

that his legacy will live on for many years to come.

WAR POWERS RESOLUTION TO END UNAUTHORIZED U.S. MILITARY INVOLVEMENT IN YEMEN

Mr. President, the U.S. Constitution makes unmistakably clear the fact that in order to declare war, one must go through Congress. There are good reasons for this requirement. Whenever we go to war, we are making the greatest of moral decisions—decisions that will imperil the lives of those involved in that war, including and especially the brave young men and women who represent us in uniform and who fight to protect our freedom. The costs of war—and I speak not only of the economic costs but especially of the deep human costs associated with war—are such that these decisions should never be made lightly. It is for this reason that the Founding Fathers wisely put this power into the hands of those occupying the branch of government most accountable to the people at the most regular intervals.

You cannot declare war without going through Congress. Sadly, over time, some of this power has been neglected—neglected by the very Congress to which the power properly constitutionally belongs. Under the Constitution to which every Member of this body has sworn an oath to uphold, to protect, and defend, it is wrong to go into war without Congress's directing it, ordering it, declaring it. Yet, sadly, tragically, unconstitutionally, I believe, the United States has been involved as a co-belligerent in a civil war half a world away in Yemen, involved in connection with a Kingdom of Saudi Arabia-led coalition against the Houthi rebels.

What, one might ask, is the interest of the United States in this war? What is it about this particular civil war in Yemen that is important to keep the American people safe? That is a question that has never been fully answered. In fact, it is a question that has never been answered by the only branch of government that is capable constitutionally of making that assessment, of answering that question. We have never answered it.

It is not just a mere formality that we go through when we require Congress to declare war. It is about the debate that that starts, the conversation that occurs among the American people, the accountability that each Member of the Senate and each Member of the House of Representatives has to his or her constituents. It is about the fact that we have to be able and willing to look the American people in the eye—even our own constituents, our own friends and neighbors, even and especially those who are the parents and loved ones of the men and women who will be at the battlefield and will be asked, potentially, to pay the ultimate price for defending freedom. We have to be willing to do that. Yet we haven't because, for the last 4 years, we have been fighting someone else's war without a declaration of war by Congress,

without an authorization for the use of military force by Congress.

What, then, is the remedy? There are a number of things that we could do and that we should do. Among them are the procedures outlined by and provided in the War Powers Act. The War Powers Act gives us the ability to halt our military involvement where Congress deems it inappropriate.

A few months ago, Senator SANDERS and I ran a resolution to do precisely that—availing ourselves of the benefits of the War Powers Act. Sadly, that measure was narrowly defeated; it was tabled; it was halted from moving forward. It has been filed again. We are going to have an opportunity again very soon, perhaps as early as tomorrow, to vote on that yet again.

In the meantime, what has changed? We have continued to fight this war still in an unconstitutional posture, still without the American people having been adequately consulted, still without the American people's elected Senators and Representatives having made a decision to go to war, still without the opportunity for us to look in the eye our neighbors, our constituents, and the parents and family members and loved ones of our brave men and women in uniform who are asked to fight these battles and to tell them why it is that we are asking for this potential sacrifice of American blood and treasure. We have not done those things.

Since that time, we have seen some very unsettling realities unfold within the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, with credible intelligence regarding the Crown Prince's involvement in and ordering of the death of Mr. Khashoggi. We now have not only the eyes of the American people on Saudi Arabia—more importantly, we have the eyes of people all around the world on the United States of America. It is not just about the death of Mr. Khashoggi, but Mr. Khashoggi's death and the way it came about and the way it is alleged and supposed to have been ordered by the Crown Prince of Saudi Arabia says something about us if we proceed undeterred in our fighting of an unconstitutional war on behalf of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. It is not just what the American people think about Saudi Arabia or about us in Washington; it is also about what the rest of the world will think about the United States of America if we turn a blind eye to this and if we continue to fight an undeclared, unauthorized, unconstitutional war that has no apparent connection to the safety of the American people, to the security of the American homeland.

This is why I respectfully—and with all of the urgency I am capable of communicating—implore my colleagues to support this resolution, to support the resolution to get us out of fighting Saudi Arabia's war in Yemen. It is not our war, not our security, not on our watch.

I yield the floor.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BROWN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

NOMINATION OF THOMAS FARR

Mr. BROWN. Mr. President, we have just been through a long election season, with a lot of close races. In States all over the country, voters had to contend with relentless attacks on their voting rights. We saw it in Ohio, where voters were purged from the rolls. We saw it in my mother's home State of Georgia, where more than 50,000 voter registrations were held up. Seventy percent of those were from Black voters. We know exactly who these laws are aimed at. It is people of color, and it is despicable. It is outrageous.

Rather than working to fix this problem, making it easier for voters to exercise their fundamental right, this administration and Republican leaders in this body and in State legislatures around the country want to put a man on the Federal bench who has supported unapologetic racists and defended voter suppression laws.

This body has done nothing to try to stop voter suppression. Controlled by Republicans, State legislatures around the country, in legislature after legislature, have, in fact, emboldened people who want to suppress voting rights.

Andrew Gillum and Stacey Abrams are two candidates each who would probably be Governor-elect right now if every voters' voices had been heard. Listen to what they had to say about Thomas Farr, the nominee for the Eastern District of North Carolina: "When it comes to the trifecta of voter disenfranchisement—voter suppression, racial gerrymandering, and restriction of voting rights—Thomas Farr is, sadly, one of the most experienced election lawyers in the country."

When it comes to the trifecta of voter disenfranchisement, he wins the award. He defended North Carolina's voter suppression laws—among the worst in the country. The Fourth Circuit Court said that the law targeted Black voters "with almost surgical precision."

He defended Jesse Helms in a lawsuit where Jesse Helms campaigned and sent 125,000 postcards to African-American communities, telling them that they would be arrested for voter fraud at their polling places. Considering the history of voter suppression in that State, imagine the terror, in many cases, in the eyes of those African-American voters who saw those postcards telling them that they could be arrested for voter fraud at their polling places. Of course many of them were not going to vote then, which is exactly what Jesse Helms and Thomas Farr wanted to happen. Thomas Farr defended Jesse Helms in court. To put

this man on the Federal bench is a national disgrace.

The cherry on top of this nomination is the fact that Barack Obama nominated two African-American women to serve on this court. Under the leadership of the gentleman down the hall, the Republican leader, MITCH MCCONNELL, this body didn't even give them a hearing. Instead of the choice of two African-American women who led over a decade, they want to put a man on the bench who defended segregationists and voter suppression. They want to put that kind of judge in that seat. It is a throwback to the worst moments of our history. This body shouldn't stand for it.

GM LORDSTOWN CLOSURE

Mr. President, around the time of the auto rescue almost a decade ago, I was watching the first Chevy Cruze come off the line in Lordstown, OH, at a plant that had been there in Youngstown, OH, for almost a decade. Two years ago, I was at the GM Lordstown plant for its 50th anniversary. I saw the pride the community takes in that plant. GM itself estimated 10,000 people turned out to watch the parade. The line to tour the plant stretched down the street and around the block. It is what this plant and this auto industry mean to the communities they serve.

When the news broke late Sunday night or early Monday morning that General Motors is closing this plant and laying off up to 15,000 workers in Ohio and around the country, one reporter for the Youngstown Vindicator tweeted that it was an "all hands on deck day, with just about everyone in the newsroom dropping everything to cover the GM Lordstown story."

Those reporters are not enemies of the people. In fact, these reporters are people who care about their communities, who don't make a lot of money, and who are willing to afflict the comfortable and comfort the afflicted. They are not enemies of the people. These reporters understood what these job losses will mean, not just to those workers but to this community in Mahoning Valley of about a half a million people.

While people's lives were being upended in Mahoning Valley and around country and while parents were having painful conversations around kitchen tables, local businesses were nervously looking at their balance sheets, do you know what happened? Wall Street traders were celebrating. As the announcement to lay off workers happened, the stock price went up. Look at what happened to their stock price after their announcement.

Wall Street and its cronies in Washington simply don't value workers, and they don't understand the dignity of work. They don't look at workers as vital to a company's success. Indeed, they view the American worker as nothing more than a cost to be minimized, and Wall Street rewards companies when they lay off workers. They reward companies when the workers'

pay is cut or their benefits are scaled back. Wall Street rewards companies when their workers get hurt.

Of course, we expect companies to always try to maximize profits, but we weren't elected in this body to serve corporations. We were elected to stand up for the Americans we serve and to stand up for the small business owners. This broken business model is exactly why we need a trade and tax policy that actually invests in American workers. Instead, this crowd in Washington is only making it worse.

Earlier this summer, on the very same day that GM Lordstown laid off the second shift in Mahoning Valley, we got word that GM plans to build its new Chevy Blazer in Mexico, bypassing American workers and sending more jobs to Mexico. There are 1,500 workers who lost their jobs on the same day General Motors announced they were building a plant in Mexico. How stupid do we have to be to think there is not a connection there? That decision was no coincidence.

The tax bill this Congress passed and this President signed, which almost every single Republican voted for and every single Democrat voted against, provides a 50-percent-off coupon off of the taxes for every company that moves overseas.

For instance, the Chevy Cruze is made in Youngstown, OH. General Motors pays a 21-percent corporate tax rate. Another kind of Chevy Cruze made by General Motors in Mexico pays a 10.5-percent tax rate. So if you work in the United States, you pay 21 percent in taxes. If you go overseas, you get a 50-percent coupon off on your taxes. Do you know why? Because this Congress and President Trump signed a bill that will do nothing but outsource jobs. It didn't have to be that way.

The Patriot Corporation Act, which I handed to the President in the President's Cabinet Room a year and a half ago, would have simply said this: If you pay your workers well, if you provide healthcare and retirement for your workers, and if you make your product in the United States of America, you get a lower tax rate. I handed a copy of that bill to the President. He said he liked it. Do you know what happened then? Instead, that bill—which could have been the Patriot Corporation Act, which could have been the taxpayers' bill of rights, which could have been the corporate freeloader fee, where, when companies abuse their workers, they pay a fee—made its way down to the majority leader's office. And do you know what happened? The special interests went to work.

Do you know what happened then, when the special interests went to work? They created this 50-percent-off coupon for their taxes so those companies that moved to Mexico or moved to France or moved to Bangladesh or anywhere else get a 50-percent tax cut. Who suffers the consequences? It is the American workers.

We need to stand up for the people whom we serve, and we need to fix this.

After GM ended the second shift at Lordstown, I met with GM's CEO, Mary Barra, and demanded answers. She said that retooling the plant to go from the Cruze to the SUV Chevy Blazer would simply cost too much. It was too expensive. So we came up with a plan. First of all, they had just taken their huge tax cut, which they could have invested in workers, but instead they invested it in corporate buybacks, executive buybacks, so that executives make 300 times what the average well-paid worker at GM makes.

I came up with a plan to fix this. If they are not going to reinvest that money, we could level the playing field. We call it the American Cars, American Jobs Act.

There are two simple parts. First, customers who buy cars that are made in the United States get \$3,500 off at the dealership—real dollars, real money at the dealership. Under our definition of "Made in America," the discount would apply to nearly 100 cars, trucks, and SUVs, including all passenger vehicles, including the Jeep Cherokee, which is made in Toledo, and all passenger vehicles assembled in Ohio.

Second, the companies that cut the number of American jobs they had on the day the GOP tax bill passed and added those jobs overseas lose their tax break. We take away that 50 percent off coupon on their taxes. If you choose to send jobs overseas, you lose that coupon. If you keep jobs in the United States, you keep your discounted rate.

Remember back in July, I believe, of 2017? Donald Trump, the President of the United States, was in Youngstown. He said to the people of Youngstown: "We never again will sacrifice Ohio jobs and those in other states to enrich other countries." He then said: Don't sell your homes. We are going to bring all of these jobs back into these old plants, or we are going to knock down these old plants and build new plants. We are going to bring back all of these jobs.

But when he said that we will never again sacrifice all of these jobs—that is what his tax bill did. His tax bill provided that 50-percent-off coupon.

People trusted him in Mahoning Valley. He won areas that Democrats used to win. They put their faith in him. What did Trump do? He gave these corporations a huge tax break that will cause more jobs to go overseas.

It is all part of this President's phony populism. He pits one group against another to distract from the fact that this White House looks like a retreat for Wall Street executives, except for the days it looks like a retreat for pharmaceutical executives, except for the days it looks like a retreat for gun lobby executives. He campaigns across States like Ohio, saying he is for working people, and then he passes tax cuts for companies that are sending their jobs overseas.

While campaigning in Ohio in 2016, he said: