

not enhance America's diplomatic leverage. In fact, it will make it harder to achieve those very objectives.

This is an inappropriate and counterproductive measure. First, the administration has already ended—ended—air-to-air refueling of coalition aircraft. We only provide limited noncombat support to the U.N.-recognized Yemeni Government and to the Saudi-led coalition. It certainly does not—does not—constitute hostilities.

Second, there are real threats from the Houthis in Yemen whom Iran, as we all know, is backing. Missiles and explosives are being aimed at civilians, anti-ship missiles are being fired at vessels in key shipping lanes of global importance.

If one of those missiles kills a large number of Saudi or Emirati civilians, let alone Americans who live in Riyadh or Dubai, say goodbye to any hope of a negotiated end to this conflict. These threats will not evaporate. They are not going to go away if the United States ends its limited support. So I think of the American citizens who live in the regions.

Third, our focus should be on ending the war in Yemen responsibly. Pulling the plug on support to our partners only undermines the very leverage and influence we need to help facilitate the U.N.'s diplomatic efforts. The United States will be in a better position to encourage the Saudi-led coalition to take diplomatic risks if our partners trust that we appreciate the significant, legitimate threats they face from the Houthis.

Fourth, we face real threats from al-Qaida in the Arabian Peninsula. We need cooperation from Yemen, the UAE, and Saudi Arabia to defeat those terrorists. So we should think twice about undermining these very partners whose cooperation we obviously need for our own security.

Here is my bottom line. We should not use this specific vote on a specific policy decision as some proxy for all the Senate's broad feelings about foreign affairs. Concerns about Saudi human rights issues should be directly addressed with the administration and with the Saudi officials. That is what I have chosen to do. That is what I recommend others do.

As for Yemen, we need to ask what action will actually serve our goal; that is, working with partners to encourage a negotiated solution.

Withdrawn? Would withdrawing our support facilitate efforts to end the war, or just embolden the Houthis? Would sending this signal enhance or weaken our leverage over the Saudi-led coalition? Would voting for this resolution strengthen the hand of the U.N. Special Envoy, Martin Griffiths, or in fact undermine his work? Would we prefer that Saudi Arabia and the UAE go to China and Russia for assistance instead of the United States?

The answers to these questions is pretty clear. We need to vote no on this misguided resolution.

THE GREEN NEW DEAL

Madam President, now one final matter. Yesterday, I continued the discussion we have been having about the strange ideas that seem to have taken hold of Washington Democrats.

Ideas like the Democrat politician protection act, a scheme to limit America's First Amendment right to political speech and force taxpayers to subsidize political campaigns, including ones they disagree with. It did not earn a single Republican vote in the House, by the way. Thank goodness.

Ideas like Medicare for None, which could spend more than \$32 trillion to hollow out seniors' health benefits and boot working families from their chosen plans into a one-size-fits-all government scheme.

Even the soaring costs and massive disruption that plan would cause American families are dwarfed—dwarfed—by the grandiose scheme they are marketing as the Green New Deal.

By now, we are all familiar with the major thrust of the proposal: powering down the U.S. economy, and yet somehow also creating government-directed economic security for everyone—for everyone—at the same time.

Naturally, accomplishing all this is quite a tall order. According to the Democrats' resolution, it will require overhauling every building in America to meet strict new codes, overseen, of course, by social planners here in Washington. It would require banning the production of American coal, oil, and natural gas in 10 short years and cracking down on transportation systems that produce any emissions, which, as one hastily deleted background document made clear, is just a polite way of saying Democrats want to eventually ban anything with a motor that runs on gasoline. They want to ban anything with a motor that runs on gasoline.

I thought "Abolish ICE" was bad enough when Democrats were rallying to close down all of Immigration and Customs Enforcement, but now what do we get? The far left also wants to abolish the internal combustion engine. I gather somewhere around that time is when the miraculous, promised universal job guarantee would kick in as well. It is just a good, old-fashioned, state-planned economy—garden-variety 21st-century socialism.

Our Democratic colleagues have taken all the debunked philosophies of the last 100 years, rolled them into one giant package, and thrown a little "green" paint on them to make them look new, but there is nothing remotely new about a proposal to centralize control over the economy and raise taxes on the American people to pay for it.

Margaret Thatcher famously said that the trouble with socialist governments is "they always run out of other people's money." How often have we heard that? Well, this dangerous fantasy would burn through the American people's money before it even got off the launchpad.

The cost to the Treasury is just the beginning. It is hard to put a price tag on ripping away the jobs and livelihoods of literally millions of Americans. It is hard to put a price tag on forcibly remodeling Americans' homes whether they want it or not and taking away their cars whether they want that or not. It certainly is difficult to put a price tag on unilaterally disarming the entire U.S. economy with this kind of self-inflicted wound while other nations, such as China, go roaring by—roaring by.

By definition, global emissions are a global problem. Even if we grant the Democrats' unproven claim that cratering American industries and outlawing the energy sources that middle-class families can afford would produce the kinds of emissions changes they are after, we need to remember that the United States is only responsible for about 15 percent of the world's greenhouse gas emissions—only 15 percent of the global total.

According to the Department of Energy, the United States cut our own energy-related carbon emissions by 14 percent from 2005 to 2017. So we cut carbon emissions in this country significantly from 2005 to 2017. Well, it is appropriate to ask, what did the rest of the world do? They kept soaring higher and higher.

In the same period that the United States cut our energy-related carbon emissions by 14 percent, the International Energy Agency found that worldwide, energy-related carbon emissions rose by 20 percent everywhere else. China—the world's largest carbon emitter—increased its emissions dramatically over that period. So, believe me, if Democrats succeeded at slowing the U.S. economy and cutting our prosperity because they think it will save the planet, China will not pull over by the side of the road to keep us company; they will go roaring right by us.

The proposal we are talking about is, frankly, delusional—absolutely delusional. It is so unserious that it ought to be beneath one of our two major political parties to line up behind it.

The Washington Post editorial board—not exactly a bastion of conservatism—dismissed the notion that "the country could reach net-zero greenhouse-gas emissions by 2030" as "an impossible goal."

In a clear sign of how rapidly Democrats are racing to the far left, President Obama's own Energy Secretary said the same thing. He said: "I just cannot see how we could possibly go to zero carbon in the 10-year timeframe."

These Washington Democrats' leftward sprint is leaving Obama administration officials in the dust and even parts of their own base. Listen to what Democrats' usual Big Labor allies have to say about this socialist nightmare. Union leaders with the AFL-CIO say this proposal "could cause immediate harm to millions of our members and their families." That is what the AFL-CIO union leaders said. Immediate harm to American workers,

American farmers, American families, and America's future, and nowhere near enough reduction in global emissions to show for it. It is a self-inflicted wound for the low price, by one estimate, of somewhere in the neighborhood of \$93 trillion.

This is not based on logic or reason; it is just based on the prevailing fashions in New York and San Francisco. That is what is defining today's Democrats.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that following the disposition of the Beach nomination, the Senate resume legislative session for a period of morning business, with Senators permitted to speak for up to 10 minutes each, and that there be 30 minutes of debate controlled by Senator ERNST or her designee.

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

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

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

RECOGNITION OF THE MINORITY LEADER

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Democratic leader is recognized.

DECLARATION OF NATIONAL EMERGENCY

Mr. SCHUMER. Madam President, tomorrow, the Senate will vote on a resolution to terminate the President's emergency declaration—a declaration that undermines our separation of powers in order to fund the President's wall with American taxpayer dollars, despite Candidate Trump's repeated promises that Mexico would pay for it.

The resolution could not be any simpler. All it says is this, one single sentence: "Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, pursuant to section 202 of the National Emergencies Act . . . the national emergency declared by the finding of the President on February 15, 2019, in Proclamation 9844 . . . is hereby terminated."

That is it in the entirety. There are no political games here. There is no "gotcha." There is no discussion as to whether we need a wall, whether there is a crisis on the southern border. It simply says that this is not an emergency.

The vote tomorrow boils down to something very simple for our Republican friends: Do you believe in the Constitution and conservative principles? There are all of these self-proclaimed conservatives. Well, the No. 1 tenet of conservatism is that no one, particularly an Executive, a President, should have too much power. That has been what conservatives have stood for through the centuries, and all of a sud-

den, because Donald Trump says he wants to declare an emergency, are people going to succumb?

The Founding Fathers would be rolling in their graves. They would be rolling in their graves for any President, let alone this one who we know overreaches in terms of power and who we know has no understanding of the exquisite and delicate balance that James Madison, George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, and so many others created in the Constitution and the Bill of Rights.

Do our Republican friends stand for conservative principles? Do they stand for any principles at all, or do they just take a loyalty pledge to President Trump and meekly do whatever he wants? It is that simple.

There are a lot of issues on which we disagree. There are lots of times our Republican friends bow to President Trump, but there ought to be an exception. And if there ever were an exception, it should be this.

Many of my Republican colleagues rightly stood up and told the President not to take this action. Leader McCONNELL himself said it was a bad idea, a bad precedent, contravenes the power of the purse, a dangerous step, an erosion of congressional authority. And they, our Republican friends, were right. The President himself said he "didn't need to do this." That is not an emergency.

Are we going to say that anytime a President can't get his or her way with Congress, they can declare an emergency and Congress will meekly shrug its shoulders and walk by and bow in obeisance to any President, Democratic or Republican? What a disgrace.

This is one of the true tests of our Republican colleagues—one of the true tests—because it has always been the Democratic Party that has been for a stronger Executive. Dwight Eisenhower was worried about too much power going to the President, and so was Ronald Reagan. Where are our Republican friends now? Has Donald Trump turned this Republican Party and its conservative principles so inside out that we can't even get four votes to declare that this isn't an emergency, that we can't get 20 votes to say to the President that we will override this, because this is far more important than any view on the wall or the southern border, which we all know has been going on for a long time. While the President thinks it is an emergency, Congress clearly didn't. Even when Republicans controlled the House and Senate, they did nothing about the wall.

I have talked to a lot of my Republican colleagues. They know what this is all about. Everyone here knows the truth. The President did not declare an emergency because there is one; he declared an emergency because he lost in Congress and wanted to go around it. He has no principles in terms of congressional balance of power. We know that. We all know that. So to bow in obeisance to him when we all know

what he is doing is so wrong—a low moment for this Senate and its Republican friends.

When it comes to the Constitution, you ought to stand up to fear and do the right thing no matter who is in the White House. My Republican friends know the right thing to do. They should not be afraid to do it.

Last I checked, we all took the same oath of office. What did it say? "Uphold the Constitution."

There are different views on the Constitution, but I haven't heard one constitutional scholar—left, right, or center—say that this upholding the President on this emergency is the right thing to do in terms of the Constitution. I hope my Republican friends will join us.

Now, it seems, from what I read in the press reports this morning, that some Senators are in search of a fig leaf. They want to salve their consciences. They know this is the wrong thing to do.

They came up with this idea that will change the emergency declaration for future moments. Reports indicate that a group of Republican Senators are pushing legislation that would ignore the President's power grab but limit future emergency declarations—what bunk, what a fig leaf. That will not pass.

To my friend, the Senator from Utah, who I know does have constitutional qualms, he is squirming. His legislation will not pass.

Let me just read you what Leader PELOSI said a few minutes ago. This is from her statement:

Republican Senators are proposing new legislation to allow the President to violate the Constitution just this once in order to give themselves cover. The House will not take up this legislation to give President Trump a pass.

Do you hear me, my colleagues—my Republican colleagues? This will not pass. This is not a salve. It is a very transparent fig leaf. If you believe the President is doing the wrong thing, if you believe there shouldn't be an emergency, you don't say: Well, in the Congress we will introduce future legislation to change it, and, then, when the President declares another emergency, we will do new legislation to allow that too.

Come on. This fig leaf is so easily seen through, so easily blown aside that it leaves the constitutional pretensions of my Republican colleagues naked. The fig leaf is gone. Don't even think that it will have anything to do with what we are doing.

I hope my colleagues will stand strong. What the Republicans want to say with this fig leaf is, to paraphrase St. Augustine, "Grant me the courage to stand up to President Trump, but not yet."

Next time and next time and next time they will say the same thing.

Let's do the right thing. Let's tell the President that he cannot use his overreaching power to declare an emergency when he couldn't get Congress to