

one way to think about any issue like immigration or like Ukraine, when that is not actually the way this is supposed to work.

The Founders of this country did not create this country thinking we would agree with each other. It was the opposite. They knew what a society was in which everybody agreed with each other. That was a society where there was a tyrant in charge to tell you what to think and to tell you what to believe, like Putin's Russia, like Xi's China, like Iran, like North Korea. They knew exactly what those places were like. They knew that humans had lots of differences, experiences, and attitudes, but they knew that, in a society that was run by a tyrant, you weren't free to express those.

Here, they thought the genius of what they were setting up would be a result of the disagreements we have, not of the agreements we have. They thought, out of those disagreements, like on this Senate floor, we would create more imaginative and more durable results than any King or tyrant could come up with on their own. That was the idea.

I would say to the pages who are here: This may sound like some big philosophical thing, but I will bet the same thing is true for you. The worst decisions I make are the decisions I make at home, alone in my basement, not consulting with someone else's point of view, not consulting with someone else's experience or perspective. That is why there are 100 Members of the Senate—2 from every State. It is so that we can have that disagreement and we can have that discussion, and that is why people want to come to this country. It is because they know how rare that is in human societies, and that is why Ukraine is leading this fight on behalf of the rest of us and why they will never give up.

I will say again that President Zelenskyy was clear when he came here. He said: With your help, we can win. Without your help, we will lose. But even if you don't help us, we are not going to give up because the Ukrainian people love freedom and we are going to continue to fight for freedom.

Mr. President, I mentioned at the beginning of this speech that I was lifting my hold on the FAA because I felt like, even though I am deeply disappointed that we haven't passed this Ukraine funding and we haven't come yet to an agreement, I think we have made progress in the negotiations.

I had the chance to consult with both the majority leader and the Republican leader. I know they have put out a joint statement tonight saying that we had made progress and saying that they were committed to having the Senate move quickly and, I hope, decisively in January on this issue. I think that is the best we are going to get out of this tonight.

I hope it gives us a chance over the next few weeks for all of us to consider

the example of people who have come before us and who have served in this Chamber, who themselves had no monopoly on wisdom—people who were fallible but who took a risk on the future and understood that nobody else can play the role the United States of America can play. That was true on the way into World War II. That was true on the way out of World War II. And it is just as true today.

I have found it amazing when we have been in the company of President Zelenskyy because you feel like you are in the company of the Ukrainian people, and you feel like you are in the company of the Ukrainian soldiers, for the reasons that I said earlier about why he is in this fight. But it is an amazing thing about human events that, 3 years ago, he was a television star of some kind or other, and, today, he is the President of a country that has been attacked by a tyrant, invaded by a tyrant.

He is not a tall guy. He is not a strong guy. And the literal weight of the world is on his shoulders. And the literal weight of the world is on the Ukrainian people's shoulders, and it is on their military's shoulders.

We can help lift that burden from them. We can't take that burden away from them, nor should we. They are the ones who are fighting on the frontlines, and they will be. But we should help lift that burden from them because their burden is our burden and because nobody else on this planet is situated in the same way as the United States, has the same moral responsibility that we have, and has the capability to lend the kind of support we can lend. Because the Ukrainian people have showed up and done their job, it is time for us to show up and do our job.

In January, let's tell Vladimir Putin that he lost—he lost—the battle on this battlefield, and that he is going to lose the battle in Ukraine as well.

I just want to thank the floor staff tonight for enduring this and the pages for enduring this. I want to thank you for all of your work during this entire year.

I wish everybody a happy holiday.

I yield the floor.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BENNET). Without objection, it is so ordered.

NATIONAL SECURITY

Mr. SCHUMER. Mr. President, you, the Senator from Colorado, have voiced increased optimism in getting a supplemental done, and I agree with the Senator from Colorado. This won't be easy, but we will keep working because this is so important to our country and to the world.

I read a statement that Senator MCCONNELL and I issued a few hours ago, a joint statement regarding supplemental national security legislation:

Bipartisan border security negotiations are essential to the Senate's efforts to address critical national security priorities. Our colleagues are making encouraging progress on this front.

Challenging issues remain, but we are committed to addressing needs at the southern border and to helping allies and partners confront serious threats in Israel, Ukraine and the Indo-Pacific. The Senate will not let these national security challenges go unanswered.

As negotiators work through remaining issues, it is our hope that their efforts will allow the Senate to take swift action on the national security supplemental early in the new year.

In the time remaining this year, Senate and administration negotiators will continue to work in good faith toward finalizing their agreement.

Now I will move to pass the extension of the reauthorizing of the FAA. It is critical we extend this funding as so many Americans travel for the holidays. It is going to give us more time for a long-term funding measure in the new year, so passing FAA funding tonight is good news.

AIRPORT AND AIRWAY EXTENSION ACT OF 2023, PART II

Mr. SCHUMER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the immediate consideration of H.R. 6503, which was received from the House.

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

The clerk will report the bill by title.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (H.R. 6503) to amend title 49, United States Code, to extend authorizations for the airport improvement program, to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to extend the funding and expenditure authority of the Airport and Airway Trust Fund, and for other purposes.

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

Mr. SCHUMER. I ask unanimous consent that the bill be considered read a third time and passed and the motion to reconsider be considered made and laid upon the table.

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

The bill (H.R. 6503) was ordered to a third reading, was read the third time, and passed.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

EXECUTIVE CALENDAR

Mr. SCHUMER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to executive session to consider the following nomination: Calendar No. 445, John David Russell, of Oklahoma, to be United States District Judge for the Northern District of

Oklahoma; that the cloture motion be withdrawn and the Senate vote on the nomination without intervening action or debate; that the motion to reconsider be considered made and laid upon the table; that the President be immediately notified of the Senate's action and the Senate resume legislative session.

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

The clerk will report the nomination.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read nomination of John David Russell, of Oklahoma, to be United States District Judge for the Northern District of Oklahoma.

Thereupon, the Senate proceeded to consider the nomination.

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

The nomination was confirmed.

LEGISLATIVE SESSION

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

UNANIMOUS CONSENT AGREEMENT

Mr. SCHUMER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the cloture motions filed during yesterday and today's sessions ripen at 5:30 p.m., Monday, January 8, 2024, and that the nominations remain in status quo notwithstanding the provisions of rule XXXI, paragraph 6, of the Standing Rules of the Senate.

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

Mr. SCHUMER. Mr. President, before we adjourn, let me inform Senators that we have no more votes until we return in January. We are going to be in session tomorrow to do house-keeping business, but there are no more votes scheduled until January.

ORDERS FOR WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 20, 2023

Mr. SCHUMER. I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate completes its business today, it stand adjourned until 12 noon on Wednesday, December 20; that following the prayer and the pledge, the morning hour be deemed expired, the Journal of proceedings be approved to date, the time for the two leaders be reserved for their use later in the day, and the Senate be in a period of morning business for debate only, with Senators permitted to speak therein for up to 10 minutes each; further, that following leader remarks, the Senate stand in recess subject to the call of the Chair.

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

ADJOURNMENT UNTIL TOMORROW

Mr. SCHUMER. Mr. President, if there is no further business to come be-

fore the Senate, I ask that it stand adjourned under the previous order.

There being no objection, the Senate, at 9:38 p.m., adjourned until Wednesday, December 20, 2023, at 12 noon.

CONFIRMATIONS

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate December 19, 2023:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

ELIZABETH H. RICHARD, OF VIRGINIA, A CAREER MEMBER OF THE SENIOR FOREIGN SERVICE, CLASS OF CAREER MINISTER, TO BE COORDINATOR FOR COUNTERTERRORISM, WITH THE RANK AND STATUS OF AMBASSADOR AT LARGE.

IN THE AIR FORCE

THE FOLLOWING NAMED OFFICER FOR APPOINTMENT IN THE UNITED STATES AIR FORCE TO THE GRADE INDICATED WHILE ASSIGNED TO A POSITION OF IMPORTANCE AND RESPONSIBILITY UNDER TITLE 10, U.S.C., SECTION 601:

To be general

LT. GEN. KEVIN B. SCHNEIDER

THE FOLLOWING NAMED OFFICER FOR APPOINTMENT IN THE UNITED STATES AIR FORCE TO THE GRADE INDICATED WHILE ASSIGNED TO A POSITION OF IMPORTANCE AND RESPONSIBILITY UNDER TITLE 10, U.S.C., SECTION 601:

To be general

GEN. KENNETH S. WILSBACH

IN THE NAVY

THE FOLLOWING NAMED OFFICER FOR APPOINTMENT IN THE UNITED STATES NAVY TO THE GRADE INDICATED WHILE ASSIGNED TO A POSITION OF IMPORTANCE AND RESPONSIBILITY UNDER TITLE 10, U.S.C., SECTION 601, AND TITLE 50, U.S.C., SECTION 2511:

To be admiral

VICE ADM. WILLIAM J. HOUSTON

IN THE AIR FORCE

THE FOLLOWING NAMED OFFICER FOR APPOINTMENT IN THE UNITED STATES AIR FORCE TO THE GRADE INDICATED WHILE ASSIGNED TO A POSITION OF IMPORTANCE AND RESPONSIBILITY UNDER TITLE 10, U.S.C., SECTION 601:

To be general

LT. GEN. GREGORY M. GUILLOT

THE FOLLOWING NAMED OFFICER FOR APPOINTMENT IN THE UNITED STATES AIR FORCE TO THE GRADE INDICATED WHILE ASSIGNED TO A POSITION OF IMPORTANCE AND RESPONSIBILITY UNDER TITLE 10, U.S.C., SECTION 601:

To be general

LT. GEN. TIMOTHY D. HAUGH

IN THE ARMY

THE FOLLOWING NAMED OFFICER FOR APPOINTMENT AS VICE CHIEF OF STAFF OF THE ARMY AND APPOINTMENT IN THE UNITED STATES ARMY TO THE GRADE INDICATED WHILE ASSIGNED TO A POSITION OF IMPORTANCE AND RESPONSIBILITY UNDER TITLE 10, U.S.C., SECTIONS 601 AND 7034:

To be general

LT. GEN. JAMES J. MINGUS

IN THE SPACE FORCE

THE FOLLOWING NAMED OFFICER FOR APPOINTMENT IN THE UNITED STATES SPACE FORCE TO THE GRADE INDICATED WHILE ASSIGNED TO A POSITION OF IMPORTANCE AND RESPONSIBILITY UNDER TITLE 10, U.S.C., SECTION 601:

To be general

LT. GEN. MICHAEL A. GUETLEIN

THE FOLLOWING NAMED OFFICER FOR APPOINTMENT IN THE UNITED STATES SPACE FORCE TO THE GRADE INDICATED WHILE ASSIGNED TO A POSITION OF IMPORTANCE AND RESPONSIBILITY UNDER TITLE 10, U.S.C., SECTION 601:

To be general

LT. GEN. STEPHEN N. WHITING

IN THE NAVY

THE FOLLOWING NAMED OFFICER FOR APPOINTMENT AS VICE CHIEF OF NAVAL OPERATIONS AND APPOINTMENT IN THE UNITED STATES NAVY TO THE GRADE INDICATED WHILE ASSIGNED TO A POSITION OF IMPORTANCE AND RESPONSIBILITY UNDER TITLE 10, U.S.C., SECTIONS 601 AND 8035:

To be admiral

VICE ADM. JAMES W. KILBY

IN THE AIR FORCE

THE FOLLOWING NAMED OFFICER FOR APPOINTMENT AS VICE CHIEF OF STAFF OF THE AIR FORCE AND AP-

POINTMENT IN THE UNITED STATES AIR FORCE TO THE GRADE INDICATED WHILE ASSIGNED TO A POSITION OF IMPORTANCE AND RESPONSIBILITY UNDER TITLE 10, U.S.C., SECTIONS 601 AND 9034:

To be general

LT. GEN. JAMES C. SLIFE

IN THE NAVY

THE FOLLOWING NAMED OFFICER FOR APPOINTMENT IN THE UNITED STATES NAVY TO THE GRADE INDICATED WHILE ASSIGNED TO A POSITION OF IMPORTANCE AND RESPONSIBILITY UNDER TITLE 10, U.S.C., SECTION 601:

To be admiral

VICE ADM. STEPHEN T. KOEHLER

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

CHRISTOPHER CHARLES FONZONE, OF PENNSYLVANIA, TO BE AN ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL.

THE JUDICIARY

SARA E. HILL, OF OKLAHOMA, TO BE UNITED STATES DISTRICT JUDGE FOR THE NORTHERN DISTRICT OF OKLAHOMA.

JOHN DAVID RUSSELL, OF OKLAHOMA, TO BE UNITED STATES DISTRICT JUDGE FOR THE NORTHERN DISTRICT OF OKLAHOMA.

IN THE NAVY

THE FOLLOWING NAMED OFFICERS FOR APPOINTMENT IN THE UNITED STATES NAVY TO THE GRADE INDICATED UNDER TITLE 10, U.S.C., SECTION 624:

To be rear admiral (lower half)

CAPT. ERIC J. ANDUZE

THE FOLLOWING NAMED OFFICER FOR APPOINTMENT IN THE UNITED STATES NAVY TO THE GRADE INDICATED WHILE ASSIGNED TO A POSITION OF IMPORTANCE AND RESPONSIBILITY UNDER TITLE 10, U.S.C., SECTION 601:

To be vice admiral

REAR ADM. JOHN B. SKILLMAN

IN THE ARMY

THE FOLLOWING NAMED ARMY NATIONAL GUARD OF THE UNITED STATES OFFICER FOR APPOINTMENT IN THE RESERVE OF THE ARMY IN THE GRADE INDICATED UNDER TITLE 10, U.S.C., SECTIONS 12203 AND 12211:

To be brigadier general

COL. ERIK A. FESSENDEN

THE FOLLOWING NAMED OFFICER FOR APPOINTMENT IN THE UNITED STATES ARMY TO THE GRADE INDICATED WHILE ASSIGNED TO A POSITION OF IMPORTANCE AND RESPONSIBILITY UNDER TITLE 10, U.S.C., SECTION 601:

To be lieutenant general

MAJ. GEN. CHRISTOPHER C. LANEVE

IN THE AIR FORCE

AIR FORCE NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH MATTHEW T. BALLANCO AND ENDING WITH JASON L. TUCKER, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON JULY 25, 2023.

AIR FORCE NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH ADAM D. AASEN AND ENDING WITH SARAH J. ZIMMERMAN, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON JULY 25, 2023.

AIR FORCE NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH AARON C. BAUM AND ENDING WITH MARY C. YELNICKER, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON JULY 25, 2023.

AIR FORCE NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH MICHAEL A. ARGUELLO AND ENDING WITH MICHAEL D. ZOLLARS, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON JULY 25, 2023.

AIR FORCE NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH JOSH R. ALDRED AND ENDING WITH RICHARD W. ZEIGLER, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON JULY 25, 2023.

AIR FORCE NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH WILLIAM JOHN ACKMAN AND ENDING WITH TODD M. ZIELINSKI, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON JULY 25, 2023.

AIR FORCE NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH SAUNYA N. BRIGHT AND ENDING WITH ROBBIE L. WHEELER, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON OCTOBER 19, 2023.

AIR FORCE NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH KASUMI ERICA ANDERSON AND ENDING WITH ESTHER K. ZVOL, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON OCTOBER 19, 2023.

AIR FORCE NOMINATION OF JAYMI F. JEFFERY, TO BE MAJOR.

AIR FORCE NOMINATION OF CHRISTOPHER M. LUTZ, TO BE COLONEL.

AIR FORCE NOMINATION OF DANIEL E. FINKELSTEIN, TO BE COLONEL.

IN THE ARMY

ARMY NOMINATION OF MICHAEL W. LAWSON, TO BE COLONEL.