

There has never been a “two state solution” only a “two state narrative.”

He describes it as:

an illusion that serves the worst intentions of both the United States and the Palestinian Arabs. It has never been a solution, only a word narrative. But even the narrative itself now needs to end.

That is from the current U.S. Ambassador in 2016.

In 2016, our current ambassador also said that he is in favor of extending permanent Israeli control and sovereignty over the entire area from the Jordan River to the Mediterranean Sea, clearly snuffing out any prospects for a two-state solution and the viable way forward.

Ultimately, of course, the government of Israel will make its own decisions, and then, we here in the United States will have to make ours. The United States must have a position that reflects our values and our ideals—our ideals of democracy, of human rights, of equal justice and rule of law and self-determination.

God knows we are far from perfect here, and we can see that clearly during this moment of national reckoning around racial justice and equity. But we have set those principles as our goals, as our North Star, and until this Trump administration came along, we have also made human rights and the right of self-determination a key pillar of our bipartisan American foreign policy.

It is those principles that have led us to support a secure and democratic Israel as the home for the Jewish people and the establishment of a separate viable state as the homeland for the Palestinian people.

The American people support a two-state solution and significantly the American Jewish committee in the 2019 survey of American Jewish opinion shows overwhelming support for a two-state solution among the American Jewish community and a large majority who say Israel should be willing to dismantle all or some of the settlements as part of a peace agreement. The next generation—this younger generation—of Americans and of American Jews is even more focused on issues of human and political rights for all peoples, Israelis and Palestinians.

There are many who have said that the possibility of a two-state solution disappeared long ago, with the expansion of settlements and outposts and the network of roads and checkpoints. They have called the prospects for a two-state solution a delusion, a mirage; yet, even as the facts on the ground have made a two-state solution harder to realize, many of us continue to see that as the vision for the future, one that brings hope to both peoples.

Make no mistake the unilateral annexation of parts of the West Bank would be the final nail in the coffin of that idea. So what happens then? What do we do? Once any remaining hope for that vision is extinguished, I think we are in uncharted territory. As Presi-

dent Obama noted in one of his speeches, “The situation for the Palestinian people is intolerable.” And he drew parallels to the struggle of African Americans for full and equal rights.

Secretary of State John Kerry has said that if the choice is one state, Israel can either be Jewish or democratic; it cannot be both. “You would have millions of Palestinians permanently living in segregated enclaves in the middle of the West Bank, with no real political rights, separate legal, education and transportation systems, vast income disparities, under a permanent military occupation that deprives them of the most basic freedoms. Separate and unequal is what you would have.”

Nelson Mandela often talked about the need to ensure a secure State of Israel as a homeland for the Jewish people and the rights of the Palestinian people. He said: “We know too well that our freedom is incomplete without the freedom of the Palestinians.” There is a memorial statue to Nelson Mandela in Ramallah.

What do we do? What do we do—those of us who are committed to a vibrant, secure, and democratic Israel that is a home for the Jews but are also concerned about the abandonment of the vision of a two-state solution that also respects the aspirations and rights of the Palestinians?

As I said at the beginning of these remarks, I have strongly supported security assistance for Israel, and I continue to do so. I also pointed out that National Security Advisor Susan Rice and Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice both indicated in their comments at the signing ceremony of the MOUs for security assistance that a viable two-state solution was the only—their words—only way to permanent peace.

For all the reasons I have stated today, I do not believe that the U.S. Government, the U.S. taxpayer should be aiding and abetting Prime Minister Netanyahu’s plan to unilaterally annex the West Bank. The American Government and the American taxpayer must not facilitate or finance such a process. That is why today a group of 12 Senators has filed an amendment to the bill to make that position clear—the position that we fully support the robust \$38 billion security assistance to Israel but also make it clear that those funds should not be used to facilitate and promote unilateral annexation.

There are many who say that this does not go far enough, and there are others who oppose annexation but say: Pass the security assistance without making any statement about annexation or without taking any action. To them, I am reminded of former Israeli Defense Minister and Commander Moshe Dayan’s statement saying: “Our American friends offer us money, arms, and advice. We take the money, we take the arms, and we decline the advice.”

We are friends, the United States and Israel. We have many common inter-

ests, but we will also have our differences. This is a moment when, yes, we should provide the security assistance, the military assistance. Yet, in doing so, we should also make clear that it should not be used in any way to promote unilateral annexation.

Our view in filing this amendment is that the only way to reconcile our strong support for a safe and secure Israel and our commitment to establishment of two states for two peoples living side by side is what we proposed.

I hope and pray that Prime Minister Netanyahu will not move forward with his unilateral annexation plan. I hope we can continue to say that the U.S.-Israel relationship is built not only on shared interests but also on shared values.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The senior assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

EXECUTIVE CALENDAR

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Executive Calendar No. 750, and all nominations on the Secretary’s desk with the exception of PNs 1785, 1923, 1975, 1525, 1526, 1795 through 1798, 1805, 1924 through 1926, 1952, 1865, 1867 through 1874, 1876 through 1897, 1954 through 1963; that the nominations be confirmed and the motions to reconsider be considered made and laid upon the table with no intervening action or debate, all en bloc; and that the President be immediately notified of the Senate’s action.

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

The nominations considered and confirmed are as follows:

IN THE ARMY

The following named officer for appointment in the United States Army to the grade indicated while assigned to a position of importance and responsibility under title 10, U.S.C., section 601:

To be general

Gen. Gustave F. Perna

NOMINATIONS PLACED ON THE SECRETARY’S DESK

IN THE AIR FORCE

PN1950 AIR FORCE nomination of Kirk W. Greene, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of June 2, 2020.

PN1974 AIR FORCE nomination of Patterson G. Aldueza, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of June 8, 2020.

IN THE ARMY

PN1358 ARMY nomination of Michael F. Coerper, which was received by the Senate and appeared in Congressional Record of January 6, 2020.

PN1804 ARMY nominations (146) beginning ROHUL AMIN, and ending D015498, which

nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of May 4, 2020.

PN1853 ARMY nomination of Christopher V. Emmons, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of May 11, 2020.

PN1927 ARMY nomination of Nathaniel A. Stone, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of May 21, 2020.

PN1928 ARMY nomination of Margaret C. Brainardbland, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of May 21, 2020.

PN1929 ARMY nomination of Michael B. McGuire, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of May 21, 2020.

PN1930 ARMY nomination of Ralph Pean, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of May 21, 2020.

PN1931 ARMY nomination of Christopher M. Hartley, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of May 21, 2020.

PN1951 ARMY nomination of Mauro Quevedo, Jr., which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of June 2, 2020.

PN1976 ARMY nomination of Joshua W. Krupa, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of June 8, 2020.

PN1977 ARMY nomination of Peter C. Renals, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of June 8, 2020.

IN THE NAVY

PN1964 NAVY nomination of Robert C. Birch, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of June 2, 2020.

PN1965 NAVY nomination of Tori J. Moffitt, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of June 2, 2020.

PN1966 NAVY nomination of Mattheau B. Willsey, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of June 2, 2020.

EXECUTIVE CALENDAR

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the en bloc consideration of the following nominations: Executive Calendar Nos. 504, 505, 506, 719, and 720.

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

The clerk will report the nominations en bloc.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read the nominations of Joseph Bruce Hamilton, of Texas, to be a Member of the Defense Nuclear Facilities Safety Board for a term expiring October 18, 2022; Jessie Hill Roberson, of Virginia, to be a Member of the Defense Nuclear Facilities Safety Board for a term expiring October 18, 2023 (Reappointment); Thomas A. Summers, of Pennsylvania, to be a Member of the Defense Nuclear Facilities Safety Board for a term expiring October 18, 2020; Joyce Louise Connery, of Virginia, to be a Member of the Defense Nuclear Facilities Safety Board for a term expiring October 18, 2024. (Reappointment); and Thomas A. Summers, of

Pennsylvania, to be a Member of the Defense Nuclear Facilities Safety Board for a term expiring October 18, 2025. (Reappointment).

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the nominations, en bloc.

Mr. MCCONNELL. I ask unanimous consent that the Senate vote on the nominations en bloc, with no intervening action or debate; that, if confirmed, the motions to reconsider be considered made and laid upon the table en bloc; and that the President be immediately notified of the Senate's action.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is, Will the Senate advise and consent to the Hamilton, Roberson, Summers, Connery, and Summers nominations?

The nominations were confirmed en bloc.

EXECUTIVE CALENDAR

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the en bloc consideration of the following nominations: Executive Calendar Nos. 754, 755, and 756.

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

The clerk will report the nominations en bloc.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read the nominations of Owen McCurdy Cypher, of Michigan, to be United States Marshal for the Eastern District of Michigan for the term of four years; Thomas L. Foster, of Virginia, to be United States Marshal for the Western District of Virginia for the term of four years; and Tyreece L. Miller, of Tennessee, to be United States Marshal for the Western District of Tennessee for the term of four years.

Thereupon, the Senate proceeded to consider the nominations en bloc.

Mr. MCCONNELL. I ask unanimous consent the Senate vote on the nominations en bloc with no intervening action or debate; that if confirmed, the motions to reconsider be considered made and laid upon the table en bloc; that the President be immediately notified of the Senate's action.

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

The question is, Will the Senate advise and consent to the Cypher, Foster, and Miller nominations en bloc?

The nominations were confirmed en bloc.

MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate be in a period of morning business, with Senators permitted to speak therein for up to 10 minutes each.

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

NATIONAL DEFENSE AUTHORIZATION ACT

Mr. DURBIN. Mr. President, I am grateful to Chairman INHOFE and Rank-

ing Member REED and their staffs for their work to produce the fiscal year 2021 defense authorization bill.

The FY21 NDAA authorizes \$740.5 billion in defense spending, up \$2 billion from last year. The bill provides a 3-percent pay raise for our troops and includes provisions that support spouse employment, childcare, and improved military housing. It ensures that the United States can defend effectively against threats from Russia, China, and North Korea and invests in key and innovative capabilities and technologies. It includes key provisions I requested to boost efforts at Rock Island Arsenal, address military sexual trauma, and protect the health of our military communities from dangerous chemicals.

But this year, we take up the NDAA during a global pandemic, record unemployment, and calls to address racial injustice. The bill touches on some of these issues. It authorizes \$44 million for vaccine and medical research related to COVID-19 and expands benefits for Active Duty and National Guard personnel involved in COVID response.

I am pleased that it includes a provision authored by Senator WARREN to require DOD to remove names, symbols, and other displays honoring the Confederacy. If we want to move toward a more just society, we cannot continue to honor Confederate leaders who committed treasonous atrocities in order to preserve slavery.

I also authored two amendments that were included by consent, the first an amendment supporting strong security assistance for the Baltics that I filed with Senator GRASSLEY. The Baltic States remain key allies and among the few NATO countries that fulfill the target spending of 2 percent of GDP on defense, and this provision encourages support for more robust and enduring security assistance. My other amendment is one I sponsored with Senator PORTMAN, welcoming NATO recognition of Ukraine as an Enhanced Opportunities Partner. EOP status will help only further deepen cooperation with NATO, which is especially critical as 2020 marks the 6th year of ongoing Russian occupation of eastern Ukraine.

But the FY21 NDAA still does not go far enough.

I field two amendments that go to the heart of our duties as Senators, the power to declare war and the power of the purse. Congress must stop abdicating its constitutional responsibilities.

Article I of the Constitution gives Congress the sole authority to declare war. I voted for the war in Afghanistan, but I never imagined that we would still be there nearly two decades later or that the same authorization would be used to justify actions around the world that this body had not contemplated at the time. My amendment would sunset all authorizations for the use of force after 10 years so that Congress can take up the issue and engage in its constitutional duties.