

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

lack of additional assistance is likely to prove catastrophic.

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

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

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

(Ms. HASSAN assumed the Chair.)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Hawaii.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

EXECUTIVE CALENDAR

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

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

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

of Columbia, to be a Member of the International Broadcasting Advisory Board for a term expiring January 1, 2025, (New Position); Kenneth M. Jarin, of Pennsylvania, to be Chair of the International Broadcasting Advisory Board, (New Position); Kenneth M. Jarin, of Pennsylvania, to be a Member of the International Broadcasting Advisory Board for a term expiring January 1, 2027, (New Position); Luis Manuel Botello, of Maryland, to be a Member of the International Broadcasting Advisory Board for a term expiring January 1, 2025, (New Position); and Michelle Mai Selesky Giuda, of Virginia, to be a Member of the International Broadcasting Advisory Board for a term expiring January 1, 2027, (New Position)?

The nominations were confirmed en bloc.

EXECUTIVE CALENDAR

Mr. SCHATZ. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate consider the following nomination: Calendar No. 206, Dante Quintin Allen, of California, to be Commissioner of the Rehabilitation Services Administration, Department of Education; that the Senate vote on the nomination without intervening action or debate; that the motion to reconsider be considered made and laid upon the table; and that the President be immediately notified of the Senate's action; and that the Senate resume legislative session.

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

The clerk will report the nomination.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read the nomination of Dante Quintin Allen, of California, to be Commissioner of the Rehabilitation Services Administration, Department of Education.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is, Will the Senate advise and consent to the Allen nomination?

The nomination was confirmed.

LEGISLATIVE SESSION

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senate will now resume legislative session.

PROVIDING REMOTE ACCESS TO COURT PROCEEDINGS FOR VICTIMS OF THE 1988 BOMBING OF PAN AM FLIGHT 103 OVER LOCKERBIE, SCOTLAND

Mr. SCHATZ. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on the Judiciary be discharged from further consideration of S. 3250 and the Senate proceed to its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the bill by title.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (S. 3250) to provide remote access to court proceedings for victims of the 1988

Bombing of Pan Am Flight 103 over Lockerbie, Scotland.

There being no objection, the committee was discharged, and the Senate proceeded to consider the bill.

Mr. SCHATZ. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Cornyn amendment at the desk be considered and agreed to; that the bill, as amended, be considered read a third time and passed; and that the motion to reconsider be considered made and laid upon the table.

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

The amendment (No. 1372) was agreed to, as follows:

(Purpose: To improve the bill)

On page 3, lines 11 and 12, strike "that remote video and telephonic access to proceedings in the case be made available" and inserting "that reasonable efforts be made to make remote video and telephonic access to proceedings in the case available".

The bill (S. 3250), as amended, was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, was read the third time, and passed, as follows:

S. 3250

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

SECTION 1. REMOTE ACCESS TO COURT PROCEEDINGS FOR VICTIMS OF THE 1988 BOMBING OF PAN AM FLIGHT 103 OVER LOCKERBIE, SCOTLAND.

(a) DEFINITION OF VICTIM OF CRIMES ASSOCIATED WITH THE BOMBING OF PAN AM FLIGHT 103.—In this section:

(1) IN GENERAL.—Subject to paragraph (2), the term "victim of crimes associated with the bombing of Pan Am Flight 103" means any individual—

(A) who suffered direct or proximate harm as a result of the bombing of Pan Am Flight 103 that occurred over Lockerbie, Scotland, on December 21, 1988, and was present at or near the scene of the bombing when it occurred, or immediately thereafter; or

(B) who is the spouse, legal guardian, parent, child, brother, sister, next of kin, or other relative of, or who is determined by the applicable district court of the United States to be an individual who possesses a relationship of similar significance to, an individual described in subparagraph (A) or an individual otherwise described in this subsection.

(2) LIMITATION.—The term "victim of crimes associated with the bombing of Pan Am Flight 103" does not include an individual who participated or conspired in the crimes associated with the bombing of Pan Am Flight 103.

(b) AUTHORIZATION.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—On and after the date of enactment of this Act, and notwithstanding any provision of the Federal Rules of Criminal Procedure or other law or rule to the contrary, in order to permit victims of crimes associated with the bombing of Pan Am Flight 103 to access court proceedings in the criminal case against Abu Agila Mohammed Mas'ud Kheir Al-Marimi and against any co-conspirator subsequently charged and prosecuted in a court of the United States for crimes related to the 1988 bombing of Pan Am Flight 103, the district court of the United States in such a case shall order that reasonable efforts be made to make remote video and telephonic access to proceedings in the case available to victims of crimes associated with the bombing of Pan Am Flight 103.

(2) NO LIMIT ON LOCATION.—Remote video and telephonic access to proceedings shall be made available under paragraph (1) to a victim of crimes associated with the bombing of Pan Am Flight 103 without regard to the location of the victim of crimes associated with the bombing of Pan Am Flight 103.

(c) DISTRICT COURT DISCRETION.—Nothing in this section shall be construed to eliminate or limit the discretion of a district court of the United States to control the manner, circumstances, or availability of remote video or telephonic transmissions where necessary to control the courtroom or protect the integrity of court proceedings or the safety of parties, witnesses, or other participants in the proceedings.

RECOGNIZING THE IMPORTANCE OF THE ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND ISRAEL

COMMEMORATING THE CENTENNIAL OF THE AMERICAN BATTLE MONUMENTS COMMISSION

RECOGNIZING JOBS FOR AMERICA'S GRADUATES

NATIONAL WREATHS ACROSS AMERICA DAY

REMEMBERING THE DECEMBER 6, 2019, TERRORIST ATTACK AT NAVAL AIR STATION PENSACOLA

Mr. SCHATZ. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Finance be discharged from further consideration of S. Res. 445 and the Senate proceed to the en bloc consideration of the following Senate resolutions: S. Res. 445, S. Res. 487, S. Res. 488, S. Res. 489, and S. Res. 490.

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

Mr. SCHATZ. I ask unanimous consent that the resolutions be agreed to, the preambles be agreed to, and the motions to reconsider be considered made and laid upon table, all en bloc.

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

The resolution (S. Res. 445) was agreed to.

The preamble was agreed to.

(The resolution, with its preamble, is printed in the RECORD of November 2, 2023, under "Submitted Resolutions.")

The resolutions (S. Res. 487, S. Res. 488, S. Res. 489, and S. Res. 490) were agreed to.

The preambles were agreed to.

(The resolutions, with their preambles, are printed in today's RECORD under "Submitted Resolutions.")

APPOINTMENT

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair, pursuant to the provisions of Public Law 116-156, on behalf of the Majority Leader, reappoints the following individual to serve as a Member