

have broad, bipartisan support. All of us took an oath to the Constitution. It does nothing but restate the fundamental principle written into the Constitution.

The drumbeat of war against Iran has been steady—a continuous demeaning of its every move. For sure, it does many things that bother us a great deal. Yet it is more than just being concerned about its current activities when I speak of the drumbeat of war; I am talking about the fact that we exited an agreement that we made with Iran, the JCPOA agreement, which had it dismantling all of its nuclear programs in exchange for some loosening of economic restrictions. We exited it. When we did that—when President Trump pulled us out of it, he did exactly what the rightwing said, what the hard-liners in Iran said, which was that America was not to be trusted, that America will not stand by the agreement. President Trump showed Iran that it was right.

Then, in this tightening of the economic restrictions by us that has ensued, we have made life difficult all across the spectrum of Iranian civilians, and we have created more support for the rightwing, for the hard-liners, for the Islamic Revolutionary Guard in Iran—the folks who are the least interested in negotiating with the United States of America, the folks who are most interested in pursuing a nuclear program. We have strengthened Iran, within its country, with this action.

Then we deployed the Abraham Lincoln carrier strike group to the Persian Gulf. One of our carrier strike forces is immensely powerful. It is able to rain down bombs on a vast number of cities in short order with there being massive destruction that symbolizes and embodies that power.

It is not just that. We deployed a B-52 squadron to the region, and it has an immense, heavy lifting, bombing capability as well.

It is not just that. The Iranian economy, while it suffered under quotas, still had some ability to sell some oil and therefore an ability to alleviate some suffering within its country economically. We cut off those waivers. Now they are really hard-pressed.

So we empowered the rightwing. We strengthened the citizens of Iran to support the hard-liners, and the hard-liners then did something like shoot down an American drone, and we came this close to going to war.

Our President's—President Trump's—inner Cabinet recommended our bombing Iran in retaliation. It was at the last moment that President

Trump apparently recognized that Iran had shot down an unmanned drone and that we were going to conduct a bombing campaign that might kill 150 people, but that would not have been proportional. His observation was right. Yet where were his advisers when talking about proportionality—his advisers who had been beating this drumbeat of war, who had looked for a trigger, an opportunity to unleash the forces that had been pre-positioned in the gulf by the United States of America? Shouldn't we demand the President follow the Constitution?

We must debate this amendment—the Udall-Kaine amendment—on this floor. Let people vote no or yes according to their opinions, but let us listen to each other. Let us argue about one of the most important issues a nation can ever argue about—the power to go to war.

I hope my colleagues here in the Senate will read the commentary by the Founders and by those who came later. I was struck that Jefferson, who was very involved in the structuring of the Constitution, talked about putting a leash on the dogs of war by transferring the power from the executive to the legislative. Yet he didn't just talk the talk; he walked the walk. He wrote a message to Congress in 1805: “Considering that Congress alone is constitutionally invested with the power of changing our condition from peace to war, I have thought it my duty to await their authority for using force.”

Jefferson talked the talk, and he walked the walk. Are we going to walk the talk? Are we going to stand by and not even debate the issue?

Let us have the Senate be the Senate and put amendments before this body on issues that are important to this Nation. We are on a bill about the security of the Nation. There is no better time in the future than now.

Are we to come together after war has been unleashed and then hold a debate on whether it was authorized? Can we not send clarity now or at least debate as to whether to send clarity now that, indeed, it is not authorized and that the President must come to Congress, as envisioned—as laid out in article I, section 8 of the Constitution? Shouldn't we have that debate now, not after a conflict has started? The answer is, yes, we should have the debate now.

ADJOURNMENT UNTIL 10 A.M.  
TOMORROW

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate stands adjourned until 10 a.m. tomorrow.

Thereupon, the Senate, at 7:10 p.m., adjourned until Tuesday, June 25, 2019, at 10 a.m.

## NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate:

### NATIONAL TRANSPORTATION SAFETY BOARD

MICHAEL GRAHAM, OF KANSAS, TO BE A MEMBER OF THE NATIONAL TRANSPORTATION SAFETY BOARD FOR A TERM EXPIRING DECEMBER 31, 2025. (REAPPOINTMENT)

### CHEMICAL SAFETY AND HAZARD INVESTIGATION BOARD

KATHERINE ANDREA LEMOS, OF CALIFORNIA, TO BE A MEMBER OF THE CHEMICAL SAFETY AND HAZARD INVESTIGATION BOARD FOR A TERM OF FIVE YEARS, VICE MARK A. GRIFFON, RESIGNED.

### DEPARTMENT OF STATE

ANTHONY F. GODFREY, OF VIRGINIA, A CAREER MEMBER OF THE SENIOR FOREIGN SERVICE, CLASS OF MINISTER-COUNSELOR, TO BE AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND PLENIPOTENTIARY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE REPUBLIC OF SERBIA.

MARY BETH LEONARD, OF MASSACHUSETTS, A CAREER MEMBER OF THE SENIOR FOREIGN SERVICE, CLASS OF MINISTER-COUNSELOR, TO BE AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND PLENIPOTENTIARY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF NIGERIA.

HERRO MUSTAFA, OF CALIFORNIA, A CAREER MEMBER OF THE SENIOR FOREIGN SERVICE, CLASS OF COUNSELOR, TO BE AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND PLENIPOTENTIARY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE REPUBLIC OF BULGARIA.

LESLIE MEREDITH TSOU, OF VIRGINIA, A CAREER MEMBER OF THE SENIOR FOREIGN SERVICE, CLASS OF MINISTER-COUNSELOR, TO BE AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND PLENIPOTENTIARY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE SULTANATE OF OMAN.

### LEGAL SERVICES CORPORATION

MATTHEW KEENAN, OF KANSAS, TO BE A MEMBER OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE LEGAL SERVICES CORPORATION FOR A TERM EXPIRING JULY 13, 2020, VICE HARRY JAMES FRANKYN KORRELL III, TERM EXPIRED.

### THE JUDICIARY

DANIEL Z. EPSTEIN, OF MARYLAND, TO BE A JUDGE OF THE UNITED STATES COURT OF FEDERAL CLAIMS FOR A TERM OF FIFTEEN YEARS, VICE EDWARD J. DAMICH, TERM EXPIRED.

JOHN FITZGERALD KNESS, OF ILLINOIS, TO BE UNITED STATES DISTRICT JUDGE FOR THE NORTHERN DISTRICT OF ILLINOIS, VICE SAMUEL DER-YEGHIAYAN, RETIRED.

### DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

W. STEPHEN MULBROW, OF PUERTO RICO, TO BE UNITED STATES ATTORNEY FOR THE DISTRICT OF PUERTO RICO FOR THE TERM OF FOUR YEARS, VICE HUMBERTO S. GARCIA, RESIGNED.

### THE JUDICIARY

HALIL SULEYMAN OZERDEN, OF MISSISSIPPI, TO BE UNITED STATES CIRCUIT JUDGE FOR THE FIFTH CIRCUIT, VICE E. GRADY JOLLY, RETIRED.

ELENI MARIA ROUMEL, OF MARYLAND, TO BE A JUDGE OF THE UNITED STATES COURT OF FEDERAL CLAIMS FOR A TERM OF FIFTEEN YEARS, VICE MARY ELLEN COSTER WILLIAMS, TERM EXPIRED.

JUSTIN REED WALKER, OF KENTUCKY, TO BE UNITED STATES DISTRICT JUDGE FOR THE WESTERN DISTRICT OF KENTUCKY, VICE JOSEPH H. MCKINLEY, JR., RETIRED.

## WITHDRAWAL

Executive Message transmitted by the President to the Senate on June 24, 2019 withdrawing from further Senate consideration the following nomination:

ROBERT C. TAPPELLA, OF VIRGINIA, TO BE DIRECTOR OF THE GOVERNMENT PUBLISHING OFFICE, VICE DAVITA VANCE-COOKS, WHICH WAS SENT TO THE SENATE ON JANUARY 16, 2019.