

But to come on to the Senate floor and to criticize the President on military assistance, that is the height of hypocrisy.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Iowa is recognized.

Mr. GRASSLEY. The majority leader is going to come to the floor, and I will yield the floor for him when he comes here, but I would like to yield the floor without losing the right to the floor.

JUDICIARY COMMITTEE STAFF

Mr. GRASSLEY. Mr. President, I would like to thank my staff who worked on this nomination.

First, I would like to recognize the contributions of Kolan Davis, my chief counsel and staff director. Kolan was assisted by Brendan Chestnut, my chief counsel for nominations.

The staff in the nominations unit also worked incredibly hard on this nomination. They include Lauren Mehler, Gabi Kenny, Vetan Kapoor, and Raija Munk.

The permanent nominations team received some reinforcements for this Supreme Court nomination. Annie Croslow joined my staff to lead the team of special counsels assisting on this nomination. That team includes Annika Boone, Kyle Cole, Isaac Fong, Jenna Lorence, Daniel Morales, and Luke Zaro. This team scoured Judge Jackson's record. They spent countless hours reviewing her opinions, her speeches, and pulling filings and transcripts for her cases. Their exhaustive review helped the Republicans on the committee prepare for her confirmation process.

I also want to thank the communications director, Taylor Foy, as well as the deputy communications director, George Hartmann, Aaron Britt, Annie Richardson, Jennifer Heins, and Megan Behrends also contributed to the communications effort.

Other staff also helped review and prepare for the nomination, including Dave Lewen, Lauren Stimpert, Rachel Wright, Erin Creegan, Tianna Torrejon, and Chesney Mallory, as well as law clerks Carly Hviding, Luke Bunting, and Noelle Daniel.

Finally, I want to thank the rest of my Judiciary Committee staff for their continued work during this process and also thank my deputy staff director, Rita Lari, for her advice and leadership.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Ms. CORTEZ MASTO). The majority leader.

LEGISLATIVE SESSION

Mr. SCHUMER. Madam President, I move to proceed to legislative session.

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

EXECUTIVE SESSION

EXECUTIVE CALENDAR

Mr. SCHUMER. Madam President, I move to proceed to executive session to consider Calendar No. 808.

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 Lael Brainard, of the District of Columbia, to be Vice Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System for a term of four years.

CLOTURE MOTION

Mr. SCHUMER. Madam President, I send a cloture motion 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 senior assistant 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 the nomination of Executive Calendar No. 808, Lael Brainard, of the District of Columbia, to be Vice Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System for a term of four years.

Charles E. Schumer, Mazie K. Hirono, Martin Heinrich, Tim Kaine, Jack Reed, Jacky Rosen, Ben Ray Lujan, Christopher A. Coons, Alex Padilla, Sheldon Whitehouse, Sherrod Brown, Debbie Stabenow, Christopher Murphy, Patrick J. Leahy, John W. Hickenlooper, Tammy Baldwin, Angus S. King, Jr.

LEGISLATIVE SESSION

Mr. SCHUMER. Madam President, I move to proceed to legislative session.

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

EXECUTIVE SESSION

EXECUTIVE CALENDAR

Mr. SCHUMER. Madam President, I move to proceed to executive session to consider Calendar No. 844.

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 Lisa DeNell Cook, of Michigan, to be a Member of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System for the unexpired term of fourteen years from February 1, 2010.

CLOTURE MOTION

Mr. SCHUMER. Madam President, I send a cloture motion 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 senior assistant 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 the nomination of Executive Calendar No. 844, Lisa DeNell Cook, of Michigan, to be a Member of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System for the unexpired term of fourteen years from February 1, 2010.

Charles E. Schumer, Mazie K. Hirono, Martin Heinrich, Tim Kaine, Jack Reed, Jacky Rosen, Ben Ray Lujan, Christopher A. Coons, Alex Padilla, Sheldon Whitehouse, Sherrod Brown, Debbie Stabenow, Christopher Murphy, Patrick J. Leahy, John W. Hickenlooper, Tammy Baldwin, Angus S. King, Jr.

LEGISLATIVE SESSION

Mr. SCHUMER. Madam President, I move to proceed to legislative session.

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

EXECUTIVE SESSION

EXECUTIVE CALENDAR

Mr. SCHUMER. Mr. President, I move to proceed to executive session to consider Calendar No. 848.

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 Alvaro M. Bedoya, of Maryland, to be a Federal Trade Commissioner for the term of seven years from September 26, 2019.

CLOTURE MOTION

Mr. SCHUMER. Madam President, I send a cloture motion 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 senior assistant 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 the nomination of Executive Calendar No. 848, Alvaro M. Bedoya, of Maryland, to be a Federal Trade Commissioner for the term of seven years from September 26, 2019.

Charles E. Schumer, Maria Cantwell, Michael F. Bennet, Tammy Baldwin, Richard J. Durbin, Patty Murray, Margaret Wood Hassan, Gary C. Peters, Mazie K. Hirono, Tina Smith, Debbie Stabenow, Mark R. Warner, Kirsten E. Gillibrand, Alex Padilla, Tim Kaine, Tammy Duckworth, Brian Schatz.

Mr. SCHUMER. Madam President, finally, I ask unanimous consent that

the mandatory quorum calls for the cloture motions filed today, April 7, be waived.

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

Mr. SCHUMER. I yield the floor to my colleague and friend from the great State of Iowa.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Iowa.

UKRAINE

Mr. GRASSLEY. Madam President, lots of pundits are trying to get into President Putin's head and looking for some so-called off-ramp. Now, I am not a pundit, and I do not pretend to be able to read Putin's mind. However, I do listen carefully to those closest to Russia who have better insights than the American pundits, academics, and foreign policy theorists.

I happen to be cochair of the Senate Baltic Freedom Caucus, so I interact regularly with Estonians, Latvians, and Lithuanians—three countries that in 1940 the Soviet Union absorbed into it, and then since about 1990, they have been independent of Russia. So you can see these countries are historically Western in every sense except geography, but they have had a long and often painful exposure to the Russian-Soviet-KGB way of thinking.

Our Baltic friends can help others in the West who cannot seem to fathom what is going through Putin's mind. The fact that we cannot understand Putin's mindset is because he doesn't think like modern Western leaders.

Now, this is important insight from my Baltic contacts. Putin is stuck in the 17th and 18th centuries. Now, you know I like history, so this is something that I can understand. Putin thinks like a czar expanding his empire. He regrets the collapse of the Soviet Union—not because of communist ideology but because it reconstituted the Russian empire.

In foreign policy, it is easy to assume other countries are just like us. Experts don't know what to make of an 18th-century imperialist.

Some observers have speculated that Putin has gone crazy because he does not seem to be acting rationally, but from the standpoint of someone who thinks Ukraine is not a real country, as Putin has said for decades, and who regrets the collapse of the "evil empire," he is acting rationally.

Our Baltic allies have been warning the West that Putin is an aggressor since well before the current invasion of Ukraine, before the 2014 invasion of neutral Ukraine, before the disastrous Obama administration "reset" of relations with Russia, and before the 2008 invasion of Georgia.

The Baltics have often been dismissed as hysterical or Russophobic or at least exaggerating when they warn about Russia. Well, the world has awakened to the fact that the Baltics were right all along.

We should have armed Ukraine to the teeth years ago. Putin only understands strength.

What lessons should have been learned from Putin's pattern of aggression over the years? Putin only understands strength, and weakness is provocative.

During the Hungarian uprising of 1956, when the Hungarian people were protesting to break free of Soviet control, the Eisenhower administration in this country paid lip service to the aspirations for freedom but was secretly obsessed with not provoking the Soviets.

Eisenhower's Secretary of State, Dulles, made his speech in Dallas, TX, where he said this:

The [United States] has no ulterior purpose in desiring the independence of the satellite countries. . . . We do not look upon these nations as potential military allies. So you can see the expansion of NATO today proves how wrong Dulles was at that time.

However, after the Dulles speech, he then cabled the U.S. Embassy in Moscow, instructing that this be brought to the attention of the highest Soviet authorities. Any wonder why Hungary wasn't freed at that time?

The Estonian historian and also its former Prime Minister, Mart Laar, maintains that this message from Dulles was interpreted by Moscow as a *carte blanche* to intervene and the Americans would not stand in the way. That is why he titled the relevant chapter in his book on the rise and fall of communism in the region "The lost opportunity: 1956."

So what do our Baltic friends advise right now in the face of Putin's threats to escalate if we supply Ukraine with fighter jets or other advanced weapons?

Believe it or not, their advice is to relax. In other words, don't overreact to Putin's threats.

We have a nuclear deterrent and Putin knows that. The more we show we are scared by his threats, the harder he will push. And we absolutely need to stop declaring what we will not do in regard to Russia's invasion of Ukraine. That just seems to embolden Putin to push harder.

The failure to push back the previous Russian aggressions—and that is not just a Biden problem. That is a problem of both Republican and Democratic Presidents before. Also the failure to enforce previous redlines in Syria and the perception of weakness from the Afghanistan pullout debacle—those three things are at least part of the reason for what is going on in Ukraine.

I hope President Biden has picked up on this as well.

Now is the time to redouble our efforts to reinforce Ukraine. Putin appears to have accepted that he cannot conquer all of Ukraine, but he is very definitely repositioning his forces to take as big of a chunk of the country as he can.

Ukraine must win this war—on to victory. Anything short of a Ukraine victory is an invitation for further Russian aggression elsewhere and, who knows, maybe even encouraging China.

We have got to stop the finger-pointing. We have got to stop the excuses, and we have got to get Ukraine air defenses, drones, and anything else to shift the balance.

To date, the United States and our allies have supplied the heroic Ukrainian military with the kinds of weapons that have allowed them to hang on while their cities are shelled and civilians are massacred.

The battle for Kyiv may have been won, but the battle for the east is only going to intensify. Unless we tip the balance, this could go on for a long, long time.

We have seen how brutal the Russian occupation has been in just 1 month. Imagine months and months of this in eastern Ukraine.

I have a bill with my friend Senator DURBIN to guarantee that the United States will backfill certain critical weapons transferred to Ukraine by our eastern flank of NATO allies. Many NATO countries have been very generous in handing over their weapons to Ukraine. This is leaving a security gap in those very countries. But they know that if Putin isn't stopped in Ukraine, then those countries are at greater risk. As Estonian Prime Minister Kaja Kallas says, Putin cannot even think he has won or his appetite will only grow.

Some of our NATO allies also have air defense systems and drones that could make a big difference in Ukraine.

There are rumors of negotiations to supply items needed in Ukraine, provided there is agreement to acquire American replacements. My bill with Durbin would provide that assurance up front without the redtape that seems to be involved in almost everything we do to help Ukraine.

Putin has talked constantly about what he calls "demilitarization and denazification" as his justification for launching this brutal invasion of Ukraine. That phrase does not make much sense on its face, but, again, we have to keep in mind that Putin has an imperial mindset.

No military analyst looking at Ukraine and Russia could possibly think that Ukraine posed any military threat to Russia. The Russian military dwarfs the Ukrainian one in manpower as well as equipment. In fact, it is clear that Putin and his military leaders underestimated the fighting ability of the Ukrainians.

The same is frankly true of NATO's military power along Russia's borders. What Putin means by "demilitarizing" is to shrink Ukraine's military to the point that that country is indefensible. He wants Ukraine totally susceptible to Russian threats, meaning back within Russia's sphere of influence.

Now, what about the term "denazification"? Ever since World War II, Soviet leaders routinely labeled those in the Soviet Republics who expressed a desire for independence that they were fascist or Nazi. It is pretty clear that Putin's initial goal was to