

Van Hollen
Warner
Warnock

Warren
Welch
Whitehouse

Wicker
Wyden
Young

NAYS—32

Barrasso
Blackburn
Boozman
Braun
Britt
Budd
Cassidy
Cotton
Cramer
Cruz
Daines

Ernst
Fischer
Hagerty
Hawley
Hoeben
Hyde-Smith
Johnson
Kennedy
Lankford
Lee
Lummis

Marshall
Moran
Mullin
Rubio
Schmitt
Scott (FL)
Sullivan
Thune
Tuberville
Vance

NOT VOTING—5

Fetterman
Murray

Risch
Scott (SC)

Stabenow

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. WARNOCK). The yeas are 63, the nays are 32.

The motion is agreed to.

The Senator from Kansas.

UKRAINE

Mr. MORAN. Mr. President, I don't expect this to be the best formed set of remarks that I have ever made on the floor of the U.S. Senate, and I would guess that they could be refined and improved—and maybe somebody will edit them and make them in a better form—but I didn't want to miss the opportunity to express my views in regard to several things that occurred in the U.S. Senate, in the Congress, in this country last week.

I think our country faces perhaps the greatest challenges ever faced in my lifetime, certainly in my time as an elected official. It seems to me that the array of challenges from our adversaries are real, are increasing, and are threatening.

I have always been an optimist. I expect us to be able to do the things necessary to change the course of history, to make sure that the United States remains the country that it is today.

Perhaps my fears arise because Robba and I are now grandparents. Perhaps it is this love of another generation and the desire to see that they experience the things that I have been able to experience in my lifetime.

I want to highlight a recent and important essay penned by a former Secretary of Defense, Robert Gates, a fellow Kansan, warns of our government dysfunction at a moment in history in which our Nation confronts graver threats to its security than it has in past decades—perhaps ever.

Our constituents, from time to time, pay attention to what we do here, but I want us to recognize that perhaps even more intently, our adversaries pay attention to what we do or don't do here.

What we do and how we do it either strengthens or harms the future of the United States. It can increase the trust placed in us by our allies or it can embolden our adversaries because if I am right, our future is in the balance, and we need to work to increase those who decide to be on the side of freedom and liberty, of stability, of a better life for all people. We need to be the leader of a coalition that understands the values and the American ideals and how they

alter lives, and we need to make certain that those who should be on the side of right are not sitting on the fence.

During my time in the U.S. Senate, I have never been more angry or more sullen than those few days that week or so in which our country left Afghanistan. Our unprepared actions and void of leadership resulted in the deaths of Americans, American servicemembers, and it stranded thousands of Afghans—Afghan allies—behind enemy lines. I raise this because I want to tie it to what may now be happening here. Those few days may have been among the most costly in emboldening those who seek our country's demise, and I fear today that we are about to again demonstrate to the world our feckless ambivalence to lead. I don't want us to lead as a superior or to be in the face of our allies, but I want people who care, countries that believe in peace and prosperity and freedom around the globe to be part of an alliance that the United States is an important component of.

Normally, when we think about the challenges we face from adversaries abroad, we would think: Well, it is time to increase defense spending. We need more assets. We need to make our military stronger. My view—and I believe the correct view—is that is true. But of equal importance, we need to demonstrate resolve, resolve in the support of allies and resolve in the resistance to enemies.

When I say that I fear today we are failing, I speak of the ambivalence of our commitment to support the efforts to repeal, repulse, remove the Putin invasion across the borders of Ukraine. Should we fail to live up to the necessary deeds and actions that need to be taken, in my view, we are once again replicating the message that we sent in our chaotic and unfortunate manner in which we withdrew from Afghanistan. To my colleagues who might criticize one but look the other way to the other, I think it is a view that cannot be sustained. Failure to do right, to do things right, is the same, and the consequences are the same. Leadership depends upon reliability.

Today, Americans cannot go it alone. We are not the only power in the world. The burdens of today's challenges are too immense to carry alone. Our allies are force multipliers, and failing to lead in Ukraine lets those most in danger—those in the neighborhood of Ukraine—change course and look elsewhere for a path forward.

It is always easier to duck responsibilities, but almost never is it the right course of action.

Our European allies and those elsewhere in the world continue to look to the United States of America for leadership. The end of American support to Ukraine would be another indication—just as I believe it was in our withdrawal from Afghanistan—that we are not the leaders that are necessary in today's dangerous world. Never do we

want to be seen by those waiting to pick a side—we would never want them to reach the conclusion that the United States cannot be relied upon.

Another Cabinet Secretary just like Robert Gates—this one is from Wichita, KS, as well—former Secretary of State Mike Pompeo, and I penned a joint opinion piece. We made the case of helping Ukraine. While I pointed out how it matters to the world, what we pointed out is how it matters to America, to the American citizens and to the future of our country, and that we benefit, the United States, by the Ukrainians' success in their country.

All of this discussion last week about whether Ukraine should continue to receive funding was surrounded by another development in our body politic—in the way that we do business in this Congress and in the way that we make decisions about the right course forward. So let me tie to the concerns I have about the decision that was made in regard to Ukraine to the difficulties we had in what should be straightforward: funding the government into the future.

Every county commission, every school board, every city council in Kansas can come up with a budget and make decisions about the funding of their business, the funding of their purpose into the future, and we turned what should be routine decisions—I say "routine," but they are decisions made with care and thought. There is no question that the spending path we are on is not sustainable. We are on a different path. Even the appropriations bills—the 13 that have passed the U.S. Committee on Appropriations—are on a different path than what we have been on in increasing spending.

Those are important decisions, but we don't need to manufacture a crisis to make a point. The crisis doesn't solve the spending problem. Yet, in so many instances, we look for the highlight, the television time, the social media responses that sometimes seem to reward the behavior that is the most disruptive and the least effective.

The challenges we face require setting aside unnecessary disagreement and disunion. Last week demonstrated our system as creating disunion when we need unity and common ground in a dangerous world. Of all the times that I would expect Americans and their elected officials to come together would be when we see the actions, when we know the dangerous nature of our world: when we see what China is doing and what its intentions seem to be; when we know what is taking place in Iran and their efforts around the globe; when Russia invades a neighboring country's borders; when North Korea fires missiles.

We have united as a nation numerous times in our history, and we need to return to those circumstances. When things are so different, Americans need to pull together, and that can happen if there is leadership here in Congress to do so.

Again, one would think—if you believe those challenges are real, as I do, and if you care about the next generation for your own family and Americans whom you will never meet, it seems to me that now would be the time to lower the temperature and to find that common ground that puts us in a position that we can be optimistic about our Nation's future. It doesn't mean that we don't face challenges, and it doesn't mean that we don't have disagreement. It does mean that there is value in finding a solution as compared to accentuating the differences on the evening news. It means explaining to our constituents why, yes, we disagree with a colleague from another State, why we disagree with the Democrats and we disagree with the Republicans and we think we are right. It doesn't mean giving up what you believe in or what you know to be right, but it means, isn't there a path by which we can turn down the fire and pull people together?

So last week—I am giving these remarks because I spent the weekend rethinking what transpired last Thursday, Friday, Saturday, and really what has transpired over a much longer period of time. I concluded that, at the first opportunity, I wanted to make the case that our future is bright, but it is only bright when we work together.

I would say that it is incumbent upon us to send a message—but it is more than that—send a message that we are a reliable partner, to encourage allies around the world to be helpful to Ukraine. The Europeans are now a little bit ahead of us in the support that they now envision now that they plan for support for Ukraine. We have asked for that. They have now moved in that direction, but it will disappear and disappear quickly if we don't demonstrate that we are going to do what we set out to accomplish.

By the way, we had a conversation about our borders. Our borders need desperate attention, and it is another national security issue. As we work to right the cause for America's well-being, enhancing Ukraine's chance for success in defeating Putin, we should also resolutely move forward in ending the failure to protect our own country on our own border.

We have work to do. We can look the other way or we can decide that we are going to do what, over the long period of time, is right. We can decide that it would be nice to be popular at the moment but that it would be better to be right in the long term.

I am grateful for the opportunity I have to serve in the U.S. Senate, and I am grateful for the opportunity I have to serve with the colleagues I do. Last week was a discouraging moment in my time in public service, but I am an optimist. And this week and next week and the next week that follows—the next 47 days—can be times of good work for the American people and a safer and more secure United States and world.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Connecticut.

Mr. BLUMENTHAL. Mr. President, I am grateful to follow my friend—and he is a friend—the Senator from Kansas, who stated very eloquently a number of challenges that lie ahead and the reasons we do have to come together on a bipartisan basis to make America and the world more secure.

Like him, I found last week to be both frustrating and discouraging, but I have been heartened, first, by the overwhelming bipartisan votes in this Chamber in favor of aid to Ukraine—in fact, in support of a bipartisan compromise that included aid to Ukraine and provided a temporary extension of funding, which eventually became the core of the measure adopted by the House.

I have been encouraged as well by the leadership of Senator SCHUMER and Senator MCCONNELL in coming together with Senator COLLINS and Senator MURRAY to say that we will fulfill our obligation to Ukraine and that we will do it promptly.

That is why I am on the floor of the Senate right now—to emphasize the urgency of making sure that we provide Ukraine with the tools, the financial support, the humanitarian assistance, and the arms that it needs to win. And it can win. It is making solid, steady progress. I have seen the maps. I have visited Ukraine four times in the last 18 months. Ukraine can win, and it will win if we provide Ukraine with the tools it needs, but it must be done now.

We owe it to the men and women who are in those trenches right now, bleeding and dying, and who are watching America.

We owe it to the leadership of Ukraine, President Zelenskyy, who has asked me on each of those four visits: Will the United States stay by our side? And I have assured him that, yes, we will be solid.

We owe it to our allies who are also watching—our allies and our adversaries. And, make no mistake, the Chinese have changed their view of whether they can count on the United States to fail and falter, because, so far, we have stood strong, sending a message to China about what we would do if China invades Taiwan.

The world is watching, and history is watching.

To my colleagues, there are few, if any, votes you will take or actions by which you will be measured more intently and importantly than what we do right now—not months away but days away—on what we must do in the Ukraine Security Assistance Initiative.

I urge the administration to take whatever action is necessary—again, not just in statements, not just in words, but in deeds.

Ukraine is waiting for the longer range artillery, the ATACMS, that it needs to pound targets where the Russians gather intelligence, where they store supplies, where they conduct

their leadership. Those ATACMS are necessary—not just the HIMARS but the longer range artillery. We need to train the pilots. That can be done under existing authority and financial support. They need to provide munitions—we are producing more, but Ukraine continues to use them at a rate of roughly 10 times or 15 what we are providing; drones, which have become the new fulcrum of the battlefield not only to gather intelligence but to deliver the kind of ordnance that we need to provide.

These actions by the administration can be done with existing funding. But the fact of the matter is that, as of this week or just days afterward, the Pentagon may well run out of funding for new weapons platforms. Without an immediate replenishment, it cannot, over the longer term, provide Ukraine with critical systems, like the air defense platforms, that Ukraine needs to protect its civilians as well as its military targets. Winter is approaching, and Russia will continue to bombard its infrastructure unless it has that air defense. Those systems, the hospitals, the schools, the grid for electricity are now supremely susceptible to that kind of air bombardment.

We know Patriot air defense works. I have seen it myself in the midst of air raids on Kyiv, where I went to the bunker and Kyiv's air defense successfully fended off those missiles and drones that were coming after it.

We know the urgency of those ATACMS. We have heard it from the Ukrainians. We have heard it from our own military about how important they can be. I urge the administration to provide that longer range artillery as soon as it can do so.

But we have a larger task ahead of us. The supplemental at \$24 billion is a necessary start right now. We can take advantage of the bipartisan agreement that we have expressed in this Chamber and in the House to make it happen, to move quickly and promptly.

I recognize there is turmoil in the House of Representatives. I am clear-eyed about the possibility of growing fatigue among the American people. But it is on us in the U.S. Senate. It is on us as leaders to make the case and convince America that it is on us and in our interest because if we fail now to make this investment, the costs will be far greater when Putin wins.

We will have the need not just to provide weapons platforms but troops on the ground because that will be our treaty obligation if Putin then goes against Romania, Poland, Moldova, Finland, and Sweden. He will pick one of them.

We know he will be on the march if he wins in Ukraine, and we will have proved him right about our faltering and failing. It will encourage not only him but also China, and we will have a far greater cost. It is our national security on the line. Ukrainians are fighting for our future, not just theirs; for our independence and freedom, not just their own.

We have a national security interest in this fight, and we need to make the American people understand it.

Sometimes history is personal. Sometimes it is shaped by a leader who has the courage and strength to step forward and put his life on the line. That is what Volodymyr Zelenskyy has done. He has inspired the people of Ukraine and the people around the world by staying in Ukraine and providing that leadership that is so important.

I once asked him how he thought it would end. He said: In the end, it will be fine. And if it is not fine, it is not the end. They are determined, as he told me, to fight with pitch forks, if necessary. But we can't let them fight with pitch forks. We need to give them what they need to be successful and to vindicate the losses they have suffered.

I have seen them in Bucha, the mass grave sites, where women and children had hands tied behind their backs, shot in the head, hundreds of them—a repeat of Stalin and Hitler in their killing of innocent people in exactly those “bloodlands,” as Professor Snyder has called them.

We have all seen images of cities leveled, literally destroyed, not just Bakhmut but Mariupol. We have heard about children kidnapped from areas that Russia has occupied. I have talked to the prosecutor general about those thousands of children—literally thousands—taken from their parents, supposedly orphans, but their parents were still alive and parents taken away from children to Belarus.

There is a reason why the International Court of Criminal Justice has issued a warrant for the arrest of Vladimir Putin and why he would be judged a war criminal if he ever were brought to trial—because he has committed atrocities that have no match in recent history for their scale and scope and their brutality.

We are dealing with someone who has no respect for human life—either Ukrainian life or Russian life—because he will continue to send his people into the maw like cannon fire.

In the face of that evil, the Ukrainians are determined. But we need to match their courage and strength with the resources that they need and with the arms that they need.

Sometimes history is personal in what it means to us. My own dad left Germany in 1935. He came to this country at the age of 17. He spoke virtually no English. He had not much more than the shirt on his back. He knew no one. He left Germany alone at the age of 17 because he saw what was coming. He succeeded in bringing over his parents and his siblings and lost the rest of his family to the kind of brutality and atrocity that we are witnessing right now at the hands of Vladimir Putin.

History doesn't repeat, but it often rhymes. Evil often does repeat, even if it is not by the same people against the same people. What we are seeing now is

evil. There are very few places in the world or conflicts or circumstances where there is, in fact, no gray area—black and white, good and evil.

The world is watching now to see how we will keep faith: keep faith with our allies that have invested along with us at our side, keep faith with the people of Ukraine, and maybe most important, keep faith with ourselves and with our values.

We are being watched not just by the world but by history. And our values and our self-image, our ability to look ourselves in the mirror and say, “Yes, we did our job,” is now what is at stake.

History will remember us either as paragons of liberty or ineffectual bystanders.

We can't wait for 45 days. We need a supplemental now. The men and women in the trenches of Ukraine can't wait 45 days for bullets and bandages. The people in Kyiv facing this winter without, potentially, food and electricity can't wait 45 days to know that we will stand by them. They are fighting for their future, for the dreams of independence and democracy.

We are the most powerful, wealthiest, and the greatest Nation in the world not simply because of the example of our power but the power of our example.

There are a lot of folks—and I was one of them—who are discouraged and frustrated, as I said right at the start, about the ability of our democracy to work, given what we went through over these past days. But we can show our values and our democracy at its best if we help the Ukrainians at this moment of unparalleled crisis for them.

If we delay and falter, we lose time, and the loss of time and delay essentially means defeat.

I urge my colleagues to join me to find a way forward, a path to vote as soon as possible to make that aid available to Ukraine. It is our obligation and our opportunity, at this critical moment in our history, when the world is watching and when others, long from now, will look back and watch what we did or failed to do.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Rhode Island.

CONSUMER FINANCIAL PROTECTION BUREAU

Mr. REED. Mr. President, after hearing oral arguments earlier today, the Supreme Court will rule on a case that will determine whether average Americans will continue to have an independent Federal watchdog to push back against the abuses of big financial institutions.

The case I am speaking of is the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau—CFPB v. Community Financial Services Association of America. It deals with an outlandish ruling of the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals that would invalidate the congressionally approved funding scheme of the CFPB. If it stands, the ruling will starve the Bureau of funding and effectively prevent

it from working on behalf of the American people.

But let's take a step back to remember why the CFPB was created over a decade ago.

In the runup to the great recession, lenders were aggressively marketing subprime mortgages with predatory features to borrowers they knew had no ability to repay. Reckless Wall Street firms bundled those mortgages into securities and sold them to investors, including pension funds. And weak regulators stood by as all of this unfolded.

Borrowers ultimately discovered that they could not repay their mortgages. The securities backed by these mortgages took a nosedive, causing a meltdown of the banking system and taking down the entire economy.

While Wall Street got a lifeline from the Congress and the Federal Government, millions of Americans did not. They paid with their jobs, their homes, and their savings.

The unemployment rate peaked at 10 percent; nearly 7.5 million families lost their homes; and Americans lost \$20 trillion in household wealth.

At the time, people rightfully asked who was looking out for them. The truth was no one, really.

American families were ill-served by financial regulators and by the system. A half dozen Federal Agencies shared responsibility for making sure that working families didn't get ripped off, but they all failed. In many cases, they seemed to regard their primary mission as protecting the big players in the financial system. And they were hamstrung by the Bush administration, which used the appropriations process to starve Agencies, like the SEC, of the resources and personnel they needed to be effective.

So while these Agencies all had some responsibility for protecting consumers, none of them pursued it vigorously. The performance of regulators at the time put truth to the saying that “when everyone is responsible, no one is responsible.”

This weakness in our regulatory system and structure is why Congress created the CFPB and gave it a singular mission to protect Americans from the worst kinds of financial abuses, not just for mortgages but for every single consumer financial product.

The creation of this Agency is arguably one of the most important reforms made following the financial crisis.

I recognize that Wall Street and big financial companies have always feared the CFPB. That is because the CFPB is the only financial regulatory Agency that exclusively focuses on protecting consumers against abusive practices.

But Wall Street also fears the CFPB because its funding structure insulates it from regulatory capture, aggressive lobbying, and political pressure. Wielding its power judiciously and effectively, the CFPB has delivered results for American families. In a little more than a decade, the Bureau has obtained \$17.5 billion in relief for 200 million consumers.