

the people of the United States by ensuring the highest level of maritime border security; and

(2) congratulates the Coast Guard on exemplary service and dedication to the United States.

OBSERVING THE 150TH ANNIVERSARY OF VANDERBILT UNIVERSITY

Mr. WHITEHOUSE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on the Judiciary be discharged from further consideration and that the Senate now proceed to S. Res. 288.

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

The senior assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

A resolution (S. Res. 288) observing the 150th anniversary of Vanderbilt University.

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

Mr. WHITEHOUSE. I ask unanimous consent that the resolution be agreed, the preamble be agreed to, and that the motions to reconsider be considered made and laid upon the table.

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

The resolution (S. Res. 288) was agreed to.

The preamble was agreed to.

(The resolution, with its preamble, is printed in the RECORD of July 11, 2023, under "Submitted Resolutions.")

RESOLUTIONS SUBMITTED TODAY

Mr. WHITEHOUSE. I now ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the en bloc consideration of the following Senate resolutions, introduced earlier today: S. Res. 313, S. Res. 314, S. Res. 315, and S. Res. 317.

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

Mr. SCHUMER. Mr. President, in two criminal cases pending in Federal district court in the District of Columbia and arising out of the events of January 6, 2021, the prosecution has requested testimony from a Senate witness.

In these cases, brought against Mark Sahady and Leo Brent Bozell IV, trials are expected to commence on August 21, 2023, and September 6, 2023, respectively, and the prosecution has requested testimony from Daniel Schwager, formerly counsel to the Secretary of the Senate, concerning his knowledge and observations of the process and constitutional and legal bases for Congress's counting of the electoral college votes. Senate Secretary Berry would like to cooperate with these requests by providing relevant testimony in these trials from Mr. Schwager.

In keeping with the rules and practices of the Senate, these resolutions would authorize the production of relevant testimony from Mr. Schwager,

with representation by the Senate Legal Counsel.

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

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

The resolutions were agreed to.

The preambles were agreed to.

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

HONORING THE LIFE OF LOWELL PALMER WEICKER, JR., FORMER SENATOR FOR THE STATE OF CONNECTICUT

Mr. WHITEHOUSE. Lastly, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of S. Res. 316, which was submitted earlier today.

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

The senior assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

A resolution (S. Res. 316) honoring the life of Lowell Palmer Weicker, Jr., former Senator for the State of Connecticut.

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the resolution.

Mr. WHITEHOUSE. I ask unanimous consent that the resolution be agreed to, the preamble be agreed to, and that the motions to reconsider be considered made and laid upon the table with no intervening action or debate.

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

The resolution (S. Res. 316) was agreed to.

The preamble was agreed to.

(The resolution, with its preamble, is printed in today's RECORD under "Submitted Resolutions.")

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Ms. CORTEZ MASTO). Without objection, it is so ordered.

NATIONAL DEFENSE AUTHORIZATION ACT FOR FISCAL YEAR 2024—Continued

With that, I would yield to the majority leader.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Ms. HASSAN). The majority leader.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. SCHUMER. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that it be in order to call up the following amendments to S. 2226: Cruz, 421; Wicker, 1055; Paul, 438; Barrasso, 999; Sanders, 1030; Cardin, 705; Marshall, 874; Gilli-

brand, 1065; Kennedy, 1034; Hawley, 1058; and Menendez, 638; further, that with respect to the amendments listed above, at a time to be determined by the majority leader, in consultation with the Republican leader, the Senate vote on the amendments in the order listed, with no further amendments or motions in order, and with 60 affirmative votes required for adoption, and that there be 2 minutes equally divided prior to each vote.

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

CLOTURE MOTION

Mr. SCHUMER. Madam President, I send a cloture motion to the substitute amendment No. 935 to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The cloture motion having been presented under rule XXII, the Chair directs the clerk to read the motion.

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 Reed substitute amendment No. 935 to Calendar No. 119, S. 2226, a bill to authorize appropriations for fiscal year 2024 for military activities of the Department of Defense, for military construction, and for defense activities of the Department of Energy, to prescribe military personnel strengths for such fiscal year, and for other purposes.

Charles E. Schumer, Jack Reed, Raphael G. Warnock, Angus S. King, Jr., Sherrod Brown, Tim Kaine, Tina Smith, Mark Kelly, Debbie Stabenow, Jon Tester, Jeanne Shaheen, Catherine Cortez Masto, Joe Manchin III, Richard J. Durbin, Chris Van Hollen, Alex Padilla, Gary C. Peters.

CLOTURE MOTION

Mr. SCHUMER. I send a cloture motion to S. 2226 to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The cloture motion having been presented under rule XXII, the Chair directs the clerk to read the motion.

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 Calendar No. 119, S. 2226, a bill to authorize appropriations for fiscal year 2024 for military activities of the Department of Defense, for military construction, and for defense activities of the Department of Energy, to prescribe military personnel strengths for such fiscal year, and for other purposes.

Charles E. Schumer, Jack Reed, Raphael G. Warnock, Angus S. King, Jr., Sherrod Brown, Tim Kaine, Tina Smith, Mark Kelly, Debbie Stabenow, Jon Tester, Jeanne Shaheen, Catherine Cortez Masto, Joe Manchin III, Richard J. Durbin, Chris Van Hollen, Alex Padilla, Gary C. Peters.

Mr. SCHUMER. Finally, I ask unanimous consent that the mandatory quorum calls for the cloture motions filed today, July 26, be waived.

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

Mr. SCHUMER. Madam President, for the information of Senators, we will begin a series of three rollcall votes at 8 p.m. this evening.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Texas.

AMENDMENT NO. 421

Mr. CRUZ. I call up my amendment No. 421, and ask that it be reported by number.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the amendment.

The bill clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Texas [Mr. CRUZ] proposes an amendment numbered 421 to amendment No. 935.

The amendment is as follows:

(Purpose: To provide remedies to members of the Armed Forces discharged or subject to adverse action under the COVID-19 vaccine mandate)

At the appropriate place in title V, insert the following:

SEC. ____ REMEDIES FOR MEMBERS OF THE ARMED FORCES DISCHARGED OR SUBJECT TO ADVERSE ACTION UNDER THE COVID-19 VACCINE MANDATE.

(a) LIMITATION ON IMPOSITION OF NEW MANDATE.—The Secretary of Defense may not issue any COVID-19 vaccine mandate as a replacement for the mandate rescinded under section 525 of the James M. Inhofe National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2023 absent a further act of Congress expressly authorizing a replacement mandate.

(b) REMEDIES.—Section 736 of the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2022 (Public Law 117–81; 10 U.S.C. 1161 note prec.) is amended—

(1) in the section heading, by striking “TO OBEY LAWFUL ORDER TO RECEIVE” and inserting “TO RECEIVE”;

(2) in subsection (a)—

(A) by striking “a lawful order” and inserting “an order”;

(B) by striking “shall be” and all that follows through the period at the end and inserting “shall be an honorable discharge.”;

(3) by redesignating subsection (b) as subsection (e); and

(4) by inserting after subsection (a) the following new subsections:

“(b) PROHIBITION ON ADVERSE ACTION.—The Secretary of Defense may not take any adverse action against a covered member based solely on the refusal of such member to receive a vaccine for COVID-19.

“(c) REMEDIES AVAILABLE FOR A COVERED MEMBER DISCHARGED OR SUBJECT TO ADVERSE ACTION BASED ON COVID-19 STATUS.—At the election of a covered member discharged or subject to adverse action based on the member’s COVID-19 vaccination status, and upon application through a process established by the Secretary of Defense, the Secretary shall—

“(1) adjust to ‘honorable discharge’ the status of the member if—

“(A) the member was separated from the Armed Forces based solely on the failure of the member to obey an order to receive a vaccine for COVID-19; and

“(B) the discharge status of the member would have been an ‘honorable discharge’ but for the refusal to obtain such vaccine;

“(2) reinstate the member to service at the highest grade held by the member immediately prior to the involuntary separation, allowing, however, for any reduction in rank that was not related to the member’s COVID-19 vaccination status, with an effective date of reinstatement as of the date of involuntary separation;

“(3) for any member who was subject to any adverse action other than involuntary separation based solely on the member’s COVID-19 vaccination status—

“(A) restore the member to the highest grade held prior to such adverse action, allowing, however, for any reduction in rank that was not related to the member’s COVID-19 vaccination status, with an effective date of reinstatement as of the date of involuntary separation; and

“(B) compensate such member for any pay and benefits lost as a result of such adverse action;

“(4) expunge from the service record of the member any adverse action, to include non-punitive adverse action and involuntary separation, as well as any reference to any such adverse action, based solely on COVID-19 vaccination status; and

“(5) include the time of involuntary separation of the member reinstated under paragraph (2) in the computation of the retired or retainer pay of the member.

“(d) RETENTION AND DEVELOPMENT OF UNVACCINATED MEMBERS.—The Secretary of Defense shall—

“(1) make every effort to retain covered members who are not vaccinated against COVID-19 and provide such members with professional development, promotion and leadership opportunities, and consideration equal to that of their peers;

“(2) only consider the COVID-19 vaccination status of a covered member in making deployment, assignment, and other operational decisions where—

“(A) the law or regulations of a foreign country require covered members to be vaccinated against COVID-19 in order to enter that country; and

“(B) the covered member’s presence in that foreign country is necessary in order to perform their assigned role; and

“(3) for purposes of deployments, assignments, and operations described in paragraph (2), create a process to provide COVID-19 vaccination exemptions to covered members with—

“(A) a natural immunity to COVID-19;

“(B) an underlying health condition that would make COVID-19 vaccination a greater risk to that individual than the general population; or

“(C) sincerely held religious beliefs in conflict with receiving the COVID-19 vaccination.

“(e) APPLICABILITY OF REMEDIES CONTAINED IN THIS SECTION.—The prohibitions and remedies described in this section shall apply to covered members regardless of whether or not they sought an accommodation to any Department of Defense COVID-19 vaccination policy on any grounds.”.

Mr. CRUZ. Madam President, last December, Marine Gen. David Berger stated the obvious, that the Department of Defense’s COVID vaccine mandate hurt recruiting and hurt retention.

For several weeks now, our Democratic colleagues have been saying that military readiness is suffering due to promotion delays. Well, I have good news for my colleagues. My amendment will help address these problems.

While last year’s NDAA, quite rightly, repealed the vaccine mandate prospectively, problems caused by the mandate persist, including concerning recruiting, retention, and readiness.

According to reports, the Biden administration dismissed over 8,400 military servicemembers who had vaccine concerns. DOD routinely denied religious accommodation requests, violating the rights of servicemembers protected by the Constitution and RFRA.

DOD gave over 80 percent of these servicemembers a “general discharge,” causing them to lose GI benefits and, in some cases, VA benefits, even those were benefits earned through honorable service.

My amendment rights these wrongs. It will allow servicemembers dismissed over the vaccine mandate to seek reinstatement or a change in their discharge status. It restores lost GI and VA benefits.

According to media reports, the DOD is already contemplating all of these actions, but I believe the Senate should lead to address these issues. They have ended the vaccine mandate, and it is not fair to the over 8,000 service men and women dismissed for a policy DOD no longer believes is necessary. I urge Members to support my amendment.

Mr. REED. Madam President.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Rhode Island.

Mr. REED. Madam President, I oppose the amendment because one of the fundamental aspects of the military is the ability of a senior officer to issue an order and the willingness of a subordinate to accept that order. What we are dealing with here are individuals, without appropriate justification, refusing to carry out a lawful order.

Now, the vaccination policies of the military are rather robust. I think there are more than a dozen required vaccinations, and someone who just cavalierly dismisses that requirement and then claims that they should not somehow be held accountable, I think is wrong. But this goes to the fabric of the military. You must obey lawful orders, and all of these were lawful orders.

Mandatory vaccination, again, is not a new, novel technique.

Another aspect of this is, this went right to the heart of readiness. We can all recall when an aircraft carrier in the Pacific had to be evacuated because of COVID aboard the ship, and the ship was actually out of commission for several months. That is a readiness issue that is pretty obvious.

There are procedures to be reinstated in the military. They have been in effect for many, many years. There is a board procedure. You can bring forth evidence that your dismissal was not appropriate, and that is being pursued now, I presume, by many people—or at least some.

So this would really, I think, basically signal that you don’t have to obey legal orders from your commander if you are accepting popular notions about what is right and what is not right. And I think we should reject this amendment.

VOTE ON AMENDMENT NO. 421

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

Mr. CRUZ. I ask for the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

There appears to be a sufficient second.

The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk called the roll.

Mr. SCHUMER. I announce that the Senator from Illinois (Mr. DURBIN) is necessarily absent.

The result was announced—yeas 46, nays 53, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 199 Leg.]

YEAS—46

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

NAYS—53

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

NOT VOTING—1

Durbin

The PRESIDING OFFICER. On this vote, the yeas are 46, the nays are 53.

Under the previous order requiring 60 votes for the adoption of this amendment, the amendment is not agreed to.

The amendment (No. 421) was rejected.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Mississippi.

Mr. WICKER. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that there be up to 6 minutes of debate before the next rollcall vote.

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

AMENDMENT NO. 1055

(Purpose: To establish the Office of the Lead Inspector General for Ukraine Assistance.)

Mr. WICKER. Now, Madam President, I think we can move along quickly if we do have order, and I do appreciate that.

I call up my amendment No. 1055 and ask that it be reported by number.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the amendment by number.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Mississippi [Mr. WICKER], for himself and others, proposes an amendment numbered 1055.

(The amendment is printed in today's RECORD under "Text of Amendments.")

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Louisiana.

Mr. KENNEDY. Madam President, some time ago, Senator SINEMA and I introduced the Independent and Objective Oversight of Ukrainian Assistance Act to create a special inspector general to follow the money with respect to Ukraine. Senators HAWLEY, PAUL, RISCH, and WICKER have been important voices in this. Indeed, they have had their own bills. We have gotten together and worked out a compromise.

Our bill would create a lead inspector general among the inspectors general right now doing the auditing, which are the Department of Defense, the State Department, and USAID. This lead inspector general would be our contact. We could go to that inspector general and get answers. By law, the inspector general would have to respond in 15 days.

We will not need Senate confirmation because I expect the President to appoint as the lead one of the inspectors general who are currently involved.

I urge favorable passage and yield to Senator WICKER or Senator RISCH.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Idaho.

Mr. RISCH. Madam President, I rise to speak on behalf of amendment No. 1055, and I am happy to be a cosponsor with Senators WICKER, KENNEDY, HAWLEY, and SINEMA. I am pleased we are able to come together on this. Everyone on this floor wants to see that not a penny is wasted in Ukraine or goes where it shouldn't go.

We have several audits going on there right now, as all of us know. This really strengthens the audit function we are doing. These are enhancements that do not duplicate or undermine the current IG structure. The IG structure is currently run by State, USAID, and DOD. This brings them together and puts them under one head.

Unfortunately, the Paul amendment, which we are going to vote on side by side next, would undermine their work. It duplicates the current oversight structure, creates permanent bureaucracy, extends to areas far outside of Ukraine, and tries to superimpose a structure designed for Afghanistan, which was a very different war than what we are involved in now.

Thanks to efforts of Members of both parties, in the past year, we have enacted 39 legislative oversight provisions covering all money that has been appropriated to support Ukraine since the war began. These provisions have led to the completion of 35 oversight evaluations thus far, and another 67 more are planned or underway. To date, there has not been any substantiated evidence of illicit weapons transfer or misuse of U.S. taxpayer dollars.

The special inspector general for Afghanistan that Senator PAUL's amendment proposes does not make sense for Ukraine. There are no U.S. forces fighting in Ukraine. Ukraine does not have the same security and defense concerns that Afghanistan did, and the war in

Ukraine is dramatically smaller than the other war.

The State, DOD, and USAID have the capacity to do this.

This amendment is a good amendment. I would urge you to vote for this and against the next amendment.

I yield to Senator WICKER.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. WELCH). The Senator from Mississippi. Mr. WICKER. Mr. President, I ask consent to have 1 additional minute on each side.

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

Mr. WICKER. I reserve the time of the proponents.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Washington.

Mrs. MURRAY. Mr. President, we all share the view that oversight of our assistance to Ukraine and any other nation is critical to make sure it is used appropriately and effectively. That is why we continue to increase our support for the existing permanent IGs and are encouraged that they have space to operate from in Ukraine and are implementing a joint oversight plan. We have also tasked GAO with specific oversight requests.

Adding additional layers of coordination would be counterproductive to our ongoing oversight efforts, and involving the Agencies in the selection for the assessment of the lead IG, as proposed in the Senator's amendment, would potentially compromise the inspector general's independence.

There is no gap in U.S. authorities, presence, or even additional resources for our oversight efforts that this amendment addresses. We should remain focused on strengthening existing oversight efforts as our support for Ukraine continues.

I urge my colleagues to vote no on this amendment.

I yield to my colleague from Illinois.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Illinois.

Ms. DUCKWORTH. Mr. President, bottom line: This is unnecessary. There are robust existing coordination mechanisms among the IGs to ensure comprehensive oversight, provisions in the committee-passed NDAA to assist the DOD IG with enhanced hiring authorities, and \$27 million in dedicated funding for oversight for each of the three IGs from DOD, State, and USAID.

The provision also includes a requirement that the lead inspector general complete a briefing to any Member of Congress within 15 days of request. This almost certainly ensures that the LIG will spend their time scheduling and briefing Members of Congress, not conducting oversight.

Lastly, as drafted, the \$10 million authorization of appropriations is non-viable funding, and the offset is not valid as neither element includes a funding account for money to go to or from. So this is entirely hollow budget authority.

With that, I urge my colleagues to oppose the amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Louisiana.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, do the proponents have any additional time?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The proponents have 1 minute.

Mr. WICKER. Mr. President, I claim the time.

Mr. KENNEDY. Go ahead. Save some more for me.

Mr. SCHUMER. Mr. President, if the gentleman from Louisiana wants 1 minute, I would be happy to give it to him.

Mr. KENNEDY. I thank the Senator. You are a fine American.

Mr. SCHUMER. A fine act of bipartisanship.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Louisiana.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, the American people have sent over \$100 billion to help our friends in Ukraine, and most Members of this body have supported it. But this money didn't fall from Heaven; it came out of people's pockets.

How can we possibly look the American people in the eye and say that we don't want to ensure to them that this money will not be stolen? That is all this bill does. It lets the President appoint a lead inspector general to answer to the U.S. Congress so we can look the American people in the eye and say: Your money was not stolen.

I can't imagine that we would not pass this bill. How can you go home and explain this to your people? You can't.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority leader.

Mr. SCHUMER. Mr. President, we have two votes left. In order to expedite things and get out of here at a less unreasonable hour, I ask unanimous consent that—first, I ask that all our Members stay close, and I ask unanimous consent that the votes be 10 minutes each.

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

The Senator from Mississippi.

Mr. WICKER. Mr. President, to close on behalf of the proponents, this is a bipartisan amendment, and it deserves bipartisan support by the U.S. Senate.

Rather than set up a disruptive new bureaucracy, it builds on the requirement for the President simply to select, of the inspectors general, a lead inspector general reporting directly to the Secretaries of Defense and State.

If you want true oversight and you want to put it in the statute, this amendment is necessary. That is what it does. It is simple, it is effective, and it puts it into law with the signature of the President.

I urge a bipartisan "yes" vote for this bipartisan amendment.

VOTE ON AMENDMENT NO. 1055

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

Mr. WICKER. I ask for the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

There appears to be a sufficient second.

The clerk will call the roll.

The senior assistant legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. SCHUMER. I announce that the Senator from Illinois (Mr. DURBIN) is necessarily absent.

The result was announced—yeas 51, nays 48, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 200 Leg.]

YEAS—51

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

NAYS—48

Baldwin	Heinrich	Peters
Bennet	Hickenlooper	Reed
Blumenthal	Hirono	Rosen
Booker	Kaine	Sanders
Brown	Kelly	Schatz
Cantwell	King	Schumer
Cardin	Klobuchar	Shaheen
Carper	Lujan	Smith
Casey	Manchin	Stabenow
Cooms	Markey	Van Hollen
Cortez Masto	Menendez	Warner
Duckworth	Merkley	Warnock
Feinstein	Murphy	Warren
Fetterman	Murray	Welch
Gillibrand	Padilla	Whitehouse
Hassan	Paul	Wyden

NOT VOTING—1

Durbin

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Ohio.

CHANGE OF VOTE

Mr. VANCE. Mr. President, on rollcall vote 200, I voted nay. It was my intention to vote aye.

I ask unanimous consent that I be permitted to change my vote, since it will not affect the outcome.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Without objection, so ordered.

(The foregoing tally has been changed to reflect the above order.)

The PRESIDING OFFICER. On this vote, the yeas are 51, the nays are 48.

Under the previous order requiring 60 votes for this amendment, the amendment is not agreed to.

The amendment (No. 1055) was rejected.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Kentucky.

AMENDMENT NO. 438

(Purpose: To provide for the independent and objective conduct and supervision of audits and investigations relating to the programs and operations funded with amounts appropriated or otherwise made available to Ukraine for military, economic, and humanitarian aid.)

Mr. PAUL. I call up my amendment No. 438 and ask that it be reported by number.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the amendment by number.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Kentucky [Mr. PAUL] proposes an amendment numbered 438.

(The amendment is printed in today's RECORD under "Text of Amendments.")

Mr. PAUL. The United States sent \$113 billion in aid to Ukraine. It is impossible to send this much aid this fast into war-torn Ukraine without waste, fraud, and abuse. Yet we are told by the departmental inspectors general that they have not substantiated any cases of fraud. That is not good news. Zero cases mean our oversight is failing.

What our government can't find was uncovered by Ukrainian journalists who uncovered a scandalous contract to buy food for soldiers at grossly inflated prices that led to the resignation of Ukraine's Deputy Defense Minister.

Fortunately, a successful independent oversight body already exists. The Special Inspector General for Afghanistan Reconstruction conducted hundreds of audits in Afghanistan and saved over \$3 billion for the taxpayers. We already have a war-tested inspector general in Afghanistan who is ready and able to take on the task of oversight of aid to Ukraine.

Let's not waste any more American treasure. A vote for my amendment is a vote for real oversight.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Michigan.

Mr. PETERS. Mr. President, I appreciate my colleague's commitment to oversight of taxpayer dollars spent here at home as well as abroad. Inspectors general are key allies as we work to root out waste and increase efficiency and make our government work better. The Special Inspector General for Afghanistan Reconstruction has done important work in Afghanistan.

While I certainly support the goals of this amendment, I have concerns this provision could ultimately interfere with and divert resources from the inspectors general at the State Department, the Defense Department, and USAID who are already overseeing American support to Ukraine.

While I look forward to working with my colleague to bolster our IGs and conduct congressional oversight of government spending, I must urge my colleagues to oppose this amendment.

VOTE ON AMENDMENT NO. 438

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

Mr. PAUL. I ask for the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

There appears to be a sufficient second.

The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. SCHUMER. I announce that the Senator from Illinois (Mr. DURBIN) and the Senator from Michigan (Ms. STABENOW) are necessarily absent.

The result was announced—yeas 20, nays 78, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 201 Leg.]

YEAS—20

Braun	Hawley	Schmitt
Cramer	Hoeven	Scott (FL)
Cruz	Johnson	Scott (SC)
Daines	Kennedy	Sullivan
Fischer	Lee	Tuberville
Grassley	Marshall	Vance
Hagerty	Paul	

NAYS—78

Baldwin	Gillibrand	Peters
Barrasso	Graham	Reed
Bennet	Hassan	Ricketts
Blackburn	Heinrich	Risch
Blumenthal	Hickenlooper	Romney
Booker	Hirono	Rosen
Boozman	Hyde-Smith	Rounds
Britt	Kaine	Rubio
Brown	Kelly	Sanders
Budd	King	Schatz
Cantwell	Klobuchar	Schumer
Capito	Lankford	Shaheen
Cardin	Lujan	Sinema
Carper	Lummis	Smith
Casey	Manchin	Tester
Cassidy	Markey	Thune
Collins	McConnell	Tillis
Coons	Menendez	Van Hollen
Cornyn	Merkley	Warner
Cortez Masto	Moran	Warnock
Cotton	Mullin	Warren
Crapo	Murkowski	Welch
Duckworth	Murphy	Whitehouse
Ernst	Murray	Wicker
Feinstein	Ossoff	Wyden
Fetterman	Padilla	Young

NOT VOTING—2

Durbin	Stabenow
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The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. KAINE). On this vote, the yeas are 20, and the nays are 78.

Under the previous order requiring 60 affirmative votes for adoption of the amendment, the amendment is not agreed to.

The amendment (No. 438) was rejected.

MILITARY PROMOTIONS

Mr. REED. Mr. President, I rise tonight to discuss once again the routine promotions of our military's general and flag officers.

During this Congress, due to the dangerous and extreme position of one Republican Senator, not a single general or flag officer has been confirmed—not one—all because that Senator disagrees with a policy that is designed to ensure safe and reasonable access for all servicemembers to reproductive healthcare regardless of where the military chooses to assign them.

Last week, the Defense Department's legal advisers and subject-matter experts came before the Armed Services Committee to brief us on the policy and to answer our Members' questions. They laid out clear, plain facts that explained the legality and appropriateness of the policy. As I stated publicly after the briefing concluded, no one with an ounce of intellectual honesty can deny that the Department's policy is legal and is, in fact, rooted in decades of precedent through administrations of both parties.

I respect my colleagues on the other side who feel strongly about this issue, but until Congress passes a law to overturn 40 years of legal precedence, the Department of Defense has a responsibility

to manage the health, welfare, and readiness of the force within the legal authorities available to it.

The Department's legal experts also outlined in detail the long-existing statutory authorities that allow the Department to provide these travel and leave benefits. That is all they are, travel and leave policies—policies, I would note, that have been on the books in various fashions for decades.

Even Senator ERNST, the sponsor of a bill that would rescind the policy, recognized publicly after the briefing that the policy is legal. I will note my respect for Senator ERNST. Unlike most of her colleagues, she stayed to the end of the briefing and listened to everything the Department had to say and formed her opinion accordingly. Senator ERNST and I have very different views on this issue, but we share a common respect for our military women and men and an understanding of how Congress should treat them.

Our colleague from Alabama, however, has chosen to take a profoundly disrespectful approach. The nominations he is blocking have had no objections raised against them, and they have all been confirmed by unanimous approval in the committee, including by the Senator from Alabama. These are not controversial nominations.

For many decades, military promotions have been a bipartisan, routine piece of Senate business. Now they have been turned into a political side-show by the Senator from Alabama. He is getting a lot of personal benefit out of this and I suppose a bit of fundraising success as well. To seek to profit in any way on the backs of servicemembers is, in my view, a disgrace.

To avoid accountability, the Senator likes to say that we should “just vote” on these nominations, but he knows this is a ludicrous idea. Let me explain it again. It is virtually impossible for the Senate to process this volume of nominations through floor procedures. As the majority leader and I have explained before, it would literally take the rest of this Congress to move through the nominations we have now, not even accounting for the hundreds still to come.

The Senator from Alabama knows this. So he does not really want to “just vote”; he wants to grind the Senate to a halt on a series of nonstop 99-to-1 rollcall votes. That means no other Senate business, such as the annual Defense bill we are debating right now or the appropriations bills, which are being considered by the Appropriations Committee; no legislation of any kind, which may, in fact, be his motive.

The Senator from Alabama has moved his goalposts many times, never offering a viable or reasonable compromise. Originally, he just wanted a call from the Secretary of Defense. Once he got it, he changed his demand again. When he asked for a vote to repeal the policy, we did so during the National Defense Authorization Act

markup, but of course he changed his demands again, and he is now calling for the complete capitulation of the Department. At this point, one has to wonder if he actually wants to achieve his demands or if he just wants to stay in the spotlight.

We will soon enter the seventh month of this nonsense, and the effects are building. This doesn't just affect the 273 officers stuck on the Senate floor; it affects thousands of military spouses and children, whom I will discuss in a moment, and it affects the officers coming up behind them, some of whom could be assigned but for the fact that an officer sits ahead of them, awaiting Senate confirmation before they can move.

According to the Department of Defense, 45 officers are unable to assume new positions, including 35 who cannot move because their assigned rank goes with the position for which they have been nominated and another 10 officers who are projected to be assigned to a position now held by one of those 35. Twenty-two officers who have been selected for their first star will have to assume the duties of the higher grade while serving as a field grade officer, not a flag officer. Those officers are losing about \$2,600 per month through no fault of their own. Similarly, 20 officers selected to the grade of O-8, or two stars, will assume duties of the higher grade while remaining in their current grade. These officers are losing nearly \$2,000 per month while this blockade continues.

Contrary to the misinformation from the Senator from Alabama, there will absolutely be no back pay for these officers, no back pay at all. Their pay is tied to their rank, which is tied to their appointment to that rank, which cannot occur until the Senate provides its consent. While the Senator is trying to enhance his notoriety, these officers are losing pay.

Twenty-one three- and four-star officers have had their retirements deferred to ensure continuity of command. After 30 or 40 years of uniformed service, numerous combat deployments, countless missed birthdays and anniversaries, and countless missed sports games and musical recitals, these officers have been told that their lives are less important than one Senator's ego.

The most heartbreaking effects are on the families that have been impacted by these holds. I will describe just a few of these stories.

Because of the Senator from Alabama's hold, the Marine Corps was forced to cancel a coast-to-coast move for a general and his family. The family's household goods had already been shipped and are now waiting in storage at their future duty station while the general covers the duties of a three-star at a temporary station.

Two Air Force officers who sold their homes in anticipation of moves are living in temporary housing and paying their storage costs out of their own

pockets. They have no clarity about the length of time their nominations will remain on hold, as they are forced to continue their service in their current assignments to ensure continuity.

A naval officer awaiting orders for an overseas assignment has been caught in the Senator's hold. This officer's spouse was a teacher with a public school district in Virginia. Anticipating an overseas assignment with her spouse, this teacher ended her contract with her previous employer, but she has been unable to either accept a new contract at the overseas location or recommit to returning to the school district due to the uncertainty from the hold. She is stuck in limbo.

Two children of affected officers were disenrolled from their current schools due to an expected change-of-station move, but now they cannot enroll in a new school because the Senator from Alabama has blocked their move.

Three officers have chosen to move their families at their own expense, with no option to be reimbursed, to ensure that their children will be enrolled in school, in the hope that they will be reunited with their families after the Senator from Alabama has come to his senses.

Finally, yesterday, it was reported by the largest statewide news organization in Alabama that a petition signed by more than 550 military spouses was delivered to the Senator, calling on him to end his blockade and the harm it is doing to military families. The petition, organized by the Secure Families Initiative, called on Senate leadership to "reiterate to Senator TUBERVILLE the dangers and ramifications of this political grandstanding; work together to resolve political and ideological disagreements outside the military space; and expeditiously confirm all blocked promotions and fill existing vacancies."

These are but a few of the tragic family costs being inflicted. These stories will increase significantly as we go into August, traditionally a month that many military families move to new duty stations and start new schools.

All of these effects are but the tip of the iceberg, snapshots and stories of those willing to share. The true impact of the Senator's actions may not be known for years. The destabilizing effect this has on the apolitical nature of military service is what keeps me up at night. The broader impact on our national security is incalculable.

In the U.S. military, there is a total of 852 general and flag officers. By the end of this year, we expect that 650 of them will need to pass through the Senate for promotion or reassignment. An additional 110 officers will be forced to perform two jobs simultaneously or will be assigned to a temporary position as a result of the Senator's holds. Thus, nearly 90 percent of our general and flag officers—our most senior military leaders—will be affected by the Senator from Alabama's holds.

Right now, our Nation faces an unparalleled threat from China, and violent, unstable Russia threatening all of our NATO allies. To not have our military leaders ready to command at a moment's notice is to flirt with disaster. The Senator from Alabama has achieved something that Xi Jinping and Vladimir Putin can only have dreamed of. I am sure they would have paid good money to achieve it, but they don't have to.

What disappoints me the most is the silence from my colleagues across the aisle. For 6 months, they have hardly said a word about the Senator from Alabama's antics. Do they not care? I know many of them do, and many of them disagree with what he is doing. So why are they not down here right now? I call on my colleagues across the aisle who support our military and American families to stand with us to help repair this affront to Senate tradition.

Tonight, my colleagues and I will discuss every military nomination on the Executive Calendar. We will read the names of each officer whose nomination has been blocked by the Senator from Alabama, along with a little bit about their backgrounds. Each of these officers has served decades in uniform, something the Senator from Alabama knows nothing about.

Their lives have not been easy. I know firsthand that the nature of military life, even in the best of times, is difficult, punctuated with frequent moves, time away from family, and duties that are as demanding physically as they are mentally and spiritually.

This generation of general and flag officers has had it even harder than many. Most of these nominees have served the majority of their careers during a state of war. For 20 years, they fought in the Global War on Terror, and many of them fought in wars before that. They went where we asked them to go. They fought so other Americans—including most of us in this Chamber—wouldn't have to. We have never had a generation of military leadership whose entire professional development occurred during a period of constant conflict.

As I went through each of these officers' biographies, I was struck by the recognition and manifestation of their service. As you will hear, the Senator from Alabama is blocking the promotion of officers who have been awarded the Purple Heart, the Silver Star, the Bronze Star, the Legion of Merit, the Distinguished Flying Cross, and every other significant award or recognition the Defense Department bestows.

He is blocking the promotion of officers with numerous combat tours of duty, including those who have been injured in combat.

He is blocking the nomination of a career Air Force officer who is an astronaut for NASA.

He is blocking the promotion of pilots who, collectively, have tens of

thousands of flying hours and combat flying time. And with pilots, as we know all too well on the Armed Services Committee, they also have the option of flying commercially for the airlines. We can't compete with airlines on pay, but we have always competed on opportunity and mission. If opportunity and mission are compromised, patriotism will only carry one so far, particularly as the Senate's inaction is literally impacting the direct earnings of many of these nominees.

He is blocking the promotion of healthcare professionals who, like pilots, have lucrative private sector options that will look even more attractive as the thrill and satisfaction of a military career recedes.

He is blocking the promotions of combat commanders at all levels who have risen through the ranks with the expectation and hope of leading and mentoring the next generation of combat leaders to ensure the highest standards of military expertise and ethical conduct are passed on.

He is now blocking the confirmation of three members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff: Gen. C.Q. Brown, the nominee to be the next Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff; Gen. Eric Smith, the next Commandant of the Marine Corps; and GEN Randy George, the next Chief of Staff of the Army.

On top of this, we have just received a historic nomination, the first female officer to be the Chief of Naval Operations, and we just received today the nomination for the next Chief of Staff of the Air Force.

He is blocking the nominations of a critical combatant commander, the commander of Cyber Command, who also serves as the Director of the National Security Agency. It strikes me that cyber and intelligence is not a place the Nation should accept any additional risk.

He is blocking the nomination of the next commander of the Navy's 7th Fleet, the largest of the Navy's forward-deployed fleets and which has responsibilities in the Indo-Pacific area of operation.

He is blocking the nomination of the next commander of the Navy's 5th Fleet, responsible for the naval and combined maritime forces in the Indian Ocean, Persian Gulf, and Arabian Sea, under the overall command of U.S. Central Command.

He is blocking the nomination of the next U.S. military representative to NATO, who is the senior uniformed representative to NATO, during a time when NATO continues to provide critical support to Ukraine in its war against Russia and as NATO itself is expanding to counter the threat posed by Russia to our European allies.

He is blocking the next Superintendent of the Naval Academy during the summer months, when new service academy Superintendents need to be installed to ensure continuity from one academic year to the next. Traditionally, the Senate ensures this nominee

is approved and in place in time for the next class of midshipmen to arrive and begin their Academy training, which started 4 weeks ago.

Now, even future officers who will be commissioned in 2027 are feeling the negative impact of one Senator's action. If we don't break this blockade soon, the Senator from Alabama will have tried his hand at decapitating the entire senior military leadership of the U.S. Armed Forces.

Finally, one last thing, none of the officers whose names we will read today played any part in promulgating the Department's policy with which the Senator from Alabama disagrees—a policy that, like it or not, is perfectly legal and is backed by 40 years of practice through the administrations of both parties. It is a policy aimed at taking care of our servicemembers, a large percentage of whom are women. This policy simply acknowledges that women's healthcare is important for military readiness too.

From President Reagan, whose Justice Department interpreted the newly enacted Hyde Amendment, through the first Bush administration, the Clinton administration, the second Bush administration, the Obama administration, the Trump administration, and now the Biden administration, the interpretation has been the same: This policy is legal.

Maybe my Republican colleagues were caught napping on this. Maybe they didn't bother to read the legal precedents. Maybe they didn't care to. Fine, I have no problem with my colleagues expressing disagreement with the Department's policy or pursuing legislative solutions to their problems. But do not take it out on the professional men and women of the Armed Forces and their families.

As the military spouses who petitioned the Senator from Alabama this week to lift his hold urged, we should engage and address these policy and ideological differences outside of the military space. We are debating the Defense bill right now. And as the majority leader has said publicly, we are not stopping the Republicans from voting on their bill to rescind DOD's policy. Let's have that vote.

Instead, the Senator has chosen to inflict as much financial and emotional pain as possible on the men and women of the Armed Forces in the hopes the Department will cave. If the Senator from Alabama actually cared about the military, he would find another way to demonstrate his political positions.

Release the hostages, Senator. It is time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Maine.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, Chairman REED has spoken eloquently in the last few minutes about the personal impact of this hold on general officer nominations, on what it means to families, what it means to careers, what it means to people who are coming up through the ranks because, make no

doubt, this is not just affecting those people who have been nominated for general officer positions, but it ripples all the way down through the ranks. It is an unprecedented attack on the integrity of our military chain of command.

As I say, Senator REED talked about the impact on individuals. And tonight we are going to be talking about a lot of those individuals. But I would like to talk for a moment about the impact on the readiness of our force.

The first thing to observe is that China and Russia have got to be loving this. They could not imagine that we would do something like this to ourselves to essentially decapitate the senior leadership of our military.

If you step back and say: Wait a minute, look at what is going on here, nobody would believe that they could achieve something like this, that our adversaries could achieve something like this. But we are doing it to ourselves—or actually one person is doing it to all of us and to our country.

This is a dangerous moment in the world. I serve on both the Armed Services and the Intelligence Committees, and the threats that we are facing right now are unprecedented in the history of this country. We have never before faced the kind of threats that we are facing from two heavily armed and aggressive potential adversaries.

We need to have literally all hands on deck. And we are telling our “all hands” to stand down; that they are not going to be able to achieve their commands, to take the case for the leadership of our military throughout the military enterprise.

It really is amazing that we are doing something—I keep saying “we”—that the Senator from Alabama is doing something that is so seriously compromising national security over a policy matter—over a policy matter.

And I have been in numerous hearings over the last months and talked to the officers, asked them on the record: Is this action compromising national security? The answer every single time has been: Absolutely, yes.

And these aren't necessarily officers who are being blocked; these are the general officers who are retiring. So they don't have a stake in this. They are not looking for a promotion. They are just telling us what has happened.

It is the first time that we do not have a Commandant of the Marine Corps in 150 years. That is outrageous. It is unacceptable. And so not only is this impacting people's lives—people who have dedicated their lives to this country—we are treating them like pawns in a political battle over an issue that the Senator from Alabama disagrees with. If he disagrees with the issue, there is a way to resolve it: bring an amendment. I am pretty sure that the majority leader has said he would bring an amendment to the floor to rescind the policy that the Senator objects to. That is how we resolve policy differences around here, not by taking

hostage the entire leadership core of our military.

Now, let me talk a minute about the Senate. The Senate, as I have observed it over the past 10½, almost 11 years, is a rather peculiar institution. Because it has very lax rules, it allows one Senator to hold everything up, to stop things. It has very lax rules. But those rules, as I have studied the history of the Senate—by the way, I would recommend reading the first 100 pages of Robert Caro's book about Lyndon Johnson, “Master of the Senate.” It is a wonderful history and description of how this institution has developed. But those lax rules which allow extraordinary actions by individual Members have rested for over 200 years on a bedrock of comity and responsibility and restraint.

Yes, you have the power to do something like this, but you shouldn't do it. You don't take advantage of the rules. And I will tell you one of the results of this—and this is what I am hearing from constituents and from people around the country and indeed from people in this Hall—this could lead to changing the rules, to not allow something like this.

If you abuse a rule like this, which is being done in this case, it is outright abuse of a rule—then somebody is going to say: Wait a minute. We can't run our country this way. We can't allow this to happen to the readiness of our military in this time of peril. We just can't do that. So we are going to have to figure out another way. And all of a sudden one of the privileges—and I believe it is a privilege of an individual Senator—is going to have to start to be curtailed if you don't restrain yourself, if you don't act responsibly within the context of these rules.

My question is, Where does this lead? Is this going to be par for the course around here in the future? Somebody is going to say: Well, I don't like something the Department of the Interior is doing. I think it is really bad, so I am going to hold up every nominee for the military or I am going to hold up every nominee for the Department of Homeland Security or the Department of Interior or whatever the Department is.

Hostage-taking is not how we make policy. And I am afraid what we are seeing here before our eyes is a precedent being established, where one individual Senator, who is trying to get his way on a policy issue, is using and abusing the rules of the Senate in order to get something that ought to be done through the legislative process. Bring up the amendment. If you don't like the policy, bring up the amendment.

Eventually, I mean, the Senate is built on the premise of respect for minority rights, but ultimately majority rules. That is what we all learned in kindergarten. This isn't minority rights. This is one person. That is 1 person out of 100 who is taking this action that is so inimical to the interests of the interests of the country in a very difficult and dangerous time.

I respect the rights of Senators to use their prerogative as they see fit, but I would urge the Senator from Alabama, with whom I have a good personal relationship—I would urge him to reconsider, to try to bring the issue forward to the American people and to the U.S. Senate, and let's have a vote on it. Let's see what the Senate believes about the resolution of this issue.

And by the way, we are not talking about the government paying for abortions here. We are talking about leave and travel. And if a soldier has a medical condition and they are stationed in a State where they need some kind of specialized treatment and it is not available in their State—guess what—for as long as anybody can remember, they have gotten leave and traveled to go where they can have that procedure. So this isn't some kind of radical new program.

But again, if the Senator thinks it is a wrong policy, bad policy, it is inimical to his beliefs, let's bring it to the floor and have a vote. Let's see what the will of the Senate is. But don't compromise the lives of many, many people—we are up into the hundreds now—families who have dedicated their lives to this country. They are innocent pawns in this political game. It is not right.

And then, finally, as I said, it is a compromise of national security. It is a straight-up compromise of national security, which our adversaries couldn't dream of achieving. And that is where I believe—I hope and believe—that the Senator from Alabama will relent, take his vote on the issue, and let these nominations move forward so the Senate can do its business and the military can get back to a place where it is predictable, where they understand what the process is, they understand where the steps are, and they can get about the business of defending this in country.

I yield the floor.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Hampshire.

Mrs. SHAHEEN. Mr. President, I come to the floor this evening on behalf of the more than 1 million people who are serving this country and who rely on this Senate to put national security ahead of policy disagreements.

With the overturning of *Roe v. Wade*, millions of Americans, including tens of thousands of U.S. servicemembers, lost access to reproductive care overnight. And I would just remind us all that the military relies on almost 18 percent of its makeup on women. Most of those women are of reproductive age.

Since the Dobbs decision, more and more States have put in place prohibitions on reproductive care—care that was previously the right of all Americans. Now, according to a recent RAND Corporation study, at least 46 percent of female servicemembers no longer have unrestricted access to care.

Now, as we all know, servicemembers and their families are stationed based

not on the needs of themselves and their families—so not personal preference—but based on the needs of the Nation. And their sacrifice and commitment to serve means that they are uniquely affected by the restrictive healthcare laws that have come into effect in the post-Roe era.

To address the harm that these healthcare prohibitions have on servicemembers and military families, the Secretary of Defense issued common-sense guidance that protects the readiness of the force and family. And it is guidance that, I will remind everybody, the Secretary of Defense is legally empowered to issue and implement and, as Senator KING so rightly pointed out, that has been in place for male members of our military for years, as long as we remember.

But the senior Senator from Alabama has chosen to break with precedent, to break with the decorum of this Chamber, and to hold 273 noncontroversial military nominations just because he disagrees—he personally disagrees—with this policy. And as Senator KING and Senator REED so eloquently pointed out, our servicemembers should not be used as bargaining chips in policy debates.

Senator TUBERVILLE's actions are jeopardizing our national security; they are harming military families; and they are causing a whole generation of senior military leaders to question whether they want to stay in the military.

Worst of all, the Senator from Alabama knows exactly what the impact is of these holds because he serves with all of us on the Armed Services Committee. So he can't say this is not having an impact. He is hearing, as part of the committee, what the impact is. He knows that the unprecedented nature of his actions and the grave harm they pose to our country and the military are real.

For those who don't sit on the Armed Services Committee, I want to highlight some of the most grievous consequences of Senator TUBERVILLE's actions.

Military families are not able to enroll their children into new schools on time. So we have a whole group of families with young children who—during the summertime would be the time they would be moving. They would be looking to get their children into new schools, and they are on hold.

Military spouses can't go to the next assignment and find a job.

What is particularly concerning for many of these families is that servicemembers are paid less than what they have earned. Just to give you some idea, 22 officers who have been selected for their first star will have to assume the duties of the higher grade while serving as a field grade officer, not a flag officer, and these officers are losing about \$2,600 a month through no fault of their own. The last time I talked to members of our military, they weren't making enough money to

be able to sacrifice an additional \$2,600 a month. Twenty officers selected to the grade of O-8 are two stars. They will assume the duties of the higher grade while remaining in their current grade, and these officers are losing nearly \$2,000 a month while this blockade continues.

Contrary to the misinformation that the Senator from Alabama has said on this floor, there will be no backpay for these officers. Their pay is tied to their rank, which is tied to their appointment to that rank, and that can't occur until the Senate provides its consent. They ought to be charging Senator TUBERVILLE for this additional money they are losing because it is on his back, these additional costs that families are incurring.

Some of our most critical national security positions, like the Commandant of the Marine Corps, are also unfilled, and this comes at a time when we know that Russia is waging war in Europe and the People's Republic of China continues to threaten our interests across the globe.

What is so incredibly hard to understand is that our colleagues on the other side of the aisle I know are concerned about the PRC and the influence of China. Yet they are not willing to call their colleague out for what he is doing that provides a real opportunity for the PRC. With every vacancy in our ranks, our adversaries are gaining an advantage over us.

These holds affect real people who have dedicated their lives to preserving our freedoms in this country. Those people who are affected have earned more than being used as political pawns.

I want to take just a moment because we are here tonight to talk about those 273 officers who are being held up. I want to talk about some of those really incredible individuals whom the senior Senator from Alabama is blocking.

The first is a colonel whom I met when I went to Lithuania for the NATO summit. We went up to the base in Lithuania, Pabrade, and the Deputy Commander of EUCOM pointed out that COL Kareem Montague, who is currently the Deputy Commander of the 4th Infantry Division out of Fort Carson, who is deployed temporarily to Lithuania, was one of those general officers whose promotions are on hold.

The colonel has 28 years of service. He has been Executive Officer to the Chief of Staff of the U.S. Army. He has been the Commander of the 5th Battlefield Coordination Detachment of U.S. Army Pacific, Joint Base Pearl Harbor, in Hickam, HI. He has been the Commander of the 1st Battalion, 321st Airborne Field Artillery Regiment, 18th Fires Brigade, 82nd Airborne, out of Fort Bragg. He has earned the Legion of Merit, the Bronze Star, and the Defense Meritorious Service Medals. The colonel doesn't deserve to be held up because the Senator from Alabama has a personal beef with Secretary Austin's policy.

Then we have eight officers from the Marine Corps who have been nominated to the rank of brigadier general. The first is Col. David Everly. He is currently serving as Chief of Staff of the II Marine Expeditionary Force. He has 28 years of service. He has been the Chief of Staff to the 2d Marine Expeditionary Brigade. He has been the Commanding Officer of Command Element, 2d Marine Expeditionary Brigade. He has been the Commanding Officer of the Basic School Training Command. He has multiple combat and contingency operation deployments. He has received the Defense Superior Service Medal and the Bronze Star Medal. Colonel Everly doesn't deserve to be held up.

Neither does Col. Kelvin Gallman, also in the Marine Corps, currently serving as Senior Military Adviser to the Secretary of the Navy. He has 29 years of service. He has been the Division Chief, Deputy Division Chief, Joint Capabilities Division, J-8, Joint Staff. He has been Commanding Officer of Personnel Support Detachment. He has multiple combat and contingency deployments, and he has received the Defense Superior Service Medal, the Legion of Merit Medal, and the Bronze Star.

Col. Adolfo Garcia, also with the Marine Corps, is currently serving as the House Director of the Office of Legislative Affairs. Some of us may have run into him in that capacity. He has 30 years of service in. He has been the Military Secretary to the Commandant of the Marine Corps. He has been the Assistant Chief of Staff to I Marine Expeditionary Force, the Commanding Officer of the 14th Marine Regiment, 4th Marine Division. He has multiple combat tours. He has earned the Legion of Merit, the Bronze Star, and the Defense Meritorious Service Medal. Again, he is on hold.

Then there is Col. Matt Good. Many of us know Colonel Good because we traveled with him because most recently he served as Director, Senate Liaison, Office of Legislative Affairs. I can tell you, having taken a number of trips with Colonel Good, what a great job he does, how committed he is, how committed he is to this Chamber, to the people serving in the Senate. To have Senator TUBERVILLE do to Colonel Good and all of these members what he is doing is just unconscionable. Colonel Good has 27 years of service. He has been the Commanding Officer of the 7th Marine Regiment, 1st Marine Division, and commanding officer of the 3d Light Armored Reconnaissance Battalion, 1st Marine Division. He has been Chief of Plans and Chief of the Security Cooperation Division of Joint Task Force North, U.S. Northern Command. He has had multiple combat and contingency deployments. He has earned the Legion of Merit, the Bronze Star, and the Defense Meritorious Service Medal.

Like all of these marines, like all of the people we are talking about today, they have stellar records of serving

this country, and what does Senator TUBERVILLE do to them? He puts their nominations on hold. He denies them funding. He denies them the ability to get on with their lives.

Col. Trevor Hall, U.S. Marine Corps, is currently serving as Chief of Staff to the Marine Corps Forces Command. He has 29 years of service. He was Commanding Officer for the 26th Marine Expeditionary Unit; Branch Chief, Trans-regional synchronization, U.S. Special Operations Command; Commanding Officer, Division Training Officer, 3d Battalion, 8th Marine Regiment, 2d Marine Division. He has multiple combat and contingency deployments. He earned the Legion of Merit Medal, the Defense Meritorious Service Medal, and the Meritorious Service Medal.

Col. Richard Joyce, also in the Marine Corps, is currently serving as Commanding Officer, Marine Aircraft Group 29, 2d Marine Aircraft Wing, with 28 years of service. He has been the Branch Head of the Expeditionary Air Warfare N98, Office of Chief Naval Operations; Commanding Officer, Special Projects Officer, Marine Light Attack Helicopter Squadron 469, Marine Aircraft Group 39, 3d Marine Aircraft Wing. He has had multiple combat and contingency deployments. He has received the Defense Superior Service Medal, the Legion of Merit, and the Distinguished Flying Cross.

Col. Omar Randall—also U.S. Marine Corps—is currently serving as Director of Logistics, Combat Element Integration Division, Combat Development and Integration. He has 27 years of service. He has been the Branch Head, Futures Branch, Installations and Logistics, Headquarters Marine Corps; Commanding Officer of Combat Logistics Regiment 37, 3d Marine Logistics Group. He has had multiple combat and contingency deployments. He has earned the Legion of Merit, the Defense Meritorious Service Medal, and the Meritorious Service Medal.

Then there is Col. Robert Weiler from the U.S. Marine Corps, who is currently serving as Military Secretary to the Commandant of the Marine Corps, with 28 years of service. He has been the Commanding Officer of the 5th Marine Regiment, 1st Marine Division; Director of Inspections; Commanding Officer of the 2d Battalion, 4th Marines; Senior Military Adviser, Force Development, Office of the Secretary of Defense—Policy. He has had multiple combat and contingency deployments. He received a Purple Heart, a Silver Star, and a Legion of Merit. Senator TUBERVILLE wants to hold up his promotion.

Then I want to cite two people from the Navy who have been nominated for appointments to the grade of rear admiral.

The first is CAPT Brian Anderson, who is currently serving as Assistant Commander, Supply Chain Policy and Management, Naval Supply Systems Command in Mechanicsburg, PA. He

has 28 years of service. He has been the Assistant Chief of Staff for Force Logistics Naval Air Force, U.S. Pacific Fleet, San Diego; Chief, Current Operations-Joint Operations Officer; deployed to CENTCOM AOR, Camp African, Kuwait; and Pakistan Liaison Officer. He has been assigned to the Defense Logistics Agency in Fort Belvoir. He earned the Legion of Merit and the Meritorious Service Medal.

Then there is CAPT Julie Mary Treanor. She is currently serving as Chief of Staff in the Office of the Chief of Naval Operations, with 29 years of service. She has been Commanding Officer of Naval Supply Systems Command Fleet Logistics Center in Norfolk; Naval Sea Systems Command, Director of Industrial Supply Operations, Naval Sea Systems. She also earned the Legion of Merit and the Meritorious Service Medal.

Both Captains Treanor and Anderson have been nominated to the grade of rear admiral. Yet Senator TUBERVILLE has them on hold.

I am going to stop with that list. We have a lot of folks on the floor. We are going to continue to pick up the names of the people who are on hold.

But simply put, it is not acceptable to turn policy disputes into political brinksmanship when it comes to our servicemembers. As we have all said, we are happy to debate our colleagues on policy any day of the week, but that is not what we are doing. Instead, what we have is the senior Senator from Alabama singlehandedly holding military promotions hostage, using our servicemembers as political bargaining chips for his own benefit. His actions undermine our military's greatest strength—our people.

When he is asked about it, he says: Oh, it is playing really well at home.

Well, that is not what this is about. This is about making sure that we treat those people who serve in our military the way we ought to be treating them and that we defend our Nation and trust those folks who serve to make their own decisions about their own healthcare, just as I believe our constituents sent us to Washington to debate policy defenses, not to threaten the health and safety and welfare of those in uniform or to hold our security interests hostage.

So I hope that Senator TUBERVILLE will hear us tonight, that he will let these qualified military officers get back to their work of defending the American people.

I yield the floor.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Illinois.

MS. DUCKWORTH. Mr. President, I join my colleagues today in expressing my great disappointment in my colleague from Alabama and his continuing hold on military promotions. He has argued—and I have seen him say this several times—that he is not affecting military readiness and that a hold on the promotions of senior officers does not hurt our national security, and, if it did hurt our military

readiness, that he would certainly stop the hold.

So I am here to tell you about six different jobs and the individuals nominated to those particular positions, and for people to decide whether or not they think that having these positions go unfilled with a confirmed officer is jeopardizing our military readiness.

The first position is at the Army Space and Missile Defense Command. This is the Army's force modernization proponent and operational integrator for global space, missile defense, and high-altitude capabilities. It sits at the nexus of integrated deterrence between U.S. Space Command, U.S. Strategic Command, and U.S. Northern Command—a pretty important job I would think.

To fill the position, the President has nominated MG Sean A. Gainey to be a lieutenant general in the U.S. Army and a commanding general of the U.S. Space and Missile Defense Command. Major General Gainey has served for 33 years and has moved some 15 times in those years of service. He is a graduate from the Georgia Southern University ROTC Program. In those 33 years of service, he has earned the Distinguished Superior Service Medal, the Legion of Merit with one bronze oakleaf cluster, and the Bronze Star. He currently serves as Director of the Counter-Unmanned Aircraft Systems Office, Director of Fires, Office of the Deputy Chief of Staff, G-3/5/7, U.S. Army, Washington, DC.

I think the U.S. Space and Missile Defense Command is a pretty important job and pretty relevant to our national security.

A second position that is being left unfilled with a confirmed nominee is that of Deputy Chief of Staff, G-4, U.S. Army, head of Army Logistics.

We have been talking at length about logistics in a contested environment, especially in the Indo-Pacific region. The Army G-4 develops, implements, and oversees Army strategy, policy, plans, and programming for logistics and sustainment to enable total Army readiness today and a force modernized for the future.

To fill the position of the Deputy Chief of Staff, G-4, Army Logistics is MG Heidi Hoyle. Major General Hoyle graduated from the West Point Military Academy and embarked on a 29-year career spanning 20 different assignments, including her position as the Director of Operations within the office of the Army G-4, as well as numerous combat deployments. She has been awarded the Legion of Merit with two bronze oakleaf clusters, the Bronze Star Medal with one bronze oakleaf cluster, and the Defense Meritorious Service Medal. She is more than qualified to fill this position, and the position needs her in it.

Another position that is going unfilled with a confirmed officer is to be filled by BG Laurence Linton to be a major general in the U.S. Army Reserve. Brigadier General Linton is cur-

rently serving as Deputy Commanding General-Support, 88th Readiness Division at Fort Snelling, MN. Brigadier General Linton graduated from the State University of New York ROTC Program and began a 31-year career of service that included 24 different duty assignments, notably deploying to Haiti, Bosnia, and Kuwait. General Linton served most recently as Chief of Staff of Operation Warp Speed, the critical effort to accelerate COVID-19 vaccination development. General Linton has been awarded the Legion of Merit, the Defense Meritorious Service Medal, and the Meritorious Service Medal with silver oakleaf cluster and one bronze oakleaf cluster. I cannot think of someone more deserving of this promotion.

The President has also nominated BG Stacy M. Babcock to be a major general in the U.S. Army Reserve. Most recently, General Babcock served as the Deputy Commanding General, U.S. Army Human Resources Command at Fort Knox, KY. He graduated from the Rochester Institute of Technology ROTC Program in 1991 and has now served 32 years, a career spanning 25 different assignments, including a deployment to Bosnia and three separate deployments to Iraq. General Babcock has been awarded the Legion of Merit and the Bronze Star.

The President has also nominated COL Peggy McManus to be a brigadier general in the Army Reserve. Colonel McManus serves as the Deputy Director, Senior Policy Board Advisor, Office of the Deputy Chief of Staff, G-1, Washington, DC. Colonel McManus was commissioned in 1992 via ROTC and has now served 31 years, a career spanning 20 different assignments, including a combat tour to Iraq. Colonel McManus has been awarded the Meritorious Service Medal with one silver and one bronze oakleaf cluster.

The President has also nominated Maj. Gen. Andrew J. Gebara to be lieutenant general in the U.S. Air Force and Deputy Chief of Staff for Strategic Deterrence and Nuclear Integration, Headquarters U.S. Air Force.

Do you think that not having a confirmed officer appointed to the Deputy Chief of Staff for Strategic Deterrence and Nuclear Integration is not hurting our military readiness? Of course, it is.

Major General Gebara would be responsible to the Secretary of the Air Force and Chief of Staff of the Air Force for Nuclear Deterrence Operations. He would provide direction, guidance, integration, and advocacy regarding the nuclear deterrence mission of the U.S. Air Force and engage with joint and interagency partners for nuclear enterprise solutions—only if Senator TUBERVILLE would allow him to take up this position.

And, finally, I want to talk to you and read to you the background of MG Robert M. Collins, who is nominated to be a lieutenant general in the U.S. Army and Military Deputy-Director of the Army Acquisition Corps, Office of

the Assistant Secretary of the Army for Acquisition, Logistics, and Technology. If confirmed, General Collins would be the senior military adviser in Army acquisition matters. This is at a time of critical modernization by the Army. I know very well the Future Vertical Lift Program, and it is critical that we have a capable officer in this position. He is currently serving as Deputy for Acquisition and Systems Management. He graduated in 1992 from the Shippensburg University ROTC Program. He has now served 31 years in uniform, spanning 21 different assignments. We need this officer in his job, in this position.

These are just a handful of individuals I am reading today. In which one of these positions does my colleague from Alabama think military readiness is not being affected, being left unfilled?

All I can say is, Senator TUBERVILLE, please reconsider. You are indeed putting our national security, our military readiness in jeopardy by continuing this hold.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Connecticut.

Mr. BLUMENTHAL. Mr. President, I have but a few minutes to speak to my colleagues and to the Senator from Alabama, but, more important, to the American people. I have only minutes, but the damage of this hold will be years. Be aware, America. Be angry, America, as I am angry, as a member of the Armed Services Committee, as a dad of two veterans—a Marine Corps officer who served in Afghanistan and a Navy SEAL who served during these last 20 years. And all of the veterans of America who are angry that our U.S. military is being used as a political pawn, is held hostage; that brave, determined professionals who want to lead and take our military to the fight that lies ahead—they are in limbo. And it isn't just the 273. It is all who report to them, all who depend on them, all who look to them for leadership.

I had breakfast this morning with the Acting Commandant, General Smith, of the U.S. Marine Corps. For the first time in 100 years, the U.S. Marine Corps has no Commandant.

Vice Admiral Franchetti, who was chosen to lead the Navy, the first woman to be in that position, has been held hostage.

Gen. Charles Brown, uniquely accomplished aviator and leader, unable to assume his responsibility as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

And under them, men and women like Lt. Gen. James Bierman, nominated to be Lieutenant General of the United States Marine Corps and Deputy Commandant for Plans, Policies, Operations; and Maj. Gen. Bradford Gering, to be a Lieutenant General in the United States Marine Corps and Deputy Commandant, Aviation.

These men have served 35 years.

Maj. Gen. Gregory Masiello, to be Lieutenant General of the United

States Marine Corps and Director, Defense Contract Management Agency.

These men and women have put their careers, their lives, their families on the line, and now they are waiting because our colleague from Alabama wants to make a political point. He has a political policy, and he is using these military nominees as pawns and hostages. It is nothing short, in effect, of an assault on our U.S. military.

So nothing I say here may persuade him, but what is happening is a travesty and a tragedy for our Nation, because it undermines not just our readiness now but our recruitment in the future.

The Marine Corps is the only service that is making its recruitment goals. The Army, the Navy, the Air Force, all are down significantly. And this action, which disgracefully and shamefully puts our readiness at risk and serious danger, also undermines our ability to attract the best and the brightest in this country as our military has always done. It is the reason we have the greatest military in the world.

We have all of the weapons systems. We have the kinds of hardware that we need. But, most importantly, we need the great men and women who will be discouraged by this action by the Senator from Alabama.

So I plead with him; but, most important, I ask the American people to be aware and be angry, as we all should be. And I hope that my colleagues will join the American people in persuading him that this kind of hold is shameful and disgraceful and should be rejected. I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Arizona.

Mr. KELLY. Mr. President, placing holds on hundreds of military promotions over a single policy disagreement is unconscionable. It is harming our national security, and it is going to have cascading effects for years. Not only will military services be left without confirmed leaders, but our senior leaders are going to have to do multiple jobs at once. This will disadvantage the services at every level and leave less experienced members to have to step in to fill their bosses' shoes.

As someone who served in the navy for 25 years, I want to paint a picture of what that looks like in the real world. Operations plans—they will not get updated. Now these are the plans that prepare us for military conflicts, for humanitarian disasters, and any conflict we face around the world.

Operations and exercises will suffer because they lack an expert at the head of the table who can weigh strategic risks and who is empowered by Congress to make critical decisions.

We won't have confirmed senior leaders at the table in places like Africa, where we are trying to strengthen ties and security cooperation with our partners to counter violent extremists and the rising influence of Russia and China.

And speaking of China, we won't have confirmed senior leaders at crit-

ical posts in the regions in that region of the world where they are empowered to bolster our capabilities.

And let's not forget, these holds are preventing the promotions of military leaders in Alabama. There are a lot of really important units who operate out of the Redstone Arsenal, including the Missile Defense Agency, which is responsible for developing U.S. defense against incoming ballistic missiles.

The Missile Defense Agency's next Director is one of those officers at Redstone who is waiting for his third star before he can officially assume this new role. The Senator from Alabama is preventing that.

Do we really want a leadership gap at the Missile Defense Agency?

And, lastly, I have to mention that this tactic treats our military service-members and their families like political pawns. Let me tell you, this isn't just like holding up a promotion like in any other job. This blockade of military promotions is hurting military families who are having to put off moves to new assignments across the country or across the world.

That means a military spouse cannot start a new job. It means a new school year starts without military kids who are stuck at their last base and don't know if they are going to be able to maybe try out for the sports team or join a club.

Now, I know from experience just how hard these moves are. They are hard for military families, and that is under the best of circumstances, let alone when they are stuck in the middle of this.

As our military faces recruitment challenges, this stunt—and this is a stunt—is making a decision easy for a military family who has supported their servicemembers, maybe for decades, to finally say that they have had enough. Maybe they will choose to retire instead of assume yet another unknown, brought to you by the Senator from Alabama, or maybe a junior servicemember—maybe that person—decides not to make a career in the military because they see so much uncertainty as their bosses are treated like political pawns. These holds are going to have cascading effects. It is going to get worse and worse. This is not just some abstract idea.

Let me talk about a few of the military leaders whose promotions are being blocked.

The President of the United States has nominated RADM Frederick W. Kacher to be a vice admiral in the U.S. Navy and the Commander of the Seventh Fleet. The Commander of the Seventh Fleet is not going to be able to take over as a confirmed vice admiral in that job. He has spent 31 years in service in 29 different duty assignments. By the Senator from Alabama, he is being treated like a pawn.

The President has also nominated Rear Admiral Douglas G. Perry to be a vice admiral in the U.S. Navy. He is currently the Second Fleet's Com-

mander of the Joint Forces Command in Norfolk. He has spent 34 years in the U.S. Navy, and the Senator from Alabama is treating him like a political pawn.

The President has nominated Rear Admiral Yvette M. Davids to be a vice admiral in the U.S. Navy and the Superintendent of the U.S. Naval Academy. She has spent 34 years in service. She was the Commander of a carrier strike group. Now the Senator from Alabama is treating her like a political pawn.

The President has nominated Rear Admiral Brendan R. McLane to be a vice admiral in the U.S. Navy and Commander of the Naval Surface Force of the U.S. Pacific Fleet. He has spent 33 years in service, and the Senator from Alabama is treating him like a political pawn.

The President has nominated Rear Admiral Daniel L. Cheever to be a vice admiral in the U.S. Navy and also the Commander of the Naval Air Forces, U.S. Pacific Fleet. I served in the Pacific Fleet aboard an aircraft carrier. Rear Admiral Cheever spent 35 years in the U.S. Navy, and he was also the Commander of a carrier strike group. He is now being treated like a political pawn.

The President has nominated VADM Charles B. Cooper II to be a vice admiral in the U.S. Navy and the Deputy Commander of the U.S. Central Command. How critical is that? He has 34 years of service, but he is being treated as a political pawn.

The President has nominated Rear Admiral Robert M. Gaucher to be a vice admiral of the U.S. Navy. He is currently the Commander of the Naval Submarine Force and all of our submarines in the Atlantic Fleet—attack and ballistic missile subs. He has spent 32 years in the U.S. Navy, and the Senator from Alabama is treating him like a political pawn.

The same is true for Rear Admiral Shoshana S. Chatfield. She has been nominated to be promoted to a vice admiral and to be the U.S. Military Representative to NATO's military committee. She has spent 35 years in uniform, and the Senator from Alabama is treating her as a political pawn.

The President has also nominated Rear Admiral James P. Downey to be a vice admiral in the U.S. Navy and Commander of the Naval Sea Systems Command. The Naval Sea Systems Command is all of the engineering and development. The Presiding Officer knows, being a Senator from Virginia, how critical it is to have somebody in this post who is confirmed by the U.S. Senate. The Senator from Alabama is treating the rear admiral as a political pawn.

The President has nominated Maj. Gen. Roger B. Turner, Jr., to be a lieutenant general in the U.S. Marine Corps and the Commanding General of the III MEF. I believe the Presiding Officer's son serves in the U.S. Marine Corps. The III MEF in Japan is not

going to have a confirmed general. He has spent 34 years in service.

Finally—not finally; I have a few more. By the way, there are another hundred sitting over here on the bench.

The President has nominated VADM William J. Houston to be an admiral in the U.S. Navy—a full admiral—while serving as the Director of Naval Nuclear Propulsion. This admiral is in charge of all of our nuclear reactors, and he can't get promoted after spending 33 years in the U.S. Navy because Senator TUBERVILLE is treating him like a political pawn.

Finally, the President of the United States has nominated MG Tony Hale to be a lieutenant general. Now, I know Major General Hale. He is currently serving as the Commanding General and Commandant at Fort Huachuca in my State of Arizona. He has spent 29 years in uniform. He has been in 18 different duty assignments—six in support of combat operations. The Senator from Alabama is treating MG Tony Hale as his political pawn.

I have been here for 2½ years. There is not something I have felt more strongly about than this, and I don't think the Senator from Alabama gets it. I mean, this blockade of military promotions is doing real damage to our national security right now, it is doing great harm to military families, and it is going to have cascading effects for years. Every single day that this continues, the consequences—the consequences—of this get more severe. So I urge my Senate colleague from Alabama to remove his hold on these nominations so that the Senate can perform its constitutional duty to enable our military readiness and our national security.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Vermont.

Mr. WELCH. Mr. President, my colleague the Senator from Arizona speaks and spoke with the authority of a person who committed his life, before he came to the U.S. Senate, to the service of our country in the military. I do not speak with that authority. I speak with the gratitude of a citizen who has benefited from the willingness of folks like the Senator from Arizona to dedicate their professional lives to the defense of our country.

In that respect, as a citizen, I speak for what all Americans have come to expect and rely on, and that is the willingness of young men and young women to sign up for service in the military—among them, the people who make that commitment that this will be their careers. They do it day in and day out, being ready for whatever may come, being willing to respond to the call of the Commander in Chief no matter what that may be, and all of us citizens who have not worn the uniform may take it for granted that we have these folks out there.

What the Senator from Alabama is doing is essentially attacking that willingness to serve by pulling the rug

out from under the people who have dedicated their lives, who have served with distinction, and who have earned the promotions for which they have been nominated by the President of the United States.

You can't have an organization that functions when you don't have leaders. You can't have an organization that functions when the people who have committed their lives to the profession and who perform with great distinction and get that nomination for promotion aren't promoted.

It does, as the Senator from Arizona described, erode morale, and it erodes the effectiveness of the institution. The cascading effects will be long term, and it is all on the basis of a willful determination to essentially abuse the men and women of the military and to abuse the military itself for an individual goal that is unrelated to the performance of the military but that has a very detrimental impact on the military.

But do you know there is another element here? We are Senators, so that is a big position, and there is a lot of authority that goes with that job. But can any of us look in a mirror and feel good about the use of that authority when the effect of that power as it is being used right now is just flat-out mean? It is mean to families. It is mean to kids.

You have folks whose lives are committed to the service of the military. They have been promoted. They are making a plan about taking children out of the schools they are in and getting them into new schools. That is incredibly disruptive, and it takes an immense amount of love and concern on the part of the men and women of the military to make certain, as they get promoted and move on in their careers and go from where they are to where their next assignments are, that they take care of those kids. That is incredibly important.

How can a Senator take an action that is going to cause so much trauma for innocent people—including the children of these people—who have earned the distinction of a promotion?

This has got to end. It has got to end. It has got to end because the citizens of this country are entitled to a functioning military, and a single Senator cannot intrude or should not intrude on the promotion process. This has got to end so that we show respect for families and the burden that goes along with moving from where you are to the next duty station.

So I join with my colleagues in calling upon the Senator from Alabama to stand down and let us act on these promotions. Our men and women in the military deserve it, our military needs it, and the citizens of this country are entitled to it.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Hampshire.

Ms. HASSAN. Mr. President, I rise today to join my colleagues and share

my deep concern and outrage regarding Senator TUBERVILLE's decision to block the promotions of hundreds of servicemembers. I want to take a moment and share why I believe this action weakens our national security, hurts our servicemembers who are in harm's way, ignores the wishes of the American people, and betrays our country's bipartisan commitment to our servicemembers.

By blocking the promotions of hundreds of servicemembers, the Senator from Alabama is preventing our military from being properly staffed and led. This diminishes our military's effectiveness and combat-readiness.

Senator TUBERVILLE has told us that he is doing this not because he has any concern with these officers' ability to command; instead, Senator TUBERVILLE tells us he is blocking these promotions simply to advance a personal political agenda to take away reproductive freedom from female servicemembers.

It is not only outrageous but bitterly ironic that, while the Senator from Alabama trusts women in uniform to defend our country, while he trusts them to keep all of us safe, while he trusts them to risk their lives for our freedom, he does not trust them to make their own healthcare decisions.

Senator TUBERVILLE's decision to block these promotions not only hurts female servicemembers, it makes America less safe.

What did Senator TUBERVILLE even accomplish by what is truly a reckless stunt? Can my colleague from Alabama explain how blocking promotions for servicemembers strengthens our national security?

What kind of message do we send to our allies and our adversaries that America's combat readiness can be undermined because of one Senator's partisan stunt?

And can he tell us why the health, safety, and daily lives of servicemembers are less important than his own personal and political agenda?

Our brave men and women in uniform put their lives on the line in order to protect our freedoms. We could not freely assemble here in this Chamber without their dedication and sacrifice. There simply is no U.S. Senate without the service of our Armed Forces. Our servicemembers place their trust in us to ensure that they are properly supported, including by being sufficiently staffed and led.

Let me be very, very clear: Senator TUBERVILLE's actions mark nothing less than an abdication and betrayal of that trust.

It is also clear that in pushing this personal partisan agenda, the Senator from Alabama is deeply out of step with the majority of Americans. He is not representing the American people. I know—as I think all of us do—that Americans, regardless of their views or political party, share a common love of country. We stand united in support of our servicemembers because our servicemembers do not risk their lives for

red States or blue; they fight for the freedom of all Americans, and they deserve the support of all Americans.

Bipartisan support for servicemembers has exemplified our country at our best. No issue, no matter how important, should stand in the way of ensuring that our military has the support and leadership that it needs to succeed.

I was reminded of this in April, when I was on a congressional delegation trip and visiting the Northern Command out in Colorado Springs. I met with one of the people who Senator KELLY talked about, Rear Admiral Cheever. He hosted the visit, and he coordinated it. I had a wonderful briefing from him and his leadership team about issues of cyber security, about our quantum readiness.

As you heard Senator KELLY say, Rear Admiral Cheever has been nominated to become a vice admiral and command the Naval Air Force of the U.S. Pacific Fleet—even more responsibility. He is ready to do it. The Senator from Alabama doesn't disagree that he is ready to do it. But as we left that day, he told me that his promotion was in limbo because of the hold that our colleague from Alabama has put on his promotion.

We need him in that position. He and his family and his fellow service men and women need him in that position and are waiting for the Senator from Alabama.

It is fitting that we are discussing this issue on July 26, for it was on July 26, 1947, that the National Security Act of 1947 was signed into law. This law established the Defense Department, an institution with officers whose promotions the Senator from Alabama is blocking today. This law was passed with overwhelming support from leaders of both parties.

In 1947, of course, the Senate was full of debates and even bitter disagreements on all sorts of issues, just as it is today. But Senators understood that while we can debate all day on any number of issues, we owed it to our servicemembers and the American people to stand united in our efforts to support our military and to keep Americans safe, secure, and free.

In the same manner, our military works together despite their own personal differences or political views. My father served in World War II and survived the Battle of the Bulge. He told me that the members of his unit came from all sorts of different backgrounds. They, no doubt, held many different views, but on the battlefield, those differences weren't important. What mattered was their common bond as Americans, their common love of country, and their common commitment to freedom.

What my father's generation did and what our servicemembers do every day is nothing less than extraordinary. Compared to their courage, the political and dangerous game that Senator TUBERVILLE is playing seems very, very small.

No Senator, no matter their party, has the right to put their personal and political agenda ahead of our national security and our servicemembers' freedom and safety. I urge my Republican colleagues to join me in opposing Senator TUBERVILLE's efforts to undermine our bipartisan commitment to our servicemembers and our national security because, ultimately, this kind of reckless, partisan game does not reflect who we are as Americans.

On distant battlefields and in far-away places, thousands of miles from their homes, our brave men and women in uniform risk their lives and confront great dangers so that all of us—including my colleague from Alabama—can be safe, secure, and free. While my colleague stands in the way of promotions, our servicemembers stand in the way of our greatest foes.

We can't ever repay the debt that we owe those who served, but we owe them nothing less than our full support, and that starts with ending this reckless stunt, uniting as Americans, and advancing these overdue promotions.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Minnesota.

Ms. KLOBUCHAR. Mr. President, I follow the strong remarks from my colleague from New Hampshire.

I also note that we are joined by the Senator from Massachusetts, who has called out these delays from the very beginning, called out this what I will call a blockade. We thank Senator REED for his leadership of this committee.

These Senators here before us work every single day to make sure our military is strong. And what is going on with the Senator from Alabama, he has placed a reckless hold—a reckless hold—on the nominations of some of our Nation's finest public servants to more than 275 general and flag officer positions.

These holds, as you have heard tonight, are preventing the Pentagon from executing smooth leadership transitions for the most critical roles in our Nation's security apparatus and leaving entire Agencies without leaders.

I should note that our colleague from Alabama has not taken issue with the quality of these 275 candidates. In fact, some of these candidates were actually nominated for other positions by the previous President and earned bipartisan support. But our colleague from Alabama, for the reasons outlined by my friend from New Hampshire, is now holding the entire military chain of command hostage.

When I was home this past weekend, when I was at festivals, when I was in parades, everyone knew someone, everyone knew someone at the Duluth Airshow that was being held up. Everyone had heard about it from their friends. Certainly, every marine I met, they knew what was going on. So if people think this is just politics as usual and one Senator can just hold up

the promotions and the positions of these fine public servants, they are wrong. People have noticed.

For example, we are currently without a confirmed Commandant of the Marine Corps. Our country has not been in this position since 1911. To say it in a different way, in 112 years, we have never let this role sit vacant until today because of one single Senator and his views, which, by the way, are not consistent with the majority of the American people's views.

My colleague has also stalled the promotions of three esteemed military leaders with strong ties to my own State. If you ask me, careers of honorable service should not be met by the politics of partisan spite.

My colleague's completely unnecessary interruption of promotions that support our military's essential work comes at a time when having steady, complete teams in place couldn't be more important. Whether you look at Ukraine's existential fight against Russia or the ever-growing threat of China, it is clear that the world needs America's leadership.

I spoke about this last night at length and today when it comes to keeping our covenant with those who stood with us on the battlefield, those who stood with us in Afghanistan. And here we are again tonight, really talking about the same thing in a different way.

We can talk all we want on this floor about what goes on, but those who actually serve, they deserve the best. And this is not the time to let essential roles sit vacant. Our servicemembers and the civilians who serve our military must be able to look to their leaders for guidance and stability.

This blockade is creating uncertainty among the people whose job it is to protect our Nation and forcing less experienced leaders to act in more senior roles.

I don't want to wait around and see what the worst possible outcome of delaying these transitions could be. In fact, I don't even want to think about that. But because of my colleague's blockade, we have no choice.

To use the words of one retired admiral, "This is not a game." Our country deserves better. The Senate must do better.

Every day this blockade, caused by one Senator—one Senator—continues, it hurts our military, and it helps our enemies. We must end the blockade now.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Massachusetts.

Ms. WARREN. Mr. President, I want to say a very special thank-you to Senator KLOBUCHAR for her thoughtful and passionate words about the harm that the Senator from Alabama is imposing on our military and on our Nation.

As the Senator from Minnesota said, we are here fighting to try to protect our Nation while Senator TUBERVILLE, in the view of the former Secretaries of

Defense of both parties, is undermining our national security.

I also want to thank Senator REED for his leadership and his steady hand in trying to persuade the Senator from Alabama that it is time to end this blockade.

This is the third time that I have come to the Senate floor to ask the Senator from Alabama to reconsider his unprecedented action of blocking hundreds of promotions earned by our men and women in uniform.

The Senate votes on nominees appointed by the President to occupy top roles in government—Cabinet Secretaries, judges, and Ambassadors. The Senate's role in approving nominations also extends to thousands of military promotions every year. If a colonel does an exceptional job and their military services promotion board decides that they are ready to be a brigadier general, the Senate must hold a vote for that promotion to go through.

In the vast majority of circumstances, this vote is a formality. Most of these promotions are considered in big batches rather than one at a time. Most of the time, there isn't even a recorded vote.

We are confident in the process, and we pass these people through. They have been thoroughly vetted, and their promotions are essential for our security.

But now, for 5 months, the Senator from Alabama has blocked all—all—senior military nominations and promotions from moving forward without a recorded vote. That means one Senator is personally standing in the way of promotions for 273 of our top-level military leaders.

One Senator is preventing the Marine Corps from having a Commandant for the first time in 100 years.

One Senator is setting the Army on a similar course not to have a senior leader.

One Senator is blocking the confirmation of the President's top military adviser, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

One Senator is holding up pay raises for hundreds of men and women in uniform. One Senator is jeopardizing America's national security.

The Senator from Alabama has taken this dangerous step because he disagrees with a policy the Department of Defense announced after last year's abortion decision by the Supreme Court. After that decision, the Department clarified that, if a member of the armed services needs to travel to access abortion care or other kinds of reproductive healthcare that are not available where they have been stationed—for instance, because a State where they have been stationed has banned these forms of healthcare—then they can leave to do so. This is a commonsense policy that is completely legal under the Department's existing authorities, as established by Congress.

The Senator from Alabama disagrees. I think he is wrong. But, look, we all

have executive branch policies that we disagree with. As I previously pointed out, as Senators, we have many tools to influence policies. We can hold hearings. We can write oversight letters. We can vote. We can pass laws.

In fact, the Senate Armed Services Committee recently voted on a bill that would get rid of the policy that the Senator from Alabama opposes. The proposal to get rid of the policy failed to get a majority. It was rejected. And if we held that vote among the full Senate, I believe it would fail here as well.

In short, the Senator from Alabama doesn't have enough support to actually pass a law to change the Department's policy. So the Senator from Alabama, instead of accepting what the majority has decided here, instead has decided to hold our senior military leaders and their families hostage as a protest against the fact that he doesn't have enough votes to change a perfectly legal policy that he just doesn't like.

Since I was here last asking for these promotions to be approved, the situation has only become worse. The Senator from Alabama's hold has left the Marine Corps without a Commandant and will soon leave the Army without its most senior leader as well. If this continues through the fall, the President will be deprived of his top military adviser.

The Senator from Alabama is decapitating the leadership of our own military. And make no mistake, the real people being punished by these holds are the military families who had expected to make a move as part of taking up a new post in service to their country.

We must address the damage this hold has inflicted on our Armed Forces, and we must do so by immediately approving every single one of the 272 leaders being held hostage by the Senator's actions, not pick up 1 or 2, not 10 or 20 whom the Senator from Alabama decides would buy him some time—every single person.

This summer is a critical time for families moving across the country or across the world to try to find new housing, to enroll their kids in new schools, and, generally, to get ready for the new school year. But, now, all of that is on hold because those families don't know where they are going to be in the fall.

The Department of Defense has shared stories of students who are disenrolled from their current school because they thought they would be somewhere else in September. But now they don't know if they can enroll in their new school because their parent doesn't know if they will be able to relocate by then.

Spouses who assumed they would be moving or even ended a job now don't know where they may live or work.

These hundreds of nominees and their families can't wait for us to figure this out when we get back from the

August recess. The Senator from Alabama needs to fix this now. If the Senator from Alabama refuses to lift his hold, he will be forcing families to either pull their kids out of classes in the middle of the school year or spend the year hundreds or even thousands of miles away from their loved ones.

Over 500 Active-Duty military spouses recently delivered a petition to the Senator from Alabama urging him to release his hold and to end this uncertainty for military families. They said it was "highly inappropriate and unpatriotic to wage a political battle by using military servicemembers as pawns."

These Active-Duty military spouses got it right. Spouses and families support our servicemembers. If we treat them and their service with this level of profound disrespect, we will only be exacerbating our country's military recruiting challenges.

We recently held a confirmation hearing for Gen. C.Q. Brown, the President's nominee to be the next Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. As the Senator from Alabama noted, General Brown has had to move 20 times over the course of his military career. General Brown was very clear about the consequences of the holds that the Senator from Alabama has imposed. He says that "we will lose talent."

Our senior military leaders don't want to be a political football, but even they are starting to speak out about the impact of these holds. The Deputy Commanding General of the U.S. Army Europe and Africa called these tactics "reprehensible, irresponsible, and dangerous."

Our civilian leaders are deeply concerned as well. In April, I sent a letter to Defense Secretary Austin asking about the impact of holding up these military promotions. Secretary Austin wrote: "[T]he longer that this hold persists, the greater the risk the U.S. military runs in every theater, every domain, and every service." General Austin went on to point out that these unprecedented and unnecessary holds are creating "rising disquiet from our allies and partners, at a moment when our competitors and adversaries are watching."

As I have mentioned before, there is bipartisan opposition to the Senator from Alabama's actions. Seven former Defense Secretaries, including ones who served under President Trump and President George W. Bush, sent a letter stating that leaving senior positions "in doubt at a time of enormous geopolitical uncertainty sends the wrong message to our adversaries and could weaken our deterrence."

The first time I came to the floor to ask the Senator from Alabama to let these promotions move forward, he was holding up 184 nominees. The second time I asked him to step aside, the number was up to 221 top-level servicemembers. Now, we have 273 leaders who have been blocked from assuming leadership positions that they have earned

and that we need them to occupy in order to keep our country safe.

The Senator from Alabama is single-handedly holding up 10 four-star commanders, 54 three-star commanders, multiple Silver Star and Purple Heart recipients, the next Commandant of the Marine Corps, the next Chief of Staff of the Army, and the next Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

We have voted on this abortion policy. The Senate Armed Services Committee has held a briefing with the Department of Defense on this issue. We have held a briefing with the Department of Justice. The Department of Justice has issued a legal opinion that DOD is well within the law. Secretary Austin has personally called the Senator from Alabama to urge him to relent.

I am hopeful that the Senator from Alabama will finally do the right thing and allow these servicemembers to carry out their responsibilities to our Nation. We owe this to the people who put their lives on the line for Active service for our country and to the families who serve by making these lives possible.

The Senator from Alabama should relent for the families, should relent for the Active-Duty members of the military, and should relent for the security of our Nation.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. FETTERMAN). The Senator from Virginia.

Mr. KAINE. Mr. President, I rise with my colleagues on the floor this evening to discuss the very unfortunate actions of my Senate colleague from Alabama, blocking the advancements and promotions for hundreds of military officers.

I am a Senator from Virginia. Virginia is as connected to the U.S. military mission as any State. One out of every nine Virginians is a veteran. Our Active-Duty community is massive. Our military families, reservists, Guard men and women, DOD civilians, and DOD contractors create a Commonwealth deeply, deeply connected to the American military mission.

The map of Virginia—Yorktown, where the Revolutionary War ended; the battlefields of the Civil War; Appomattox, where the Civil War ended; Bedford, where a core of young people from that tiny mountain community served and died on D-day; the Pentagon, where we were attacked on 9/11—our map is a map of American military history. We train all Marine officers at Quantico. We have the largest naval base in the world in Norfolk and the largest military personnel facility in the world at the Pentagon. Virginia is steeped in the Nation's military mission.

I also rise as a member of the Armed Services Committee and as the father of a U.S. marine to urge my colleague from Alabama, as have my other friends on the floor tonight, to stop punishing our troops and their families,

to stop punishing our troops and their families.

I want to talk about the policy, I want to talk about the stunt, and I want to talk about the victims.

The policy: Senator TUBERVILLE objects to the fact that the Department of Defense will allow a servicemember to take time off and travel to terminate a pregnancy lawfully. He objects to that policy.

Is that policy an unreasonable policy? No. It has been Federal policy since the Reagan administration that Federal funds could pay for a Peace Corps volunteer to travel to terminate a pregnancy lawfully if the place where that Peace Corps volunteer was serving did not offer reproductive healthcare access. The Reagan administration was a Republican administration. The policy announced with respect to Peace Corps volunteers in the 1980s was written by then-Department of Justice lawyer Ted Olson, who became the Solicitor General under the Bush administration.

So, for now 40 years, it has been Federal policy that if a Peace Corps volunteer chooses to lawfully terminate a pregnancy, the Federal Government will both allow her time off and pay for her travel—in Democratic and Republican administrations.

It is, similarly, Federal policy that a female prisoner committed to the Federal Bureau of Prisons will be allowed to travel to terminate a pregnancy lawfully and that the Federal Government will pay for that travel. So the policy has been now for 40 years that the Federal Government will pay for travel of Peace Corps volunteers and Federal prisoners to lawfully terminate a pregnancy.

Senator TUBERVILLE wants women servicemembers to have fewer rights than Federal prisoners. Senator TUBERVILLE wants women servicemembers to not be accorded the same choice and protection that we have accorded Peace Corps volunteers since the early 1980s during the Reagan administration.

Why—why—would we say to women who volunteer to wear the uniform of this country and risk their lives that you are not entitled to what we have allowed Peace Corps volunteers and Federal prisoners to have for decades?

What is it about pledging to wear the uniform and offer your life and service to the Nation that should disable you from rights that have been afforded to others?

This is the policy that Senator TUBERVILLE wants to reverse. He wants to mandate that our servicewomen receive fewer rights and fewer protections than Federal prisoners or Peace Corps volunteers.

I find that proposal outrageous. I find that proposal deeply inequitable. But I do defend my colleague's right to have that opinion, if that is his opinion. We have 100 people in this body. We have a lot of different opinions about a lot of different things. But there is a right way and a wrong way.

And so now let me move from the policy to the stunt. I am on the Armed Services Committee. I have my chair here. I have been so pleased to serve with him for the 10 years I have been in the Senate. And he knows I have often offered amendments as part of our annual Defense bill where I failed. I have tried to convince my colleagues, for example, in the writing of the Defense bill to terminate outdated war authorizations, and I have been told, no, this is not the right committee for that; that should be in the Foreign Relations Committee. I have asked for a vote anyway, and I lost. I couldn't convince my colleagues that I was right.

We had a significant debate a few years ago about whether we should do across-the-board cuts in the headquarters of the Pentagon, and I was worried about what across-the-board cuts might do to things like military housing. So I tried to convince my colleagues to see things my way and, instead, adopt my position, and I failed. I had the opportunity to persuade them, but I couldn't persuade a majority.

So what do you do when you can't persuade a majority? Do you punish people who had nothing to do with the policy that you disagree with? No. Not a single member of our committee has ever taken this step during the 10 years that I have been on the committee until Senator TUBERVILLE has decided to undertake this stunt.

Senator TUBERVILLE had an opportunity in connection with the Defense bill in the committee to advocate his position—it was actually an amendment drafted by Senator ERNST, and Senator TUBERVILLE was the cosponsor—to reverse the policy I described earlier and to take away rights from servicewomen—rights that are enjoyed by Federal prisoners and Peace Corps volunteers. And they had an opportunity to persuade. And they offered that amendment, and they failed. They couldn't convince a majority of the committee to go along with them. But they had their chance.

And so once they have had their chance and failed to persuade their colleagues, they now turn, and Senator TUBERVILLE—I don't want to assert this is Senator ERNST; Senator ERNST and Senator TUBERVILLE have the same position on the policy, but Senator ERNST disagrees with the blockade—Senator TUBERVILLE is now taking out his disappointment. I couldn't convince my colleagues of the policy, so why don't I now punish hundreds of military officers and their families? It is a stunt.

When you can't convince your colleagues, be more persuasive next time or find a middle ground or have a dialogue and listen; and maybe the next time you will try, you will do it better, and you will be more persuasive. But, no, that is not what the Senator is doing. Instead, he is deciding to punish these officers and their families.

And I will tell you, in some ways, the part of this stunt that makes me the

angriest is the part that is happening right now. Right now on the Senate floor, we are debating the Defense bill, because maybe you could say I lost my vote in committee, but it is such an issue of conviction and conscience for me that I want to have the whole Senate vote on it. I could see Senator TUBERVILLE—if it really mattered to him, if this policy was really a matter of conviction and conscience for him, you would think he would say: I know I lost in committee, but maybe I will succeed on the floor of the Senate, and I want that opportunity. I want the public to know we have offered Senator TUBERVILLE the ability to vote on this matter on the floor of the Senate. Let's do it in front of the entire American public. You stand up and you say why the Department of Defense policy is wrong and you put it to a vote and make every one of the 100 Senators vote on it.

We have given him that opportunity. As of right now, 5 after 11, the night before we hope to finish the NDAA, he has not accepted it.

Wait a minute. Does he even care about this issue? If it is a matter of conscience and conviction, wouldn't you want to debate it on the floor of the Senate to show how much you care about it? But as of right now, he has not accepted our offer to allow him to have this vote.

Why hasn't he accepted the offer? He knows he is going to lose and probably lose worse than he lost in the committee because there are many people—both Democrats and Republicans—who are tired of the punishment that he is meting out on these military officers. That is why this is a stunt.

If he had the courage of his convictions, he would be on the floor listening to this right now. If he had the courage of his convictions, he would be asking for a vote. If he had the courage of his convictions, he would be accepting the outcome of the vote. And if unsuccessful, he would stop this foolish blockade.

Last, about the victims: My colleagues have done a very good job of talking about who is being damaged and how. It is these officers, certainly, but it is really their families—the inability to move, to find a new school for your children. We have officers among the list of those being blockaded who, on the assumption of a promotion, because it has been done as a matter of course for decades—sold a home, can't buy a new one because the new orders haven't yet come through and have had to pay out of their personal funds to move their families because the military won't pay to move them, hoping that they might be able to get reimbursed.

We have a Virginia officer who has been blocked a promotion, whose wife is a public-school teacher who had resigned from her job and not accepted the contract for the public school for the next year on the thought that she would be looking for a job in a new ju-

risdiction for a public school. And now she is out of the past job without the ability to go find a new job. What did they do to deserve this?

My colleagues have pointed out that Senator TUBERVILLE does not object to the qualifications of any of these people. He voted for them in committee. In addition, Senator TUBERVILLE has not asserted that a single one of these people had anything to do with the policy he doesn't like.

I mean, it would be one thing if we were nominating for a promotion the individual who developed the policy that Senator TUBERVILLE didn't like. You might understand him subjecting that individual to some more significant scrutiny and even opposition. But none of these people had anything to do with the travel policy announced by the Department of Defense after the Dobbs decision.

So punishing people who were serving this country, who had nothing to do with the policy that you complain about; punishing them not because of what they did but punishing them because you were not persuasive enough to convince your colleagues to embrace a policy that you advanced. It makes no sense.

We know we are facing a recruiting challenge in the military. We are facing it generally. We also know that in certain specialties, that recruiting challenge is particularly acute. Use pilots for an example. Pilots have a lot of opportunities. A number of the officers who are on this list are Air Force or Aviators in the other service branches, and they have all kinds of options to go to the private sector and get paid a whole lot more than they do, but they choose to work for less because they are patriotic about this country and they believe this country respects them.

What does this say to them? What would you do if you were a rational person and you had an opportunity when your promotion was being blocked for something you had nothing to do with, what would you do if there was another opportunity you could take?

My oldest son, who is Active Duty and now a Marine Reservist, is of an age where an awful lot of people are trying to make this decision about: Do I stay in the military or not? I have had a career. I have been in for 8 years or so. Do I stay and make a full career out of it or not?

We know from recruiting polling that we have been doing that one of the main reasons we have a recruiting and retention problem in the military—this was identified in Army polling—is people's belief—it is interesting. I was actually surprised by this polling. We are not having a recruiting challenge because people are afraid to serve or think they might get injured. We are having a recruiting challenge because people believe that if they serve in the military, they will fall behind their peers who don't serve in the military;

that their peers who don't serve might advance in their careers and have opportunities decades from now that would be more than what I have if I went in the military.

So if that is our significant problem right now, what is the message that is sent to people who might want to serve if they know: Wow, one Senator who is unhappy with something the Pentagon does can block my professional advancement even though I had nothing to do with that, even though I have served honorably and deployed and won a Silver Star and Purple Heart and other citations for bravery, even though all that happens—if one Senator—only one, only one—is unhappy with something that the Pentagon has done, they can block my professional advancement, just for that reason. How is that going to help us counter the recruiting and retention problem we have in the U.S. military?

My colleagues have done a good job of listing some of the particular positions that are vacant. They have no confirmed Commandant of the Marine Corps to come up against possibly no confirmed chief of staff on the joint chiefs of staff, to have no confirmed head of the U.S. Naval Academy.

Virginia is a shipbuilding and sub-building State. To have no head of Navy nuclear reactors—we are the premiere producer of nuclear subs in the world. The reactors get built in Virginia—in Lynchburg, generally—and then they get installed on subs and carriers in Newport News. This is what our State does. This nuclear reactor thing is not something to mess around with. It is not a minor thing that just anyone can do. To be the head of Navy nuclear reactors is a really important position.

We just announced through President Biden an initiative with Australia and the United Kingdom to do nuclear sub capacity building together over the course of decades. How good would we be at this commitment we have made if we don't have a head of naval nuclear reactors confirmed in serving this country?

So I join with my colleagues on this floor and ask Senator TUBERVILLE to stop punishing these people.

They served enough. They have done enough. They sweat enough. They bled enough. They moved enough. They sacrificed enough, and they are willing to do even more. Stop punishing them. Stop punishing them.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Rhode Island.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, I want to commend the Senator from Virginia for his articulate and passionate and compelling comments this evening—and all of my colleagues. All of them have made the point that these holds have cascading effects.

It is not just the individual nominee; it is the person waiting to take his or her position. It is not just someone in uniform; it is a family. We are talking

about hundreds of people on the list for nominations. We are talking about thousands of people whose lives will be changed—extraordinarily changed.

The particular effects are on the family. No one serves in the military alone. Families serve. And when you see the disruption that is going to take place—young people not being able to get into schools, teachers who give up their teaching jobs and can't get another—those are real, real costs, in addition, obviously, to every day wondering whether that servicemember who is your spouse or your father will return, or whether mother will return, and, particularly, when they are committed overseas in areas of combat or confrontation.

Now, what Senator TUBERVILLE has said is, "Well, let's just vote on them." That is ridiculous. We know it would take months and months of exclusive voting on these nominations to clear this list, while another list is building up.

And also, there has been some suggestion that we simply—well, we have to get a Chief of Staff of the Marine Corps or the Commandant. Let's vote on a commandant.

But there is an ethic in the military: Leave no one behind.

We cannot turn our backs on the hundreds of relatively young professionals, those colonels who are being promoted to O-7. All of them contribute significantly to the protection of this country, to the stability of our Armed Forces, and they can't be ignored.

What I would like to do is to indicate who would be left behind, who at this point are being ignored—in fact, more than that. What I am going to call off is a roll of honor of men and women who serve and are being dishonored by Senator TUBERVILLE's hold upon their nominations.

I am going to proceed in approximately chronological order from the nomination going forward.

The President nominated Col. Leigh A. Swanson to be brigadier general in the U.S. Air Force. She is a senior flight surgeon in the Air Force. Colonel Swanson has 29 years of service, amassing 545 flight hours and 55 combat flight hours. She carries her medical license in the State of Alabama.

Col. David J. Berkland is nominated to brigadier general of the U.S. Air Force. He is a command-rated pilot with over 3,400 flying hours, including 900 combat hours.

Col. Amy S. Bumgarner is in the U.S. Air Force and is nominated to brigadier general. She is currently serving as Vice Commander, Air Force Office of Special Investigations at Marine Corps Base Quantico. She has now served 28 years in uniform, spanning 17 different assignments, including in Afghanistan.

Col. Ivory D. Carter, nominated to brigadier general, is currently serving as Director, Legislative Liaison, U.S. Cyber Command, Fort Meade. He began his Air Force career as an enlisted in-

formation manager in 1990. He has now served 33 years in uniform, spanning 15 different assignments.

Col. Raja Chari is nominated for brigadier general. He is currently serving as an astronaut with NASA. Yes, we are blocking someone who is going to be one of our astronauts.

Col. Jason E. Corrothers is nominated to brigadier general. He is a 1999 graduate of the Air Force Academy. He served 24 years in uniform, spanning 14 different assignments.

Col. John "Bryan" Creel is nominated to brigadier general. He amassed over 35 years of uniform service. He is now graded as a command pilot and has more than 7,500 flight hours. He has been awarded the Distinguished Flying Cross with Valor Device, one of the most significant decorations that one could obtain in the Air Force.

Col. Nichols B. Evans has been nominated brigadier general. He is currently serving as Executive Assistant to the Commander, Pacific Air Forces, Joint Base Pearl Harbor-Hickam.

Col. Bridget V. Gigliotti has been nominated to brigadier general. She grew up in a Navy family and was commissioned in May 1997 upon graduation through the Air Force Academy. She has now served 26 years in uniform, spanning 19 different assignments.

Col. Chris B. "Wolf" Hammond is nominated to be brigadier general. Colonel Hammond is rated as a command pilot, amassing more than 3,000 flight hours, including 400 combat hours. He has now served 25 years in uniform, spanning 17 different assignments.

Col. Leslie F. Hauck. He is currently serving as Commander, 52nd Fighter Wing, in Germany. He is rated a command pilot with over 2,400 hours in the F-16, including 285 combat hours in support of Operation Enduring Freedom. He has also been deployed in support of Operations Iraqi Freedom and Noble Eagle.

Colonel Kurt C. Helphinstine is nominated to brigadier general. He has over 2,700 flying hours in the F-15E, T-38, and T-37, and has 905 combat hours over Iraq, Syria, and Afghanistan.

I think all of these gentlemen and ladies who have flown hundreds of hours in combat don't deserve to be disrespected as they are now and wonder if they will get promoted.

Col. Abraham L. Jackson, to be brigadier general, has 25 years in uniform as a career intelligence officer, spanning 15 different assignments.

Col. Benjamin R. Jonsson to be promoted as brigadier general. Colonel Jonsson was assigned to Charleston Air Force Base, where he flew some of the initial C-17A combat missions of Operations Enduring Freedom and Iraqi Freedom, from 2006 to 2008.

Colonel Jonsson and his family lived in Amman, Jordan, where he graduated from the University of Jordan as an Olmsted Scholar. He later served as the Desk Officer for Egypt and Jordan on the Joint Staff J-5 during the Arab

Spring. He is a superbly qualified individual, both as an Air Force officer and as someone who knows a great deal about the Middle East.

Col. Joy M. Kaczor, nominated to brigadier general, is currently serving as Commander, White House Communications Agency, Joint Base Anacostia-Bolling.

Col. Christopher J. Leonard, nominated to brigadier general. Colonel Leonard entered the Air Force in May 1997, after graduating from the U.S. Air Force Academy. He has now served 26 years in uniform, serving in 23 different assignments, including numerous overseas postings.

Col. Christopher Menuet, to be brigadier general, is currently serving as Director of Commander's Action Group, Headquarters U.S. Strategic Command, Offutt Air Force Base, Nebraska.

Col. David S. Miller, nominated to brigadier general, is currently serving as Vice Commander, Air Force Sustainment Center, Tinker Air Force Base, Oklahoma.

Col. Jeffrey A. Phillips to be nominated as brigadier general. Colonel Phillips received his commission via Officer Training School at Maxwell Air Force Base in Alabama in 1999, following 6 years of service as an enlisted airman. He has now served 30 years in uniform, 24 as an officer, spanning 20 different assignments.

Col. Erik M. Quigley to be brigadier general. Colonel Quigley was commissioned in 1997 as a distinguished graduate from Utah State University's ROTC Program. He has now served 26 years in uniform, spanning 17 different duty assignments, including a deployment to Afghanistan.

Col. Scott Rowe to be brigadier general. He has now served 25 years in uniform, spanning 14 different duty assignments, including as Commander, 12th Flying Training Wing, Joint Base San Antonio-Randolph, Texas; and Commander, 18th Operations Group, Kadena Air Base, Japan.

Col. Derek M. Salmi to be brigadier general. Colonel Salmi is a command pilot with more than 3,000 hours in flight and trainer aircraft. He has deployed in support of Operations Enduring Freedom, Iraqi Freedom, and New Dawn.

Col. Kayle Stevens. Colonel Stevens is a graduate from Wellesley College and received her commission through ROTC at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. She is a career intelligence officer.

Col. Jose E. Sumagil to be brigadier general. He is Chief, Air Force Senate Liaison Division. He has now served 26 years in uniform, spanning 18 different duty assignments. He is rated as a master navigator with more than 2,500 flight hours.

Col. Terence G. Taylor to be a brigadier general. Colonel Taylor attended the University of Virginia, where he served his commission through the Air Force ROTC. He is a command-rated pilot with more than 4,800 flying hours, including 1,800 combat hours.

Col. Daniel J. Voorhies. Colonel Voorhies attended the University of Virginia. He was commissioned through ROTC. He has now served 22 years in uniform, spanning 11 different duty assignments.

Col. Michael O. Walters to be promoted to brigadier general. Colonel Walters has combat experience in Operations Enduring Freedom, Freedom's Sentinel, and Inherent Resolve. He has amassed more than 2,600 flying hours, including 588 combat hours.

Col. Adrienne L. Williams is currently serving as Vice Commander, 18th Air Force, Scott Air Force Base. She has now served 23 years in uniform, spanning 16 different duty assignments.

The President also nominated Col. Corey A. Simmons to be brigadier general in the U.S. Air Force. He has now served 25 years in uniform, spanning 19 different duty assignments. He is a command pilot with more than 3,200 hours in airlift and trainer aircraft.

The President nominated Rear Admiral George M. Wikoff to be vice admiral in the U.S. Navy Central Command/Commander Fifth Fleet and Commander, Combined Maritime Forces. He has served 33 years in uniform, spanning 29 different duty assignments.

The President has nominated the following officers to brigadier general in the U.S. Air Force Reserve:

Col. Sean M. Carpenter. He has served nearly 18 years on Active Duty. He is a command-rated pilot with over 3,000 flying hours, including 325 combat hours, and over five combat deployments.

Col. Mary K. Haddad. Colonel Haddad has 13 years of Active Duty, spanning 13 different duty assignments, including numerous combat assignments.

Col. James L. Hartle to be brigadier general. He has served 23 years of Active-Duty service, spanning 21 different duty assignments, including a number of combat deployments.

Col. Aaron J. Heick. Colonel Heick has served 26 years in uniform, spanning 17 different duty assignments, including a deployment to Turkey.

Col. Joseph D. Janik to be brigadier general. Colonel Janik earned his commission via Officer Training School, Maxwell Air Force Base in Alabama. He is a command-rated pilot with over 4,000 flight hours and 3,000 civilian flight hours.

Col. Michael T. McGinley to be brigadier general. He has now served 25 years in uniform, spanning 11 different assignments, including as Director of DIU, the Defense Innovation Unit.

Col. Kevin J. Merrill. Colonel Merrill is a command pilot with more than 3,700 hours in multiple aircraft. He was deployed on several occasions in support of Operations Southern Watch, Enduring Freedom, and Iraqi Freedom.

Col. Tara E. Nolan to be brigadier general. She has served 28 years in uniform spanning 18 different duty assignments, including in support of numerous combat and contingency operations.

Col. Roderick C. Owens to be brigadier general. Colonel Owens has served 27 years in uniform spanning 15 different duty assignments.

Col. Mark D. Richey. Colonel Richey has 26 years of uniformed service. Colonel Richey is a command pilot with more than 4,500 flying hours and 675 combat sorties.

Col. Norman B. Shaw, Jr., to be a brigadier general. He is a command pilot with more than 3,400 flying hours.

The President has also nominated Col. Kristen A. Hillery to brigadier general. She has served 30 years in uniform spanning 14 different duty assignments, including Commander, 752nd Medical Squadron, March Air Force Base, CA.

Col. Michelle L. Wagner to be brigadier general. She has now served 26 years in uniform spanning nine different assignments, including two medical commands.

The President has also nominated the following officers to the grade of major general in the U.S. Air Force Reserve:

Brig. Gen. Elizabeth Arledge, who spent 6 years on Active Duty working with nuclear weapons, conventional munitions, and special operations aircraft before joining the Air Force Reserve in 1998.

Brig. Gen. Robert M. Blake has amassed more than 4,500 flying hours in military aircraft, including combat sorties in Iraq and Afghanistan.

Brig. Gen. Vanessa J.E. Dornhoefer, who has 27 years of Active-Duty service spanning 16 different duty assignments.

Brig. Gen. Christopher A. Freeman. Brigadier General Freeman earned his commission from the Air Force ROTC Program at the University of Alabama in 1992 as a distinguished graduate. He has been awarded the Purple Heart, the Legion of Merit, and the Defense Distinguished Service Medal. He is being held in this blockade.

With that, I would like to yield to the Senator from Virginia.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The gentleman from Virginia.

Mr. Kaine. Mr. President, I would like to continue this wall of honor, this honor roll of these patriotic public servants.

Rear Admiral John Gumbleton to be a vice admiral of the U.S. Navy and Deputy Commander of U.S. Fleet Forces Command. He currently serves as the Deputy Assistant Secretary of the Navy for Budget. He has 34 years of service to the Navy. His awards include the Legion of Merit, the Defense Meritorious Service Medal, and the Meritorious Service Medal.

Rear Admiral Christopher S. Gray to be a vice admiral of the U.S. Navy and the Commander of Navy Installations Command. He currently serves as Commander of Navy Region Mid-Atlantic and has 34 years of service. He has served as the Commander of Navy Region Northwest and the Chief of Staff of Navy Installations Command. His awards include the Legion of Merit, the

Defense Meritorious Service Medal, the Meritorious Service Medal, Air Medal With Combat "V" and Strike/Flight numeral 1.

Rear Admiral James Pitts to be a vice admiral in the U.S. Navy and Deputy Chief of Naval Operations for Warfighting Requirements and Capabilities. He currently serves as the Director of the Warfare Integration, Office of the Chief of Naval Operations. He has 37 years of service. He has been awarded the Legion of Merit with one gold star, Defense Superior Service Medal, and the Meritorious Service Medal with three gold stars. He has 30 different awards, many received multiple times.

Gen. Kenneth Wilsbach for reappointment as a general in the U.S. Air Force and Commander, Air Force Combat Command. He currently serves as the Commander of Pacific Air Forces. He has 38 years of service. General Wilsbach is a command pilot with more than 5,000 hours in multiple aircrafts, Defense Distinguished Service Medal with one oakleaf cluster, Defense Superior Service Medal with one oakleaf cluster, Legion of Merit with two oakleaf clusters, and the Bronze Star Medal.

Maj. Gen. Linda S. Hurry to be a lieutenant general in the U.S. Air Force and Deputy Commander, Air Force Materiel Command. She is nominated to be the Deputy Commander of Air Force Materiel Command, which manages installation and mission support, discovery and development, testing and evaluation, and life cycle management services and sustainment for every Air Force weapon system. Air Force Materiel Command employs nearly 86,000 military and civilian airmen, managing a \$71.3 billion budget. Major Hurry has served for 32 years. Her awards include the Defense Superior Service Medal, Legion of Merit with one oakleaf cluster, and the Defense Meritorious Service Medal with one oakleaf cluster.

BG Miguel Mendez to be a major general in the Army National Guard of the United States. He served 35 years in the Army, encompassing 20 different duty stations. He was awarded the Meritorious Service Medal with two bronze oakleaf clusters and the Army Commendation Medal with one bronze oakleaf cluster.

COL Marlene Markotan to be brigadier general of the U.S. Army Reserve. She currently serves as the Group Commander at Fort Totten, NY. She served 32 years in the Army, encompassing 20 different duty stations. She was awarded the Bronze Star Medal and the Meritorious Service Medal with three bronze oakleaf clusters.

Col. David Castaneda to be brigadier general in the U.S. Air Force Reserve. He served 30 years in the Air Force, 21 different duty stations. He served in multiple different leadership capacities at both the headquarters and wing level. He is a command pilot with more than 2,600 hours in the F-16 and F-35,

and more than 550 of those hours are in combat. His awards include the Legion of Merit with one oakleaf cluster and the Meritorious Service Medal with three oakleaf clusters.

MG Karl H. Gingrich to be a lieutenant general in the U.S. Army while also serving as a Deputy Chief of Staff in the U.S. Army. He currently serves as Director of Program Analysis and Evaluation with the U.S. Army. He has 34 years in the Army, 23 different duty assignments, including 2 assignments in support of combat operations. He was awarded the Defense Superior Service Medal, the Legion of Merit with four bronze oakleaf clusters, and the Bronze Star Medal.

The following three officers have been nominated to serve as rear admiral in the Navy Reserve:

Rear Admiral Kenneth R. Blackmon currently serves as the Reserve Director for U.S. Fleet Forces Command and previously served as Deputy Commander of the U.S. Third Fleet. He was awarded the Legion of Merit, the Defense Meritorious Service Medal with one oakleaf cluster, and the Joint Service Commendation Medal.

Rear Admiral Marc Lederer currently serves as the Reserve Deputy for Fleet Readiness and Logistics for the CNO. He has 32 years in the Navy encompassing 21 different duty assignments. His awards include the Legion of Merit with one gold star, the Defense Meritorious Service Medal with one oakleaf cluster, and the Meritorious Service Medal with one gold star.

Rear Admiral Robert Nowakowski currently serves as Reserve Vice Commander, U.S. Naval Forces for U.S. Central Command. He has 31 years in the Navy encompassing 21 different duty assignments. He previously served as Deputy Commander of the Navy Recruiting Command. I would love to have him here and ask him how this blockade might affect recruiting into the Navy. His awards include the Legion of Merit, the Defense Meritorious Service Medal, and the Meritorious Service Medal with one gold star.

The President has nominated these six officers in the Navy Reserve to the grade of rear admiral as unrestricted line officers:

CAPT Jeffrey Jurgemeyer. He currently serves as Chief of Navy Reserve, U.S. Naval Surface Force Pacific. He has 30 years in the Navy and Reserve encompassing 18 different duty assignments. He was awarded the Legion of Merit, the Bronze Star, and the Meritorious Service Medal with two gold stars.

CAPT Richard S. Lofgren currently serves as the Commanding Officer of Navy Reserve Fourth Fleet. He has served 30 years, 20 different duty assignments. His awards include the Legion of Merit and the Meritorious Service Medal with one gold star.

CAPT Michael Mattis currently serves as the Deputy Commander, Navy Reserve Region Readiness and Mobilization Command in San Diego. He has

29 years in the Navy, 17 different duty assignments. He has been awarded the Legion of Merit with two gold stars and the Bronze Star.

CAPT Richard Meyer serves as the Deputy Commander of the Navy Region Southeast Reserve Component in Fort Worth. He has 30 years in the Navy, 20 different duty assignments, and has been awarded the Legion of Merit with one gold star and the Defense Meritorious Service Medal.

CAPT Bryon T. Smith is currently serving as Commanding Officer of the Navy Reserve Navy Installations Command EOC. He has 28 years in the Navy, 17 different duty assignments. His awards include the Legion of Merit with one gold star and the Meritorious Service Medal with one gold star.

CAPT Michael R. Vanpoots is currently serving as the Deputy Commander of Navy Reserve Region Readiness and Mobilization Command. He has 28 years in the Navy, 20 different assignments. His awards include the Defense Superior Service Medal and the Defense Meritorious Service Medal.

CAPT John Byington to be a rear admiral. He has served 33 years in the Navy, with 22 different duty assignments. He previously served as the Region Commander for the Naval Information Force Reserve Southeast Region. His awards include the Defense Meritorious Service Medal with two bronze oakleaf clusters and the Meritorious Service Medal with one gold star.

CAPT John Robinson to be rear admiral in the U.S. Navy Reserve. He currently serves as the Commanding Officer of the Navy Reserve Chief of Information Headquarters. He has 26 years in the Navy, 10 different duty stations. He has been awarded the Defense Meritorious Service Medal with one gold star and the Meritorious Service Medal.

Lt. Gen. Gregory Guillot—we had him before our committee today—who is a general in the U.S. Air Force, to serve as the Commander of the U.S. Northern Command, protecting the homeland of the United States and North America, and also to be the Commander of North American Aerospace Defense Command, NORAD. He currently serves as Deputy Commander of U.S. Central Command. He has commanded a flying squadron, operations group, two flying wings, and a numbered Air Force. He has served 34 years in the Air Force, with 24 different duty assignments, and has more than 1,380 flying hours. His awards include the Distinguished Service Medal, the Defense Superior Service Medal with two oakleaf clusters, the Legion of Merit with one oakleaf cluster, and the Bronze Star Medal with two oakleaf clusters.

LTG Laura A. Potter to be a lieutenant general in the Army and also to serve as the Director of Army Staff. She currently serves as the Deputy Chief of Staff, which is the principal officer responsible to the Chief of Staff of

the Army for all Army intelligence matters. She has 33 years in the Army, 20 different duty assignments, including four in support of combat operations. She has been awarded the Distinguished Service Medal, the Defense Superior Service Medal with one bronze oakleaf cluster, Legion of Merit with one bronze oakleaf cluster, and the Bronze Star Medal with one bronze oakleaf cluster.

MG William J. Hartman to be a lieutenant general in the U.S. Army while serving as the Deputy Commander of U.S. Cyber Command. He currently serves as Commander of Cyber National Mission Force. He was born in Mobile, AL. He graduated from the University of South Alabama ROTC Program. He has 33 years in the Army, encompassing 19 different duty assignments, including 8 assignments in support of combat operations. His awards include the Legion of Merit with one bronze oakleaf cluster, the Bronze Star Medal with two bronze oakleaf clusters, and the Meritorious Service Medal with four bronze oakleaf clusters.

CAPT David Ludwa to be a rear admiral in the U.S. Navy Reserve. He has 28 years in the Navy, 24 different duty assignments. He has been awarded the Legion of Merit, the Defense Meritorious Service Medal with one bronze oakleaf cluster and the Meritorious Service Medal with two gold stars.

CAPT Peter Muschinske to be a rear admiral to the U.S. Naval Reserve as a Navy Chaplain. He currently serves as the Deputy Fleet Chaplain with the Navy Reserve U.S. Pacific Fleet. He served 33 years in the Navy, all as Chaplain. He served in 15 different duty assignments providing chaplain and ministry services to sailors and marines around the world. His awards include the Meritorious Service Medal with three gold stars.

CAPT Marc F. Williams to be a rear admiral in the U.S. Navy Reserve Civil Engineer Corps. He earned his commission after graduating from the academy in 1998 with a degree in ocean engineering. He has 25 years in the Navy, 17 different duty assignments. His awards include the Meritorious Service Medal with two gold stars and the Joint Service Commendation Medal.

LTG Andrew M. Rohling to be a lieutenant general while also serving as the Deputy Chairman of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization Military Committee—a very important position because it is a very important time for NATO. He served as a deputy commanding general, U.S. Army, Africa, Europe. He has 34 years in the Army, 27 different duty stations, 7 supporting combat operations. His awards include the Distinguished Service Medal, the Defense Superior Service Medal for combat service, Legion of Merit with two bronze oakleaf clusters, the Bronze Star Medal for Valor with one bronze oakleaf cluster, the Bronze Star Medal with three bronze oakleaf clusters, and he is also a Purple Heart recipient.

MG John B. Richardson IV to serve as Commanding General, First U.S. Army; 32 years of service, 27 different duty assignments, including 6 assignments supporting combat operations. Defense Superior Service Medal for Combat Service, Defense Superior Service Medal with one bronze oakleaf cluster, Legion of Merit for Combat Service, the Legion of Merit with two bronze oakleaf clusters, Bronze Star Medal for Valor, Bronze Star Medal with two oakleaf clusters, Purple Heart recipient.

I will now rest my voice and yield back to my chairman, Senator REED.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Rhode Island.

Mr. REED. I thank the Senator from Virginia, and let me continue the roll of officers.

Brig. Gen. David P. Garfield. He is a command pilot with 4,800 flying hours, including 506 combat hours. He has been awarded the Legion of Merit and the Distinguished Flying Cross.

Brig. Gen. Mitchell A. Hanson to become major general. Brigadier General Hanson has flown the A-10 and F-16 in a variety of operational assignments and is a command pilot with more than 3,400 flying hours and over 200 combat hours.

General Jody A. Merritt. She has served 33 years in uniform, spanning 17 different duty assignments. She has been awarded the Legion of Merit and the Defense Meritorious Service Medal.

General Adrian K. White. He has 33 years of uniformed service, spanning 17 different duty assignments. He has been awarded the Legion of Merit and Defense Meritorious Service Medal.

General William W. Whittenberger, Jr. He is a command pilot with more than 4,500 hours and has flown combat missions in Bosnia, Kosovo, Afghanistan, and Iraq. He has been awarded the Legion of Merit and the Defense Meritorious Service Medal.

General Christopher F. Yancy. His combat experience includes nine deployments in Operations Iraqi Freedom, Enduring Freedom, Southern Watch and Northern Watch; multiple operations in the former Yugoslavia; and Expeditionary Fighter Squadron Command in South Korea.

The President has nominated COL Carlos M. Caceres to be a brigadier general in the U.S. Army Reserve. The colonel has served 31 years in uniform. He completed a 19-month deployment to Iraq and was awarded the Bronze Star.

The President has nominated COL William F. Wilkerson to be a brigadier general in the U.S. Army Reserve. He has 22 months deployed in support of operations in Iraq and Afghanistan and has been awarded two Bronze Stars.

The President has nominated COL Evelyn E. Laptook to be a brigadier general. She has now served 30 years in uniform, including as Deputy Surgeon General, Office of the Surgeon General, Defense Intelligence Agency, and Chief of Intelligence/Assistant Chief of Staff J2, Kosovo Forces.

The President has nominated BG Ronald R. Ragin to be a major general in the U.S. Army. He has five separate deployments to Iraq and Afghanistan. He has been awarded four Legion of Merits and three Bronze Stars.

The President has nominated CAPT Walter D. Brafford and CAPT Robert J. Hawkins to be appointed to the grade of rear admiral. Captain Brafford has 27 years of service as a dental officer. Captain Hawkins has 26 years of service, primarily as a nurse anesthetist.

The following individuals have been nominated to rear admiral (lower half):

CAPT Amy N. Bauernschmidt. She is currently serving as Commanding Officer of the USS *Abraham Lincoln*. She has 29 years of service.

CAPT Michael Brent Devore, 28 years of service. He worked as Commanding Officer of the USS *New York* and Commanding Officer of USS *Stethem*.

CAPT Thomas Anthony Donovan, 27 years of service; Commanding Officer, Naval Special Warfare Tactical Development and Evaluation Squadron TWO.

CAPT Frederic C. Goldhammer, 30 years of service; Commanding Officer, USS *Ronald Reagan*.

CAPT Ian Lake Johnson, 29 years of service; Commanding Officer, Naval Station Newport, RI; also awarded the Legion of Merit and Meritorious Service Medal.

CAPT Neil Andrew Koprowsky. He was the Commanding Officer of the USS *Kearsarge* and Commanding Officer of the USS *San Antonio*.

CAPT Paul Joseph Lanzilotta, currently serving as Commanding Officer of the USS *Gerald R. Ford*. His awards include the Legion of Merit and the Meritorious Service Medal.

CAPT Joshua Lasky, currently serving as Assistant Deputy Director for Global Operations, J39, Joint Staff, Washington, DC; 29 years of service.

CAPT Donald Wilson Marks, 28 years of service. He was the Commanding Officer of Naval Surface Group Western Pacific.

CAPT Craig Thomas Mattingly. He is currently serving as Senior Military Advisor, Office of the Secretary of the Navy; 29 years of service.

CAPT Andrew Thomas Miller, currently serving as Chief of Staff, U.S. Strategic Command Special Activities Atlantic; 29 years of service.

CAPT Lincoln Michael Reifsteck, serving as Branch Head, Commanders Action Group, Undersea Warfare Division, N97; 28 years of service.

CAPT Frank Alexander Rhodes IV, 28 years of service, was a Commander of Carrier Air Wing THREE. His awards include the Legion of Merit and the Meritorious Service Medal.

CAPT Thomas Edwin Schultz, currently serving as Executive Assistant to the Under Secretary of the Navy; 29 years of service; and was Commanding Officer of the USS *Green Bay*.

CAPT Todd Edward Whalen, currently serving as Chief of Staff, Naval Surface Force Atlantic; 28 years of service.

CAPT Forrest Owen Young, 29 years of service and formerly Commander, Carrier Wing FIVE.

The President has nominated CAPT Frank G. Schlereth III to be rear admiral (lower half), U.S. Navy. He is currently serving as Division Chief/Executive Assistant to the Director, Defense Intelligence Agency, and he is selected as Special Duty Officer with Foreign Expertise. He served as Naval Attache in Greece and the Assistant Naval Attache in Israel.

The President has nominated CAPT Brian J. Anderson and CAPT Julie M. Treanor for appointments to the grade of rear admiral (lower half).

Captain Anderson is currently serving as Assistant Commander, Supply Chain Policy and Management, Naval Supply Systems, and he has 28 years of service.

CAPT Julie Mary Treanor is currently serving as Chief of Staff, N41, Office of the Chief of Naval Operations, with 29 years of service.

The President has nominated RDML Casey J. Moton and RDML Stephen R. Tedford for appointments to rear admiral in the U.S. Navy.

Admiral Moton is currently serving as Program Executive Officer, Unmanned and Small Combatants. He has 34 years of service.

Admiral Tedford is currently serving as Program Executive Officer for Unmanned Aviation and Strike Weapons. He has 32 years of service.

The President has nominated RDML Rick Freedman to be a rear admiral in the U.S. Navy. Admiral Freedman is currently serving as Director, Education and Training, Defense Health Agency; 32 years of service.

The President has nominated RDML Kenneth W. Epps to be a rear admiral in the U.S. Navy. Admiral Epps is currently serving as Commander, Naval Supply Systems, Command Weapons Systems Support; 33 years of service.

The President has nominated the following officers to the grade of rear admiral in the Navy:

RDML Stephen Dennard Barnett, currently serving as Navy Region Hawaii Commander/Naval Surface Group MIDPAC; 32 years of service.

RDML Michael Wayne Baze, currently serving as Commander, Expeditionary Strike Group THREE; 33 years of service.

RDML Richard Thomas Brophy, Jr., currently serving as Chief of Naval Air Training; 32 years of service.

RDML Joseph F. Cahill III, currently serving as Commander, Carrier Strike Group FIFTEEN; 31 years of service.

RDML Jeffrey John Czerewko, currently serving as Commander, Carrier Strike Group FOUR; 33 years of service.

RDML Brian Llewellyn Davies, currently serving as Submarine Group TWO Commander, assumed additional duties as Second Fleet Deputy Commander; 32 years of service.

RDML Michael Philip Donnelly, currently serving as Task Force SEVEN

ZERO Commander/Carrier Strike Group FIVE Commander; 34 years of service; formerly Commanding Officer of the USS *Ronald Reagan*.

RDML Daniel Pratt Martin, currently serving as Director of Maritime Operations, Task Force U.S. Pacific Fleet, 32 years of service.

RDML Richard Edward Seif, Jr., currently serving as Submarine Group SEVEN Commander/Task Force FIVE FOUR; 30 years of service.

RDML Paul Carl Spedero, Jr., currently serving as Carrier Strike Group EIGHT Commander, with 33 years of service.

RDML Derek Andrew Trinqué, currently serving as Commander, Expeditionary Strike Group SEVEN/Amphibious Force, Seventh Fleet, with 31 years of service.

RDML Dennis Velez, currently serving as Commander, Carrier Strike Group TEN; 31 years of service.

RDML Darryl Leo Walker, currently serving as Commander, Combined Joint Task Force CYBER Tenth Fleet; 33 years of service.

RDML Jeromy Boone Williams, currently serving as Commander of U.S. Special Operations Command Pacific; 30 years of service.

The President has nominated the following officers to appointments to the grade of rear admiral (lower half), U.S. Navy:

CAPT Joshua Charles Himes, currently serving as Chief of Staff, U.S. Fleet Cyber Command/U.S. Tenth Fleet; 30 years of service.

CAPT Kurtis Arthur Mole, currently serving as Information Warfare Commander, Carrier Strike Group FIVE; 28 years of service.

The following nominations to brigadier general:

COL Brandon C. Anderson, currently serving as Deputy Commander (Maneuver), 2nd Infantry Division (Combined), Eighth Army, Republic of Korea; 27 years of service.

COL Beth A. Behn, currently serving as Chief of Transportation and Commandant, U.S. Army Transportation School, Fort Lee, Virginia; 29 years of service.

COL Matthew W. Braman, 28 years of service, including Commander, 2nd Battalion, 10th Aviation Regiment, during Operation Enduring Freedom in Afghanistan; awarded the Silver Star.

COL Kenneth J. Burgess, 26 years of service; awarded Legion of Merit and Bronze Star.

COL Thomas E. Burke, currently serving as Director of House Affairs, Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Legislative Affairs, Washington, DC; 29 years of service.

COL Chad C. Chalfont, 28 years of service and awarded the Bronze Star.

COL Kendall J. Clarke, Commander, 1st Battalion, 41st Infantry Regiment, 3rd Brigade Combat Team, 1st Armored Division, Operation Enduring Freedom; Legion of Merit and Bronze Star.

COL Patrick M. Costello, 26 years of service; Commander, 3rd Battalion, 4th

Air Defense Artillery Regiment, 108th Air Defense Artillery Brigade, Operation Enduring Freedom.

COL Rory A. Crooks, 29 years of service; Commander, 1st Battalion, 37th Field Artillery, during Operation Enduring Freedom in Afghanistan.

COL Troy M. Denomy, 27 years of service; Commander, C Company, 2nd Battalion, 5th Cavalry, 1st Cavalry Division, Operation Iraqi Freedom, Iraq; and awarded the Purple Heart.

COL Sara E. Dudley, Commander, Headquarters and Headquarters Company, 3rd Brigade Combat Team, 101st Airborne Division, during Operation Enduring Freedom in Afghanistan.

COL Joseph E. Escandon, Commander, U.S. Army Joint Modernization Command, Futures and Concepts Center. He has 27 years of service.

COL Alric L. Francis, Commander, Field Artillery Squadron, 3rd Cavalry Regiment, 1st Cavalry Division, during Operation Enduring Freedom in Afghanistan.

COL George C. Hackler, 29 years of service, was Director of Capabilities Development, Combined Security Transition Command in Afghanistan during Operation Resolute Support.

COL William C. Hannan, Jr. He was Chief, Office of Security Cooperation—Iraq, Operation INHERENT RESOLVE, and was awarded the Bronze Star.

Col. Peter G. Hart, with 28 years of service. He was Director of the J-5, U.S. Forces in Afghanistan, during Operation Enduring Freedom in Afghanistan.

COL Gregory L. Holden has 28 years of service. He served as the Director of the J-2 Combined Joint Forces Land Component Command, Operation INHERENT RESOLVE in Iraq.

COL Paul D. Howard is currently serving as the Commandant for the U.S. Army Signal School in Fort Gordon, GA.

COL James G. Kent was the Executive Officer to the Deputy Commanding General of the U.S. Army Materiel Command at the Redstone Arsenal, Alabama, and he is being nominated for brigadier general.

COL Curtis W. King commanded the 1st Battalion, 7th Air Defense Artillery, during Operation Enduring Freedom in Afghanistan.

COL John P. Lloyd is currently serving as Commander of the North Atlantic Division of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers in Brooklyn, NY.

With that, I yield to my colleague from Virginia.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Virginia.

Mr. KAINE. Mr. President, VADM Jeffrey W. Hughes, VADM of the U.S. Navy. While serving as Deputy Chief of Staff for Capability Development, he received his commission after graduating from Duke University. He has 35 years in the Navy with 22 different duty assignments and is formerly Commander of Navy Personnel Command. He received the Defense Superior Service Medal, the Legion of Merit, and the

Meritorious Service Medal with one gold star.

Maj. Gen. Heath A. Collins to be a lieutenant general of the U.S. Air Force while serving as Director of the Missile Defense Agency. He is currently serving as the Program Executive for that Agency at the Redstone Arsenal in Alabama. He was nominated to lead this important Agency that is a critical research and development and acquisition Agency within the Department of Defense. He has spent 30 years in the Air Force with 23 different duty assignments. He was awarded the Legion of Merit with one oakleaf cluster, the Defense Meritorious Service Medal with two oakleaf clusters, and the Meritorious Service Medal with one oakleaf cluster.

Lt. Gen. Jeffrey A. Kruse to be a lieutenant general in the U.S. Air Force while serving as the Director of the Defense Intelligence Agency. He has 32 years in the Air Force with 24 different duty assignments and the Defense Superior Service Medal with three oakleaf clusters, the Legion of Merit with two oakleaf clusters, and the Defense Meritorious Service Medal.

Maj. Gen. Michael G. Koscheski to be a lieutenant general while serving as the Deputy Commander of the Air Combat Command. He has 31 years in the Air Force with 24 different duty assignments, 2,800 flying hours, including more than 650 combat hours in Syria, Iraq, and Afghanistan. He has the Defense Superior Service Medal, the Legion of Merit with two oakleaf clusters, and the Defense Meritorious Service Medal with two oakleaf clusters.

Lt. Gen. Donna D. Shipton to be a lieutenant general of the U.S. Air Force while serving as the Commander of the Air Force Life Cycle Management Center. She has 31 years in the Air Force with 19 different duty assignments, the Distinguished Service Medal, the Defense Superior Service Medal, the Legion of Merit with one oakleaf cluster, and the Defense Meritorious Service Medal with two oakleaf clusters.

LTG John S. Kolasheski to be a lieutenant general in the U.S. Army while serving as the Deputy Commanding General of U.S. Army Europe-Africa. After Russia's invasion of Ukraine, he led V Corps efforts in support of Ukraine, deploying a corps element to Poland and subsequently establishing a permanent headquarters forward. He has 34 years of service with 24 different duty assignments. He has the Distinguished Service Medal, the Defense Superior Service Medal, five Legions of Merit, three Bronze Star Medals, four Meritorious Service Medals, the Combat Action Badge, Airborne Badge, and Ranger Tab. He served three combat tours in Iraq and two in Afghanistan. He has been forward-deployed in combat for a total of 46 months—nearly 4 years away from his family.

COL Matthew N. Gebhard to be brigadier general in the U.S. Army Reserve. He has 30 years in the military with 19

different duty assignments. He has earned the Airborne, Ranger, and Expert Infantryman Badges.

COL Katherine M. Braun to be brigadier general of the U.S. Army Reserve. She is an intelligence officer by training and has 27 years of service. She has the Meritorious Service Medal with two oakleaf clusters.

The following two nominations are for brigadier generals to the grade of major general:

BG Mary V. Krueger is currently the Commanding General of the Medical Readiness Command, East, and the Chief of the U.S. Army Medical Corps. She served in both Iraq and Afghanistan for 19 months and commanded clinics, hospitals, and medical research centers. She has three Legions of Merit, two Bronze Star Medals, four Meritorious Service Medals, a Flight Surgeon Badge, and an Expert Field Medical Badge.

BG Anthony L. McQueen is serving currently as the Commanding General of the U.S. Army Medical Research and Development Command. He deployed to Iraq twice for a total of 20 months. He received the Army Distinguished Service Medal, the Defense Superior Service Medal, three Legions of Merit, four Meritorious Service Medals, the Expert Field Medical Badge, Airborne Badge, and Air Assault Badge.

GEN Jack J. Stumme to be a brigadier general of the U.S. Army. He is currently Army Chaplain and is serving as the Command Chaplain for the U.S. Army Europe and Africa commands. He has deployed as a chaplain to serve the critical religious and spiritual needs of the military four separate times, including to Iraq, Kuwait, and Afghanistan, for a total of 36 months. He has received the Defense Superior Service Medal, the Legion of Merit, the Bronze Star Medal, the Defense Meritorious Service Medal, six Meritorious Service Medals, two Joint Service Commendation Medals, and the Airborne Badge.

COL James F. Porter to be a brigadier general in the U.S. Army Reserve. He is currently serving as the Chief of Staff for the 311th Sustainment Command in Los Angeles, CA. He has deployed three times in support of contingency operations in Cuba and Kuwait for a total of 25 months. He has the Legion of Merit, three Meritorious Service Medals, and the Airborne Badge.

BG Beth Salisbury to be a major general in the U.S. Army. She is a medical corps woman and is a specialist in occupational therapy. She has commanded medical companies, medical commands, and medical brigades. She has deployed four times to Qatar, Kuwait, and Iraq in support of contingency operations for a total of 43 months of forward deployment—nearly 4 years away from her family. She has the Legion of Merit, the Bronze Star Medal, five Meritorious Service Medals, and two Joint Service Commendation Medals.

Maj. Gen. Michael J. Lutton to be a lieutenant general in the U.S. Air Force while serving as Deputy Commander of the Air Force Global Strike Command. He previously commanded the Air Force's only group providing initial training for the Nation's space and intercontinental ballistic missile operations. He has received the Defense Superior Service Medal, two Legions of Merit, and four Meritorious Service Medals.

MG Charles D. Costanza to be a lieutenant general while serving as the Commanding General of the V "Fifth" Corps. He currently serves as the Commanding General of the 3rd Infantry Division. He has 32 years in the Marine Corps, encompassing 21 different duty assignments, including 5 in support of combat and contingency operations. He has received the Defense Superior Service Medal, the Legion of Merit, the Bronze Star, and other decorations.

Maj. Gen. James H. Adams III to be a lieutenant general in the U.S. Marine Corps. He currently serves as the Deputy Director of Requirements and Capability Development on the J-8, Joint Staff. He has 32 years in the Marine Corps with 23 different duty assignments. His past assignments include Branch Head of Aviation Plans and Policy. From the U.S. Marine Corps, he has been awarded the Legion of Merit, the Bronze Star, and the Air Medal.

Lt. Gen. Michael A. Guetlein to be the General and Vice Chief of Space Operations of the U.S. Space Force. He currently serves as the Commander of Space Systems Command. The general has commanded and led at the flight, squadron, division, directorate, Program Executive Officer, and field command levels. He has had 32 years in the Air Force with 19 different duty assignments. He has been awarded the Defense Superior Service Medal, the Legion of Merit, and the Meritorious Service Medal.

Lt. Gen. Philip A. Garrant to be a lieutenant general in the U.S. Space Force and the Commander of the Space Systems Command. He has had 32 years in the Air Force with 16 different duty assignments. He has been awarded the Distinguished Service Medal, the Defense Superior Service Medal, and the Legion of Merit.

The following three officers have been nominated to the grade of major general in the U.S. Space Force:

Brig. Gen. Donald J. Cothorn, who is currently serving as the Deputy Commander of the Space Systems Command in California. He has served for 30 years in the Air Force with 16 different duty assignments. He has been awarded the Defense Superior Service Medal, the Legion of Merit, and the Defense Meritorious Service Medal.

Brig. Gen. Troy L. Endicott is currently serving as the Assistant Deputy Chief of Space Operations for Operations, Cyber, and Nuclear in the U.S. Air Force. He deployed four times during Operations Northern Watch, Iraqi Freedom, and Enduring Freedom as a

space weapons officer, and he commanded one of the Air Force's first expeditionary space units in Iraq. He has 29 years of service with 18 different duty assignments. He has been awarded the Defense Superior Service Medal, the Legion of Merit, and the Meritorious Service Medal.

Brig. Gen. Timothy A. Sejba currently serves as the Program Executive Officer for Space Domain Awareness for the Space Systems Command in Los Angeles. He has had 28 years of service with 17 different duty assignments. He has been awarded the Defense Superior Service Medal and the Legion of Merit.

Maj. Gen. Shawn N. Bratton to be a lieutenant general of the U.S. Space Force while also serving as Deputy Chief of Space Operations. He has 36 years in the Air Force with 21 different duty assignments, including deployment in combat and contingency operations during Operation Iraqi Freedom. He has been awarded the Defense Superior Service Medal, the Bronze Star, and the Meritorious Service Medal.

VADM Karl O. Thomas to be a vice admiral in the U.S. Navy and Deputy Chief of Naval Operations for Information Warfare. He has 37 years of service. He is currently serving as the Commander of the U.S. Seventh Fleet. He has been awarded the Defense Superior Service Medal and the Legion of Merit.

Lt. Gen. Michael S. Cederholm to be a lieutenant general in the U.S. Marine Corps and Commanding General, I Marine Expeditionary Force. He has 34 years of service with multiple combat tours. He has been a Top Gun instructor. He has been awarded the Defense Superior Service Medal, the Legion of Merit, and the Bronze Star Medal.

Brig. Gen. Derin S. Durham to be a major general in the U.S. Air Force Reserve. He has 33 years of Active and Reserve service. He flew numerous combat missions supporting operations in Kosovo, Iraq, and Afghanistan. He has more than 5,150 flying hours, including 332 combat hours. He has been awarded the Legion of Merit.

Three nominations for appointments to the grade of brigadier general in the U.S. Army Reserve:

COL Brandi B. Peasley currently serves as the Chief of Staff of the 79th Theater Support Command in Los Alamitos, CA. She has 29 years of service with two combat tours. She has been awarded the Meritorious Service Medal.

COL John D. Rhodes currently serves as the Deputy Commander of the 451st Expeditionary Sustainment Command, which comprises 84 units and 8,000 soldiers. He started his career as an ROTC officer, graduating from the University of Alabama at Huntsville. He has been awarded the Bronze Star Medal and Meritorious Service Medal.

COL Earl C. Sparks IV currently serves as Commander for the 77th Quartermaster Group in El Paso, TX. He has 34 years of service.

BG William Green, Jr., to be a major general in the U.S. Army and the Chief

of Chaplains for the U.S. Army. Chaplain Green serves currently as the Deputy Chief of Chaplains in the Office of the Chief of Chaplains for the U.S. Army. He has had 29 years of service and multiple deployments in support of combat or contingency operations. He has been awarded the Legion of Merit and the Bronze Star Medal.

MG John W. Brennan to be a lieutenant general and Deputy Commander of United States Africa Command. He currently serves as Director of Operations, J-3, U.S. Special Operations Command, MacDill Air Force Base, Florida. He has had numerous combat deployments and has been awarded the Distinguished Service Medal, the Defense Superior Service Medal for Combat Service, the Legion of Merit, five Bronze Stars, and two Bronze Stars for Valor. He has earned the Master Parachutist Badge, the Military Free Fall Parachutist Badge, the Air Assault Badge, the Scuba Diver Badge, the Special Operations Diver Badge, a Ranger Tab, and a Special Forces Tab.

MG Mark T. Simerly to be a lieutenant general in the U.S. Army and the Director of the Defense Logistics Agency. He has had 39 years of service and multiple combat tours, over 30 months deployed away from his family in those operations. He has been awarded the Defense Superior Service Medal and the Legion of Merit.

Maj. Gen. Ryan P. Heritage to be a lieutenant general in the U.S. Marine Corps and Deputy Commandant for Information, Headquarters, U.S. Marine Corps. He has 33 years of service and numerous tours in support of combat and contingency operations. He has been awarded the Defense Superior Service Medal, the Legion of Merit, and the Defense Meritorious Service Medal.

VADM Craig A. Clapperton to be a vice admiral in the U.S. Navy and the Commander of Fleet Cyber Command. He has 34 years of service. He has been the Commander of the Combined Joint Task Force, CYBER, Tenth Fleet, the Commander of the Carrier Strike Group, Twelfth Fleet. He has been awarded the Legion of Merit with two gold stars and the Defense Meritorious Service Medal.

Four officers to the grade of rear admiral in the U.S. Navy:

CAPT Thomas James Dickinson has 28 years of service and has been awarded the Legion of Merit and the Meritorious Service Medal.

CAPT Kevin Ray Smith has 29 years of service and has been awarded the Legion of Merit with one gold star and the Meritorious Service Medal.

CAPT Todd Sinclair Weeks has 30 years of service and has been awarded the Legion of Merit and the Meritorious Service Medal.

CAPT Dianna Wolfson has 27 years of service and has been awarded the Legion of Merit and the Meritorious Service Medal.

The following officers are for appointment to the grade of major general in the U.S. Air Force:

Brig. Gen. Curtis Bass, currently serves as Vice Commander of the U.S. Air Force Warfare Center at Nellis Air Force Base; 28 years of service; Defense Superior Service Medal, Bronze Star Medal.

Brig. Gen. Kenyon Bell, 28 years of service; Legion of Merit, Defense Meritorious Service Medal.

Brig. Gen. Charles D. Bolton, a master navigator with more than 2,800 hours, a distinguished graduate of the U.S. Air Force Weapons School; 29 years of service; Legion of Merit, Bronze Star Medal.

Brig. Gen. Larry Broadwell received his commission in March 1996 from the Officer Training School at Maxwell Air Force Base in Alabama; 2,600 flying hours, 76 combat hours, 27 years of service; Legion of Merit, Bronze Star Medal.

Brig. Gen. Scott Cain, 2,800 hours of flying time, 28 years of service; Legion of Merit, Defense Meritorious Service Medal.

Brig. Gen. Sean Choquette, 30 years of service, multiple deployments to support combat contingency operations; Defense Superior Service Medal, Legion of Merit, Bronze Star Medal.

Brig. Gen. Roy W. Collins, 28 years of service; Legion of Merit, Defense Meritorious Service Medal.

Brig. Gen. John R. Edwards, currently serves as the Director of Strategic Capabilities at the NSC at the White House; 28 years of service, 2,500 flight hours, including 237 combat hours; Defense Superior Service Medal and Legion of Merit.

Brig. Gen. Jason Hinds, 27 years of service, commander of the 1st Fighter Wing, Joint Base Langley in Virginia; Defense Superior Service Medal, Legion of Merit.

Brig. Gen. Justin R. Hoffman, 28 years of service; Defense Superior Service Medal and Bronze Star.

Brig. Gen. Stacy Jo Huser, 27 years of service; Defense Superior Service Medal, Legion of Merit.

Brig. Gen. Matteo G. Martemucci, 29 years of service; Defense Superior Service Medal, Legion of Merit, Bronze Star; currently serves as the Director of Intelligence at U.S. Cyber Command.

Brig. Gen. David Mineau, 29 years of service; Legion of Merit, Defense Meritorious Service Medal, Meritorious Service Medal.

Brig. Gen. Paul D. Moga currently serves as the Commandant of Cadets at the U.S. Air Force Academy in Colorado Springs; 2,600 flying hours, including more than 250 combat hours; 28 years of service; Legion of Merit; Defense Meritorious Service Medal.

Brig. Gen. Ty W. Neuman also serves at the White House with the National Security Council; 3,188 flight hours, including 294 combat hours; 28 years of service; Defense Superior Service Medal, Legion of Merit.

Brig. Gen. Christopher Niemi, rated command pilot with 3,100 flight hours,

30 years of service; Defense Superior Service Medal, Legion of Merit.

Brig. Gen. Brandon D. Parker, command pilot with more than 2,800 hours in bomber aircraft, 380 of those in combat, 27 years of service; Defense Superior Service Medal, Legion of Merit, Defense Meritorious Service Medal.

Brig. Gen. Michael T. Rawls served as Commandant of the Air War College at Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama, command pilot, accumulated more than 2,100 hours in 30 different aircraft; 31 years of service; Legion of Merit, Bronze Star Medal.

Brig. Gen. Patrick S. Ryder, 31 years of service; Defense Superior Service Medal, Defense Meritorious Service Medal.

Brig. Gen. David G. Shoemaker, command pilot with more than 2,000 pilot hours, flown at Operations Provide Comfort, Northern Watch, Southern Watch, Iraqi Freedom, Enduring Freedom, logging more than 100 combat sorties in an F-16; 29 years of service; Legion of Merit, Defense Meritorious Service Medal.

Brig. Gen. Rebecca J. Sonkiss currently serves as the Commander of the 618th Air Operations Center at Scott Air Force Base; 4,400 hours, including 1,377 combat hours in nine different Air Force manned and remotely piloted aircraft; 29 years of service; Defense Superior Service Medal, Legion of Merit, Bronze Star.

Brig. Gen. Claude K. Tudor, Jr., commissioned through the ROTC Program at Troy State University in Alabama, 31 years of service; Defense Superior Service Medal, Legion of Merit.

Brig. Gen. Dale R. White, 26 years of service; Legion of Merit.

Maj. Gen. David Hodne to be Lieutenant General in United States and the Deputy Commanding General Futures Concepts at U.S. Army Futures Command; 31 years of service; 11 tours in support of combat and contingency operations; Purple Heart, Defense Superior Service Medal, 4 Legions of Merit, 4 Bronze Star Medals.

Brian R. Moore to be Brigadier General in the U.S. Air Force, currently serves as the Director of Staff at Wright Patterson Air Force Base; 27 years of service; Defense Superior Service Medal, Legion of Merit, Meritorious Service Medal with three oakleaf clusters.

VADM Daniel Dwyer to be Vice Admiral in the U.S. Navy, Deputy Chief of Naval Operations for warfighting development; 35 years of service; commanded a Provincial Reconstruction Team in Afghanistan in 2008; Legion of Merit, Bronze Star.

RDML Darin K. Via to be Surgeon General of the Navy; 32 years of service, commander of Naval Medical Force Atlantic, command surgeon in U.S. Central Command; Legion of Merit, Defense Meritorious Service Medal, Meritorious Service Medal.

Lt. Gen. Scott Pleus to be lieutenant general in the Air Force and Director of the Air Force Staff; 33 years of service, command pilot with more than

2,500 flying hours, combat hours earned during Operations Desert Fox and Southern Watch; Distinguished Service Medal, Legion of Merit, Defense Meritorious Service Medal.

Brig. Gen. Dale White to be lieutenant general in the U.S. Air Force and work at the Office of the Assistant Secretary of the Air Force for Acquisition, Technology and Logistics; 26 years of service; Legion of Merit, Meritorious Service Medal.

Finally, Maj. Gen. David Harris to be lieutenant general in the Air Force and Deputy Chief of Staff Air Force Futures Headquarters; 29 years of service; 2,500 flying hours, having flown in support of Operations Deliberate Force, Allied Force, Enduring Freedom, Iraqi Freedom, Combined Joint Task Force-Horn of Africa, and Inherent Resolve; a master navigator and parachutist, receiving his commission following his graduation from the University of Alabama; 29 years of service; Distinguished Service Medal, Defense Superior Service Medal, Legion of Merit, Distinguished Flying Cross with valor device, Bronze Star Medal.

I yield the floor.

Mr. REED. Let me continue this role of honor to be promoted to brigadier general:

COL Shannon M. Lucas, 28 years of service, including Deputy Commander of the U.S. Army Criminal Division at Quantico, VA; the Legion of Merit and the Bronze Star.

COL Landis C. Maddox, currently serving as Commander Joint Munitions and Lethality, Life Cycle Management Command. He was the executive officer of the Commanding General of the U.S. Army Material Command, Redstone Arsenal, Alabama; Bronze Star Medal.

COL Kareem P. Montague, currently serving as Deputy Commander 4th Infantry Division, Fort Carson, CO; 28 years of service. He commanded the 1st Battalion, 321st Airborne Field Artillery Regiment, 18th Fires Brigade, 82nd Airborne Division; Legion of Merit, Bronze Star.

COL John P. Mountford, currently serving as Deputy Commander, Maneuver, 1st Infantry Division, Fort Riley, KS, and Operation ATLANTIC RESOLVE in Poland; 28 years of service. He was awarded the Bronze Star.

Colonel Davis C. Phillips, currently serving as Program Manager of Future Long Range Assault Aircraft Program Executive Officer Aviation in the Redstone Arsenal in Alabama; 28 years of service; Defense Superior Service Medal and Bronze Star.

COL Kenneth N. Reed, currently serving as Commander, Southwestern Division, U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, Dallas, TX; awarded Legion of Merit and Bronze Star.

COL John W. Sannes, currently serving as Deputy Chief of Staff, Combined Joint Task Force—Operation Inherent Resolve, Operation INHERENT RESOLVE in Iraq. He was the Commander of Special Operations Task Force in Afghanistan and OPERATION FREE-

DOM'S SENTINEL; Defense Superior Service Medal and the Legion of Merit.

COL Andrew O. Saslav, currently serving as Deputy Commander Operations, 82nd Airborne Division. He was the Commander 1st Brigade Combat Team, 82nd Airborne Division during OPERATION SPARTAN SHIELD in Kuwait; Legion of Merit and Bronze Star.

COL Charlone E. Stallworth, currently serving as Special Assistant for General/Flag Officer Matters, Joint Staff, Washington, DC; 29 years of service.

COL Jennifer S. Walkwawicz, currently serving as Director, Officer Personnel Management Director, U.S. Army Resources Command, Fort Knox, KY; Legion of Merit and Bronze Star holder.

COL Camilla A. White, currently serving as Chief of Staff, Office of Assistant Secretary of the Army; 29 years of service. She was Chief of Staff, Rapid Capabilities & Critical Technologies Office of the Assistant Secretary of the Army, Acquisition, Logistics and Technology, at the Redstone Arsenal in Alabama; also Program Manager for Terminal High Altitude Area Defense, Missile Defense Agency, Ground-based Midcourse Defense, Redstone Arsenal, Alabama.

COL Scott D. Wilkinson, currently serving as Deputy Commander, Support, 101st Airborne Division, Air Assault, and Operation EUROPEAN ASSURE, DETER, AND REINFORCE in Poland; 29 years of service; Legion of Merit, and Bronze Star Medal.

COL Jeremy S. Wilson, currently serving as Deputy Commander Support, 3rd Infantry Division, Fort Stewart, GA; multiple combat deployments; holder of the Legion of Merit and the Bronze Star Medal.

COL Scott C. Woodward, currently serving as Deputy Commander, U.S. Army Combined Armed Center, Fort Leavenworth, KS; 29 years of service, Operation INHERENT RESOLVE in Iraq, multiple combat deployments; Bronze Star Medal for Valor and the Legion of Merit.

COL Joseph W. Wortham, II, currently serving as Deputy Commander 1st Special Forces Command, Airborne, Fort Liberty, NC; 27 years of service. He was the Commander of 5th Special Forces Group, Airborne, U.S. Army, during OPERATION INHERENT RESOLVE in Iraq.

COL David J. Zinn, currently serving as Commander of 3d Multi-Domain Task Force, U.S. Army Pacific, Schofield Barracks, HI. He was the Commander of the 2nd Infantry Brigade Combat Team, 4th Infantry Division, during Operation ENDURING FREEDOM; Defense Superior Service Medal, Legion of Merit, Bronze Star Medal.

The President has also nominated Maj. Gen. David R. Iverson to be a lieutenant general in the U.S. Air Force and Deputy Commander, U.S. Forces Korea; Commander, Combined Air

Component Command, United Nations Command; and Commander, Combined Air Component Command, Combined Forces Command; and Commander of the Seventh Air Force Pacific Air Forces.

Major General Iverson is a rated Command Pilot with 5,400 flying hours, including 1,500 combat hours. He is the holder of the Defense Distinguished Service Medal, the Air Force Distinguished Service Medal, and other awards.

The President has nominated Lt. Gen. Kevin B. Schneider to be a general in the U.S. Air Force and Commander of Pacific Air Forces and Air Component Command for the U.S. Indo-Pacific Command; 35 years of service; awards include the Defense Distinguished Service Medal, Air Force Distinguished Service Medal, and the Defense Superior Service Medal.

The President has nominated Maj. Gen. Laura L. Lenderman to be a lieutenant general of the U.S. Air Force and Deputy Commander, Pacific Air Forces; 29 years of service; a rated Command Pilot with more than 3,000 flight hours; and a recipient of the Distinguished Service Medal and other awards.

The President had nominated Maj. Gen. Thomas L. James to be a lieutenant general in the U.S. Army while serving as Deputy Commander, U.S. Space Command. He holds advanced degrees in airpower art and science and military operational art and science from Air University, international relations from Auburn University Montgomery in Montgomery, AL, and strategic studies in the Air War College at Maxwell Air Force base in Alabama.

He serves in the aviation branch of the Army and has lived and served in Alabama multiple times, both at Fort Rucker and Maxwell Air Force Base. He deployed to Afghanistan, Iraq, and Qatar in support of contingency operations for a total of 24 months.

The President has nominated MG Leonard F. Anderson IV to be a lieutenant general in the U.S. Marine Corps while serving as Commander, Marine Forces Reserves, Commander, Marine Forces South.

Major General Anderson is nominated to serve as the Marine Corps' senior most Reserve officer. He would command and control assigned forces in order to assist and augment the Active Component with trained units and individual marines.

He has attended the TOPGUN Strike Fighter Tactics Instructor course. He has been awarded the Legion of Merit and other awards.

The President has nominated Lt. Gen. Timothy D. Haugh to the rank of general in the Air Force while serving as Director, National Security Agency/Chief, Central Security Service/Commander, and Commander, U.S. Cyber Command.

The National Security Agency/Central Security Service leads the U.S.

Government in cryptology that encompasses both signals intelligence, insights, and cyber security products and services and enables computer network operations to gain a decisive advantage for the Nation and our allies.

Lieutenant General Haugh will be dual-hatted as Director, NSA, and Commander, CYBERCOM.

At this point, unless General Haugh is rapidly confirmed, we will have a gap at one of the most important organizations in the United States: Cyber Command and the National Security Agency.

The President has nominated LTG James J. Mingus to be a general in the U.S. Army while serving as the Vice Chief of Staff of the Army.

He earned his commission in 1985 after graduating from the Army ROTC Program at Winona State University, where he earned his bachelor's degree.

He commanded the 82nd Airborne Division and has deployed multiple times to Iraq and Afghanistan in combat roles, for a total of 38 months of contingency operations away from his family.

He is the recipient of the Purple Heart.

The President has nominated GEN Randy A. George to the rank of general while serving as the Chief of Staff of the U.S. Army.

General George has commanded at the platoon, company, battalion, brigade, division, and corps levels. He has served in combat in Operation Desert Storm, Operation Iraqi Freedom, and Operation Freedom's Sentinel. He has served a total of 57 months deployed in contingency operations away from his family.

He is the recipient of a Purple Heart.

The President has nominated Gen. Eric M. Smith, U.S. Marine Corps, to be General and Commandant of the Marine Corps. General Smith would be the 39th Commandant of the Marine Corps. He is the first Acting Commandant in over 110 years.

He has led marines at every level, from platoon commander to Marine Expeditionary Force Commander.

He is also the recipient of the Purple Heart.

The President has nominated Gen. Charles Q. Brown to the rank of general while serving as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. General Brown currently serves as the Chief of Staff of the U.S. Air Force. He is a career F-16 pilot, has flown more than 3,000 hours, including more than 130 combat flight hours.

His awards include two Defense Distinguished Service Medals, the Distinguished Service Medal, the Defense Superior Service Medal, four Legions of Merit, the Bronze Star Medal, the Defense Meritorious Service Medal, three Meritorious Service Medals, the Aerial Achievement Medal, and the Joint Service Commendation Medal.

Mr. President, those are the nominees before us. I think what we have demonstrated tonight is the range of

assignments and organizations that are affected by these holds, spanning every service, every theater of operations, every sector of operations—from space to cyber, to submarines.

This is an undermining of our military readiness which is unseen before. These individuals deserve promotion. When the Presiding Officer heard Senator Kaine and I talk about their qualifications, there is no doubt they deserve promotion. And the men and women who serve beneath them—who will serve beneath them—deserve their leadership, which has been tested over time and in many cases—many cases—through combat. They should not be political pawns.

Now, before Senator TUBERVILLE, we would be talking about our nominees. They are not nominees; they are hostages.

We can't tolerate that. That is a disservice to these men and women, to our Armed Forces, to the men and women they lead. We have to do our duty.

And as Senator Kaine said, there are appropriate ways to deal with policy decisions you don't like. You can take a vote. You can't hold all of these men and women, disrupt their family lives, send a signal to the military that: So what—29 years of service, a couple Purple Hearts; I don't care.

I would hope that Senator TUBERVILLE would immediately lift these holds. And we can't do it in a piecemeal fashion. The depth, the range of the responsibilities we have talked about this evening can't be cured by: Oh, we will confirm the Commandant.

We can't leave anyone behind. And if this precedent continues and is established, it will be used again and again and again, to the detriment of the Nation.

This is the time for us to stand up—stand up for what we always say about our devotion to the military, our respect for the military; that they shouldn't be demeaned; they shouldn't be used as political tokens. It is time to stop the speeches on the Fourth of July and fill them unanimously, as we typically do, by voice on these matters.

MORNING BUSINESS

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

VOTE EXPLANATION

• Mr. DURBIN. Mr. President, I was necessarily absent for rollcall vote No. 195, adoption of the Lee amendment to limit the availability of funds for the support of Ukraine (376). Had I been present for the vote, I would have voted nay.

I was necessarily absent for rollcall vote No. 196, adoption of the Cornyn amendment to provide for an investment screening mechanism relating to covered sectors (931). Had I been present for the vote, I would have voted yea.

I was necessarily absent for rollcall vote No. 197, adoption of the Rounds amendment to amend the Defense Production Act of 1950 to include the Secretary of Agriculture on the Committee on Foreign Investment in the United States and require review of certain agricultural transactions (No. 813). Had I been present for the vote, I would have voted yea.

The Rounds-Tester amendment adds the Secretary of Agriculture to the Committee on Foreign Investment. If the committee determines that investments by foreign adversaries into agricultural real estate or a U.S. business engaged in agriculture or biotech would result in control by the foreign adversary, it requires the President to prohibit the transaction. I support this amendment's efforts to protect critical agricultural assets, but I am concerned that the amendment as drafted merits additional review to avoid unintended risks of discrimination based on national origin or citizenship. While I will support this amendment and its objectives, Senators Rounds and Tester understand my concern and have agreed to continue working with me and our colleagues to resolve these concerns before Congress sends a final bill to the President.●

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

REMEMBERING JAMES S. CROWN

• Mr. DURBIN. Mr. President, I recently traveled to Vilnius, Lithuania, for this year's NATO Summit. It was a fitting location; Lithuania has had an extraordinary journey breaking free from the tyranny of the Soviet Union and becoming a thriving democracy. The visit also had a deep significance for me personally. One hundred and twelve years ago, my mother came to the United States from Lithuania. Although she never saw her homeland again, she always carried it in her heart.

Just a few decades before my mother arrived in the United States, a Lithuanian Jewish couple, Ida and Arie Krinsky, immigrated to the United States. They settled in Chicago, where Arie toiled in a sweatshop to make a living and support his wife and seven children. Eventually, the Krinsky family changed their surname to Crown. Three of the Crown sons, Henry and his brothers Irving and Sol, established a sand and gravel company, the Material Service Corporation, that would grow into a business empire before merging with General Dynamics.

When Henry Crown passed away in 1990, his obituary in the New York Times referred to him as "the billionaire whose life exemplified the Horatio Alger rags-to-riches story of American industrialists." It is a legacy that has been preserved and expanded by his children. To this day, the Crown family