

don't keep their word, nobody wants to deal with them. Nobody wants to make agreements. Nobody wants to make concessions. Nobody wants to work together.

"We will be your ally when times are good, but don't count on us when it gets tough. Don't count on us if it is not easy. Don't count on us when times are tough."

What an awful thing, what an incredible wound—self-inflicted wound—on this country, not only on our moral standing but on our practical, because the allies are going to go their own way because they say we can't be trusted. We would be abandoning the people of Ukraine who are literally dying for our values.

And I was doing a little historic research the other day. The Battle of Yorktown, 1788—the battle that ended the Revolutionary War and really made America—it was the key battle. It was the French fleet that bottled up Cornwallis at Yorktown. It was a French Army, along with the Continental Army, that won the Battle of Yorktown.

What if the French had said: It is going on too long, this war has gone too long; we are just going leave, we are to walk away? There is a reasonable chance we wouldn't be the United States of America today if our ally had walked away.

"Ally" means somebody you can count on. The whole idea of an alliance is that you can count on somebody when the times are tough. And we are sending ammunition; they are sending lives.

And, by the way, there is not much doubt if we cut and run, if we stop, if we cut off aid—it would be very difficult for the Ukrainians to continue to defend themselves. Russia is a bigger country. It has a bigger war machine, a bigger army, more wherewithal in terms of munitions. Let's not kid ourselves. If we walk away this week, it is highly likely that Russia will control Ukraine within a few months.

We can't have this fantasy that somehow this isn't a big deal and, oh, it will all get fixed. We are sending ammunition. They are sending lives. They are not asking us to fight their battles. They are not asking us to send troops. All they are asking is for the means to defend themselves.

And, by the way, most of the money that we are talking about here ends up going back into our economy for the arms and ammunition that we are sending them. It ends up back in our States, in our communities.

What is another argument not to do it? Corruption—I hear this—corruption. I have been there. I spent an entire day in Kyiv. And my principal mission was: What about corruption? How serious is it? And I met with everybody from Zelenskyy to officials who were running software to keep track of every bullet that goes into their war effort.

I am satisfied that it is one of the best and strongest and most closely ac-

counted for provisions of aid ever. Does that mean it is perfect or that there might be a scandal here or there? I don't think there will be. But nothing is ever perfect.

But I looked President Zelenskyy in the eye. My question was, If you have a scandal, Mr. President, it is going to kill us; we can't support you. And I didn't know what he was going to say. But his answer was, I know. And they are working on that.

And, by the way, another point that I think is important is, who is supporting—I hear this: We are giving all the money. What about the rest of Europe?

Well, actually, here is the chart of support for Ukraine. Here is Poland, and here is the United States. We are No. 14 in percentage of GDP in support of Ukraine. The blue line is actual military and financial support. The gray line is refugees.

In Poland, they have taken in millions of refugees. They are in their schools, in their communities. They have made an enormous commitment. It is up to 2.5 percent of their GDP. We are at .3 percent. So the idea that nobody else is contributing and Europe isn't doing its part is just bunk. I think that is very important to consider.

Democracy matters. Values matter. Freedom of expression, the rule of law matter. And that is what is at stake. That is the point I am trying to make. This is a historic struggle between authoritarianism, arbitrariness, surveillance, and the radical idea that people can govern themselves. That is what this is all about. This is a battle for the soul of our democracy in the world.

Democracy is an anomaly in world history. It is unusual that the norm is dictators, Pharaohs, Emperors, Kings. What we are doing in this country is an anomaly. But it is a glorious idea. It is a huge, radical idea. It was radical in 1776. It had to be fought for in 1865. And it had to be fought for in the plains of Europe and the Pacific in World War II. It is worth fighting for. And, in this case, we don't even have to do the fighting; we just have to supply the arms and ammunition. So I have a question for my colleagues: When the history of this day is written, as it surely will be, do you really want to be recorded as being on the side of Vladimir Putin? All those in favor of Putin, say aye. That is what is at stake here.

Or on the side of China, as they contemplate the invasion of Taiwan, all those in favor of invading Taiwan, say aye.

No, we don't want that. But history is going to record this vote as one of the most important votes that any of us has ever made.

One final note—my wife says I say "finally" too much; it gets people's hopes up.

Finally, people say: Well, secure our border before we worry about Ukraine's border.

OK, a group of the best of our Senate have been working on that for months.

Apparently, they have come to an agreement. I am told by those who know that it is the strongest border security legislation in something like 40 years. So we have that.

Do you want to secure our border before we do Ukraine? Hey, we can do them both in this bill. We can do them both in this bill. And if we don't do the border now, who knows when this opportunity will come again.

The dictators are betting we can't do it. They are betting against our system. They are betting that democracy can't work, that we can't make tough decisions and tough commitments and live up to them.

I want to stand on the side of resisting authoritarianism, on the side of democracy, on the side of the values that the country has stood for and that people have been fighting for, for 250 years.

There is a wonderful hymn that we sing in my church, and it starts out like this, and it just seemed to me to fit the situation so well:

Once to every man and nation comes the moment to decide, in the strife of truth with falsehood, for the good or evil side.

This is our moment: "Once to every man and woman and nation comes the moment to decide."

On December 1, 1862, in the midst of the Civil War, Abraham Lincoln came to the Congress, and he was trying to shake them out of the politics—and, by the way, the politics is what we are talking about here, politics—to focus on the crisis of the Civil War and what it really meant. And he wanted to bring that home to the Members of Congress, and here is how he ended that speech. On December 1, 1862, here is what Abraham Lincoln said:

[My] fellow-citizens, we cannot escape history. We of this Congress and this administration, will be remembered in spite of ourselves. No personal significance, or insignificance, can spare one or another of us. The fiery trial through which we pass, will light us down, in honor or dishonor, to the latest generation.

"The fiery trial through which we pass will light us down, in honor or dishonor, to the latest generation."

Mr. President, I deeply hope we choose honor.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Ms. HASSAN). The Senator from Oregon.

Mr. MERKLEY. Madam President, a huge thanks to my colleague from Maine and for his scholarly and passionate presentation of the challenge that we face at this moment. And, as he summarized the end, may we choose honor and sustain our support and partnership with the people of Ukraine.

EXECUTIVE CALENDAR

Mr. MERKLEY. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate consider the following nominations en bloc: Calendar Nos. 181 and 487 through 505, and all nominations on the Secretary's desk in the Air Force,

Army, Foreign Service, Marine Corps, Navy, and Space Force; that the nominations be confirmed en bloc; that the motions to reconsider be considered made and laid upon the table with no intervening action or debate; that no further motions be in order to any of the nominations; 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 NAVY

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

To be vice admiral

Rear Adm. Daniel L. Cheever

IN THE ARMY

The following named officers for appointment in the United States Army to the grade indicated under title 10, U.S.C., section 624:

To be major general

Big. Gen. Jason E. Kelly

IN THE AIR FORCE

The following named officer for appointment in the Reserve of the Air Force to the grade indicated under title 10, U.S.C., section 12203:

To be brigadier general

Col. Erica R. Austin

The following named officers for appointment in the Reserve of the Air Force to the grade indicated under title 10, U.S.C., section 12203:

To be brigadier general

Col. Korey E. Amundson
Col. Amanda S. Birch
Col. Randall W. Cason, Jr.
Col. Richard A. Erredge
Col. Erika A. Foster
Col. Christopher J. Hobbs
Col. Robert E. Jackson, Jr.
Col. Frank R. Kincaid
Col. Christopher T. Lay
Col. Michael M. Moeding
Col. Joshua G. Padgett
Col. Brett R. Paola
Col. Janette L. Thode
Col. Timothy M. Weber
Col. Nathan D. Yates
Col. Christopher M. Zidek

IN THE ARMY

The following named officer for appointment in the Reserve of the Army to the grade indicated under title 10, U.S.C., section 12203:

To be major general

Brig. Gen. Patricia R. Wallace

IN THE MARINE CORPS

The following named officers for appointment in the United States Marine Corps Reserve to the grade indicated under title 10, U.S.C., section 12203:

To be major general

Brig. Gen. Douglas K. Clark
Brig. Gen. Sean N. Day

The following named officer for appointment in the United States Marine Corps to the grade indicated under title 10, U.S.C., section 624:

To be brigadier general

Col. William T. Wilburn, Jr.

The following named officers for appointment the United States Marine Corps Reserve to the grade indicated under title 10, U.S.C., section 12203:

To be brigadier general

Col. Thomas M. Armas

Col. Daniel B. Taylor
Col. Patrick F. Tiernan

IN THE AIR FORCE

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

To be lieutenant general

Lt. Gen. Alexis G. Grynkeiwich

The following named officer for appointment in the United States Air Force to the grade indicated under title 10, U.S.C., section 624:

To be brigadier general

Col. Gwendolyn A. Foster

The following named officer for appointment in the United States Air Force to the grade indicated under title 10, U.S.C., section 624:

To be brigadier general

Col. Jason J. Lennen

The following named officer for appointment in the United States Air Force to the grade indicated under title 10, U.S.C., section 624:

To be brigadier general

Col. Eveline F. Yao

IN THE ARMY

The following named officers for appointment in the Reserve of the Army to the grades indicated under title 10, U.S.C., section 12203:

To be major general

Brig. Gen. Timothy E. Brennan
Brig. Gen. Jeffrey M. Farris
Brig. Gen. Michelle A. Link
Brig. Gen. Justin M. Swanson

To be brigadier general

Col. Melissa K. Adamski
Col. Daniel Cederman
Col. Frederick A. Hockett, Jr.
Col. Brian R. Horton
Col. Eero R. Keravuori
Col. Reginald Kornegay
Col. John P. Stanley

The following named officers for appointment in the United States Army to the grade indicated under title 10, U.S.C., section 624:

To be brigadier general

Col. Michael L. Smith

IN THE NAVY

The following named officers for appointment in the United States Navy to the grade indicated under title 10, U.S.C., section 624:

To be rear admiral (lower half)

Capt. Todd F. Cimicata
Capt. Frankie J. Clark
Capt. David G. Duff
Capt. Todd A. Figanbaum
Capt. Bret M. Grabbe
Capt. Jeffrey L. Heames
Capt. John W. Hewitt
Capt. Liam M. Hulin
Capt. Marcos A. Jasso
Capt. Matthew J. Kawas
Capt. Justin A. Kubu
Capt. Robert E. Loughran, Jr.
Capt. Philip S. Miller
Capt. Brian T. Mutty
Capt. Cassidy C. Norman
Capt. Erin P. Osborne
Capt. Bartley A. Randall
Capt. Craig C. Sicola
Capt. Melvin R. Smith, Jr.

The following named officers for appointment in the United States Navy to the grade indicated under title 10, U.S.C., section 624:

To be rear admiral (lower half)

Capt. Brian A. Harding
Capt. Vincent S. Tionquiao

IN THE SPACE FORCE

The following named officers for appointment in the United States Space Force to

the grade indicated under title 10, U.S.C., section 624:

To be brigadier general

Col. Chandler P. Atwood
Col. Matthew S. Cantore
Col. Brian A. Denaro
Col. Robert J. Schreiner
Col. Zachary S. Warakowski

IN THE ARMY

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

To be lieutenant general

Maj. Gen. Thomas M. Carden, Jr.

IN THE MARINE CORPS

The following named officers for appointment in the United States Marine Corps to the grade indicated under title 10, U.S.C., section 624:

To be major general

Brig. Gen. Melvin G. Carter
Brig. Gen. Phillip N. Frieze
Brig. Gen. Robert C. Fulford
Brig. Gen. Peter D. Huntley
Brig. Gen. Jason L. Morris
Brig. Gen. Julie L. Nethercot
Brig. Gen. Ryan S. Rideout
Brig. Gen. George B. Rowell, IV
Brig. Gen. Daniel L. Shipley
Brig. Gen. James B. Wellons

IN THE NAVY

The following named officers for appointment in the United States Navy to the grade indicated under title 10, U.S.C., section 624:

To be rear admiral (lower half)

Capt. Timothy A. Brown
Capt. Michael York

NOMINATIONS PLACED ON THE SECRETARY'S DESK

IN THE AIR FORCE

PN1032 AIR FORCE nomination of Julie A. Griffith, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of September 19, 2023.

PN1075 AIR FORCE nominations (12) beginning LA RITA S. ABEL, and ending DARA J. WARREN, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of October 19, 2023.

PN1274 AIR FORCE nominations (123) beginning ANDREW RAY ADAMICH, and ending JOHN PETER ZIMMERMAN, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of January 8, 2024.

PN1275 AIR FORCE nomination of Zachary M. Nunn, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of January 8, 2024.

IN THE ARMY

PN1207 ARMY nomination of Thomas P. Parshall, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of December 14, 2023.

PN1208 ARMY nomination of Regan C. Reynolds, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of December 14, 2023.

PN1209 ARMY nomination of Ryan L. Veneberg, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of December 14, 2023.

PN1210 ARMY nomination of Habibatu A. Mojidi, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of December 14, 2023.

PN1278 ARMY nomination of Lawrence M. Csaszar, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of January 8, 2024.

PN1279 ARMY nomination of David A. Delcuadrozimmerman, which was received

by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of January 8, 2024.

IN THE FOREIGN SERVICE

PN283-2 FOREIGN SERVICE nomination of Joan Polaschik, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of January 26, 2023.

PN355 FOREIGN SERVICE nominations (7) beginning Andrew Edlefsen, and ending Christopher Wilken, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of February 13, 2023.

PN736 FOREIGN SERVICE nominations (14) beginning Olutayo O. Akingbe, and ending Kathy W. Yao, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of May 30, 2023.

PN1129 FOREIGN SERVICE nominations (113) beginning Christopher Allen, and ending Alicia P. Allison, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of November 1, 2023.

IN THE MARINE CORPS

PN1304 MARINE CORPS nominations (3) beginning JEFFREY A. DOVAN, and ending HUGO J. VARGAS, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of January 10, 2024.

PN1305 MARINE CORPS nominations (2) beginning BRYAN M. BAKER, and ending WILLIAM T. CARRIER, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of January 10, 2024.

PN1306 MARINE CORPS nominations (3) beginning ANTONIO C. EWINGS, and ending ADAM W. SPIARS, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of January 10, 2024.

PN1308 MARINE CORPS nominations (4) beginning DONALD E. CHARBONEAU, and ending JEFFREY A. TRANBERG, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of January 10, 2024.

PN1309 MARINE CORPS nomination of Aaron Mora, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of January 10, 2024.

PN1311 MARINE CORPS nominations (3) beginning RAFAEL B. MARTINEZ, and ending ISAAC K. TIBAYAN, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of January 10, 2024.

PN1312 MARINE CORPS nominations (4) beginning LUIS E. COLON, and ending ANTHONY L. GALLUZZI, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of January 10, 2024.

PN1313 MARINE CORPS nominations (5) beginning JASON T. CONNOLLY, and ending COLE A. SARDINTA, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of January 10, 2024.

PN1314 MARINE CORPS nominations (12) beginning DUSTIN M. BAILEY, and ending XAVIER TEN, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of January 10, 2024.

PN1315 MARINE CORPS nominations (3) beginning MATTHEW D. DALEO, and ending MICHAEL J. LANDERS, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of January 10, 2024.

PN1316 MARINE CORPS nominations (8) beginning JASON R. BEKEN, and ending JOSHUA B. WHITEHEAD, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of January 10, 2024.

PN1317 MARINE CORPS nominations (4) beginning BERNARD J. COYNE, JR., and ending AHLEZA THEOBALD, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of January 10, 2024.

PN1318 MARINE CORPS nominations (2) beginning GREGORY S. CANEVARI, and

ending ANTONIO G. MARRERO, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of January 10, 2024.

PN1319 MARINE CORPS nomination of Richard L. Raines, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of January 10, 2024.

PN1320 MARINE CORPS nomination of James M. Rod, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of January 10, 2024.

PN1322 MARINE CORPS nomination of Daniel E. Fuson, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of January 10, 2024.

PN1323 MARINE CORPS nominations (3) beginning GLENN A. STALEY, and ending COREY R. WAINSCOTT, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of January 10, 2024.

IN THE NAVY

PN1284 NAVY nomination of Matthew W. Rose, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of January 8, 2024.

PN1325 NAVY nomination of Mark A. Wess, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of January 10, 2024.

PN1326 NAVY nomination of Scott H. Williams, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of January 10, 2024.

PN1327 NAVY nomination of Sonny D. Rowland, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of January 10, 2024.

IN THE SPACE FORCE

PN1287 SPACE FORCE nomination of Kevin F. Champaigne, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of January 8, 2024.

LEGISLATIVE SESSION

MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. MERKLEY. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to legislative session for 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.

U.S. SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE ON ETHICS ANNUAL REPORT

Mr. COONS. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent, for myself as chairman of the Select Committee on Ethics and for Senator LANKFORD, vice chairman of the committee, that the annual report of the Select Committee on Ethics for calendar year 2023 be printed in the RECORD.

The committee issued this report on January 31, 2024, as required by the Honest Leadership and Open Government Act of 2007.

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

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE SELECT COMMITTEE ON ETHICS, 118TH CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION

JANUARY 31, 2024

The Honest Leadership and Open Government Act of 2007 (the Act) calls for the Se-

lect Committee on Ethics of the United States Senate to issue an annual report no later than January 31st of each year providing information in certain categories describing its activities for the preceding year. Reported below is the information describing the Committee's activities in 2023 in the categories set forth in the Act:

(1) The number of alleged violations of Senate rules received from any source, including the number raised by a Senator or staff of the Committee—145. (In addition, 6 alleged violations from previous years were carried into 2023.)

(2) The number of alleged violations that were dismissed—

(A) For lack of subject matter jurisdiction or in which, even if the allegations in the complaint are true, no violation of Senate rules would exist: 112.

(B) Because they failed to provide sufficient facts as to any material violation of the Senate rules beyond mere allegation or assertion: 20.

(3) The number of alleged violations for which the Committee staff conducted a preliminary inquiry: 19. (This figure includes 6 matters from previous years carried into 2023.)

(4) The number of alleged violations for which the Committee staff conducted a preliminary inquiry that resulted in an adjudicatory review: 0.

(5) The number of alleged violations for which the Committee staff conducted a preliminary inquiry and the Committee dismissed the matter for lack of substantial merit or because it was inadvertent, technical or otherwise of a de minimis nature: 12.

(6) The number of alleged violations for which the Committee staff conducted a preliminary inquiry and the Committee issued private or public letters of admonition: 1.

(7) The number of matters resulting in a disciplinary sanction: 0.

(8) Any other information deemed by the Committee to be appropriate to describe its activities in the previous year:

In 2023, the Committee staff conducted 18 Member and office campaign activity briefings; 23 employee code of conduct training sessions; 4 public financial disclosure clinics, seminars, and webinars; 15 ethics seminars and customized briefings for Member DC offices, state offices, and Senate committees; 2 private sector ethics briefings, and 2 international briefings.

In 2023, the Committee staff handled approximately 12,165 inquiries (via telephone and email) for ethics advice and guidance.

In 2023, the Committee wrote approximately 992 ethics advisory letters and responses including, but not limited to, 790 travel and gifts matters (Senate Rule 35) and 163 conflict of interest matters (Senate Rule 37).

In 2023, the Committee received 4,126 public financial disclosure and periodic disclosure of financial transactions reports.

VOTE EXPLANATION

Mr. WELCH. Madam President, on December 18, 2023, I was not present for a rollcall vote, vote No. 347, to confirm the nomination of Martin O'Malley to serve as Commissioner of the Social Security Administration. If present, I would have voted to confirm Commissioner O'Malley.

ADDITIONAL STATEMENTS

TRIBUTE TO RUSTY WILFONG

• Mr. CASSIDY. Madam President, I rise to pay tribute to Mr. Rusty