

a missile attack on January 24, 2015, in Mariupol, Ukraine, that indiscriminately targeted civilians, resulting in the death of at least 30 people and injuring many more;

Whereas intelligence assessments have concluded Vladimir Putin and his regime have destroyed the rule of law in the Russian Federation and engaged in countless crimes against humanity, including ordering the poisoning of Alexi Navalny, the poisoning of Sergei and Yulia Skripal, and the false imprisonment and torture ultimately leading to the death of Sergei Magnitsky;

Whereas armed forces of the Russian Federation, under the leadership of President Vladimir Putin and the Security Council of the Russian Federation, initiated an unprovoked war against Ukraine based on false security claims and threats in February 2022;

Whereas President Vladimir Putin has allegedly committed war crimes in his reckless quest to decimate Ukraine and the people of Ukraine, including civilians, children, and women;

Whereas the people of the Russian Federation are suffering economic hardship from global sanctions as a direct result of President Vladimir Putin's erratic, illogical, and irrational actions;

Whereas the United States Government seeks the most productive relationship possible with the people of the Russian Federation for the sake of their own liberty and prosperity; and

Whereas the United States Government should use its voice, vote, and influence to pursue war crimes allegations against Vladimir Putin and his military commanders in international institutions of which it is a member and encourage other allies and partners to do the same: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved*, That it is the sense of the Senate that—

(1) the economic relationship between the United States and the Russian Federation should be considered to return to the level of that relationship before the invasion of Ukraine by the Russian Federation that began on February 24, 2022, only when—

(A) the Armed Forces of the Russian Federation and proxies of such forces withdraw from all territory of Ukraine such forces or proxies have occupied since February 24, 2022, and that withdrawal is verified by a supervision mission of the United Nations in Ukraine;

(B) the Government of the Russian Federation has ceased engaging in cyberattacks and disseminating anti-Ukraine, pro-Russian Federation propaganda and has committed to not engaging in such attacks or disseminating such propaganda in the future; and

(C) a free and fair election is held in the Russian Federation, as determined by the Secretary of State;

(2) as soon as possible after the date of agreement to this resolution—

(A) the President should direct the United States Representative to the United Nations to use the voice, vote, and influence of the United States to immediately promote the establishment of an international justice mechanism for alleged war crimes and other alleged crimes of the Russian Federation against Ukraine and to prosecute the perpetrators of such crimes committed during the period of conflict in Ukraine;

(B) in the event that the United Nations is unable or unwilling to establish a mechanism described in subparagraph (A), the President should convene and convene the world's democracies for the purposes of establishing a regional or international justice mechanism for crimes described in that subparagraph;

(C) in working with other countries to establish such a regional or international jus-

tice mechanism, the United States should assist all partners in that effort to develop judicial procedures that enable the fair and open prosecution of persons accused of perpetrating such crimes;

(D) the United States should encourage, support, and collect any and all information that can be supplied to a justice mechanism described in subparagraph (A) or (B) for use as evidence to support the indictment and trial of any persons accused of crimes described in subparagraph (A), including the crime of aggression in Ukraine, as an immediate priority; and

(E) the United States should urge all other interested countries to apprehend and deliver into the custody of a justice mechanism described in subparagraph (A) or (B) persons indicted for crimes described in subparagraph (A) and urge all interested countries to provide any and all data and information pertaining to such crimes to that mechanism; and

(3) when the economic relationship between the United States and the Russian Federation returns to the level of that relationship before the invasion of Ukraine by the Russian Federation, as described in paragraph (1)—

(A) the President should organize and lead a presidential summit on Eastern European peace and security with the head of the successor government of the Russian Federation, which should include topics such as arms control and existing international fora such as the Collective Security Treaty Organization, the European Union, the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, the Minsk Group, and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization;

(B) the Secretary of State should—

(i) begin a formal, consultative process with the United Nations Secretary General and all member countries of the United Nations to reimagine the United Nations Security Council; and

(ii) initiate talks with all Western allies regarding the reconstruction of Ukraine and humanitarian support to those affected by the war waged by President Vladimir Putin;

(C) the Senate should establish a special, interdisciplinary commission to make recommendations for the reimagination of a post-war, long-term collective security strategy for Europe, which includes consideration of the security concerns of Ukraine, the Russian Federation, and other non-treaty partners; and

(D) the United States Government should call on the successor government of the Russian Federation to release all political prisoners held under the authority of the Russian Federation.

#### AUTHORITY FOR COMMITTEES TO MEET

Mr. SCHUMER. Mr. President, I have one request for committees to meet during today's session of the Senate. They have the approval of the Majority and Minority Leaders.

Pursuant to rule XXVI, paragraph 5(a), of the Standing Rules of the Senate, the following committees are authorized to meet during today's session of the Senate:

#### COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

The Committee on the Judiciary is authorized to meet during the session of the Senate on Monday, March 28, 2022, at 3 p.m., to conduct an executive business meeting.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Ohio.

#### UKRAINE

Mr. PORTMAN. Mr. President, I come to the floor, again today, to stand in solidarity with the people of Ukraine. This is the seventh week in a row I have come out here to talk about the atrocities being committed by Russia and what more the United States and this Congress can do to support Ukraine in its fight for survival.

It has now been more than a month since Russia's assault on our ally Ukraine, an independent sovereign democracy, a democracy that just wants to live in peace.

Earlier today, Russia continued its cowardly and brutal bombing attacks on civilian targets in Ukraine. Some civilians, like those trapped in and surrounding Mariupol, are dying due to a lack of access to water and food.

Russia continues its assault on humanitarian corridors which are designed to allow safe passage for civilians fleeing the conflict and for life-saving humanitarian aid to come in to those who can't get out.

You may recall the theater in Mariupol, where people were taking refuge in the basement and using it as a bomb shelter. The words "children" in Russian were emblazed with huge letters clear enough to see from the sky so that it would not be a target, but it was.

We just learned Friday that roughly 300 Ukrainian civilians were killed in that basement when the theater was hit by Russian bombs about a week ago—mostly women and children.

Vladimir Putin's war has resulted in death and destruction not seen in Europe since World War II. Thousands of civilians have been killed. Roughly, 10 million people have been displaced from their homes, and 3.6 million refugees, almost all women and children and the elderly, have fled the country they love, while men have stayed behind to fight the invaders.

In my recent visit to the Polish-Ukrainian border with three colleagues, I talked to dozens of refugees. Through their tears, they spoke of their apartments or houses that were destroyed. They spoke about their friends or family members who were injured or even killed. They talked about the pain of being separated from their husbands or fathers or brothers who had stayed behind to fight, not knowing their fate.

They pleaded for us to do more—to stop the missiles, stop the bombs, and they all said they wanted to return to their homeland as soon as they possibly could.

President Biden is just back from the region where he, too, met with refugees, and I am glad he went. He was clearly moved by what he saw and heard. I thought his speech in Poland Saturday was a powerful indictment of Russia's invasion and a strong statement of support for Ukraine, as well as a reminder that this battle in Ukraine is about the larger issue of freedom and democracy versus tyranny and authoritarianism.

Unfortunately, a compelling speech was overshadowed by an off-the-cuff remark at the end, saying of Putin that “this man cannot stay in power.”

This was read as supporting regime change in Russia. There is no question in my mind that the world would be a better place and a safer place without Vladimir Putin as President of Russia, but this remark unfortunately played into Russia’s propaganda efforts from the start, that NATO, Ukraine, and NATO support of Ukraine are all threats to Russia and attempts to overthrow the Russian Government.

None of that is true, of course. All Ukraine wants to do is live in peace with its neighbor. NATO is a purely defensive pact, not offensive in any respect—simply countries pledging to defend one another from attacks. Regime change is neither our policy in this instance or our broader strategic objective.

I can imagine that having met with the refugees and having heard their heartbreakingly stories that the President was expressing his frustration. I get it. But the President’s words and the reaction to them reminds us that this is a true national security crisis, and in this sensitive moment, it requires the United States to speak with clarity and to speak, wherever possible, in unity with our allies in NATO and beyond.

Unfortunately, that did not always happen on this trip, whether it was the President talking about our response to the use of chemical weapons, U.S. troops who may end up in Ukraine, or regime change.

But tonight I want to focus on another positive aspect of the President’s trip that relates to sanctions and offer a few ideas of where we go from here.

With regard to our sanctions on Russia, I believe there are a number of additional steps we can and should take. I was glad to hear on March 24 that the Treasury Department issued sanctions against dozens of defense companies, 328 members of the duma legislative body, and the chief executive of SberBank. Gold-related transactions involving Russia may be sanctionable by U.S. authorities, the Treasury Department has also said in a statement. We should do that.

But we should also expand full blocking sanctions to all Russian banks, revoking international tax and trade agreements that give Russia privileges not appropriate for a pariah country; seizing, not just freezing, assets from Kremlin supporters; keeping oligarchs from laundering money through expensive art and more.

I have introduced legislation on some of these ideas. I have advocated for all of them here on the floor of the Senate and elsewhere, and I will continue to do so, but tonight I want to focus on what I think is the single most important sanction, the one that could make the biggest difference.

Our top priority should be cutting off Russia’s No. 1 source of income that

fuels the war machine, and that is receipts from energy. Energy is, by far, Russia’s biggest export. It accounts for roughly half of Russia’s entire Federal budget. Over the past year, the average oil revenues going back to Russia from their exports to the United States alone was about \$50 million a day.

Under pressure from Congress, the administration changed its view and chose to block Russian oil, natural gas, and coal imports. And that is good. It made no sense for us to help fund the Russian war effort, especially when we have our own natural resources here in North America that we can gain access to and actually do so in a way that is better for the environment than Russian oil, that is produced in a way that emits more methane and CO<sub>2</sub>, and, of course, has to be shipped by sea to our shores, causing more emissions.

I recognize that sanctioning Russian energy is far more difficult for some of our allies in Europe which are far more dependent on Russian energy than we were. But the same argument applies. We can’t be funding this brutal war.

I welcomed the announcement during the President’s trip on the creation of a joint United States-European Union task force to help reduce Europe’s dependence on Russian energy and strengthen Europe’s energy security.

Specifically, this initiative will help provide at least 15 billion cubic meters, bcm, of LNG exports from the United States, liquefied natural gas, this year, with the goal of shipping 50 bcm of U.S. LNG to Europe annually through at least 2030.

This is a very positive step forward because it is telling the Europeans you can cut your dependency on Russia and stop spending money that goes into the war machine and we will back you up. The United States has plenty of natural gas; it is produced in a cleaner way, by the way; and we are happy to back you up.

This agreement is not a silver bullet, but it is a step in the right direction. It is smart to support our domestic energy producers as a means of supporting our national and our economic security but also as a way to support our allies in Europe.

And in light of this Russian invasion, the importance of the United States having a robust, “all of the above” approach to power our Nation, which includes fossil fuels, renewable energies, carbon capture technologies, nuclear power, hydrogen, that cannot be overstated.

For context, Europe imported approximately 155 bcm of gas from Russia in 2021 and approximately 22 bcm from the United States through LNG. So 50 bcm from the United States on top of that will lead to a significant increase in U.S. LNG exports and really help Europe.

But if this is to work, the administration is going to have to follow through on these commitments to help get more hydrocarbons on the global market to consumers in Europe.

If the price is higher in Europe, as predicted, some of the LNG supply will go to Europe instead of Asia, and that will help. That will be based on market forces, but in order to ensure that we meet this increased supply to Europe, we have to increase our production here at home and develop the associated infrastructure, such as pipelines and terminals, to get that natural gas to market.

Unfortunately, we aren’t off to a great start. The President’s tax proposals released with their fiscal year 2023 budget request to Congress eliminates important tax provisions used by our domestic producers, like the deduction for intangible drilling costs, or IDCs, which allows natural gas and oil producers to deduct costs that are necessary for the drilling and preparation of wells.

This includes things like wages, fuel, survey work. Taxpayers get to deduct their cost of doing business. IDCs are one such cost for energy companies, and shortsighted proposals like those in the budget would only serve to discourage domestic energy production at a time when we need it.

On Friday, I spoke at a natural gas seminar in Ohio and met with energy producers that are working in the Marcellus and the Utica shale in Ohio. We are now a major gas-producing State, thanks to those Utica and Marcellus shale finds, and the producers in Ohio had a lot of thoughts about what was going on that day in Europe.

They were glad about the agreement between the EU and the United States, but they drove home to me the key point that we have energy here in the ground, but the current administration’s policies have made it very difficult to get that product to market, both domestically and internationally.

Unfortunately, the Biden administration has consistently sent a message to these producers and others that one of their goals is to phase out the use of fossil fuels altogether. This rhetoric, combined with actions like canceling the Keystone XL Pipeline, suspending new leases on Federal lands and waters, redefining waters of the United States, or WOTUS, which makes it harder to permit energy projects, has led to a lot of uncertainty within the oil and gas industry, which has a chilling effect on domestic energy production—again, at a time when we need it. We need “all of the above.”

In light of this new LNG initiative with the European Union, the Biden administration’s actions must now meet its commitments. An important part of building out our domestic energy infrastructure for gas, renewables, and everything in between is streamlining the Federal permitting process, whether it is a wind power project, solar power project, or a natural gas project. Historically, it can take a decade or more for the Federal Government to issue permits to build pipelines and other necessary infrastructure.

I coauthored a law called FAST-41, which improves the permitting process for these big projects by requiring Agencies to work together to set out a plan and a timeline for permitting projects.

It also created the Federal Permitting Improvement Steering Council, which can help resolve disputes over the permitting process and get a green light on a project much more quickly. FAST-41 has worked. It has helped projects save billions of dollars and years of time, all while upholding environmental standards.

The bipartisan infrastructure bill expanded the Council's authorities and made it permanent, and the recent fiscal year 2022 government funding bill included \$10 million for the Council to help support its operations. I urge the Biden administration to use this FAST-41 process to reduce bureaucratic redtape in permitting these projects so we can deliver the liquefied natural gas to Europe, as we promised, in a timely fashion so that we can begin to reduce their dependency on Russian oil and stop sending billions of dollars to fund the Russian war machine.

This is where energy security and national security come together. We need to lead our European allies in doing all we can to sanction Russia's energy sector.

We have talked a lot about cutting off the natural gas and the revenue that fuels the war machine in Russia, but we also need to tighten up these bank sanctions as they relate to energy. As an example, it is simply unacceptable that sanctions against Russia's biggest banks, including VTB Bank, do not apply to energy transactions until June 24. This is simply too late. We need to act much more quickly.

While President Biden was in Poland, inside Ukraine, Russian missiles were striking cities all across the country, including the western city of Lviv, not very far from the Polish border.

President Biden must lead the alliance to redouble their efforts to stop this madness to ensure Russia is not rewarded for its war crimes. It is one thing to keep the alliance together; it is another to lead the alliance out of its comfort zone to a more aggressive stance to actually win this war.

So in addition to the energy and other sanctions we have discussed tonight, what more can we and our allies do to help Ukraine win this war? And note I say "win this war" because if we act swiftly, I think we can help Ukraine actually win and keep Ukraine as a viable democracy and save thousands of lives. But they need our help, especially to stop the missiles and artillery that are raining down on civilians every day and every night. As we talk here tonight, this is happening in Ukraine.

The Ukrainians have made it very clear they desperately need more air defense. President Zelenskyy talked

about it again in the last 24 hours. Based on the news media reports, the United States is providing some SA-8s, an older, Soviet-era defense system, to Ukraine. I was glad to hear that. However, the media reports also say that the more capable S-300 Soviet-era systems we have in our inventory are not being sent. If this is true, this is a big disappointment and shows a lack of urgency.

While I commend the President for the strong speech he delivered over the weekend, the actions of the administration have to match that rhetoric. There are additional weapons that they are desperately needing that we are not yet providing, particularly these anti-air systems and more munitions for their own anti-air systems. Often it is a matter of us facilitating the transfer of these weapons from former Warsaw Pact countries that are all along the border—the Eastern European, Central European countries that are close to Ukraine and can provide these incredibly important military anti-air systems, but we need to help them. We need to facilitate that and backfill their needs at home.

They have asked for our help across the board, but specifically for tanks, for anti-ship systems, which is really important right now because so many of these missiles are coming from these ships in the Black Sea.

President Zelenskyy needs to be listened to. He knows what they need. He says: We need more, and we need it more quickly.

We must also keep sending Stinger missiles, which are effective at shooting down Russian helicopters and planes at lower altitudes.

We must find ways to quickly provide Ukraine with more armed drones, such as the Turkish TB2s and one-use loitering munitions, which the Ukrainians know how to use and have been very effective on the battlefield with.

Two weeks ago, it was announced that we were sending 100 so-called Switchblade loitering munitions. One hundred will go very quickly. We need to send more, and we need to send them quickly.

To our Israeli friends, I would ask them to sell to us or other countries, and we should agree to buy, their Harop drones, which Ukraine could really use right now. The bottom line is we need to flood the zone when it comes to providing Ukraine with military assistance.

They are not asking us to fight for them, but they are asking for the tools to be able to defend themselves, particularly with regard to this endless bombing. And they have a chance to win if we do that. There should be no gaps in our weapons transfers. We need to lead the NATO allies and others when it comes to providing and coordinating support.

There are loopholes in the sanctions we talked about tonight. We need to do more to ensure that those are closed. We need to do more to ensure that the weapons are being received.

We should act fast to let the people of Ukraine know with certainty that we do stand with them. The popular Ukrainian national rallying cry "Slava Ukraini" when translated into English is "Glory to Ukraine." The response to it is "Glory to the Heroes," "Heroyam Slava."

In the midst of this atrocity, there are so many heroes, and we need to back them up. There are so many heroes to glorify in Ukraine: the soldiers, professionals, and civilians who have taken up arms; the doctors and the nurses and the firefighters; and the volunteers providing food and water and blankets. We pray for them all, and we pray for their families. Godspeed to them in their simple quest, a battle for a free and independent Ukraine, a country that can chart its own course.

America needs to stand with the people of Ukraine. We must show the world, both our adversaries and our allies, that we stand with Ukraine.

I yield the floor.

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

#### NOMINATION OF LISA DENELL COOK

Mr. SCHUMER. Madam President, in a few moments I will file a discharge petition to move forward on the nomination of Lisa DeNell Cook to serve on the Federal Reserve Board of Governors.

Not very long ago, a nominee like Ms. Cook would have sailed toward final confirmation. She serves on the advisory board of the Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago. She is a professor of economics at Michigan State and has served on the White House Council of Economic Advisers. She would also be the first Black woman to sit on the Federal Reserve Board of Governors.

Sadly, every single Republican in the committee voted in lockstep against Ms. Cook—that was in the Banking Committee—providing no good explanation for obstructing this qualified and historic nominee.

Nonetheless, the step I am taking now will make sure Ms. Cook's nomination will move forward, setting up a vote as soon as tomorrow.

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#### EXECUTIVE SESSION

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#### EXECUTIVE CALENDAR

Mr. SCHUMER. Madam President, I move to proceed to executive session to consider Calendar No. 672.

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

The motion was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the nomination.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read the nomination of Judith DelZoppo Pryor, of Ohio, to be First Vice President of the Export-Import Bank of the United States for a term expiring January 20, 2025.

#### CLOTURE MOTION

Mr. SCHUMER. Madam President, I send a cloture motion to the desk.