

Mr. Hegseth complained in our hearing that the military was lowering its standards for the men and women who serve in uniform. The only standards being lowered here are the standards for the Secretary of Defense if Mr. Hegseth is confirmed. President Trump is, in effect, dumbing down the Department of Defense, and it threatens to do great damage to that powerfully important institution.

Senator MURKOWSKI goes onto say:

Above all, I believe that character is the defining trait required of the Secretary of Defense, and must be prioritized without compromise. The leader of the Department of Defense must demonstrate and model the standards of behavior and character we expect of all servicemembers, and Mr. Hegseth's nomination to the role poses significant concerns that I cannot overlook. Given the global security environment we're operating in, it is critical that we confirm a Secretary of Defense, however, I regret that I am unable to support Mr. Hegseth.

What a powerfully damning statement. Not damning, necessarily, Mr. Hegseth as a human being. I respect his service. I said at the hearing that I was grateful and respectful of his service to our Nation, including leading troops in combat and advocating for veterans. But these concerns about his personal background and about his lack of experience negate that respect for his service as a Secretary of Defense—as a Secretary of Defense.

We are not choosing him to be a colonel to be promoted. We are choosing him to lead the entire U.S. military, to make decisions that will be a matter of life and death.

I was moved, as well, by the statements made by our colleague Senator COLLINS very much along the same lines. And I want to repeat some of what she said, again, in the hope that our colleagues will listen to both of them. She said, as an expert, if I may say, on the global challenges that this country faces now:

[T]he Secretary is going to be facing a number of incredibly complex problems that are going to require highly skilled management ability. I am concerned that Mr. Hegseth does not have the management experience and background that he will need in order to tackle these difficulties.

I am also concerned about multiple statements, including some in the months just before he was nominated, that Mr. Hegseth made about women serving in the military. He and I had a candid conversation in December about his past statements and apparently evolving views. I am not convinced that his position on women serving in combat roles has changed.

That is, in some ways, the nub of the problem: what he has said, how he has failed in past management positions, how he lacks that credibility as a manager and a leader.

Senator COLLINS continues:

Women compromise nearly 18 percent of our Active-Duty military. They continue to make critical and valuable contributions to our national defense. I have long advocated that women who wish to serve in and can meet the rigorous standards of combat roles should be able to do so, and numerous women have proved they can accomplish this

difficult feat. Currently, thousands of women are serving in combat roles, and many others serve in noncombat functions. Their service is essential to the success of our military. Mr. Hegseth also appears to lack a sufficient appreciation for some of the policies that the military is required to follow because they are codified in the laws of the United States of America. While I understand his point on the importance of up-to-date and workable rules of engagement, our prohibitions against torture come from American laws and treaties ratified by the United States, including the Geneva Conventions. Therefore, I will vote against the nomination.

Mr. Hegseth has demeaned and dismissed the importance of the Geneva Conventions. In fact, he has berated the lawyers in the Department of Defense who set standards and guidelines for what can be done.

I will never forget talking to our former colleague—our great colleague, a friend and mentor to me—John McCain, about why he opposed torture and waterboarding—that kind of physical abuse—and why he believed that these laws have to be followed by our military, not just as a matter of humanity but as effective military strategy. Torturing to gain information often produces false information, but it also reduces the quality of our military performance.

Yet Mr. Hegseth seems to dismiss those ideas about the Geneva Conventions, about standards for military conduct, as categorically as he does many other of the standards that should apply.

I hope my colleagues will listen to Senator MURKOWSKI and Senator COLLINS because, in their statements, they say more effectively than I am in this lengthier talk on the floor how important a vote against Mr. Hegseth is to the future of our national defense.

Much has been written about him. I urge my colleagues to review an article that appeared in *The New Yorker*—“Pete Hegseth's Secret History”—by Jane Mayer, which talks about some of these instances, not anonymous smears, as he said so many of them were, but a sourced and substantiated account of the kinds of misconduct that were detailed in a whistleblower report and other documents—again, not an anonymous smear but specific and explicit facts that were claimed. You don't have eyewitness proof in sworn testimony before the Armed Services Committee, but this report is powerful in what it shows.

I hope that my colleagues, in the hours that we have left before we will vote again on Mr. Hegseth's nomination, will reconsider, perhaps, their vote earlier today; that they will recognize they will be responsible if things go wrong, and we hope to God always that nothing goes wrong, especially all of us who have family members who have served—mine in the U.S. Marine Corps. My oldest son is a combat veteran, and my second son, Michael, is a Navy SEAL.

The responsibility of the Secretary of Defense to order men and women into

harm's way is a truly awesome responsibility. Mr. Hegseth is not the person to have that responsibility, and I hope my colleagues will recognize that fact and vote against his nomination.

I yield the floor.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. HUSTED). The clerk will call the roll.

The senior assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

LEGISLATIVE SESSION

Mr. THUNE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to resume legislative session.

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

CONGRATULATING THE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY IN ST. LOUIS BEARS WOMEN'S SOCCER TEAM FOR WINNING THE 2024 NCAA DIVISION III WOMEN'S SOCCER CHAMPIONSHIP

Mr. THUNE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of S. Res. 34, which is at the desk.

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

The senior assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

A resolution (S. Res. 34) congratulating the Washington University in St. Louis Bears women's soccer team for winning the 2024 NCAA Division III Women's Soccer Championship.

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

Mr. THUNE. Mr. President, 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. 34) was agreed to.

The preamble was agreed to.

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

MORNING BUSINESS

REMEMBERING DANIEL LEVIN

Mr. DURBIN. Mr. President, after the Great Fire destroyed much of central London in 1666, the city was rebuilt with even grander and stronger buildings than before. The most majestic building of all in the new London was St. Paul's Cathedral, designed by the great architect Sir Christopher Wren. There is no monument to Wren. But on

the dome of St. Paul's, written in Latin, is an inscription. It says: "If you seek his memorial—look around you."

Daniel Levin was a visionary real estate developer, civic leader, and generous philanthropist who loved Chicago, its neighborhoods, and its people. Sadly, he died earlier this month.

There is no monument to Dan Levin, either. But if you want to see what he meant to Chicago—and what Chicago meant to him—just look around our great city.

Over half a century, Dan Levin's real estate development and management company, the Habitat Company, built structures that redefined Chicago's skyline.

Drive into Chicago on the Kennedy Expressway and you will see the Presidential Towers, four soaring skyscrapers of upscale condos and apartments in the West Loop.

Take a cruise along the Chicago River and you will pass the East Bank Club, one of the finest health and fitness clubs anywhere in America.

Follow the river to where it meets Lake Michigan and you will come to Cityfront Plaza, another tower of apartments and condos surrounded by a bucolic green oasis of a park.

He created other landmark buildings including South Commons, Columbus Plaza, ONE333, and many others.

But Dan Levin didn't build and manage only luxury properties. His faith in Chicago's people and their extraordinary potential led to Habitat's creation of nearly 25,000 rental housing units for people of all incomes.

His "North Star," his family says, was his belief that all people deserve to live in a home and a neighborhood they can be proud of.

He described his business philosophy this way: "No project is only an investment in real estate. It is an investment in the future of the community and the lives of the people who live and work there."

His confidence and his love for Chicago led him to take risks and to invest in parts of the city that others overlooked. And time after time, those risks paid off. His buildings attracted other new investments that transformed once blighted areas into vibrant neighborhoods.

Dan had a rare gift to see potential where others saw only problems. The Presidential Towers, for example, stand on what was once Chicago's Skid Row. The East Bank Club was built on the site of an abandoned railroad yard. In a once-gritty neighborhood that many Chicagoans feared to drive through even during the day, Dan created a world-class fitness club and an outstanding restaurant, where he loved to host Seders every Passover. You never knew who you would see at the East Bank Club. You might find yourself in a Pilates class with Oprah when she was member. Years ago, Dan became friends with a young law professor from the University of Chicago who used to come to the club to play

basketball. That young hoopster-professor went on to become President of the United States, Barack Obama.

Dan Levin was a "social entrepreneur" decades before anyone had ever heard that term. He believed that he could make money and do good, and that is exactly what he did for 50 years. He almost certainly would have made more money if he had concentrated exclusively on upscale buildings. But Dan Levin wasn't in business to make a killing; he wanted to make communities.

Probably his biggest professional challenge came in 1987 when a Federal judge appointed the Habitat Company to serve as a receiver for the then-bankrupt and badly mismanaged Chicago Housing Authority. The job was massive: Manage all of Chicago's public housing, except senior housing, and rehab or replace thousands of dilapidated housing units. The receivership lasted 23 years—23 years. By the time it ended, hundreds of blighted apartment buildings across the city had been torn down, including highrises that had become towers of poverty. With Dan as chairman and Valerie Jarrett as the company's CEO, Habitat replaced the highrises with townhouses, and replaced concrete with green spaces. All told, the company built or rehabbed 4,000 units of public housing. Many developers might have been intimidated by such a massive undertaking. But Dan Levin saw it as a civic responsibility and a chance to give back to a city that had given him so much.

You see, Dan wasn't born in Chicago. He was born and grew up in Detroit, the grandson of Jewish Ukrainian immigrants. His father was a judge. One of his brothers became a Federal judge, and another became a justice on the Michigan Supreme Court. And two of his cousins, whom he thought of almost like his brothers, became distinguished Members of Congress, Senator Carl Levin and Representative Sander Levin.

Dan assumed he would follow in the family footsteps. He graduated from the University of Chicago law school and went to work as legal counsel for a Detroit real estate developer that constructed many buildings and homes designed by Mies van der Rohe, one of the giants of 20th century architecture. In 1960, the founder of that company, Dan's mentor, died in a plane crash. Dan stepped in to finish the project his boss had been overseeing, another van der Rohe building—and he discovered that he loved creating buildings. So he left the law and became a developer. A short time later, he moved to Chicago, the birthplace of skyscrapers and other architectural marvels. His buildings now stand shoulder to shoulder with some of the great architecture of the 20th and 21st centuries.

In addition to his work, Dan loved classical music. He was a devoted supporter and board member of WFMT, Chicago's classical music station. He

was also a trustee of WTTW Public Television, vice chairman of the Environmental Law and Policy Center, and a generous supporter of the Reconstructionist Rabbinical College and the Harris School of Public Policy at his alma mater, the University of Illinois.

He was kind, modest, and generous with a happy spirit and a twinkle in his eye. He was equally at ease speaking with Uber drivers as with Presidents.

He was devoted to his family: his son Josh Levin; his daughters Jil Deheeger and Betsy Bernardaud; and their spouses; his 11 grandchildren and 2 great-grandchildren; and his stepchildren Alyssa Rapp and Jeffrey Rapp. Most of all, he adored his wife and partner, former Ambassador Fay Hartog-Levin. The only time they were separated was when Fay served as U.S. Ambassador to the Netherlands, and even then, Dan crossed the ocean many times to be by her side.

Loretta and I offer our deep condolences to Fay and all of Dan's family in this sad time.

Daniel Levin was a good man, a visionary leader, and a true mensch. Loretta and I and the people of Chicago will miss him. But, as I said, if we want to see his legacy, all we have to do is look around. We are a better city because Dan Levin lived among us.

U.S. SENATE COMMITTEE ON BANKING, HOUSING, AND URBAN AFFAIRS RULES OF PROCEDURE

Mr. SCOTT of South Carolina. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have the following printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

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

RULES OF PROCEDURE FOR THE COMMITTEE ON BANKING, HOUSING, AND URBAN AFFAIRS

[Amended February 11, 2021]

RULE 1.—REGULAR MEETING DATE FOR COMMITTEE

The regular meeting day for the Committee to transact its business shall be the last Tuesday in each month that the Senate is in Session; except that if the Committee has met at any time during the month prior to the last Tuesday of the month, the regular meeting of the Committee may be canceled at the discretion of the Chairman.

RULE 2.—COMMITTEE

[a] Investigations.—No investigation shall be initiated by the Committee unless the Senate, or the full Committee, or the Chairman and Ranking Member have specifically authorized such investigation.

[b] Hearings.—No hearing of the Committee shall be scheduled outside the District of Columbia except by agreement between the Chairman of the Committee and the Ranking Member of the Committee or by a majority vote of the Committee.

[c] Confidential testimony.—No confidential testimony taken or confidential material presented at an executive session of the Committee or any report of the proceedings of such executive session shall be made public either in whole or in part or by way of summary, unless specifically authorized by the Chairman of the Committee and the Ranking Member of the Committee or by a majority vote of the Committee.