMSEY III  
JAYSON J. RICKARD  
ERIC J. RIVERO  
JOSEPH C. ROMEO  
CHARLES M. SALLEE  
RONALD W. SCHIER, JR.  
BRETT C. SCHUMER  
JOHN E. SEBESTA  
ROBERT A. SEITZ  
MICHAEL A. SELTZER  
DAVID N. SNODGRASS  
SHAD W. STROMBERG  
SHANNON D. THOMPSON  
KYLE M. TWENTER  
BRIAN P. WALLACE  
CYNTHIA A. WELCH  
ANITA L. WESTWERNER  
SCOTT D. ZELLER  
CHRISTOPHER P. ZORICH

THE FOLLOWING NAMED OFFICERS FOR APPOINTMENT TO THE GRADE INDICATED IN THE RESERVE OF THE AIR FORCE UNDER TITLE 10, U.S.C., SECTION 12203:

HEATHER D. HARRIS  
JAMES T. HOGAN  
ELIZABETH M. PAGET  
SAMANTHA M. PITMAN  
TIMOTHY DANIEL RAY

THE FOLLOWING NAMED OFFICERS FOR APPOINTMENT TO THE GRADE INDICATED IN THE RESERVE OF THE AIR FORCE UNDER TITLE 10, U.S.C., SECTION 12203:

*To be colonel*

CYNTHIA L. ALVARADO  
CHARLES D. BROWN  
ASAN Q. BUI  
SAMANTHA D. DAWSON  
DARRELL D. DESALME  
ERIN DICK  
JEFFREY A. DONNELL  
DANIEL C. DUNN  
JOSHUA N. GARRISON  
ALISON M. HAMEL  
GREGORY B. HARLAND  
CHRISTINA M. HENDRIX  
KAREN ELIZABETH HILL  
GARY C. HOLLAND  
SARAH E. KINZER  
SEAN M. LINDSAY  
ANDRE M. LOBO  
JENNIFER L. LOVETT  
AILEEN S. OKAZAKI  
BRIAN SCOTT PATTON  
SHAWN P. PEBLEY  
SEAN M. PHILIPS  
KELLY J. QUIDLEY  
SCOTT B. RIGGS  
STEVEN C. ROTZ  
FERNANDO RUIZ  
STACY N. SLATE  
DANIELLE M. STRINGER  
RICHARD W. WALLACE  
SHELLEY J. WILSON

THE FOLLOWING NAMED OFFICERS FOR APPOINTMENT TO THE GRADE INDICATED IN THE RESERVE OF THE AIR FORCE UNDER TITLE 10, U.S.C., SECTION 12203:

*To be colonel*

THOMAS F. ALBRECHT  
KIT WAYNE ALLEN  
ROBERT CLARKE BAIRD  
TIMORAH S. BEALES  
MARGARET B. BEREANO  
AMY E. BRANTLEY  
JOEL ALAN BRECOUNT  
DIANE E. BURCH  
GEORGE P. COLE III  
CARRIE A. COX  
KIMBERLY M. CURTIS  
ROBYN KENEA DOWNER  
JOHN W. DRAIN  
TANAKA H. DUNN  
GLORIA N. FIELD  
JUSTIN KYER FRANKLIN  
LENA S. FREIENMUTH  
CHARLES T. GOAD  
ANDREA M. GRANADOS  
TRAVIS JASON HATLEY  
HOLLY E. HERMES  
EILEEN V. IAROSSI  
KENNETH W. JENSEN  
CHARLES E. JOHNSON, JR.  
KENNETH JOSEPH  
JEFFREY A. KREOFSKY  
KATHLEEN M. LABAHN  
MARY Z. LENT  
THOMAS M. LESSMANN  
JONATHAN E. LINQUIST  
NATHAN J. LIST  
DORI L. MANSUR  
SUSAN MARGARET MCMULLEN  
JEREMY W. MOORE  
DUSTIN J. PAWLAK  
DANIEL R. POSCH  
JASON DAVID PRICE  
TERRY D. ROSENBALM  
QUINTON L. SASNETT  
CHRISTOPHER S. STANMIRE  
HEATHER J. SULLIVAN  
KARLA A. TAFF  
CHRISTOPHER R. VICTORIA  
ETHEL M. WATSON  
JOSEPH C. WINCHESTER  
CHRISTOPHER L. WOOFTER  
WILLIAM STANLEY YOUNG

THE FOLLOWING NAMED OFFICERS FOR APPOINTMENT TO THE GRADE INDICATED IN THE RESERVE OF THE AIR FORCE UNDER TITLE 10, U.S.C., SECTION 12203:

*To be colonel*

TRICIA L. HILL  
WILLIAM CHARLES HOPE  
AMY D. HORTON  
MICHAEL J. RIGONI  
MARK R. SCHERBARTH  
MICHAEL J. SEKERAK  
PETER J. SWANSON  
ELISABETH K. WHITE  
DONALD T. YAP

IN THE ARMY

THE FOLLOWING NAMED ARMY NATIONAL GUARD OF THE UNITED STATES OFFICERS FOR APPOINTMENT TO THE GRADE INDICATED IN THE RESERVE OF THE ARMY UNDER TITLE 10, U.S.C., SECTIONS 12203 AND 12211:

*To be colonel*

BRION J. ADERMAN  
JOSHUA P. BARROW  
BYRON N. CADIZ  
JEFFREY L. CSOKA  
JOSEPHINE A. DANIELS  
PAUL L. FELICIAN  
BRETT J. GAGNON  
BRANDON A. GARCIA  
ANGELA M. GENTRY  
JAMIE C. GODWIN  
SHAWN C. HATCH  
DONNY W. HEBEL  
VANCE R. HOLLAND  
DANIEL L. HUGHES  
JAMES D. LAMB  
ROBERT A. MACIOLEK  
BENSON G. MESSER  
CALE D. MOODY  
WILLIAM B. MURPHY  
MARK D. PHILLIPS  
ADRIAN M. PRIESTER  
KEVIN D. RESSEL  
TIMOTHY L. TAYLOR  
JOHN D. WILSON IV  
MARTIN R. YOST

THE FOLLOWING NAMED OFFICER FOR APPOINTMENT TO THE GRADE INDICATED IN THE UNITED STATES ARMY UNDER TITLE 10, U.S.C., SECTION 624:

*To be lieutenant colonel*

DANIEL C. CANCHOLA

THE FOLLOWING NAMED OFFICER FOR APPOINTMENT TO THE GRADE INDICATED IN THE RESERVE OF THE ARMY UNDER TITLE 10, U.S.C., SECTION 12203:

*To be colonel*

STEVEN M. WINGO

THE FOLLOWING NAMED INDIVIDUAL FOR APPOINTMENT TO THE GRADE INDICATED IN THE REGULAR ARMY MEDICAL CORPS UNDER TITLE 10, U.S.C., SECTIONS 531 AND 7064:

*To be major*

NICHOLAS S. CAVALLARO

THE FOLLOWING NAMED OFFICER FOR APPOINTMENT TO THE GRADE INDICATED IN THE UNITED STATES ARMY NURSE CORPS UNDER TITLE 10, U.S.C., SECTIONS 624 AND 7064:

*To be lieutenant colonel*

ERNESTINA DELAPENAGUBA

THE FOLLOWING NAMED OFFICER FOR APPOINTMENT TO THE GRADE INDICATED IN THE UNITED STATES ARMY MEDICAL CORPS UNDER TITLE 10, U.S.C., SECTIONS 624 AND 7064:

*To be major*

GURDEEP S. BUTTAR

THE FOLLOWING NAMED OFFICER FOR APPOINTMENT TO THE GRADE INDICATED IN THE UNITED STATES ARMY MEDICAL SERVICE CORPS UNDER TITLE 10, U.S.C., SECTIONS 624 AND 7064:

*To be major*

ASHLEE B. MCKEON

THE FOLLOWING NAMED OFFICER FOR APPOINTMENT TO THE GRADE INDICATED IN THE UNITED STATES ARMY UNDER TITLE 10, U.S.C., SECTION 624:

*To be lieutenant colonel*

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THE FOLLOWING NAMED INDIVIDUAL FOR APPOINTMENT TO THE GRADE INDICATED IN THE REGULAR ARMY MEDICAL CORPS UNDER TITLE 10, U.S.C., SECTIONS 531 AND 7064:

*To be major*

RAM A. PAREKH

IN THE NAVY

THE FOLLOWING NAMED OFFICER FOR APPOINTMENT TO THE GRADE INDICATED IN THE UNITED STATES NAVY UNDER TITLE 10, U.S.C., SECTION 624:

*To be lieutenant commander*

MULUGETA D. TEMESGEN

THE FOLLOWING NAMED OFFICER FOR APPOINTMENT TO THE GRADE INDICATED IN THE UNITED STATES NAVY UNDER TITLE 10, U.S.C., SECTION 624:

*To be lieutenant commander*

JOHN M. ROSATI, JR.

FOREIGN SERVICE

THE FOLLOWING-NAMED MEMBERS OF THE FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE TO BE A CONSULAR OFFICER AND A SECRETARY IN THE DIPLOMATIC SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

BRYAN PATRICK ABRAHAM, OF VIRGINIA  
HEATHER LYNN AIVALIOTIS, OF VIRGINIA  
OLALEKAN EGUNJOBI ALABI, OF VIRGINIA  
ANDRES JAIME ALBARRAN, OF CALIFORNIA  
JOHN BAXLEY ALDWORTH, OF ARKANSAS  
GUNEL ALIYEVA WEBB, OF VIRGINIA  
RYAN DANIEL ALLGOOD, OF VIRGINIA  
DIANA ALVARADO, OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA  
LISA ELIZABETH ANDIO, OF VIRGINIA

LAURA F. ANTUONO, OF VIRGINIA  
 HUGO ALBERTO ARCINIEGAS, OF VIRGINIA  
 WHITNEY ARNOLD, OF VIRGINIA  
 CHRISTINA K. ARNOLD, OF VIRGINIA  
 KASEY D. ARNONE, OF VIRGINIA  
 AMANDA S. ASHLEY, OF NORTH CAROLINA  
 TESFA MIKAEL AYENNEW, OF VIRGINIA  
 CHRISTOPHER EUGENE BABEL, OF VIRGINIA  
 CHRISTOPHER ALLEN BALL, OF VIRGINIA  
 SUKANYA BANERJEE, OF VIRGINIA  
 DAVIA ALEXANDRA BARBELLA, OF VIRGINIA  
 MEGAN S. BARLOW, OF VIRGINIA  
 CHRISTINE ELIZABETH BARRETT, OF VIRGINIA  
 CHRISTOPHER BECKSTRAND, OF VIRGINIA  
 MICHAEL LEWIS BERTOLI, OF VIRGINIA  
 GREGORY HUGH BIELER, OF OHIO  
 MEGAN L. BIERY, OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA  
 LILIANA BLUM, OF VIRGINIA  
 JOHN RYAN BOOTE, OF VIRGINIA  
 REBECCA YORK BORNSTEIN, OF MICHIGAN  
 CHRISTOPHER PHILLIP BOROWSKI, OF VIRGINIA  
 STANLEY TRESOR BOUADI, OF VIRGINIA  
 ERIN NICOLE BOURQUE, OF NEW HAMPSHIRE  
 GREGG J. BOWEN, OF VIRGINIA  
 KENT CASWELL BOYDSTON, OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA  
 KATHERINE BRANDON, OF VIRGINIA  
 MEGAN MARIE BRITT, OF VIRGINIA  
 ASHLEY R. BROOKS, OF VIRGINIA  
 LATOYA NAKIA BROWNE, OF VIRGINIA  
 JEFFREY DANIEL BURNETT, OF VIRGINIA  
 LAWRENCE J. BURROWES, OF VIRGINIA  
 ROBERT S. BURWELL, OF VIRGINIA  
 LOUIS V. BUSH, OF VIRGINIA  
 TRISHA MARIE CAMARA, OF WISCONSIN  
 THOMAS ANTHONY CANNATA, OF VIRGINIA  
 LAUREN C. CARAVELLA, OF VIRGINIA  
 TAYLOR HUDDLESTON CARPENTER, OF VIRGINIA  
 IAN ANDREW CARTER, OF VIRGINIA  
 TIMOTHY WILLIAM CHADWICK, OF VIRGINIA  
 JOYCE CHEN, OF VIRGINIA  
 YASMINA CHERGUT, OF VIRGINIA  
 TAEK JUN CHUNG, OF VIRGINIA  
 COREY R. CLEMENT, OF VIRGINIA  
 KAITLIN JANE CLINE, OF VIRGINIA  
 KATHERINE SECREST CONLEY, OF VIRGINIA  
 PETER J. CONTARDO, OF VIRGINIA  
 JASON COOMBS, OF VIRGINIA  
 GREGORY CORMIER, OF VIRGINIA  
 DOUGLAS ANDREW COTE, OF VIRGINIA  
 MAX P. COTE, OF VIRGINIA  
 GREGORY R. COX, OF NEW YORK  
 ELLISON B. CRAFT-KOUTSOURIS, OF NORTH CAROLINA  
 ALLISON M. CROWE, OF VIRGINIA  
 MICHAEL RYAN CULVER, OF MARYLAND  
 VALERIA CUPPI, OF VIRGINIA  
 CAMESHIA ANN CURRY, OF VIRGINIA  
 MARGARET W. DAPICE, OF VIRGINIA  
 ELLIOT M. DAWES, OF TENNESSEE  
 TRACI L. DAY, OF VIRGINIA  
 TAYLOR MARIE DEMONS, OF TEXAS  
 LORE E. DEMUTH, OF VIRGINIA  
 TRACY DENDY, OF VIRGINIA  
 COURTNEY MARIA DOOLIN, OF VIRGINIA  
 EVAN MICHAEL DOWDEN, OF VIRGINIA  
 JULIE ERIN DUFEK, OF VIRGINIA  
 ARDITA DUNELLARI, OF MARYLAND  
 ADAM C. DUNN, OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA  
 ANDREW JOHN DURHAM, OF VIRGINIA  
 MATTHEW ERIC EARNHARDT, OF VIRGINIA  
 DAN P. EDWARDS, OF VIRGINIA  
 DAVID PAUL ELIAS, OF VIRGINIA  
 WILLIAM BRENDAN ELLIS, OF VIRGINIA  
 SETH ARON ESCALANTE, OF VIRGINIA  
 ELIZABETH EVERSON, OF VIRGINIA  
 DONALD DEE FINDLEY, OF VIRGINIA  
 DARA RUTH FISHER, OF MASSACHUSETTS  
 MATTHEW F. FOEHKKOLB, OF VIRGINIA  
 EDGAR FOGELMAN, OF VIRGINIA  
 JOHN MARK FOREMAN, OF VIRGINIA  
 PAWEŁ FRACZ, OF VIRGINIA  
 ROBERT STEVEN FRANCIS, OF VIRGINIA  
 PHILIP MORGAN FREEMAN, OF VIRGINIA  
 MARY REGINA GALVIN, OF VIRGINIA  
 STEPHEN KENNETH GARDOSIK, OF VIRGINIA  
 SURABHI GARG, OF VIRGINIA  
 PETER JOHN GEEL, OF VIRGINIA  
 ROBERT K. GERTH, OF VIRGINIA  
 DONIA GHORAB, OF VIRGINIA  
 MONET NAZILLA GHORBANI, OF ARIZONA  
 OLIVIA KATHERINE GILMORE, OF TEXAS  
 MATTHEW HERSH GOLDENBERG, OF VIRGINIA  
 JESUS M. GONZALEZ, OF COLORADO  
 CHRISTOPHER M. GRASSO, OF VIRGINIA  
 JAMES H. GREEN, OF VIRGINIA  
 ISABELLA ASHLEY GREENE, OF TENNESSEE  
 ERIKA L. GRIFFITH, OF VIRGINIA  
 ALLISON REGAN GRITIS, OF VIRGINIA  
 DEBRA JANE GUZMAN, OF VIRGINIA  
 ALEXANDRIA JULIA HAEHL, OF VIRGINIA  
 DANIEL JOSEPH HARRIS, OF VIRGINIA  
 DAVID KIAMA HARRISON-SMITH, OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA  
 MARQUIS ANTHONY HAWKINS, OF VIRGINIA  
 JERYL PAUL HEWEY, OF NEW HAMPSHIRE  
 SHANNON M. HIBBARD, OF VIRGINIA  
 IRA RECALDO HOBSON, JR., OF VIRGINIA  
 GABRIELLA HELEN HODGE, OF VIRGINIA  
 NEVIN WALTER HOLMBERG, OF VIRGINIA  
 PAUL E. HOLT, OF VIRGINIA  
 DEANNA J. HOOPES, OF VIRGINIA  
 SHAWN A. HOWARD, OF VIRGINIA  
 ZHANNA JOSEPHINE IMEL, OF COLORADO  
 CHRISTIAN PHILIP P. JACOBSON, OF WISCONSIN  
 NATASHA JAMES, OF VIRGINIA  
 TAMIKA F. JEFFRIES, OF VIRGINIA  
 MATTHEW JOHN JERNSTEDT, OF ARIZONA

BETHANY RENEE JOHNSON, OF CALIFORNIA  
 CHRISTOPHER DANIEL JONES, OF VIRGINIA  
 PATRICK D. JULIAN, OF VIRGINIA  
 JULIAN M. JUNG, OF VIRGINIA  
 RAVINDRA CLIVE KAHATAPITTIYA, OF VIRGINIA  
 THOMAS J. KANAVAROS, OF VIRGINIA  
 CAITLIN STAPLETON KAPROVE, OF VIRGINIA  
 BRENDAN PATRICK KELLY, OF VIRGINIA  
 MACKENZIE B. KELLY, OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA  
 ANDREW KERBS, OF VIRGINIA  
 THOMAS JOHN KERNGEY, OF VIRGINIA  
 JOSEPH KETTEL, OF VIRGINIA  
 SHARON ALENA KIM, OF VIRGINIA  
 TYLER SUNG KIM, OF VIRGINIA  
 SPENCER E. KING, OF TEXAS  
 STEVEN DAVID KLOOS, OF VIRGINIA  
 COMER TAYLOR KNIGHT, OF VIRGINIA  
 PETER D. KNOETGEN, OF VIRGINIA  
 GRANT MICHAEL KNUSTON, OF VIRGINIA  
 DUKHO KOH, OF VIRGINIA  
 KWASI MAWULE KPOTIVI, OF VIRGINIA  
 KARL EDWARD KRUSE, OF VIRGINIA  
 SAMANTHA KU, OF CALIFORNIA  
 KEITH M. KWIATKOWSKI, OF VIRGINIA  
 DIANE D. LAKE, OF VIRGINIA  
 REBECCA ERIN LAMB, OF VIRGINIA  
 JAVAN KHALIL LATSON, OF FLORIDA  
 DANIEL ELIHU LAWSON, OF VIRGINIA  
 DENISE M. LEHANKA, OF VIRGINIA  
 STEPHEN GALLAGHER LEWIS, OF VIRGINIA  
 LAUREN C. LOMAORO, OF VIRGINIA  
 NIAHM C. LYNCH, OF MASSACHUSETTS  
 ALEIA M. MACULAM, OF VIRGINIA  
 CHRISTOPHER R. MALOW, OF VIRGINIA  
 LAURA ELIZABETH MARSALESI, OF VIRGINIA  
 JULIA MARTIN, OF VIRGINIA  
 HANNAH GRACE MARTIN, OF VIRGINIA  
 JASON PHILLIP MARTIN, OF VIRGINIA  
 PATRICK WILLIAM MCCLOSKEY, OF VIRGINIA  
 OLIVIA L. MCCOY, OF VIRGINIA  
 JACQUELINE GRACE LORAYNE MCGRATH, OF VIRGINIA  
 JOHN T. MCWANE, OF VIRGINIA  
 JULIAN ALEJANDRO MEJIA CEDILLO, OF VIRGINIA  
 JESSICA MC MILLER, OF VIRGINIA  
 BONNIE B. MIN, OF VIRGINIA  
 GREGORY THOMAS MITCHELL, OF VIRGINIA  
 DANIEL MOLL, OF VIRGINIA  
 MICHAEL MONTEZ, OF VIRGINIA  
 SARAH C. MONTGOMERY, OF VIRGINIA  
 ERIN MORGAN, OF VIRGINIA  
 ASHLEY CASPER MOROTE, OF VIRGINIA  
 JASMINE MARGARETTA MORTON, OF VIRGINIA  
 PETER CRAIG MOSCHOUROS, OF VIRGINIA  
 MARIA ALEJANDRA MOSCOSO RIVADENEIRA, OF FLORIDA  
 MARC J. MOTYLESKI, OF VIRGINIA  
 CHRISTOPHER JOSEPH MULVIN, JR., OF VIRGINIA  
 CARMEN RUTH MUNDOZ, OF VIRGINIA  
 ELIZABETH WANLUND MUNSON, OF VIRGINIA  
 MEGAN RYAN MURPHY, OF VIRGINIA  
 MICHAEL MUSGRAVE, OF VIRGINIA  
 NICHOLAS RAYMOND MYRONIUK, OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA  
 MARK ALEXANDER NAGURNY, OF VIRGINIA  
 ALYSSA MARIE NANCE, OF VIRGINIA  
 LEE NAFRAVNIK, OF VIRGINIA  
 BLAKE JEFFREY NATKER, OF VIRGINIA  
 SAMANTHA K. NEEDHAM, OF VIRGINIA  
 JAMES W. NEELY, OF VIRGINIA  
 BRIDGET ELAINE NICHOLAS, OF KENTUCKY  
 GERTRUDE B. NICHOLS, OF VIRGINIA  
 BRIAN KEITH NOCELLA, OF NEW JERSEY  
 WILLIAM ELLIS NORTHINGTON III, OF VIRGINIA  
 CAROLYN MULLIS NOYA, OF VIRGINIA  
 VICTORIA A. ORERO, OF VIRGINIA  
 MIGDALIA TAMARA ORTIZ RAMOS, OF VIRGINIA  
 AMANDA DANIELLE OSBORNE, OF MARYLAND  
 MATTHEW POULSEN OWEN, OF VIRGINIA  
 ALAINA PATRICK, OF VIRGINIA  
 SARAH EMILY PECK, OF VIRGINIA  
 AMANDA MARIE PENNER, OF VIRGINIA  
 PHONG DAO PEVERELL, OF VIRGINIA  
 RUTH ANN PHILIP, OF TEXAS  
 MELISSA ANN POCZATEK, OF VIRGINIA  
 LARRY T. POON, OF VIRGINIA  
 AMANDA JANE PULLER, OF VIRGINIA  
 MADRA LEE QUICK, OF VIRGINIA  
 CLARA EMILY QUINN, OF VIRGINIA  
 SOFIA ALESSANDRA RAMIREZ, OF CALIFORNIA  
 BRENDAN LEO RATTIGAN, OF VIRGINIA  
 PAUL L. RAU, OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA  
 CHRISTINE ELISE RAYNER, OF VIRGINIA  
 WILLIAM JOSEPH REEDER, OF VIRGINIA  
 GILLIAN W. REGAL, OF VIRGINIA  
 JENNY DIANE REITMAN, OF VIRGINIA  
 RANDY TAYLOR RHODES, OF VIRGINIA  
 RACHEL NICKELLE ROBERTS, OF VIRGINIA  
 CAROLINE MARIE ROBERTSON, OF VIRGINIA  
 BRYAN DOUGLAS ROBINSON, OF VIRGINIA  
 KEVIN E. ROBINSON, OF VIRGINIA  
 BRYAN L. ROGERS, SR., OF VIRGINIA  
 THEA ROGERS, OF VIRGINIA  
 KATHLEEN CALLAWAY ROSE, OF VIRGINIA  
 JAVIER DON ROSE, OF VIRGINIA  
 FREDERICK C. ROTH, JR., OF VIRGINIA  
 LACY TENNESSEE ROURKE, OF VIRGINIA  
 MELISSA ANN RUBALCAYA, OF ARIZONA  
 JAIME Q. RUGIERI, OF VIRGINIA  
 DAVID T. RUSSELL, OF VIRGINIA  
 JOSE A. SALOMON, OF PENNSYLVANIA  
 MARC JOSEPH SALWEN, OF VIRGINIA  
 CHARLES MICHAEL SANTIAGO, OF MASSACHUSETTS  
 ROBERT W. SCHAEFER, OF VIRGINIA  
 BRITTEN MARYN SCHAR, OF VIRGINIA  
 ALEXANDER ACOB SCHLAIFER, OF VIRGINIA  
 AARON SCHOLER, OF VIRGINIA  
 ANDREW COREY SCOTT, OF MARYLAND

CASEY WILLIAM SCOTT, OF VIRGINIA  
 SRINI V. SEETHARAHM, OF TEXAS  
 PETER JAMES SHAHIN, OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA  
 JOSEPH M. SHEPARD, OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA  
 MARSHALL JEROME SHERRELL, OF WASHINGTON  
 KATHERINE M. SHIELD, OF CALIFORNIA  
 OLUWASIMIDELE O. SHONIBARE, OF GEORGIA  
 HEIDI J. SIERRA, OF CALIFORNIA  
 JAMES RYAN SIPES, OF VIRGINIA  
 DAVID CARL SMEIGH, OF PENNSYLVANIA  
 CANDI ALLYCE SMITH, OF VIRGINIA  
 LUCIA ESPINAL SOLORZANO, OF MASSACHUSETTS  
 JOSEPH BENEVIDES SOUZA, OF VIRGINIA  
 CHELSEA JEAN SPARTA, OF VIRGINIA  
 DAVID WALTER SPANDEL, OF VIRGINIA  
 BARTOSZ HIERONIM STANISLAWSKI, OF VIRGINIA  
 MITCHELL J. STEINBERG, OF MARYLAND  
 JOSHUA C. STEWART, OF VIRGINIA  
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