

Congress on awards and settlements requiring payments from the Section 415(a) Treasury Account.

(3) [reserved]

§ 9.05 Revocation, Amendment, or Waiver of Rules.

(a) The Executive Director, subject to the approval of the Board, may revoke or amend these Rules by publishing proposed changes in the Congressional Record and providing for a comment period of not less than 30 days. Following the comment period, any changes to the Rules are final once they are published in the Congressional Record.

(b) The Board or a Hearing Officer may waive a procedural rule in an individual case for good cause shown if application of the rule is not required by law.

§ 9.06 Notices.

(a) All employing offices are required to post and keep posted the notice provided by the Office that:

(1) describes the rights, protections, and procedures applicable to covered employees of the employing office under this Act, concerning violations described in 2 U.S.C. § 1362(b); and

(2) includes contact information for the Office.

(b) The notice must be displayed in all premises of the covered employer in conspicuous places where notices to employees are customarily posted.

§ 9.07 Training and Education Programs.

(a) Not later than June 19, 2019 (i.e., 180 days after the date of the enactment of the Reform Act), and not later than 45 days after the beginning of each Congress (beginning with the 117th Congress), each employing office shall submit a report both to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives and the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate on the implementation of the training and education program required under section 438(a) of the Act.

(b) *Exception for Offices of Congress.*—This section does not apply to any employing office of the House of Representatives or any employing office of the Senate.

ORDERS FOR THURSDAY, JUNE 20, 2019

Mr. INHOFE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate completes its business today, it adjourn until 9:30 a.m., Thursday, June 20; further, that following the prayer and pledge, the morning hour be deemed expired, the Journal of proceedings be approved to date, the time for the two leaders be reserved for their use later in the day, morning business be closed, and the Senate resume consideration of the pending joint resolutions en bloc; further, that 15 minutes be under the control of Senator MENENDEZ and 5 minutes be under control of Senator RISCH prior to 11:30 a.m. tomorrow; finally, that all time since cloture on the motion to proceed to S. 1790 was invoked, recess, adjournment, morning business, and leader remarks and during the consideration of the resolutions en bloc, count postclosure on the motion to proceed to S. 1790.

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

Mr. INHOFE. For the information of all Senators, the Senate will vote on the confirmation of the Baranwal nomination at 1:45 p.m. tomorrow.

ORDER FOR ADJOURNMENT

Mr. INHOFE. Mr. President, if there is no further business to come before the Senate, I ask unanimous consent that it stand adjourned under the previous order, following the remarks of our Democratic colleagues.

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

The Senator from New Jersey.

S.J. RES. 36

Mr. MENENDEZ. Mr. President, I rise to begin the debate in support of 22 resolutions of disapproval and ask my colleagues to join me in asserting congressional prerogative over arms sales to foreign governments and to say unequivocally that our security partnership with Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, or any other nation is not a blank check.

On May 24, the Secretary of State attempted to bypass this body in order to push through 22 separate arms sales to Saudi Arabia and United Arab Emirates, claiming an ill-defined emergency regarding Iran. Make no mistake. Iran continues to be a threat to U.S. interests in the Middle East. It continues to jeopardize the greater stability of the region. It has been rightly designated a state sponsor of terrorism. I think it is safe to say that no one in this body has been tougher on Iran than I. But we must ask whether the administration's actions are making us safer from Iranian threats or actually putting us more at risk. Does this administration have a strategic, maximum pressure campaign in place to address Iran's nuclear capabilities or its destructive behavior or is the Trump administration's only plan to turn the Middle East into a pressure cooker with no release valve? I fear it is the latter.

Let me address the resolutions at hand, highlighting just a few. Arms sales are a critical national security tool, and reviewing and approving them are core functions of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. We are responsible for considering how each proposed sale fits into our broader foreign policy goals and our national security interests, including the capacity and interoperability of our partners.

The congressional review of arms sales is mandated for a reason—so that the Secretary of State explicitly cannot do what he tried to do last month with these 22 sales to Saudi Arabia and the UAE.

Despite the Secretary of State's claims, his May 24 justification lacks any detailed, persuasive information to demonstrate that these sales will somehow better enable the United States or our allies to address an imminent threat or "emergency" or that he was justified in trying to bypass Congress.

Beyond failing to consult with Congress, I am troubled by the administration's continued willingness to withhold information from Senators. Just 3 days prior to the announcement, this "emergency," Secretary Pompeo

briefed the Senate on the very threat he now claims justifies invoking emergency authorities. Yet during this briefing, the Secretary did not mention, not once, any need to sell more arms to Saudi Arabia to address such a threat.

An "emergency" by definition is an urgent and unexpected event requiring immediate action. Yet last week, Assistant Secretary of State Clarke Cooper admitted in an open House hearing that the decision to make the emergency determination was in the works for months—for months. When pressed on how an emergency declaration couldn't be in the works for months, Cooper tried to argue that the "emergency" showed up sometime in between the 2 days that the Secretary briefed members and then made the notifications.

It doesn't work that way. If it is in the works for months, as you testified, and you were thinking about it, you should have told us.

Their abuse of emergency authorities will ultimately be detrimental to the State Department, the defense industry, and U.S. national security.

For decades, the Congress, multiple Presidential administrations, and the defense industry have engaged in the arms sales process in good faith. The Senate has approved billions of dollars of arms sales to dozens of countries.

Whenever I am concerned about a particular sale, I have sought to work with the administration, the recipient country, as well as defense firms to explain those concerns and to reach a mutually acceptable solution. This approach has served all parties well. It ensures that there is a check on the Executive, whoever that Executive is. It ensures there is oversight over the number and types of U.S. weapons that make their way around the world.

Allow me to outline a little bit of background regarding two of the resolutions we will vote on individually: S.J. Res. 36 and 38, for those keeping score. Then I would like to address border concerns with Saudi Arabia and implications for some of the other sales.

These two resolutions are related to the sale of precision-guided munitions and parts to the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, weapons they have used in the killing of untold numbers of innocent civilians in their ongoing campaign in Yemen.

Over the course of 4 years, Saudi Arabia's air operations in Yemen have killed and maimed thousands of Yemeni civilians. Ninety thousand Yemenis have died. Eighty thousand children have died of starvation. Seven thousand or more cases of cholera are reported. Three million people are displaced—3 million people are displaced. Some statistics tell us that there are 14 million more on the brink of starvation. The United Arab Emirates has joined in this coalition in this fight on Yemen, and there are credible reports, concerns that I raised about abusive torture at Emirati detention centers

and illicitly transferring U.S. weapons to third-party actors in Yemen, some of which the United States considers terrorist organizations.

These precision-guided munitions are supposed to be a way to avoid civilian casualties. Saudi Arabia has apparently intentionally targeted hospitals, bridges, power stations, apartment buildings, weddings, schools, and even a school bus filled with children—filled with children.

We have heard claims that these precision-guided munitions are “humanitarian” weapons and that they reduce the chance of accidentally hitting and killing civilians. Well, that is not the case if the Saudis are purposefully targeting civilians in the first place. They only target them with greater precision.

In light of the harrowing conflict in Yemen and in line with our regular committee process, last year I placed, as the ranking Democrat on the committee, an informal hold on the sale of 60,000 precision-guided munitions, PGMs, to Saudi Arabia.

I sent a detailed letter to the Secretaries of State and Defense. I outlined my concerns and asked for more convincing information about how U.S. assistance would improve Saudi Arabia’s appalling behavior.

Simply put, I followed every standard procedure in good faith and with respect for the executive branch’s critical duty to protect our national security. Yet, for months upon months, this administration has failed to demonstrate how equipping the Saudis with more weapons would improve the Saudis’ respect for human rights in Yemen or advance America’s own values and national security interests, nor has this administration explained how these arms sales would improve the Saudi Air Force and command authority’s ability and willingness to differentiate between military and nonmilitary targets and thereby reduce the wholesale slaughter of civilians in Yemen.

In fact, after last year’s brutal murder of the Washington Post journalist and American resident, Jamal Khashoggi, in October inside the Saudi consulate in Turkey, the Trump administration apparently gave up on trying to convince anyone that the Saudis have any regard for human rights at home, in Yemen, or abroad.

Like a number of the other 22 proposed sales, these precision-guided munitions will not be used to counter a sudden emergency threat from Iran. This proposed sale of precision-guided weapons kits to Saudi Arabia is slated for one purpose, and that is the Saudi’s disastrous air war in Yemen. Indeed, when asked this question directly in a hearing last week, Assistant Secretary of State Clarke Cooper admitted as much.

Let no Member of this body deceive themselves or the American people. These bombs will most likely be dropped on Yemen—and not just on

Houthi rebels and what few legitimate military targets remain after 4 years of war. If Saudi Arabia acquires these weapons, American-made arms are likely to be used to kill Yemeni civilians.

Finally, as with some of the other proposed sales, President Trump and the Secretary of State are enabling the transfer of both American jobs and sensitive American military technology to the Saudis. With this particular export license, Saudi workers will begin to manufacture part of the electronic guidance system for these precision-guided munitions—work that has been done and should continue to be done by American workers right here in the United States. In other words, the administration is not only selling the Saudi these weapons but also portions of the blueprints for building these weapons.

In the midst of so much volatility in the Middle East, how could anyone possibly think that is a good idea?

America’s defense industry produces the most sophisticated systems in the world, and yet the Trump administration is opening the door for the Saudis to manufacture their own similar weapons in the future or transfer our American-made technical know-how to other countries.

Disturbingly, we also know that the administration will not stop with this particular sale. State Department officials have actually admitted to Foreign Relations Committee staff that this is to be the first of many sales authorizing the Saudis to manufacture even larger, more sensitive portions of these highly advanced weapons.

My colleagues, I hope you hear me because this is nothing short of madness. There is no way, shape, or form that these precision-guided missile systems could be used to address any kind of emergency, large-scale Iranian threat that requires bypassing 30 days of congressional review. The same could largely be said of the rest of the 22 sales that this administration is trying to ram through.

Finally, let me stress that since placing a hold on this particular sale, I have actually cleared a number of other sales to the region. In fact, I have cleared some of the sales the administration saw fit to try to ram through. So let no one accuse me of stonewalling all arms sales, of doubting the Iranian threat, or of ignoring legitimate threats faced by the Saudis and worthy of our continued cooperation.

But there is simply no need at all for this administration to flagrantly disrespect this institution and long-standing norms that support good governance.

In light of the recent news about aggressive Iranian action and the administration’s decision to send more troops to the region, we must always consider changing dynamics.

I urge the President to use the leverage he has indeed created from his

campaign to find a serious diplomatic path forward that meaningfully constrains Iran’s nuclear ambition and its other malign activities.

I continue to believe that upending congressional prerogative doesn’t make us safer, and it is not in our long-term interest.

This administration’s willingness to turn a blind eye to the wholesale slaughter of civilians and the murder of journalists suggests that a move forward with these arms sales will have lasting implications for our moral leadership on the world stage. This behavior sends a message that America is no longer exceptional and that our behavior should be no different than a Russia or a China—pursuing power, acting transactionally, and avoiding accountability.

My colleagues, America is better than this. It is well past time for the Senate and the entire Congress to stand up and push back—to stand up for our role as a coequal branch of government.

I would remind my colleagues that today it is President Trump. Tomorrow it will be some other President, maybe one you disagree with. If you set the precedent that you can just have arms sales go under this false emergency procedure, you will have no say in arms sales.

Stand up for the rule of law instead of the rule of lawlessness, and stand up for our greatest American values that transcend party and politics and together defend the long-term security interest of the United States.

Let me close by highlighting alarming and truly disturbing developments just over the past 48 hours. Yesterday we learned that over the objection of his own diplomats and belying numerous credible reports about its recruitment of children from Sudan to fight in Yemen, Secretary Pompeo blocked the inclusion of Saudi Arabia in the section detailing the use of child soldiers in the State Department’s annual “Trafficking in Persons Report”—over the objection of his own diplomats. This administration is protecting Saudi Arabia, declining to condemn its recruitment of children to fight its battles.

This morning, Agnes Callamard, the U.N. Special Rapporteur investigating the murder of Jamal Khashoggi, released a gruesome, scathing report about the murder itself and the appalling U.S. response. She details calculated, horrific details, including plans to cut up Mr. Khashoggi’s body, with one participant saying that separating the joints should not be a problem. This is truly horrific.

I could go on. I plan to return to the floor to speak tomorrow. I know I have Senator CARDIN here, a senior member of the committee, and others.

Let me now simply say that this report has reignited and even deepened the concern about why this administration seems incapable of criticizing Saudi Arabia.

I urge my colleagues to think long and hard about what these votes will signify to the American people, to our allies, to our fundamental values, and to the institutional rights the Senate has to review arms sales that are a critical part of our foreign policy. Do not give it away to this administration or any other.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Maryland.

Mr. CARDIN. Mr. President, I take this time to underscore the points that Senator MENENDEZ made in regard to the vote we will have tomorrow here on the floor of the Senate.

I really want Members to know that we are really talking about the fundamental protection of the checks and balances in our system. I don't think most Members know about the process we use for arms sales and review, but I can tell you that it has been to protect the interest of this country and the legislative branch of government. The requirement is for consultation and notice to Congress before arms sales are consummated.

Yes, we have a Republican President, and we have Members of Congress who object to sales and want to get further information, and those holds can be lifted after additional information is provided. But I want to remind the Members of this body that it was in the last Congress, with a Republican President, that the Republican chair of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee put holds on sales in this region for good reason—because of the inconsistent policies we had among Gulf States that needed to be clarified before we divided the support for America even more in that region. Senator Corker was right in what he did, and our country is stronger today because of what he did.

If we allow President Trump to go forward with these arms sales under emergency circumstances, we forever could lose the ability of the legislative branch to weigh in on arms sales.

Senator MENENDEZ is absolutely right. Today it is a Republican President. This should not make any difference in our respect for the powers of the legislative branch of government and the checks and balances that are necessary.

Senator MENENDEZ is right about this. It has been the legislative branch of government that has said protection of human rights is an important ingredient.

Over and over, we find that in the State Department or in the White House they are very transactional, and but for the legislative branch of government, those issues would never be addressed.

Now we are going to let the President of the United States use emergency powers—which I think almost everybody in this body would say really does not exist—to circumvent the proper review and power of the legislative branch of government.

And yes, in these arms sales, human rights are a major issue. Senator MENENDEZ points out correctly that American arms have been used to facilitate the aerial attacks against Yemen led by the Saudis and the coalition—and these guided missiles would be a part of that—and they are the leading cause of civilian death in Yemen. Over 1,000 have been killed as a result of the Saudi-led coalition attacks. We have been given assurances over and over—which has not happened—that they will be better at it.

We also know that there is not a military solution to the Yemen crisis. America's military involvement only makes the circumstances worse. It is one of the worst humanitarian disasters that we have seen in recent times. We need to disengage on the military side. By allowing the President to use these emergency powers, we make the circumstances worse.

Lastly, I remember the outrage of every Member of this House on Jamal Khashoggi's tragic death. Everyone was saying that we have to hold accountable those responsible for those actions. But listen to what Senator MENENDEZ said. Today, Agnes Callamard, the Special Rapporteur for extrajudicial executions, released the findings of her investigation into the October 18 killing of Jamal Khashoggi, a person who lived in the United States and was brutally murdered. The Special Rapporteur noted that there was evidence that the responsibility of Khashoggi's murder extends beyond the 11 individuals currently on trial for the murder in Saudi Arabia, points in the direction of the Royal Family, and points out that further investigation is warranted of high-level Saudi officials, including the Crown Prince. And we are going to go ahead and allow the President to conduct arms sales?

We have strategic relations with other countries. That is fine, but it has to be embedded in our principles—the strength of America, our values. If we allow business to be as usual—that you can take a person who was under protection of our country as a resident and allow that person, a journalist, to be murdered, and we know who is responsible and we don't take action—what message are we sending to the global community? Where is America's leadership?

Senator MENENDEZ is giving us an opportunity to say: Yes, we believe in the legislative branch of government as a check and balance on whoever is in the White House, whether it be a Democrat or a Republican, or a Democratic- or Republican-controlled Senate. We believe in the checks and balances in our system. It serves a purpose, and we are not going to let the President use emergency powers when that does not exist.

On these particular sales, there are human rights issues that demand that we do not approve these sales. That is what is at stake in this vote.

I take this time to plea to my colleagues: Recognize that what we are

voting on is not whether we support the President of the United States. It is whether we support our responsibilities as Members of the Senate and we take the necessary action to protect the powers of checks and balances and to make the right decisions about American values and human rights.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Connecticut.

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. President, there is a reason Article I of the Constitution is about the structures around the legislative branch and Article II of the Constitution imagines structures around the executive branch. It was the legislative branch that was most important to the Founders. It was rooted in the desires and dreams and priorities of the people. The way in which we structure ourselves and how we have become chosen to these bodies has changed over the years, but we are Article I for a reason.

The division of labor between the Article I branch and the Article II branch was not limited only to domestic policy. The Founding Fathers spent a lot of time talking about making sure that the Article I branch had a significant say, a dispositive say over foreign matters as well. That is why we have the power to declare war, not the executive. That is why we have the power of the purse when it comes to funding overseas activities, and it is the reason Congress gave itself the power to have oversight over the arms that we sell to the rest of the world. It is because these arms and the relationships that surround the sale of these arms are amongst the most important foreign policy decisions that we make.

We don't have to look far to understand how arms sales can go wrong very quickly. It was the arms that we sold either overtly or covertly to the rebel forces in Afghanistan that ended up becoming the arms used by some of the most vicious terrorist groups that eventually attacked the United States. It was arms that we sold to Syrian rebels that ended up in the hands of the extremist Sunni Muslim groups there that we were, in fact, fighting. So we have good reason for historically coming together, Republicans and Democrats, to ask these questions about arms sales.

I agree with Senator CARDIN in that, if we let this emergency declaration go without protest, without a vote, I don't know whether we are ever going to get the power to oversee arms sales back as body, and it will be just another mechanism by which we fritter away our coequal responsibility to determine the course of America's role in the world to a growing imperial Presidency, especially when it comes to matters of foreign affairs.

I want to be clear with my colleagues and the Presiding Officer that I didn't just adopt this view when I became a member of the minority party. I didn't just decide that this was important when Donald Trump became President.

In fact, I brought a resolution of disapproval of this very similar arms sale under President Obama.

I note there were 24 Members of this body—20 or so of them Democrats—who voted to maintain our prerogative to vote against that arms sale. There were 20 members of the Democratic Party who were willing to vote, in a sense, to cancel out a sale that had been proposed by a Democratic President. So, on this side of the aisle, we have been willing to hold to this principle whether the President is of our party or is of a different party. It is because we think this is a nonpartisan principle.

I agree with Senator MENENDEZ and Senator CARDIN in that, if we don't take a positive vote here, we are potentially giving away this priority forever. This emergency that exists in the Middle East is not a new emergency. You could argue that if the emergency is related to Iranian behavior, it is one that has been created, in part, by this President's policies. It, frankly, invites any President, Democrat or Republican, to be able to just point to one of the various crises in the Middle East, of which there is always one, as the reason by which Congress just can't be bothered to weigh in on this particular arms sale.

Second and lastly, I want to quickly go over a case that I have made several times on the floor of the Senate. That is the case that, I think, is shared by most smart watchers of the Middle East, which is that there really is not a national security disaster for the United States that equals that of Yemen today.

First of all, it is a humanitarian nightmare, and it is not one of these humanitarian nightmares that was caused by a drought or a famine and over which the United States is just looking and watching. It is a humanitarian disaster that we are, in part, causing. We are selling the bombs that are being dropped in a country where 100,000 children under the age of 5 have died of starvation and disease, where tens of thousands have been killed by conflict and the bombs that are dropping. They are dropping on school buses, on Doctors Without Borders' facilities, on churches, and weddings. These are not all by mistake. Many of them are purposeful.

We have never seen a cholera outbreak like the one that we have today—never in our lifetimes. Just this week, the head of the U.N. relief mission there rushed here to Congress to give us devastating news. I don't know whether all of my colleagues were able to meet with her or get a briefing from her, but the head of the relief work in Yemen told us that there are a quarter million Yemenis who are so sick and so malnourished that they are beyond saving. A quarter million Yemenis are going to die this summer and this fall.

The Saudis and the Emiratis have stopped funding the relief work, and they have stopped funding the World

Health Organization and the World Food Programme. They are all closing up shop. The conflict is bigger and in more places than ever before. The bombing has not stopped, and the money from the contestants is no longer flowing. This fall, we will see a catastrophic loss of life in Yemen that the world has not seen in a very, very long time.

Second, this is all coming back to haunt the United States, these bombs that are being dropped. This famine that exists is not seen as a Saudi-caused famine; it is seen as a U.S.-Saudi-caused famine. So these young Yemenis—and they are mostly young—are being radicalized against the United States, and there are willing places and willing contestants for their allegiance who are gobbling them up. Al-Qaida and ISIS have never been stronger in Yemen.

I will admit we have made some military progress against them in the last couple of years, but from the beginning of the conflict to today, they are much stronger than ever before, and they have more potential recruits than ever before because of our actions there.

Third, there is no change in battle lines. Sit down with the maps of what the Houthis control and what the coalition controls. They are, essentially, the same today as they were a year ago or 2 years ago. Senator CARDIN is right in that there is no military solution here. The more bombs the coalition drops, the more mercenary armies they bring in from Sudan and other places, and the more the battle lines just harden.

Fourth, Iran gets stronger and stronger by the day. When this all started, the Houthis were not a proxy force of the Iranians. They relied on them. Yet, as the war goes on and our country stands unwilling to negotiate a peace and we remain only willing to fund the war, Iran gets deeper and deeper into the Houthis. When the political settlement is finally achieved, Iran will have much more of a footprint in Yemen than had we ended the war last year or the year before.

Lastly, just to underscore this point that others have made in the context of these gross, grave Saudi human rights abuses, whether it be the Americans who are there whom they are locking up today and torturing or whether it be the dismemberment of Jamal Khashoggi as reported on most recently by the United Nations, America just looks so fundamentally weak in the world. It looks so fundamentally weak in the world when the Saudis stick a finger in our eye by grabbing a U.S. resident and dismembering him in their consulate and then lie to us about it until the evidence is so incontrovertible that they have to tell the truth.

The result of that is we draw them closer in. Our Secretary of State goes to Saudi Arabia; it is not the Saudis who are coming to us. We offer them more nuclear secrets, and we give them more weapons. Then, inside this deal,

not only do we give them weapons, but we actually grant them coproduction of some of the most sensitive technology that we own, which is of our smart bombs. That is the kind of deal that you do if the other party has leverage on you. We give coproduction to countries when we feel like we are the weaker party. We are giving the coproduction of smart bombs—we are going to vote on this tomorrow. We are giving the coproduction of smart bombs to a country that just chopped up an American resident into little pieces and lied to us about it. What a world we are living in.

It is important for this body to stand up for itself sometimes. It is not to stand up for your party, not to stand up for your particular principles or to stand up for yourself. I think I can make the case to vote for these resolutions based just on our institutional prerogative. The war itself is a national security nightmare for us.

I said this when President Obama was perpetuating it, and I say it here today. So, for me, this has nothing to do with who is in the White House. I believed this from the start, and many of us have believed it from the beginning. Even if you don't believe in standing up for our prerogative as an institution, standing up for American national security compels you to vote against these sales tomorrow.

I thank Senator MENENDEZ for being such a strong, resolute voice not just for the principle of standing up for human rights but for the principle of standing up for this body. I am glad to stand by his side and by so many others who are sponsors of this, and I am glad that he has brought us to the floor this evening.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Jersey.

Mr. MENENDEZ. Mr. President, let me summarize. I don't know of any other colleagues at this point. I do know that some will probably speak right before the votes tomorrow morning.

I thank the distinguished Senator from Connecticut, who has been such a clarion voice from the earliest days on this question of the Yemeni conflict. He has been there every step of the way in his arguing and pricking of the conscience of the Senate as it relates to this. Senator CARDIN is also well-known for his advocacy of human rights in his many years between the House and the Senate.

This vote tomorrow is a vote for the powers of this institution to be able to continue to have a say on one of the most critical elements of U.S. foreign policy and national security—arms sales—to not let that be undermined by some false emergency and to preserve that institutional right regardless of who sits in the White House. Do not give up that power on behalf of this Senate and future Senates to come. Think about what you will do if you cede that right.

Stand up for the Constitution. Article I of the Constitution became the very first article. It is about this body's—the Congress'—being a separate, coequal branch of government as the Founders of the Nation envisioned. Stand up for the Constitution. Stand up for the proposition that our bombs will not be the ones that create an incredible humanitarian disaster for which our moral conscience will be stained forever.

All Members will have that moment to decide where they want to stand in history and whether their votes are to give the Saudis and the UAE arms that ultimately drop on innocent civilians. Can you live with yourself? Is this your moral compass?

Lastly, stand up for the proposition that the greatest country in the world—the United States of America—will not stand by when a journalist—

someone who practices the First Amendment rights that we so cherish, whether it be here at home or around the world—because of nothing else but his criticism of the Saudi King, could be dismembered by a saw in a consulate of the Saudi Government's in a foreign country. How can we be silent in the face of that?

These are all of the elements that are involved in this vote tomorrow, and I trust the Senate will live up to its collective history and stand up for a moment of principle, a moment of courage, if you will, and stand up for all of these values that make America unique, a shining light to the rest of the world. That is what is at stake in the three votes we will cast tomorrow morning.

I yield the floor.

ADJOURNMENT UNTIL 9:30 A.M.
TOMORROW

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate stands adjourned until 9:30 a.m. tomorrow.

Thereupon, the Senate, at 6:45 p.m., adjourned until Thursday, June 20, 2019, at 9:30 a.m.

CONFIRMATIONS

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate June 19, 2019:

THE JUDICIARY

MATTHEW J. KACSMARYK, OF TEXAS, TO BE UNITED STATES DISTRICT JUDGE FOR THE NORTHERN DISTRICT OF TEXAS.

ALLEN COTHREL WINSOR, OF FLORIDA, TO BE UNITED STATES DISTRICT JUDGE FOR THE NORTHERN DISTRICT OF FLORIDA.

JAMES DAVID CAIN, JR., OF LOUISIANA, TO BE UNITED STATES DISTRICT JUDGE FOR THE WESTERN DISTRICT OF LOUISIANA.

GREG GERARD GUIDRY, OF LOUISIANA, TO BE UNITED STATES DISTRICT JUDGE FOR THE EASTERN DISTRICT OF LOUISIANA.