

States Armed Forces from hostilities in the Republic of Yemen that have not been authorized by Congress.

S. RES. 589

At the request of Mrs. SHAHEEN, the names of the Senator from Connecticut (Mr. BLUMENTHAL), the Senator from Colorado (Mr. HICKENLOOPER), the Senator from Arizona (Mr. KELLY), the Senator from Maryland (Mr. CARDIN) and the Senator from Delaware (Mr. COONS) were added as cosponsors of S. Res. 589, a resolution recognizing, honoring, and commending the women of Ukraine who have contributed to the fight for freedom and the defense of Ukraine.

S. RES. 712

At the request of Mrs. HYDE-SMITH, the name of the Senator from Wyoming (Ms. LUMMIS) was added as a cosponsor of S. Res. 712, a resolution recognizing the need for greater access to rural and agricultural media programming.

#### STATEMENTS ON INTRODUCED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS

By Ms. COLLINS (for herself, Mr. MANCHIN, Mr. PORTMAN, Ms. SINEMA, Mr. ROMNEY, Mrs. SHAHEEN, Ms. MURKOWSKI, Mr. WARNER, Mr. TILLIS, Mr. MURPHY, Mrs. CAPITO, Mr. CARDIN, Mr. YOUNG, Mr. COONS, Mr. SASSE, and Mr. GRAHAM):

S. 4573. A bill to amend title 3, United States Code, to reform the Electoral Count Act, and to amend the Presidential Transition Act of 1963 to provide clear guidelines for when and to whom resources are provided by the Administrator of General Services for use in connection with the preparations for the assumption of official duties as President or Vice President; to the Committee on Rules and Administration.

By Ms. COLLINS (for herself, Mr. MANCHIN, Mr. PORTMAN, Ms. SINEMA, Mr. ROMNEY, Mrs. SHAHEEN, Ms. MURKOWSKI, Mr. WARNER, Mr. TILLIS, Mr. MURPHY, Mr. CARDIN, and Mr. COONS):

S. 4574. A bill to amend title 18, United States Code, to increase penalties for crimes against Federally protected activities relating to voting and the conduct of elections, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs.

Mr. MANCHIN. Mr. President, I rise today to acknowledge the months of bipartisan hard work that have gone into two bills that we are filing today: the Electoral Count Reform and Presidential Transition Improvement Act—I repeat—the Electoral Count Reform and Presidential Transition Improvement Act—and the Enhanced Election Security and Protection Act.

I would like to commend my dear friend Senator SUSAN COLLINS for her leadership throughout this process. She has been shepherding this through and working diligently, as only she can do, and she does it so well.

We started these discussions back in January, when partisanship around

here was at a fever pitch, a toxic environment that was absolutely not conducive to things that needed to be done. But for those who may not remember, we were in the middle of a heated debate over voting rights with both sides—Democrats and Republicans—equally dug in on their positions, and it was kind of hard to move people off of that.

The insurrection January 6 and the situation that has been going on since 1887 and should have been corrected and had not been—but no one ever felt that we would have what we had. So now, we needed to take care of it. And everyone stepped to the plate.

By January 19, my Democratic colleagues were so frustrated that they forced a vote on repealing the filibuster to allow that bill to pass with a simple majority, along party lines. It appeared to many, both inside and outside of Washington, DC, that the Senate was fundamentally broken. But Senator COLLINS and I have worked together for a long time, and we never gave up. We were not convinced it was broken, and you just have to work a little bit harder.

They call us the most deliberative body. Well, to deliberate means to talk, to converse; and when that fails, then, basically, the deliberative body is no longer the deliberative body. And we were not going to let that happen to us.

We asked our colleagues and friends to come together to start trying to see if we could work together and find a pathway and find common ground. Well—guess what—they did. So I am here to thank those who sat down: Senator PORTMAN, ROB PORTMAN; we had Senator MURPHY; we had Senator ROMNEY, Senator SHAHEEN, Senator MURKOWSKI, Senator WARREN, Senator TILLIS, Senator SINEMA, Senator CAPITO, Senator CARDIN, Senator YOUNG, Senator COONS, Senator SASSE, and Senator GRAHAM.

Now, that was truly a team effort when you think about it. And this has gone on for quite some time.

What we learned through those discussions was that there was bipartisan support for some important, commonsense reforms that would help restore Americans' faith in our democracy and how we basically apply our democracy, how do we select our representative form of government. Specifically, most of our group felt that we could and that we should:

Reform the Electoral Count Act to remove the ambiguity that we saw weaponized after the last election. We were all in agreement.

Enhance the protections for local election officials who were facing unprecedented threats and intimidations. These are people who volunteer, most basically. And it is basically a family handing down generation after generation, people who always believe that their civic duty is to be able to perform during election times.

We wanted to establish best practices for the U.S. Postal Service to improve

the handling of mail-in ballots. Mail-in ballots have been so convenient to older people, shut-ins. And in the situation where we had this pandemic, my goodness, it was the only way that people could vote.

So reauthorize the Election Assistance Commission to help States improve the administration and the security of Federal elections.

The most important thing that we can do is that when that vote is cast and that vote is counted accurately, it has to be counted and reported accurately. And that is what we have to do and make sure that there is not even a shred of a thought where a person might think that count is not valid—it is not a valid count. And we have done everything we possibly can to make sure that we have cleared that up.

This is not everything that people on both sides of that wanted. Some on our bipartisan committee wanted a lot more, and some didn't want to basically interfere with the States' rights. So we were caught in betwixt and between. We worked back and forth on different things we could. We tried to put the guardrails on that gave guidance, and we think that we came up with a piece of legislation.

And when you have every Member I just mentioned all sign on, with the diversity of these memberships—we have almost 20; 20 Senators have been involved, coming equally between Democrats and Republicans, and able to come to an agreement—this is a bill that we should put forward.

I was proud to be an original sponsor of both the Freedom to Vote Act and the John Lewis Voting Rights Advancement Act, and I still believe that we can and we must continue working to protect every American's sacred right to vote. But we also have an obligation to the American people to do the most good that we can right now—right now.

The confusing and antiquated language that we have on the books today from the 1887 Electoral Count Act is a real and present danger to our democracy. We can fix that, and that is exactly what we intend to do.

The increased threats and attacks we are seeing across the country on poll workers and election volunteers—we can fix that, too. But even more important than the policy provisions contained in these two bills is the fact that we have Democrats and Republicans standing arm in arm proposing commonsense election reforms that can begin to restore Americans' faith in our democracy. That is our solemn commitment and promise.

When Benjamin Franklin was asked whether the Constitutional Convention had given us a republic or a monarchy, he famously replied "A republic, young man, if you can keep it."

He qualified his answer because he understood a democracy is fragile and can be lost if we are not careful. And while today's introduction is an important step in this process, we do have much work yet to do.

I look forward to continuing our bipartisan effort to get this bill to the President's desk as quickly as possible and signed into law. And our journey begins.

And with that, I would like to yield to my dear friend from the great State of Maine, Senator SUSAN COLLINS.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Maine.

Ms. COLLINS. Mr. President, I am pleased to join my close friend and dear colleague Senator MANCHIN in introducing bipartisan legislation to reform the archaic and ambiguous Electoral Count Act of 1887, the important law that governs how Congress tallies each State's electoral votes for President and Vice President.

On January 6 of 2017, I was amused to learn that I had received one electoral vote for Vice President of the United States, an office for which I obviously was not a candidate. But on January 6, 2021, I realized that my unearned vote from 4 years earlier was really not funny at all. Rather, it was an indication of deep structural problems with our system of certifying and counting the electoral votes for President and Vice President. These unfortunate flaws are codified in the 1887 Electoral Count Act.

In four of the past six Presidential elections, this process has been abused, with Members of both parties raising frivolous objections to electoral votes. But it took the violent breach of the Capitol on January 6 of 2021 to really shine a spotlight on the urgent need for reform.

Over the past several months, Senator MANCHIN and I have worked with a terrific, bipartisan group of Senators who are united in our determination to prevent the flaws in this 135-year-old law from being used to undermine future Presidential elections.

I want to express my gratitude to my friend Senator MANCHIN and to all the members of our bipartisan group for their hard work, their constructive work, to craft this legislation. Specifically, I want to thank Senators PORTMAN, SINEMA, ROMNEY, SHAHEEN, MURKOWSKI, WARNER, TILLIS, MURPHY, CAPITO, CARDIN, YOUNG, COONS, and SASSE for their work over several months. I also want to thank Senators KLOBUCHAR and BLUNT, who head the Rules Committee, for their advice and counsel throughout this process, and Senator LINDSEY GRAHAM for his insights and for joining as a cosponsor.

The legislation that we are introducing—the Electoral Count Reform and Presidential Transition Improvement Act—will help ensure that electoral votes totaled by Congress accurately reflect each State's popular vote for President and Vice President.

Our bill includes a number of important reforms, but I want to highlight just a few.

First, it reasserts that the constitutional role of the Vice President in counting electoral votes is strictly and solely ministerial. The idea that any

Vice President would have the power to unilaterally accept or reject or change or halt the electoral votes is antithetical to our Constitution and basic democratic principles.

Second, our bill raises the threshold to lodge an objection to electors to at least one-fifth of the duly chosen and sworn members of the House of Representatives and the U.S. Senate. Currently, only a single Member in both houses is required to object to an elector or a slate of electors.

Third, our legislation will ensure that Congress can identify a single, conclusive slate of electors by clearly identifying a single State official who is responsible for certifying a State's electors; requiring Congress to defer to the slates of electors submitted by a State pursuant to the judgment of State or Federal courts; and providing aggrieved Presidential candidates with an expedited judicial review of Federal claims related to a State's certificate of electors. Let me be clear that this does not create a new cause of action. Instead, it will ensure prompt and efficient adjudication of disputes.

To help promote the orderly transfer of power, our bill also includes clear guidelines for when eligible Presidential candidates may receive Federal resources to support their transition into office. And I want to particularly thank Senators PORTMAN, COONS, and SASSE for their hard work on those provisions.

We are also introducing a second bill—the Enhanced Election Security and Protection Act—to address other issues pertaining to the administration of elections. In the interest of time, let me just quickly note the major provisions of this bill. It would reauthorize the Election Assistance Commission and require it to conduct additional cyber security testing of voting systems, a concept put forth by Senator WARREN. It would improve the Postal Service's handling of election mail. It would enhance current penalties for violent threats against election workers; and increase the maximum penalties for tampering with voting records, including certain electronic records, that was the work of several members, including Senators ROMNEY, SHAHEEN, and SINEMA, among others.

We have before us an historic opportunity to modernize and strengthen our system of certifying and counting the electoral votes for President and Vice President. January 6 reminded us that nothing is more essential to the survival of a democracy than the orderly transfer of power.

And there is nothing more essential to the orderly transfer of power than clear rules for effecting it. I very much hope that Congress will seize this opportunity to enact these sensible and much-needed reforms before the end of this Congress.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from West Virginia.

Mr. MANCHIN. Mr. President, while my dear friend is here, I want to tell

her, you know, 6 months ago—we have worked on this for 6 months. It started in January, and it was 14 Senators who came at that time. We just started talking, and 14 Senators—with all of your support, Mr. President, also—we had support from everybody saying something had to be done. But as delicate as this was, knowing that some might think we are picking on one side or the other or supporting or defending one side or the other, there was only one thing we were concerned about: How do we defend this country and the Constitution and this wonderful Capitol that we have so this could never happen again?

January 6 is a black mark on the history of the United States of America. And if you want to erase it, you better do what we did for 6 months, bringing people together to find a pathway forward so that type of opportunity—for some looking for an opportunity—to degrade our government and our country and our form of governing ourselves could never, ever encourage them thinking they could do something here at this Capitol and disrupt us.

When that day happened, the thing I was most proud of, we were all down in a secured room—and Senator COLLINS remembers—and it went on; we didn't know what the extent of this was going on. We knew one thing: They didn't come for a friendly visit. But we were down there talking; and, all of a sudden, someone said: Well, let's just conduct our business down here. Remember that? And to a T, everybody in that room says, No, no, no. They are not going to run us out of our body here. And we all came back here later that night and finished our business.

What we did—and Senator COLLINS has led this admirably—is make sure that we are finishing our business. We are just starting it now to protect this democracy. This form of democracy that we have is a representative form and the Republic that we are responsible for. And I am just so proud to be part of it. And she is my dear friend. We worked many, many years together, and we will continue to.

But I just want to thank the Senator for the hard work—our staffs worked together. I am very proud of all our staffs that they worked together for the betterment of our country.

So when people think that bipartisanship is not capable of happening in Washington, I want to say: Watch, we have proved them wrong. We have done so many things together, and we will continue to. Again, I say thank you to all those who participated for just hanging in there. It took us 6 months to get here, but we have just begun.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Maine.

Ms. COLLINS. Mr. President, I, too, want to salute all of the members of our group who worked so hard over many months. As is always the case when you delve into a complicated issue, it turns out that there are far

more nuances and complexities than you would think when you first look at the issue. But everyone continued to work for the common good to strengthen the procedures, to update this archaic and ambiguous law that was written in the language of another era. And we have accomplished that. And I really hope our colleagues will all join together and that in the end we can have an overwhelming vote.

Finally, I, too, want to thank our staff members for their extraordinary work. They worked literally night and day to work through the many thorny issues and to help bring us together. So my thanks not only to the Members but to their staffs as well.

#### SUBMITTED RESOLUTIONS

#### SENATE RESOLUTION 713—RECOGNIZING RUSSIAN ACTIONS IN UKRAINE AS A GENOCIDE

Mr. RISCH (for himself, Mr. CARDIN, Mr. BLUMENTHAL, Mr. WICKER, Mrs. SHAHEEN, Mr. PORTMAN, and Mr. GRAHAM) submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations:

##### S. RES. 713

Whereas the Russian Federation's illegal, premeditated, unprovoked, and brutal war against Ukraine includes extensive, systematic, and flagrant atrocities against the people of Ukraine;

Whereas article II of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (in this preamble referred to as the "Genocide Convention"), adopted and opened for signature in 1948 and entered into force in 1951, defines genocide as "any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such: (a) Killing members of the group; (b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group; (c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part; (d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group; (e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group";

Whereas, on October 3, 2018, the Senate unanimously agreed to Senate Resolution 435, 115th Congress, which commemorated the 85th anniversary of the Holodomor and "recognize[d] the findings of the Commission on the Ukraine Famine as submitted to Congress on April 22, 1988, including that 'Joseph Stalin and those around him committed genocide against the Ukrainians in 1932-1933'";

Whereas substantial and significant evidence documents widespread, systematic actions against the Ukrainian people committed by Russian forces under the direction of political leadership of the Russian Federation that meet one or more of the criteria under article II of the Genocide Convention, including—

(1) killing members of the Ukrainian people in mass atrocities through deliberate and regularized murders of fleeing civilians and civilians in passing as well as purposeful targeting of homes, schools, hospitals, shelters, and other residential and civilian areas;

(2) causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the Ukrainian people by launching indiscriminate attacks against ci-

vilians and civilian areas, conducting willful strikes on humanitarian evacuation corridors, and employing widespread and systematic sexual violence against Ukrainian civilians, including women, children, and men;

(3) deliberately inflicting upon the Ukrainian people conditions of life calculated to bring about their physical destruction in whole or in part, including displacement due to annihilated villages, towns, and cities left devoid of food, water, shelter, electricity, and other basic necessities, starvation caused by the destruction of farmlands and agricultural equipment, the placing of Russian landmines across thousands of acres of useable fields, and blocking the delivery of humanitarian food aid;

(4) imposing measures intended to prevent births among the Ukrainian people, demonstrated by the Russian military's expansive and direct targeting of maternity hospitals and other medical facilities and systematic attacks against residential and civilian areas as well as humanitarian corridors intended to deprive Ukrainians of safe havens within their own country and the material conditions conducive to childrearing; and

(5) forcibly mass transferring millions of Ukrainian civilians, hundreds of thousands of whom are children, to the Russian Federation or territories controlled by the Russian Federation;

Whereas the state-level intent of the Russian Federation in favor of those heinous crimes against humanity has been demonstrated through frequent pronouncements and other forms of official communication denying Ukrainian nationhood and sovereignty, including President Putin's ahistorical claims that Ukraine is part of a "single whole" Russian nation with "no historical basis" for being an independent country;

Whereas some Russian soldiers and brigades accused of committing war crimes in Bucha, Ukraine, and elsewhere were rewarded with medals by President Putin;

Whereas the Russian state-owned media outlet RIA Novosti published the article "What Should Russia do with Ukraine", which outlines "de-Nazification" as meaning "de-Ukrainianization" or the destruction of Ukraine;

Whereas article I of the Genocide Convention confirms "that genocide, whether committed in time of peace or in time of war, is a crime under international law which [the Contracting Parties] undertake to prevent and to punish"; and

Whereas although additional documentation and analysis of atrocities committed by the Russian Federation in Ukraine may be needed to punish those responsible, the substantial and significant documentation already undertaken, combined with statements showing intent, compel urgent action to prevent further acts of genocide: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved*, That the Senate—

(1) condemns the Russian Federation for committing acts of genocide against the Ukrainian people;

(2) calls on the United States, in cooperation with allies in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the European Union, to undertake measures to support the Government of Ukraine to prevent further acts of Russian genocide against the Ukrainian people; and

(3) supports tribunals and international criminal investigations to hold Russian political leaders and military personnel to account for a war of aggression, war crimes, crimes against humanity, and genocide.

Mr. CARDIN. Mr. President, I rise today to draw the attention of the Sen-

ate and the American people to a dark anniversary on the near horizon.

On July 24, the world will have seen 5 full months of the brutal, unjustified, and utterly senseless war Russia's dictator Vladimir Putin has unleashed on Ukraine, a peace-loving democracy that has never threatened Russia or any of its other neighbors.

It will be 150 days of Mr. Putin and his army's killing and raping Ukrainian women and children; destroying homes, hospitals, museums, schools, and churches; displacing almost 13 million people; and unleashing chaos and havoc on the world. The blockage of the southern ports of Ukraine has interrupted the vital supply of Ukrainian food supplies to a hungry world, wreaking pain and havoc on societies across the Middle East, Africa, and South Asia. An existing global food security crisis has now been severely worsened by Russia's violent assault, as the Senate Foreign Relations Committee examined earlier today in a hearing where USAID Administrator Samantha Power and our permanent representative to the United Nations, Ambassador Linda Thomas-Greenfield, testified. They spoke about the U.S. role in trying to avert this additional global tragedy resulting from Russia's aggression and the immensity of the task ahead.

Who could forget the horrors of Bucha and Irpin, the shell-shocked look in the eyes of Ukrainian children who will forever carry the burdens of unimaginable trauma or the Ukrainian women who had to be carried from a maternity ward after the Russians struck their hospital with a cruise missile.

This is an everyday reality now for Ukrainians—unspeakable, cruel military assaults. Yet they demonstrate the indomitable will to fight for their land and freedom; they do not give up; and they are truly an inspiration for the rest of the world.

When Mr. Putin started this attack, he assumed Russia would conquer Ukraine and seize its capital in 3 days. Yet it is now day almost 150, and Russia has suffered heavy losses and retreated from Kyiv. While several towns in the south of the country have been flattened and then occupied, in most of the country, the Russian invaders have barely advanced from their initial positions.

In the towns and cities the Russians occupy, they have met heavy resistance from Ukrainian guerillas and regular citizens who do not want to be part of Putin's evil empire. Despite efforts to indoctrinate Ukrainian children in occupied areas with a counterfactual narrative of the contemporary history, Russian speakers are learning Ukrainian, and what have been generally positive relations with the people of Ukraine and Russia before this invasion have now been completely destroyed.

Independent analysts have described the ongoing violence as a genocide in