Elizabeth and Patrick, around the world in service to our country. Mark has completed two combat deployments encompassing more than 22 months in Kandahar Province, Afghanistan, as a rifle platoon leader during the Afghanistan surge and as regimental battle captain overseeing most of the Regional Command South. He also completed a peacekeeping deployment to the Sinai Peninsula in Egypt, where he commanded a rifle company supporting the Multinational Force and Observers maintaining the treaty of peace between Egypt and Israel. Mark planned and completed multiple missions supporting Atlantic Resolve in Central and Eastern Europe as well.

Although Mark is a native of New York and he had never been to Kansas prior to his working in my office, he immediately got familiar with issues that Kansans face each day and made it a priority to spend time in Kansas and to see firsthand our way of life.

Following his trip to our military installations and equities in Kansas, I was grateful to learn of his impressions at each stop along the way. Like many in the military who visit our State, Mark returned to Washington, DC, with an appreciation for the quality of life that Kansans ensure that their servicemembers have in our State. We take care of their families. I appreciate Mark's noticing that, and it is so true.

Over the past year, I have continually been impressed by Mark's leadership. At every opportunity, he has proven himself to be an important and fully integrated member of our office, our team, and has carried that with equal weight and responsibility with my personal staff. His seamless communications and his skill in tackling issues big and small have been a great benefit to me. Mark has exceeded all of my expectations and has demonstrated a commitment to excellence that has been nothing short of outstanding.

Although I am sad that he will be leaving our office at the end of the month, I know he will serve the Army well next year in the budget liaison office, where I am confident he will be a highly effective ambassador to Congress for the Army.

Mark is one of the most impressive military officers I have had the honor of knowing, and I hold him in the highest regard personally and professionally. He is a significant asset to our country and to the U.S. Army. Mark represents the best that the Army has to offer, and I know he will continue to benefit the future of our Nation.

There is no group of people I hold in higher regard than those who serve our Nation, and I want to reiterate my gratitude to Mark and his wife, Katie, as an Army family dedicated to serving our country.

Once again, thank you, Mark, for all you have done for Kansans this year. Thank you for being an inspiration to me, causing me to work harder and care more. You have been a model of

selfless service and leadership. Our entire office, our staff here in Washington, DC, and our staff in Kansas will miss you. All know how much you contributed to the cause, and I know you will continue to do great things throughout your Army career and your life of service wherever that path may lead.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Jersey.

S.J. RES. 54

Mr. MENENDEZ. Mr. President, I come to the floor today to talk about the U.S.-Saudi Arabia relationship in the broader context of America's interests in the Middle East.

I want to begin by responding to an op-ed Secretary of State Pompeo published in the Wall Street Journal in which he called the U.S.-Saudi Arabia partnership "vital." That statement reflects a distorted view of the U.S.-Saudi Arabia relationship that has permeated the Trump administration in which the United States is somehow dependent on the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia for regional stability and security cooperation. It is a view perhaps best articulated by the President's own unhinged pre-Thanksgiving statement in which he suggested that selling weapons to the Saudis was more important than America's enduring commitment to human rights, democratic values, and international norms, or the President and Secretary Pompeo's continued, incredulous insistence that we still don't know whether the Crown Prince is directly responsible for the murder of Jamal Khashoggi.

Desperate to justify this myopic view, Trump officials whimper that Saudi Arabia's military operations in Yemen are the only means to "root out" Iranian influence and defend the status quo of U.S. support for the Saudi-led coalition.

To put it another way, these morally blindered and blinded individuals believe that to advance America's interests in the region, there is no other option than dependence on Riyadh and no other way than business as usual. So the United States should just stay the course, resign to accept, with a so-called "vital" partner, a government partner, a government that lures a Washington Post columnist—an American resident with U.S. citizen children—to its consulate in a third country with the express intent of eliminating his dissenting views from public discourse in the most gruesome way possible.

I, for one, reject Secretary Pompeo's false choice. We can be tough on Iranian aggression, and we can continue our efforts to eliminate al-Qaida and ISIS. At the same time, we can have a reality-based debate on the strategic utility of the U.S.-Saudi partnership. Our security interests and our values demand such a debate.

I believe that we can pursue an effective strategy to counter terrorism and Iranian aggression while also demanding better from the U.S.-Saudi Arabia partnership. That means standing up

for transparency, accountability, and truth when our partners flagrantly violate American values, disregard international norms, and take actions that undermine our broader strategic interests and run counter to regional security.

The Trump administration has cynically framed this vote as a binary, zero-sum choice: You are either for Iran, or you are for Saudi Arabia.

Well, my answer to that is, I am for the United States of America. I am for America's security interests. I am for American values. And I am for partnerships and alliances deeply rooted in both.

I can't imagine that any one of my colleagues on either side of the aisle would put me in the pro-Iran camp. I take a backseat to no one in the Senate in taking the lead to end Iran's pathway to a nuclear weapon and to end its nefarious promotion of terrorism across the world.

To be clear, the vote on S.J. Res. 54 is not about the totality of the U.S.-Saudi relationship; it is a vote about whether U.S. support for the Saudi-led coalition's actions in Yemen are in our national interests.

We do indeed have important security interests with the Saudis. Both of our nations benefit from cooperation in confronting threatening forces. Yet we cannot sweep under the rug the callous disregard for human life and the flagrant violations of international norms the Saudis have shown. That is why, as ranking member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, I continue to look for the opportunity to continue to examine components of the U.S.-Saudi relationship and determine whether that relationship requires a course correction.

Beyond Saudi Arabia, I do not want any of our security partners to interpret our relationship as a blank check. Unfortunately, whether due to the President's possibly unconstitutional financial entanglements or his family's overly cozy relationship with the Crown Prince, this administration is putting the Saudi Government on a pedestal that stands above America's values. They continue to extend a blank check to certain players within the Saudi Government, no matter how brazen their actions, rather than meaningfully seeking to influence Riyadh or ensure that U.S. policy toward Saudi Arabia is properly balanced and in line with our strategic interests, not directed by the personal and financial motives of select individuals in our government.

This refusal to stand up for American values, to assert true leadership, is part of the Trump administration's willful adherence to a misguided understanding of the most effective ways to bring stability to the Middle East. It is an outgrowth of the President's reckless, morally bankrupt approach to foreign policy and a love affair with authoritarian strongmen.

Mr. President, I hope today to frame some critical questions about the U.S.- Saudi relationship in the context of America's long-term interests in the region. Let's start with taking stock of actions taken by Saudi Arabia over the last 2 years—the 2 years that, according to Secretary Pompeo, the Trump administration has been "rebuilding" the U.S.-Saudi partnership while we here in the "salons of Washington" were caterwauling about human rights.

In June of 2017, a quartet of Arab countries announced a full blockade of a fellow Gulf Cooperation Council member, Qatar. The Saudi-led bloc justified this blockade by accusing Qatar of transgressions that, while seriously concerning, are not unique to Qatar or even to some members of the Saudi-led bloc, such as financial support for terror.

This blockade tosses out decades of investment by Republicans and Democratic U.S. administrations to partner with the entire Gulf Cooperation Council—Qatar included—on security challenges ranging from Iran, al-Qaida, missile defense, maritime security, and cyber threats.

Put another way, the Saudi-Qatar dispute has translated into a lot more work for our military professionals and diplomats for the past year as the gulf Arabs have fought amongst each other and have interrupted critical priorities like defeating ISIS and countering Iranian aggression. It has also complicated the coordination with our Arab partners on U.S. foreign policy priorities, like stabilizing Libya and Syria, and, potentially, deeply undermined U.S. objectives, like stability in the Horn of Africa.

Who is the winner of this rift that has been constructed by our Saudi-led partners? Iran.

Mr. President, in turning to Yemen, the Saudis and their partners have continued their brutal air campaign in Yemen, often indiscriminately. Tens of thousands of innocent Yemenis have died, and millions more are on the brink of starvation. Meanwhile, Iran's influence has increased within the country, and al-Qaida has taken advantage of the chaos to expand its reach and control of Yemeni territory.

The winners of this fruitless war? Iran and al-Qaida.

Then, in November 2017, Mr. President, the Prime Minister of Lebanon traveled to Saudi Arabia for what he reportedly believed was to be a friendly visit with the Saudi Crown Prince.

Instead, the Crown Prince detained Prime Minister Saad Hariri and, on TV, forced him to resign from his position. Let that sink in for a moment. A newly minted Crown Prince effectively hoodwinked and intimidated a sitting Prime Minister into publicly resigning his position. This entire stunt was reportedly intended to push back on Iran's expanding influence in the region.

After days of high drama and uncertainty, including a refusal by Lebanon's President to accept the Prime Minister's resignation, Hariri left

Saudi Arabia via Paris and returned to a Lebanon where Iran's proxy Hezbollah remains not only a part of the Lebanese Government but, arguably, in a stronger position for rallying public support behind Hariri.

The winner of this foolish plunder?

Mr. President, that very same month of November 2017, Crown Prince Muhammad bin Salman directed the detention of hundreds of Saudi princes and executives at the Ritz-Carlton in Riyadh. While this effort was spun as a crackdown on corruption, it was clearly a crackdown on the Crown Prince's political competitors. Reports from this dark period in the gilded prison of the Ritz indicate that Saudi Government-directed forces tortured detaines and coerced them into transferring money to the government or giving up real estate and shares in companies.

Now, I don't know how they obtained those resources, and I am, in no way, condoning any graft and exploitation in the Kingdom, but this opaque process—outside any semblance of the rule of law and driven purely by the will of the Crown Prince—is not actually a sustainable approach to promoting transparency and accountability. In fact, it should and did send chills down the spines of investors and American companies that seek to expand commercial and economic ties in the Kingdom. A strong respect for the rule of law is an essential condition for doing business.

So when Trump points to the value of business ties with Saudi Arabia as a reason for not imposing consequences for Khashoggi's murder, let's remember that in the hands of the Crown Prince, anyone can be shaken down, locked up, or tortured at a five-star hotel in Muhammad bin Salman's Saudi Arabia. Let's also continue asking who exactly is benefiting from potential business ties.

Mr. President, Secretary Pompeo mentioned in his op-ed last week that the Crown Prince has "moved the country in a reformist direction, from allowing women to drive and attend sporting events, to curbing the religious police and calling for a return to moderate Islam."

What the Secretary did not mention, however, are the deeply disturbing reports that, at the same time MBS was granting Saudi women the right to drive, he also detained many female activists who were themselves calling for the rights of women, including their right to drive. Now we are hearing reports that these women are being tortured and sexually harassed, bound to iron beds, electrocuted, and beaten.

Is this the kind of reform that Secretary Pompeo believes the United States should endorse?

As for calling for a return to moderate Islam, the Anti-Defamation League reports that Saudi state television hosted several hour-long programs this Ramadan that featured a preacher who called for God to destroy

the Christians, Shiites, Alawites, and Jews. Other analyses published by the Anti-Defamation League this November found that Saudi Government-published textbooks for the 2018–2019 academic year promote incitement to hatred or violence against Jews, Christians, women, and homosexual men.

As ADL CEO Jonathan Greenblatt said:

The United States must hold its ally Saudi Arabia to a higher standard. The U.S. cannot look the other way while Saudi Arabia features anti-Semitic hate speech year after year in the educational material it gives its children.

Mr. President, let's take stock of Saudi Arabia's contributions to regional stability. It seems a fitting time to ask if an approach that involves bullying another U.S. regional partner, holding the Prime Minister of Lebanon hostage, torturing female activists, business executives, and other princes, and carrying out a military campaign in Yemen that will result in the death of millions more civilians by year's end is an approach that is in line with U.S. values or priorities.

Has Iran been weakened by these actions? Is the focus still on al-Qaida and defeating ISIS? I don't think so.

Mr. President, the President has made it clear that no U.S. foreign policy objective, especially human rights, is as important to him as securing tens of billions of imaginary dollars to create million fantasy jobs through weapons sales to the Saudis.

Congress has long and well established the overseeing of the sale of weapons as part of U.S. foreign policy. We have learned throughout our history that selling weapons is a complex matter and that without close attention to the human rights practices of foreign buyers, the United States can easily find itself in the situation that we are now in with Saudi Arabia.

U.S. arms, today, are being used irresponsibly, tragically, and in possible violation of international law in the deaths and injuries of tens of thousands of innocent civilians, including of helpless children. The United States must elevate human rights concerns in all aspects of its foreign security assistance, including arms sales. Otherwise, the abuses that result will do more to foment the conditions of unrest and despair that are the breeding ground of conflict, war, and terrorism.

Secretary Pompeo also suggested that if the United States in any way reassesses its relationship with Saudi Arabia, the Kingdom will rush into Russian arms.

I would suggest, Mr. Secretary, that most countries in the Middle East are already hedging against perceptions that the United States is not invested in the region and that those assessments are based on the President himself—how else to explain Putin's high five with the Crown Prince at the G20 in Argentina? Is it from the parade of gulf rulers in Russia who are doing deals on the margins of the World Cup

earlier this year or by the announcements by several U.S. partners of talks to purchase the Russian S-400 system, despite the prospect of congressional sanctions under the CAATSA law?

Given not just the war in Yemen but also the murder of Khashoggi and the blockage of Qatar, I believe we need to take steps to recalibrate the future of the U.S.-Saudi relationship.

That is why I am disappointed that the Senate Foreign Relations Committee did not take up the Saudi Arabia Accountability and Yemen Act of 2018, which is legislation that I am leading, along with Senators Young, REED, GRAHAM, SHAHEEN, COLLINS, and others. We will continue to work on this legislation next year. It does not seek to tear down the entire Saudi-U.S. relationship. Instead, it is carefully calibrated to force a rebalancing in priorities.

The United States should no longer be selling weapons to the Kingdom that will be used to kill women and children in Yemen. We should, however, continue to support Saudi Arabia's legitimate defensive needs, like intercepting Houthi missiles coming from Yemen.

The United States should no longer refuel Saudi coalition aircraft for operations in Yemen, which is clearly correlated with a rise in civilian casualties.

The United States must now take a stand against all stakeholders in this conflict that are blocking humanitarian access, preventing forward movement under the U.N. peace process, or receiving weapons from Iran.

Our bill also ensures that Congress right-sizes its oversight over this relationship. The Trump administration must follow the letter of the Global Magnitsky Act, and it must take a firm stand in support of human rights when it comes to Saudi Arabia.

This is not caterwauling or the media piling on. This is Congress doing what the American people elected us to doessure that the U.S. Government conducts foreign policy in a manner that protects the United States and the American people. We are not doing our job if foreign governments believe they can murder journalists and dissidents with impunity and disregard international norms without damaging their relationships with the United States.

Saudi Arabia has joined a sinister clique, along with North Korea, Russia, and Iran, in its assassination of Jamal Khashoggi. A few more weapons purchases cannot buy our silence, and they should not buy our silence. If the President will not act, Congress must.

I yield the floor.

Mr. SANDERS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to speak.

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

Mr. SANDERS. Mr. President, let me congratulate Senator Menendez for his leadership role in addressing this crisis in Saudi Arabia.

In a few minutes, we are going to begin voting on a historical piece of legislation, because I think, as conservatives have understood and as progressives have understood, for too many years, Congress has abdicated its historical and constitutional responsibility to be the body that determines whether or not this country is at war. What we have seen for a long time now under Democratic Presidents and under Republican Presidents and under Democratic Congresses and Republican Congresses is an abdication of that responsibility. I hope that today we begin the process of taking that back.

The war in Yemen is unauthorized. There has never been a vote in Congress to allow our men and women to participate in that war. Therefore, that war is unconstitutional, and it has to end. That is the vote that we will be having this afternoon.

Second of all, I think all Members are aware of the unbelievable humanitarian crisis that now exists in Yemen. It is the worst humanitarian crisis on Earth. Unless we use the power of this country not to help more bombs being dropped to kill people in that country but to use our power to bring the warring parties together, that situation will become even worse. The United Nations and others are telling us that Yemen is on the brink of the worst famine that we have seen in a very long time and that millions of people may die.

Third, it is time for the U.S. Congress to tell the despotic Government of Saudi Arabia that we do not intend to follow its lead in its military adventurism. Its intervention in the civil war in Yemen is the cause of the humanitarian disaster, as 10,000 people are developing serious illnesses—cholera and other illnesses—because the water infrastructure in Yemen has been destroyed by Saudi attacks.

Right now we have the opportunity to go forward in a strong bipartisan way.

I want to thank all of the Members of the Senate who gave us 60 votes yesterday in order to proceed and who gave us 96 votes on what I thought was a sensible germaneness point of order.

Now we have a number of amendments in front of us. Two of them, authored by Senator COTTON, will essentially undermine everything we are trying to accomplish. I very much hope that we defeat those amendments and that we tell the world we want the United States out of Yemen.

I would end on a positive note. As some may know, right now in Sweden, there are peace negotiations going on, and, as I understand it, just yesterday, a major breakthrough took place that allows for an exchange of some 15,000 prisoners of war. So some progress is being made in bringing the warring factions together, and there is evidence that the pressure from the international community and the U.S. Senate, making it clear that we will not continue to participate in that war, is helping the peace process.

Let us go forward today and defeat the amendments that are trying to undermine this important resolution and tell the world that the United States of America will not continue to be part of the worst humanitarian disaster on the face of the Earth, that we want peace in that region, that we want humanitarian aid in that region, and that we don't want any more bombs or destruction.

Thank you very much.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Tennessee.

ORDER OF PROCEDURE

Mr. CORKER. Mr. President, we have eight votes, two of which I think we may be able to take. I hope that those who wish to have votes may talk just a little bit so that we can speed up the process.

The first vote will be 15 minutes; the remainder of the votes will be 10 minutes. We will begin that process with Young No. 4080. I think there is agreement for him to speak for 1 minute.

AMENDMENT NO. 4080

The PRESIDING OFFICER. There will now be 2 minutes of debate equally divided prior to the vote in relation to Young amendment No. 4080.

The Senator from Indiana.

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. President, I just want to thank the chairman and his staff for working constructively with me on this amendment. I want to thank the Senator from Vermont and other Senators who have tried to do all they can to make sure that we hold Saudi leadership accountable over the course of this and maintain our norms of acceptable behavior, making sure that our military forces are respecting international humanitarian laws, that we assist our security partners, and that we stabilize the country of Yemen so that ISIS, al-Qaida, and Iran—the largest state sponsor of terror—cannot further entrench in the country and perpetuate their nefarious activity.

We wouldn't be at this point but for a lot of leadership across the aisle. I just thank all of those involved. I appreciate the consideration of my colleagues in voting for this amendment.

I yield back.

Mr. SANDERS. I yield back my time. The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question occurs on agreeing to the amendment.

Mr. WHITEHOUSE. I ask for the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

There appears to be a sufficient sec-

The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. CORNYN. The following Senator is necessarily absent: the Senator from North Carolina (Mr. TILLIS).

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. PERDUE). Are there any other Senators in the Chamber desiring to vote?

The result was announced—yeas 58, nays 41, as follows:

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[Rollcall Vote No. 263 Leg.] YEAS—58

Alexander	Harris	Nelson
Baldwin	Hassan	Paul
Bennet	Heinrich	Peters
Blumenthal	Heitkamp	Reed
Booker	Hirono	Sanders
Brown	Jones	Schatz
Cantwell	Kaine	Schumer
Cardin	King	Shaheen
Carper	Klobuchar	Smith
Casey	Leahy	Stabenow
Cassidy	Lee	
Collins	Manchin	Tester
Coons	Markey	Udall
Corker	McCaskill	Van Hollen
Cortez Masto	Menendez	Warner
Donnelly	Merkley	Warren
Duckworth	Moran	Whitehouse
Durbin	Murkowski	Wyden
Feinstein	Murphy	Young
Gillibrand	Murray	

NAYS-41

Barrasso	Gardner	Perdue
Blunt	Graham	Portman
Boozman	Grassley	Risch
Burr	Hatch	Roberts
Capito	Heller	Rounds
Cornyn	Hoeven	Rubio
Cotton	Hyde-Smith	Sasse
Crapo	Inhofe	Scott
Cruz	Isakson	Shelby
Daines	Johnson	Sullivan
Enzi	Kennedy	
Ernst	Kyl	Thune
Fischer	Lankford	Toomey
Flake	McConnell	Wicker

NOT VOTING—1
Tillis

The amendment (No. 4080) was agreed to.

VOTE ON AMENDMENT NO. 4096, AS MODIFIED

The PRESIDING OFFICER. There will now be 2 minutes of debate, equally divided, prior to a vote in relation to Cornyn amendment No. 4096, as modified.

Mr. CORNYN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that all future votes in the series be 10 minutes in length.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. CORNYN. Mr. President, the joint resolution before us today will impact U.S. operations with allies beyond the Saudi-led coalition; it will affect our relationships with allies beyond the Saudi-led coalition against Houthi forces in Yemen, which is literally a proxy battle against Iran.

Members of this Chamber assert that this resolution is confined to Yemen and sends a strong message to Saudi Arabia. I disagree with that. This resolution also sends a message to our allies that question the reliability of the United States as a partner. It brings into question valuable U.S. intelligence-sharing operations around the globe, including with Israel and other regional allies, like Jordan, Japan, South Korea, and NATO.

Further, it risks emboldening Iran and global adversaries who intend to fill the voids left by our absence. Russia and China have been actively expanding their presence in the region and will see this as an opportunity to fill the vacuum.

Senator INHOFE and I offer this amendment to reassure Israel and our regional partners that the United States intends to honor our commitments as the leader of the free world.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who seeks recognition?

The Senator from Vermont.

Mr. SANDERS. Mr. President, I just want to clarify with Senator CORNYN so there is no confusion: His amendment deals strictly with Israel and not regional allies; am I correct on that?

Mr. CORNYN. The amendment says: "Nothing in this joint resolution shall be construed to influence or disrupt any military operations and cooperation with Israel."

Mr. SANDERS. Thank you.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to amendment No. 4096, as modified.

Mr. CORNYN. I ask for the yeas and navs.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

There appears to be a sufficient second.

The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk called the roll.

Mr. CORNYN. The following Senator is necessarily absent: the Senator from North Carolina (Mr. TILLIS).

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Are there any other Senators in the Chamber desiring to vote?

The result was announced—yeas 99, nays 0, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 264 Leg.]

YEAS-99

Alexander	Gardner	Murphy
Baldwin	Gillibrand	Murray
Barrasso	Graham	Nelson
Bennet	Grassley	Paul
Blumenthal	Harris	Perdue
Blunt	Hassan	Peters
Booker	Hatch	Portman
Boozman	Heinrich	Reed
Brown	Heitkamp	Risch
Burr	Heller	Roberts
Cantwell	Hirono	Rounds
Capito	Hoeven	Rubio
Cardin	Hyde-Smith	Sanders
Carper	Inhofe	Sasse
Casey	Isakson	Schatz
Cassidy	Johnson	Schumer
Collins	Jones	Scott
Coons	Kaine	Shaheen
Corker	Kennedy	Shelby
Cornyn	King	Smith
Cortez Masto	Klobuchar	Stabenow
Cotton	Kyl	Sullivan
Crapo	Lankford	Tester
Cruz	Leahy	Thune
Daines	Lee	Toomey
Donnelly	Manchin	Udall
Duckworth	Markey	Van Hollen
Durbin	McCaskill	Warner
Enzi	McConnell	Warren
Ernst	Menendez	Whitehouse
Feinstein	Merkley	Wicker
Fischer	Moran	Wyden
Flake	Murkowski	Young

NOT VOTING-1

Tillis

The amendment (No. 4096), as modified was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Tennessee.

Mr. CORKER. Mr. President, we were going to have 10-minute votes. We have had two votes in 54 minutes. Can we not just vote? OK. All right.

I think we have two rollcall votes left. A number of Senators are doing voice votes, and then we will have the journalist resolution at the end, by voice also.

Go ahead, Senator CORNYN.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority whip.

AMENDMENTS NOS. 4090 AND 4095

Mr. CORNYN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that my amendments, Nos. 4090 and 4095, be made pending and reported by number.

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

The clerk will report the amendments by number.

The senior assistant bill clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Texas [Mr. CORNYN] proposes en bloc amendments numbered 4090 and 4095.

The amendments are as follows:

AMENDMENT NO. 4090

(Purpose: To require a report assessing risks posed by ceasing support operations with respect to the conflict between the Saudiled coalition and the Houthis in Yemen)

At the end, add the following:

SEC. 2. REPORT ON RISKS POSED BY CEASING SAUDI ARABIA SUPPORT OPERATIONS.

Not later than 90 days after the date of the enactment of this joint resolution, the President shall submit to Congress a report assessing the risks posed to United States citizens and the civilian population of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and the risk of regional humanitarian crises if the United States were to cease support operations with respect to the conflict between the Saudi-led coalition and the Houthis in Yemen.

AMENDMENT NO. 4095

(Purpose: To require a report assessing the increased risk of terrorist attacks in the United States if the Government of Saudi Arabia were to cease Yemen-related intelligence sharing with the United States)

At the end, add the following:

SEC. 2. REPORT ON INCREASED RISK OF TERRORIST ATTACKS TO UNITED STATES FORCES ABROAD, ALLIES, AND THE CONTINENTAL UNITED STATES IF SAUDI ARABIA CEASES YEMEN-RELATED INTELLIGENCE SHARING WITH THE UNITED STATES.

Not later than 90 days after the date of the enactment of this joint resolution, the President shall submit to Congress a report assessing the increased risk of terrorist attacks on United States Armed Forces abroad, allies, and to the continental United States if the Government of Saudi Arabia were to cease Yemen-related intelligence sharing with the United States.

Mr. CORNYN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the amendments be considered en bloc.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. CORNYN. I appreciate the bipartisan support for the amendments and hope they can be adopted by voice vote, en bloc.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there further debate?

If not, the question occurs on agreeing to the amendments en bloc.

The amendments (Nos. 4090 and 4095) were agreed to en bloc.

The Senator from Arkansas.

AMENDMENTS NOS. 4097 AND 4098

Mr. COTTON. Mr. President, I ask that my amendments Nos. 4097 and 4098 be made pending and reported by number.

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

The clerk will report the amendments by number.

The bill clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Arkansas [Mr. COTTON] proposes en bloc amendments numbered 4097 and 4098.

The amendment are as follows:

AMENDMENT NO. 4097

(Purpose: To clarify that the requirement to remove United States Armed Forces does not apply to the provision of materials and advice intended to reduce civilian casualties or further enable adherence to the Law of Armed Conflict)

On page 4, line 16, insert after "associated forces" the following: " or involved in the provision of materials and advice intended to reduce civilian casualties or further enable adherence to the Law of Armed Conflict".

AMENDMENT NO. 4098

(Purpose: To clarify that the requirement to remove United States Armed Forces does not apply to forces engaged in operations to support efforts to disrupt Houthi attacks against locations outside of Yemen, such as ballistic missile attacks, unmanned aerial vehicle attacks, maritime attacks against United States or international vessels, or terrorist attacks against civilian targets)

On page 4, line 16, insert after "associated forces," the following: "or to support efforts to disrupt Houthi attacks against locations outside of Yemen, such as ballistic missile attacks, unmanned aerial vehicle attacks, maritime attacks against United States or international vessels, or terrorist attacks against civilian targets,".

Mr. COTTON. Mr. President, I understand there will be 2 minutes of debate on amendment No. 4097.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is correct.

Mr. COTTON. On amendment No. 4097, I will not ask for a recorded vote. I understand opposition is enough to defeat it. I want to simply say, though, that the geopolitical realities here are, if we withdraw our support for the coalition in the Arabian Peninsula, the fight is not going to stop. Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates are not going to allow Iran to supply a rebel insurgency with missiles and UAVs and boats that can reach their citizens.

I suggest we should try to do everything we can to minimize civilian casualties. That is why this amendment simply says: The United States can provide information and material that would minimize civilian casualty and that would help those nations adhere to the law of armed conflict.

I regret that this amendment will not pass, but I think it will be a wise course of action for U.S. policy.

I yield the remainder of my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Connecticut.

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. President, I urge my colleagues to oppose this amendment. I understand it will be on a voice vote. This exemption, just like the amendment that will follow, is so broad as to render the underlying resolution impotent.

Let's be clear. The existing conflict the United States is supporting is the primary cause of the humanitarian catastrophe that exists today. Eighty-five thousand kids under the age of 5 have died of starvation and disease. This is the world's worst cholera epidemic in the history of the globe. If we were to adopt this amendment, it could potentially allow for continued unlimited assistance for the Saudi coalition to continue to exacerbate that night-mare.

I urge my colleagues, on a voice vote, to oppose this amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there no further debate?

The question occurs on agreeing to the amendment.

The amendment (No. 4097) is not agreed to.

AMENDMENT NO. 4098

The PRESIDING OFFICER. There will now be 2 minutes of debate equally divided prior to a vote in relation to the Cotton amendment, No. 4098.

The Senator from Arkansas.

Mr. COTTON. Mr. President, my last amendment was about the law of armed conflict and citizens of foreign nations. This amendment is about our citizens and our troops.

The Houthi rebels have fired more than 100 missiles into the Arabian Peninsula, into the Red Sea, and into the Gulf of Aden. They have used armed, unmanned aerial vehicles and boats to attack in international waters. They have supported terrorist attacks. All of these things can range coastguardsmen, sailors, airmen, soldiers, marines, and hundreds of thousands of U.S. citizens we have in the region.

My amendment will simply say that U.S. forces can engage in force protection of our own troops and our own citizens in the region. I hope we can agree that our Armed Forces should be able to take action in self-defense of themselves and our citizens in the region.

I yield back my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Connecticut.

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. President, once again, I urge rejection of this amendment. If passed, it would, again, render the underlying resolution a moot point.

I would make two additional arguments against it: First, the entire rationale that the Saudis used for the military campaign in Yemen is to prevent Houthi attacks against Saudi Arabia. So if this was an exemption, then the United States could fully participate. Second, existing law already allows the U.S. Commander in Chief to protect U.S. troops against an attack or an imminent attack, and nothing in the resolution would take away the Commander in Chief's power to protect U.S. troops either here in the United States or abroad.

For those reasons, I would strongly oppose—that we object to this amendment which, if passed, would essentially gut the underlying resolution.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question occurs on agreeing to amendment No. 4098.

Mr. COTTON. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and navs.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

There appears to be a sufficient sec-

The clerk will call the roll.

The senior assistant bill clerk called the roll.

Mr. CORNYN. The following Senator is necessarily absent: the Senator from North Carolina (Mr. TILLIS).

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Are there any other Senators in the Chamber desiring to vote?

The result was announced—yeas 45, nays 54, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 265 Leg.]

YEAS-45

Alexander	Fischer	McConnell
Barrasso	Flake	Murkowski
Blunt	Gardner	Perdue
Boozman	Graham	Portman
Burr	Grassley	Risch
Capito	Hatch	Roberts
Cassidy	Heller	Rounds
Collins	Hoeven	Rubio
Corker	Hyde-Smith	Sasse
Cornyn	Inhofe	Scott
Cotton	Isakson	Shelby
Crapo	Johnson	Sullivan
Cruz	Kennedy	Thune
Enzi	Kyl	Toomey
Ernst	Lankford	Wicker

NAYS-54

Baldwin	Hassan	Nelson
Bennet	Heinrich	Paul
Blumenthal	Heitkamp	Peters
Booker	Hirono	Reed
Brown	Jones	Sanders
Cantwell	Kaine	Schatz
Cardin	King	Schumer
Carper	Klobuchar	Shaheen
Casey	Leahy	Smith
Coons	Lee	Stabenow
Cortez Masto	Manchin	Tester
Daines	Markey	Udall
Donnelly	McCaskill	Van Hollen
Duckworth	Menendez	Warner
Durbin	Merkley	Warren
Feinstein	Moran	Whitehouse
Gillibrand	Murphy	Wyden
Harris	Murray	Young

NOT VOTING—1

Tillis

The amendment was rejected.

The joint resolution, as amended, was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading and was read the third time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. There will now be 2 minutes of debate, equally divided, prior to the vote on passage.

The Senator from Vermont.

Mr. SANDERS. Mr. President, we are actually at a historic moment here in the U.S. Senate. I want to thank all of the Senators who in a very bipartisan way have come together to say that the United States will no longer participate in the Saudi-led intervention in Yemen, which has caused the worst humanitarian crisis on Earth, with 85,000 children already starving today.

Today, we tell the despotic regime in Saudi Arabia that we will not be part of their military adventurism. Today, maybe in the most profound way, 45 years ago, the War Powers Act was passed—45 years ago. Today, for the first time, we are going to go forward utilizing that legislation and tell the President of the United States—and

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any President, Democrat or Republican—that the constitutional responsibility for making war rests with the U.S. Congress, not the White House.

Let us pass this resolution.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Tennessee.

Mr. CORKER. Mr. President, I yield back.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. CASSIDY). The joint resolution having been read the third time, the question is, Shall it pass?

Mrs. STABENOW. I ask for the year and navs.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

There is a sufficient second.

The clerk will call the roll.

The senior assistant legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. CORNYN. The following Senators are necessarily absent: the Senator from South Carolina (Mr. Graham), the Senator from Nevada (Mr. Heller), and the Senator from North Carolina (Mr. Tillis).

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Are there any other Senators in the Chamber desiring to vote?

The result was announced—yeas 56, nays 41, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 266 Leg.] YEAS—56

Baldwin	Harris	Nelson
Bennet	Hassan	Paul
Blumenthal	Heinrich	Peters
Booker	Heitkamp	Reed
Brown	Hirono	Sanders
Cantwell	Jones	Schatz
Cardin	Kaine	Schumer
Carper	King	Shaheen
Casey	Klobuchar	Smith
Collins	Leahy	Stabenow
Coons	Lee	Tester
Cortez Masto	Manchin	
Daines	Markey	Udall
Donnelly	McCaskill	Van Hollen
Duckworth	Menendez	Warner
Durbin	Merkley	Warren
Feinstein	Moran	Whitehouse
Flake	Murphy	Wyden
Gillibrand	Murray	Young

NAYS-41

Alexander	Fischer	Perdue
Barrasso	Gardner	Portman
Blunt	Grassley	Risch
Boozman	Hatch	Roberts
Burr	Hoeven	Rounds
Capito	Hyde-Smith	Rubio
Cassidy	Inhofe	Sasse
Corker	Isakson	Scott
Cornyn	Johnson	Shelby
Cotton	Kennedy	Sullivan
Crapo	Kyl	
Cruz	Lankford	Thune
Enzi	McConnell	Toomey
Ernst	Murkowski	Wicker

NOT VOTING—3

Graham Heller Tillis

The joint resolution (S.J. Res. 54), as amended, was passed, as follows:

S.J. RES. 54

Whereas Congress has the sole power to declare war under article I, section 8, clause 11 of the United States Constitution;

Whereas Congress has not declared war with respect to, or provided a specific statutory authorization for, the conflict between military forces led by Saudi Arabia, including forces from the United Arab Emirates, Bahrain, Kuwait, Egypt, Jordan, Morocco, Senegal, and Sudan (the Saudi-led coalition), against the Houthis, also known as Ansar Allah, in the Republic of Yemen;

Whereas, since March 2015, members of the United States Armed Forces have been introduced into hostilities between the Saudi-led coalition and the Houthis, including providing to the Saudi-led coalition aerial targeting assistance, intelligence sharing, and mid-flight aerial refueling;

Whereas the United States has established a Joint Combined Planning Cell with Saudi Arabia, in which members of the United States Armed Forces assist in aerial targeting and help to coordinate military and intelligence activities;

Whereas, in December 2017, Secretary of Defense James N. Mattis stated, "We have gone in to be very—to be helpful where we can in identifying how you do target analysis and how you make certain you hit the right thing.":

Whereas the conflict between the Saudi-led coalition and the Houthis constitutes, within the meaning of section 4(a) of the War Powers Resolution (50 U.S.C. 1543(a)), either hostilities or a situation where imminent involvement in hostilities is clearly indicated by the circumstances into which United States Armed Forces have been introduced:

Whereas section 5(c) of the War Powers Resolution (50 U.S.C. 1544(c)) states that "at any time that United States Armed Forces are engaged in hostilities outside the territory of the United States, its possessions and territories without a declaration of war or specific statutory authorization, such forces shall be removed by the President if the Congress so directs";

Whereas section 8(c) of the War Powers Resolution (50 U.S.C. 1547(c)) defines the introduction of United States Armed Forces to include "the assignment of members of such armed forces to command, coordinate, participate in the movement of, or accompany the regular or irregular military forces of any foreign country or government when such military forces are engaged, or there exists an imminent threat that such forces will become engaged, in hostilities," and activities that the United States is conducting in support of the Saudi-led coalition, including aerial refueling and targeting assistance, fall within this definition:

Whereas section 1013 of the Department of State Authorization Act, Fiscal Years 1984 and 1985 (50 U.S.C. 1546a) provides that any joint resolution or bill to require the removal of United States Armed Forces engaged in hostilities without a declaration of war or specific statutory authorization shall be considered in accordance with the expedited procedures of section 601(b) of the International Security and Arms Export Control Act of 1976 (Public Law 94–329; 90 Stat. 765); and

Whereas no specific statutory authorization for the use of United States Armed Forces with respect to the conflict between the Saudi-led coalition and the Houthis in Yemen has been enacted, and no provision of law explicitly authorizes the provision of targeting assistance or of midair refueling services to warplanes of Saudi Arabia or the United Arab Emirates that are engaged in such conflict: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled.

SECTION 1. REMOVAL OF UNITED STATES ARMED FORCES FROM HOSTILITIES IN THE REPUBLIC OF YEMEN THAT HAVE NOT BEEN AUTHORIZED BY CONGRESS.

Pursuant to section 1013 of the Department of State Authorization Act, Fiscal Years 1984 and 1985 (50 U.S.C. 1546a) and in accordance with the provisions of section 601(b) of the International Security Assistance and Arms Export Control Act of 1976 (Public Law 94–329; 90 Stat. 765), Congress hereby directs the

President to remove United States Armed Forces from hostilities in or affecting the Republic of Yemen, except United States Armed Forces engaged in operations directed at al Qaeda or associated forces, by not later than the date that is 30 days after the date of the adoption of this joint resolution (unless the President requests and Congress authorizes a later date), and unless and until a declaration of war or specific authorization for such use of United States Armed Forces has been enacted. For purposes of this resolution, in this section, the term "hostilities" includes in-flight refueling of non-United States aircraft conducting missions as part of the ongoing civil war in Yemen.

SEC. 2. RULE OF CONSTRUCTION REGARDING CONTINUED MILITARY OPERATIONS AND COOPERATION WITH ISRAEL.

Nothing in this joint resolution shall be construed to influence or disrupt any military operations and cooperation with Israel.

SEC. 3. REPORT ON RISKS POSED BY CEASING SAUDI ARABIA SUPPORT OPERATIONS.

Not later than 90 days after the date of the enactment of this joint resolution, the President shall submit to Congress a report assessing the risks posed to United States citizens and the civilian population of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and the risk of regional humanitarian crises if the United States were to cease support operations with respect to the conflict between the Saudi-led coalition and the Houthis in Yemen.

SEC. 4. REPORT ON INCREASED RISK OF TERRORIST ATTACKS TO UNITED STATES FORCES ABROAD, ALLIES, AND THE CONTINENTAL UNITED STATES IF SAUDI ARABIA CEASES YEMEN-RELATED INTELLIGENCE SHARING WITH THE UNITED STATES.

Not later than 90 days after the date of the enactment of this joint resolution, the President shall submit to Congress a report assessing the increased risk of terrorist attacks on United States Armed Forces abroad, allies, and to the continental United States if the Government of Saudi Arabia were to cease Yemen-related intelligence sharing with the United States.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Tennessee.

SUPPORTING A DIPLOMATIC SOLUTION IN YEMEN AND CONDEMNING THE MURDER OF JAMAL KHASHOGGI

Mr. CORKER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the immediate consideration of S.J. Res. 69.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the joint resolution by title.

The legislative clerk read as follows: A joint resolution (S.J. Res. 69) supporting a diplomatic solution in Yemen and condemning the murder of Jamal Khashoggi.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to proceeding to the measure?

The Senator from New Jersey.

Mr. MENENDEZ. Reserving the right to object, I do not intend to object. I just want to say that on this resolution, there is a central reason why I am not going to object.

I don't agree with some of the language that speaks about the economic interests we have with Saudi Arabia. I think their behavior is more than concerning, but what the distinguished

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chairman on the Foreign Relations Committee is trying to do here at the core of it is the critical element.

I am going to be supportive because of this one singular statement under the resolved clause by the Senate and the House of Representatives that the Senate "believes Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman is responsible for the murder of Jamal Khashoggi."

Regardless of all of my other concerns about language, that is the central essence of what the chairman is going to do. I think it is incredibly important for the Senate to speak on that issue and, hopefully, speak with one voice.

With that, I withdraw my objection. The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Virginia.

Mr. KAINE. Reserving the right to object, I will not object, but I stand to support this.

Jamal Khashoggi was a Virginia resident. His children are American citizens and Virginia residents, and it is important for the Senate to speak on this matter.

I withdraw the objection.

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the joint resolution.

Mr. CORKER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the joint resolution be considered read a third time.

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

The joint resolution was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading and was read the third time.

Mr. CORKER. I know of no further debate on the resolution.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there further debate?

Hearing none, the joint resolution having been read the third time, the question is, Shall the joint resolution pass?

The preamble was agreed to.

The joint resolution (S.J. Res. 69) was passed as follows:

S.J. RES. 69

Whereas the ongoing civil war in Yemen has exacerbated that country's humanitarian crisis, in which nearly 12,000,000 people are suffering from "severe hunger," according to the United Nations' World Food Programme:

Whereas there is no military solution to the conflict:

Whereas the United States-Saudi Arabia relationship is important to United States national security and economic interests:

Whereas the Government of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia has, in recent years, engaged in concerning behavior, including its conduct in the civil war in Yemen, apparent detention of the Prime Minister of Lebanon, undermining the unity of the Gulf Cooperation Council, expulsion of the Canadian ambassador, suppression of dissent within the Kingdom, and the murder of Jamal Khashoggi;

Whereas misleading statements by the Government of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia regarding the murder of Jamal Khashoggi have undermined trust and confidence in the longstanding friendship between the United States and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia; and

Whereas such erratic actions place unnecessary strain on the United States-Saudi

Arabia relationship, which is an essential element of regional stability: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled. That the Senate—

(1) believes Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman is responsible for the murder of Jamal Khashoggi:

(2) acknowledges the United States Government has sanctioned 17 Saudi individuals under the Global Magnitsky Human Rights Accountability Act (subtitle F of title XII of Public Law 114-328; 22 U.S.C. 2656 note) for their roles in the murder;

(3) calls for the Government of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia to ensure appropriate accountability for all those responsible for Jamal Khashoggi's murder;

(4) calls on the Government of Saudi Arabia to release Raif Badawi, Samar Badawi, and the Saudi women's rights activists who were arrested as political prisoners in 2018;

(5) encourages the Government of Saudi Arabia to redouble its efforts to enact economic and social reforms;

(6) calls on the Government of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia to respect the rights of its citizens and moderate its increasingly erratic foreign policy;

(7) warns that the Government of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia's increasing purchases of military equipment from, and cooperation with, the Russian Federation and the People's Republic of China, challenges the strength and integrity of the long-standing military-to-military relationship between the United States and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and may introduce significant national security and economic risks to both parties:

(8) demands that all parties seek an immediate cease-fire and negotiated political solution to the Yemen conflict and increased humanitarian assistance to the victims of the conflict:

(9) condemns the Government of Iran's provision of advanced lethal weapons to Houthi rebels, which have perpetuated the conflict and have been used indiscriminately against civilian targets in Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, and the Bab al Mandeb waterway:

(10) condemns Houthi rebels for egregious human rights abuses, including torture, use of human shields, and interference with, and diversion of, humanitarian aid shipments;

(11) demands that the Saudi-led coalition and all parties to the Yemen conflict seek to minimize civilian casualties at all times;

(12) supports the peace negotiations currently being managed by United Nations Special Envoy Martin Griffiths and encourages the United States Government to provide all possible support to these diplomatic efforts:

(13) declares that there is no statutory authorization for United States involvement in hostilities in the Yemen civil war; and

(14) supports the end of air-to-air refueling of Saudi-led coalition aircraft operating in Yemen.

Mr. CORKER. Mr. President, I want to thank our ranking member and my friend, Senator Menendez, for his tremendous cooperation for many years but especially over this last week, and Senator KAINE for coming in and supporting it.

I want to reiterate what the ranking member just said. The Senate has now unanimously said that Crown Prince Muhammad bin Salman is responsible for the murder of Jamal Khashoggi. That is a strong statement. I think it speaks to the values we hold dear, as the rest of this resolution does.

I am glad the Senate is speaking with one voice, unanimously, toward this end. I thank the leader for accommodating—making this happen.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority leader.

Mr. McConnell. Mr. President, before the chairman on Foreign Relations Committee leaves, I want to thank him for his extraordinary leadership. This is a bit of a thicket here with different points of view, but as a result of what the chairman has just offered, it is a clear, unambiguous message about how we feel about what happened to this journalist.

I want to thank him.

Mr. CORKER. I thank the Senator. The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority leader.

SAVE OUR SEAS ACT OF 2018

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, I understand that the Senate has received a message from the House to accompany S. 756.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is correct.

Mr. McCONNELL. I ask that the Chair lay before the Senate the message to accompany S. 756.

The Presiding Officer laid before the Senate the following message from the House of Representatives:

Resolved, That the bill from the Senate (S. 756) entitled "An Act to reauthorize and amend the Marine Debris Act to promote international action to reduce marine debris, and for other purposes.", do pass with an amendment.

MOTION TO CONCUR

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, I move to concur in the House amendment with a further amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the amendment.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Kentucky [Mr. McCon-NELL] moves to concur in the House amendment to S. 756 with a further amendment numbered 4108.

Mr. McCONNELL. I ask unanimous consent that the reading be dispensed with.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Without objection, it is so ordered.

(The amendment is printed in today's RECORD under "Text of Amendments.")

Mr. McCONNELL. I ask for the yeas and nays on my amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

There appears to be a sufficient second.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

AMENDMENT NO. 4109 TO AMENDMENT NO. 4108

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, I have a second-degree amendment at the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read as follows: