

This obviously is not a radical idea. In 2019, the Senate passed a similar resolution by a vote of 54 to 46. Every Democrat who was present voted for it, along with seven Republicans. The House of Representatives passed that same resolution by a vote of 247 to 175. Every Democrat in the House who was present voted for it, along with 16 Republicans. Sadly, then-President Trump vetoed it, and it did not become law.

It is long past time that we take a very hard look at our relationship with Saudi Arabia, a country whose government represents the very opposite of what we profess to believe in. Last year, President Biden and his administration did the right thing when it announced it would end U.S. support for offensive military operations led by Saudi Arabia in Yemen and named a special envoy to help bring this conflict to an end.

The good news is that, as a result of these efforts—I think as a result of the resolution passed in the House and the Senate—the Saudis have paused their deadly airstrikes in Yemen, and, in April, the United Nations brokered a truce between the warring factions.

The bad news is that this truce expired over 2 months ago, and there is now evidence that violence in Yemen is beginning to escalate.

Now, I understand that the administration is opposed to this resolution, and let me briefly respond to some of their concerns. First, the administration claims that this resolution is unnecessary because Saudi Arabia has paused its bombing campaign in Yemen. Well, Mr. President, that may be true, but—let's be clear—there is no guarantee that Saudi Arabia will not start bombing Yemen tomorrow, relying on U.S. military support and U.S.-manufactured weapons to carry out those airstrikes, which in the past have done incalculable harm to the people of Yemen. In fact, a previously announced end to U.S. offensive support did not prevent devastating and indiscriminate Saudi airstrikes in Yemen, which occurred as late as March 2022.

Passing this legislation would allow Congress to play a constructive role in the negotiation of an extension of the truce and a long-term and lasting peace. The resolution that we are debating today—we are discussing right now—will help ensure that Saudi airstrikes do not resume.

Further, while it is true that the Saudi blockade is not as severe as it has been in the past, vital commodities like fuel and medicine are still in short supply; and Saudi Arabia, to this day, still has imposed restrictions on nearly all commercial imports into Yemen, including fuel. And Saudi Arabia still has control over Yemeni airspace, which has prevented thousands of patients with medical emergencies from leaving the capital of Sana'a, according to the Quincy Institute.

This legislation that I have brought forward simply codifies what President

Biden has already pledged to do by ending U.S. military assistance to the Saudi-led coalition's war in Yemen. Specifically, this resolution would achieve three important goals:

First, it would end U.S. intelligence sharing for the purpose of enabling offensive, Saudi-led coalition strikes inside Yemen.

Second, it would end U.S. logistical support for offensive, Saudi-led coalition strikes, including the provision of maintenance and spare parts to coalition members flying warplanes.

Finally, it would prohibit U.S. military personnel from being assigned to command, coordinate, participate in the movement of or accompany Saudi-led coalition forces engaged in hostilities without specific statutory authorization from the Congress.

Let us be clear. This is a narrowly targeted resolution that only affects Saudi Arabia's offensive operations in Yemen. This resolution would still allow for U.S. military support to be used to protect the territorial integrity of Saudi Arabia. In other words, nothing in this legislation prevents the United States from helping Saudi Arabia defend itself against attacks originating from Yemen. Further, this resolution would not affect America's support for Ukraine's self-defense, as some opponents of this legislation have claimed.

That is why I am proud to be joined on this resolution by some of the staunchest defenders of Ukrainian sovereignty and U.S. national security interests, who, like me, are outraged by Saudi Arabia's collaboration with Russia and open support of illegal wars of aggression. They include Senator DURBIN, Senator BLUMENTHAL, Senator PETERS, Senator WARREN, Senator MARKEY, and a number of others who support this resolution.

Passing this War Powers Resolution will send a very powerful message to Saudi Arabia that the war in Yemen must finally come to an end. There must be a peaceful resolution to this horrific conflict. Passing this resolution will also send a message to Saudi Arabia that its partnership with Russia, with respect to the war in Ukraine, is unacceptable.

In October, after Saudi Arabia agreed to cut oil production, the Biden administration recognized the need to work with Congress to reexamine the relationship between Saudi Arabia and the United States. President Biden said he wanted action from Congress. This resolution is a narrowly tailored response that will help achieve that objective.

In October, the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Senator MENENDEZ, said:

The United States must immediately freeze all aspects of our cooperation with Saudi Arabia, including any arms sales and security cooperation beyond what is absolutely necessary to defend U.S. personnel and interests.

He continued:

As Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, I will not green-light any

cooperation with Riyadh until the Kingdom reassesses its position with respect to the war in Ukraine. Enough is enough.

I agree with that, and this resolution is our opportunity to send a powerful message to Saudi Arabia that Congress is, in fact, reexamining our relationship with that country; it is an attempt to defend the Constitution of the United States, which gives the power of making war to Congress, not to the President; and it is an effort to end our complicity in this horrendously bloody and horrible conflict.

Congress has a narrow window now to do something important. Enacting the War Powers Resolution will send a powerful message to the Saudis and to the Houthis that the United States will not be a party to this war and that the warring factions must find a sustainable peace solution.

The vote on this resolution is very important. And let me repeat: We, just a few minutes before I got to the floor, received word from the administration that they wanted to work with us in crafting language that would be mutually acceptable, and we are going to give them that opportunity. Whether we succeed or not, I don't know. And let me repeat: If we do not succeed, I will be back with many of my colleagues to bring forth this resolution, something that is very important.

What this resolution, finally, is about is that it says that the people of Yemen need more humanitarian assistance, not more bombs. It is a vote that says that the Senate believes in the Constitution of our country, which makes it clear that the Congress, not the President, determines whether and when the United States goes to war. It is a vote that tells Saudi Arabia that we will not continue to give it a blank check with respect to war and foreign intervention. And it is a vote that says: No, we will not stand with Saudi Arabia while it is actively supporting Vladimir Putin's horrific war of aggression against the people of Ukraine.

So, once again, where we are at is, I am not going to ask for a vote tonight. I look forward to working with the administration, which was opposed to this resolution, to see if we can come up with something that is strong, that is effective. And if we do not, I will be back.

With that, I yield the floor.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Ms. HAS-SAN). The clerk will call the roll.

The senior assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

#### TRIBUTE TO ROB PORTMAN

Mr. BROWN. Madam President, I wanted to just say a few words—not a formal speech—about my junior partner, the junior Senator from Ohio. He is only the junior Senator not in intellect or actions but only in seniority,

which is the way it works here. I know I am talking when the Presiding Officer has such a record of bipartisanship and working with others in the Senate—the junior Senator from New Hampshire and the work she has done. And I just wanted to talk for a moment about ROB PORTMAN.

I was at the last speech he gave, his retirement speech, last week. I wanted to just say a few words about his work. He and I, on the big issues, no surprise—Senator PORTMAN, from Cincinnati; I live in northern Ohio—have looked at the world differently on big trade issues, on tax issues. I mean, he was for the Trump tax cut that gave big tax breaks to corporations and, I think, squeezed middle-class and low-income taxpayers. But on the big issues, we, in a sense, canceled each other's vote out, and we talk about that sometimes. But on a lot of Ohio-specific things, we are able to work together on really, really important problem-solving kinds of issues. And a few of them come to mind, like “level the playing field”—the first issue—and then “level the playing field” 2.0,” which will help the United States enforce its trade laws.

While ROB was for NAFTA and I was against it—or for PNTR with China, and I was against it—we did come together in making sure our trade laws are enforced, which helped Ohio businesses and Ohio manufacturing. That is one example.

Another example is what we were able to do in the infrastructure bill. He was a leader on writing the infrastructure bill, always thinking about how important it was—the Brent Spence Bridge in Cincinnati and the Western Hills Viaduct on the western side of Cincinnati, but also what we did on the 71-70 interchange in Columbus, what we were able to do on small township roads around small counties in rural Ohio, what we were able to do in Appalachia, what we were able to do in major transportation projects.

Another example, ROB PORTMAN cared a lot about the environment. He loves canoeing. We worked on issues that matter on the Ohio River and especially issues that matter on Lake Erie. One of my favorite statistics is that Lake Erie, the smallest of the Great Lakes in area, the most shallow, only 30-feet deep, and around Toledo, 90-feet deep, around my wife's home county of Ashtabula. Lake Erie is 2 percent of all the water in the Great Lakes but has 50 percent of the fish, and Lake Superior, the largest lake, has 50 percent of the water and 2 percent of the fish. We know how important Lake Erie is to fishing. We know how important Lake Erie is to our water supply. And we know how important Lake Erie is just as one of the beautiful parts of the Great Lakes that matter to all of us.

So when I think about ROB, I regret he is leaving. I look forward to working with Senator Vance. I am hopeful that we can be as cooperative and effective

as ROB and I have been on issues that are Ohio-specific, and we will continue to search out those issues.

Another one was NASA Glenn in Cleveland. We have one of the 10 NASA facilities in the country. NASA Glenn is particularly important, with the Armstrong Center in Sandusky, to the State's economy, and to our space program. That is in my part of the State. ROB has been helpful there. I have been helpful in his part of the State with Wright-Patterson Air Force Base, one of the key facilities for our U.S. Air Force.

So on issue after issue, many of them, ROB and I have each cosponsored dozens of bills that have become law—some 35, I believe, with each other, that have become law, and dozens more with other Senators in both parties, including Senator HASSAN from New Hampshire, who has been one of the real leaders on doing bipartisan work.

So those kinds of issues don't get the attention of the media, and I don't blame them. They would rather cover when ROB and I disagree than when we agree. But my job, as Senator PORTMAN's job, has always been to look for opportunities to do things together. We found dozens of those opportunities in our 12 years together.

I came in 2006, and he came in 2010. He is retiring at the end of 2022. We had 12 years together, and we were able to accomplish a lot of things for the State. I will miss him. I will miss his leadership. I will miss his reasonableness. And we will continue, I hope, once he retires, in working on other things that are State-specific for my State.

I thank the Presiding Officer for allowing me to speak for a couple of minutes about my friend ROB Portman.

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. 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.

The majority leader.

#### LEGISLATIVE SESSION

#### MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. SCHUMER. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to legislative session and be in a period of morning business, with Senators permitted to speak therein for up to 10 minutes each.

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

#### TRIBUTE TO THAO GRIFFITHS

Mr. LEAHY. Madam President, I have spent more than 30 years working to build closer relations with Vietnam,

a country where 58,220 Americans and an estimated 3 million Vietnamese died in a war that never should have been fought. In 1975, as the newest member of the Armed Services Committee, I voted to end funding for the war, a vote that caused the largest newspaper in Vermont to predict that I would never be reelected. The citizens of Vermont reelected me seven times, and that vote is among the ones I am proudest of.

The war was a disaster for both countries, and for 20 years after the war ended, the U.S. maintained a trade embargo against Vietnam which only formally ended in 1994, shortly before diplomatic relations were restored in 1995. That historic step toward reconciliation was due in large part to the advocacy of two American veterans, Senators John Kerry and John McCain, and the involvement of key Vietnamese diplomats such as Prime Minister Phan Van Khai, Deputy Prime Minister Nguyen Co Thach, and Nguyen Manh Cam.

Since the late 1980s, the Congress has approved funding for a number of humanitarian programs in Vietnam to address the harmful legacies of the war. We have provided many hundreds of millions of dollars to locate and destroy landmines and other unexploded ordnance, to assist people with severe physical and cognitive disabilities resulting from UXO accidents and exposure to Agent Orange, to clean up former U.S. air bases contaminated with dioxin, and to help Vietnam locate and identify some of its hundreds of thousands of missing soldiers and civilians. Each of these initiatives has been carried out in close cooperation with the Government of Vietnam, including its Ministry of Defense. Next year, we will embark on a unique project to create new exhibits at Vietnam's War Remnants Museum, to tell the story of this postwar cooperation.

These efforts have succeeded due to the vision and support of many people, including Bobby Muller who founded Vietnam Veterans of America Foundation—VVAF—and led the first group of American veterans back to Vietnam in 1981, President George H. W. Bush, and Sr. Lt. General Nguyen Chi Vinh. And they have opened the door to U.S.-Vietnam cooperation in many other areas, including higher education, public health, climate change, and regional security.

I mention this for context and to highlight the key role played by one person who has remained out of the limelight. Thao Griffiths, a Vietnamese woman originally from the small rural community of Ha Giang in the isolated, ethnic minority region of Vietnam bordering China, deserves special recognition.

Thao, a gifted student, was sent to school in Hanoi, graduated from the Diplomatic Academy of Vietnam, became a Fulbright Scholar and received her master's degree at American University in Washington, was awarded an