

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

The resolution (S. Res. 393) was agreed to.

The preamble was agreed to.

(The resolution, with its preamble, is printed in today's RECORD (legislative day of September 22, 2023) under "Submitted Resolutions.")

ORDERS FOR TUESDAY, OCTOBER 3, 2023

Mr. SCHUMER. Mr. President, finally, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate completes its business today, it stand adjourned under the provisions of S. 393 until 3 p.m. on Tuesday, October 3; that following the prayer and pledge, the Journal of proceedings be approved to date, the morning hour be deemed expired, the time for the two leaders be reserved for their use later in the day, and morning business be closed; that upon the conclusion of morning business, the Senate proceed to executive session to resume consideration of the O'Brien nomination; further, that the cloture motions filed during today's session ripen at 5:30 p.m. on Tuesday.

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

ORDER FOR ADJOURNMENT

Mr. SCHUMER. If there is no further business to come before the Senate, I ask that it stand adjourned under the previous order following the remarks of Chairman MURRAY.

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

The President pro tempore.

CONTINUING RESOLUTION

Mrs. MURRAY. Mr. President, I have been down here all week, saying again and again that the only way that we are going to avoid a shutdown is with a CR that can get bipartisan support to quickly pass the House and Senate, and we have been working nonstop to pass that commonsense, bipartisan CR that I put together with my colleagues across the aisle.

But, tonight, we had a bill from the House that passed in a bipartisan way, with nearly every House Democrat voting in support, and I am now glad the Senate has been able to pass it, as well, and get it the President's desk for his signature. This bill does not contain the devastating cuts House Republicans were pushing just yesterday. It does not contain the ineffective, partisan border provisions they were demanding. So there were good reasons to vote for it.

First and foremost, it will prevent a senseless government shutdown, one that House Republicans have been pushing us toward for weeks. But this bill also meets the President's full request for disaster relief funds, and that is good and important to so many of

us. It will ensure that our brave Federal firefighters don't see a drastic pay cut, and it maintains current funding levels through November 17.

We know a CR is never a good long-term policy outcome, but it is certainly good to see that some House Republicans have, at least for this moment, given up the fruitless and cruel cuts they were demanding just yesterday. It is good to see some of those Members coming to their senses.

But we also have to be clear about where this bill falls seriously short, why we found ourselves in this moment, and how House Republicans' recklessness has caused so much unnecessary chaos, because let's be clear: There is a lot of work left to do now that we have passed this bill.

First, we have to absolutely do more to support our allies in Ukraine. Dictators across the world are watching. Will we stand with democracy? I say yes. The Senate absolutely will stand with our friends in Ukraine as they continue to defend themselves against Putin's brutal invasion, because continuing to support Ukraine is not just about addressing a humanitarian crisis; it is also about our own national security, what kind of world we want to live in. It is in America's national security interest to send a strong message to dictators like Putin that they cannot just invade a sovereign nation and steamroll democracy wherever and whenever they want.

And let's make sure we are crystal clear about this: There are strong bipartisan supermajorities in both Chambers that have shown they understood that. Just a few days ago, support for Ukraine got over 330 votes in the House—3 in 4 House Members. The United States does not abandon its allies, and the United States will not give Putin a free pass to continue his brutal war of aggression.

I need to make it clear: We are sticking with our allies in Ukraine, and we are not letting up. We are going to make sure we get this done, period. So I will work with all of my colleagues to make certain we stand with Ukraine and deliver the resources in a supplemental we know are so vital at this moment and do it in a timely manner.

I know my vice chair shares that commitment. We both look forward to continuing our efforts and working with many colleagues on both sides of the aisle.

We, of course, also need to take action to address the childcare crisis, especially as the funding cliff makes things even worse for parents, providers, and our economy.

To my Republican colleagues, I am positive you are hearing from your constituents on this. I am ready to work with anyone to make progress here. So please talk to me, and let's work together on that front.

Now, let me also say that there was no reason for it to come this close. House Republicans should have worked with us from the very start. Instead,

they spent weeks entertaining the most extreme ideas from their far right, spending the last week voting on really extreme appropriations bills that would not even, actually, have averted a shutdown—appropriations bills that would deny our servicemembers the ability to get the reproductive care they need in emergencies, severely restricting women's access to medication abortion in every State; bills that would decimate rural communities, eliminate essential resources for our diplomats abroad, and so much more.

And then, just yesterday, they proposed an across-the-board 30-percent cut to virtually all domestic spending. They wanted to gut funding, come Monday, for childcare, support for K-12 schools, law enforcement, heating assistance for families on tight budgets, air traffic controllers, lifesaving cancer research, and much more. Even that proposal, apparently, wasn't enough for the most extreme Members of the House Republican conference, and it went down in flames.

But let's not forget—and I know the American people won't—that the vast majority of House Republicans voted, just yesterday, to gut programs families count on—programs that keep all of us safe—by 30 percent. Needless to say, I am glad to see some of them have, at least for the moment, abandoned those cruel efforts to slash funding for families, with no rhyme or reason.

Now, as we look ahead, I urge my House Republican colleagues to spare us and the American people the unnecessary drama and chaos, and learn to work with your colleagues, not against them.

Look, the Speaker and the President shook hands on a deal. Congress passed it into law. We are going to stick with it. I voted for this bill today with a firm commitment that, here in the Senate, we will not waste any time in moving forward to support our Ukrainian allies and a continued determination to make bipartisan progress on the many issues we need to address.

And, of course, we still need to pass all 12 of our bipartisan appropriations bills so we aren't back here in a few weeks.

On that note, we need to get moving to the Military Construction-Veterans Affairs, T-HUD, and Ag appropriations minibus that a few of my colleagues—very few of them—have been blocking. I hope both leaders will facilitate the vice chair and I getting back to work on those bills in the next few days. And as we pass short-term CRs, we need to make progress and begin conferring our spending bills with the House to avoid another CR or an omnibus at the end of this year, which I know my colleagues are focused on avoiding.

If we are going to get any of that done, it has to be bipartisan. It is going to involve our being serious and focused on getting our job done to have real results for the American people.

If there is one lesson for House Republicans to take from the absolute

chaos they have caused this past week, it is that partisanship is not a path forward; it is a path to chaos. The only way to avoid a shutdown, the only way to get things done, especially in a divided Congress, is to sit down with the other side and do the hard work of negotiating, talking to one another, not to cave to the most extreme Members of your caucus or go back on your word.

I think most of us have known that from the start. Apparently, Speaker MCCARTHY needed to learn that lesson the hard way. Now it is time for him to show he has truly learned it. I urge him not to retreat back to a partisan corner, not to push for extreme partisan spending bills that go back on the deal he made just a few months ago. If you follow the most extreme Members of your party and go down that same partisan path, they are going to lead you to the same dead end.

The American people need us to move forward. They need us to work together. The senior Senator from Maine and I have 12 bipartisan bills in the Senate. We drafted them after many hearings and serious debate and discussion with Members on both sides of the aisle, and they passed our committee in overwhelming bipartisan votes—unanimous or near-unanimous votes. These are serious bills that can be signed into law.

Let's now leave behind the partisan politics being championed by the loudest voices, who are the farthest from the right, and come together so we can help people and solve problems just like we were sent to do.

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. BENNET. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Ms. KLOBUCHAR). Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. BENNET. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent to be able to speak without objection.

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

UKRAINE

Mr. BENNET. Madam President, I am sorry that you are having to stay here so late tonight, but I am glad you are in the chair.

I wanted to come down to the floor, now that the vote is done, just to explain the objection that I made earlier today. I am not going to do it at an elaborate length, but I think it is important to say that I was deeply disappointed—as were many people—that the deal to keep the government open did not actually have as part of it continuing funding for Ukraine, which I think is critically important. I think most people in the Senate believe it is critically important.

I objected to proceeding tonight because I thought it was important for us to find a way to send a bipartisan message from this Chamber that that is how we felt.

As I mentioned to the Presiding Officer earlier today, to my caucus earlier today, one of the reasons—or maybe the reason—why this is something that is so important to me is that my mom, who is still alive, was born in Warsaw, Poland, in 1938. She was a Polish Jew.

I couldn't imagine a worse place in the world to be born at that time than where my mom was born. She and her parents and an aunt survived. Everybody else was killed.

As everybody in this Chamber knows—certainly, the Presiding Officer knows—16 million people were killed in Ukraine and in Poland by the Nazis and by Stalin.

My mom cannot believe that she has lived long enough to see another land war break out in Europe. That is what she says to me: I can't believe I lived long enough to see this. I almost can't believe it either because we had gotten used to reliance on our international organizations, the rule of law, the idea that democracy had spread, the idea that capitalism had spread.

There were some people, when the Berlin Wall fell down in the late 1980s, who were writing books about how this was kind of the end of history because the liberal—small “L” liberal, not big “L” liberal—the small liberal order had prevailed. Of course, we know now that wasn't true.

And we know now that there is a contest in the world of at least two very different visions of how a human should organize themselves. We believe in democracy. We believe in the rule of law. We believe in freedom of speech and freedom of the press. Vladimir Putin believes in none of those things. And Xi Jinping believes in none of those things either.

It was an amazing experience for me to sit as a member of the Intelligence Committee and watch Putin make one mistake after another as he contemplated invading Ukraine—something a lot of people believed he wouldn't actually do. I think a lot of Ukrainians thought that he might. I think a lot of Poles thought he might. I think a lot of others living in Eastern Europe were worried that he might actually do it.

I said that he made some fundamental mistakes, and he did make some fundamental mistakes. One was he believed that his army was a lot stronger than it has been. That doesn't mean they don't have serious military capabilities. That doesn't mean that he wouldn't unleash a battlefield of nuclear weapons at the drop of a hat or chemical weapons at the drop of a hat if he felt like he was losing in a way that threatened his regime or threatened him. I certainly am clear-eyed about that. I know the Presiding Officer is and everybody else is.

But his army is a lot more hollowed out than he thought it was. That is

what happens when you are a totalitarian living on top of a totalitarian society. No one actually tells you the truth. No one says: Vladimir Putin, your army has been hollowed out. We have wasted all that money that you asked us to spend on the army through corruption and other kinds of things.

So that was one fundamental mistake. A second fundamental mistake was his failure to understand what the Ukrainian people's reaction would be. We didn't get it all right. Some of our intelligence wasn't right. There were people who were saying that Putin was going to be in Kyiv in 72 hours. There was the feeling that Zelenskyy's government would collapse and that the Russians would have a puppet government in Kyiv.

Instead, what has happened is the Ukrainian people have exhibited more bravery than anybody could have ever asked for. It is astonishing what they have done. And, to me, it is astonishing what they have accomplished.

You hear people in the press these days talking about the stalemate on the frontier or on the battle, on the frontline, as if that is somehow a failure on the part of the Ukrainian people. I see that as exactly the opposite. I see that as an unbelievable achievement by the Ukrainian Armed Forces, by the Ukrainian people, by President Zelenskyy, and by the American taxpayers who have supported this work.

That is the third thing Vladimir Putin didn't count on, was that people all over the free world and democracies all over planet Earth would be so inspired by the courage of the Ukrainian people, would be so inspired by the bravery of the Ukrainian people that they would demand of their elected officials that we do more, do more, do more. That is what people have said in countries all over the world. That, he didn't count on either.

That has been an amazing thing over the last 2 years, after we had a President here who cast a lot of doubt on whether NATO was even something important or whether the rule of law was something important or whether the United States following through on our commitments was even something important. And we have shown that none of that is true, and NATO is stronger today than it has ever been. The transatlantic alliance is stronger today than it has ever been.

We have allies from Europe to Asia who understand what the importance of this fight is. They know that this is not just a fight for Ukraine. They know the Ukrainians aren't just fighting for Ukraine—although, that is an important fight; that is an important battle. They know this is a fight for democracy. This is a fight for the free world.

There is no way that this fight would have been as successful as it has been without U.S. assistance, without U.S. intelligence.

This is one where the good guys have come together in a way that is really