

2 of the 14th Amendment to prevent Americans from voting due to an earlier criminal conviction.

Finally, the amendment would provide that Congress has the irrefutable authority to protect the right to vote through legislation.

If ratified, this constitutional amendment would protect against nefarious election administration changes that lead to long lines and people beating on doors, trying to get in to vote. These long lines have reduced voter turnout on election day. How in the world can we be a stronger nation if fewer people participate in the most important part of democracy?

It would protect against photo identification requirements that disproportionately harm low-income voters and African Americans and Hispanics.

Black lives matter. Brown lives matter. American lives matter. And when it comes to voting, this insidious effort to undermine the opportunity for these people to vote has to be called out for what it is.

It would also provide a path to end discriminatory criminal disfranchisement laws that are a relic of the Jim Crow era and yet continue to strip millions of citizens of their fundamental right to participate in our democracy.

Some may ask why we should pursue this amendment, when there are clearer, perhaps easier, steps that Congress can take right now to protect voting rights under its existing constitutional authority.

Let me give you an example. The Senate can quickly pass the JOHN LEWIS Voting Rights Act amendment, which the House passed last year, but that would rely on the decision by Senator MCCONNELL to actually let the Senate vote on a measure coming over from the House. There is little hope that is going to happen.

Given the ongoing ruthless assault on voting rights in America, it is clear that additional tools are necessary to push back against widespread voter suppression. I recognize that amending the Constitution is no small matter. I am well aware that introducing this amendment today is not going to lead to any immediate change, but I also believe that this moment represents the next step in a movement—a movement in America that will ultimately lead to a ratification of this amendment.

I am going to work with my colleagues and constituents to build support. I will ask opponents as to why they believe that fundamental right, preservative of all other rights in America, should not be affirmatively granted to the American people and literally enshrined in the United States Constitution—the right to vote. I plan to work with grassroots organizations who are fighting for their voting rights to be restored.

I am going to work with Representative MARK POCAN of Wisconsin, who has led this effort in the House, and I plan to work with civil rights leaders, in-

cluding an old friend, Jessie Jackson, who for years has called for this amendment to be introduced in the Senate.

I want to thank Reverend Jackson for his timeless leadership and advocacy. I am grateful to have the support of the Rainbow/Push Coalition as we introduce this amendment, along with the Advancement Project national office. Let me thank Senators WARREN, SANDERS, MERKLEY, HIRONO, MARKEY, VAN HOLLEN, and BLUMENTHAL for co-sponsoring, and I hope others will join us.

By accident, I was given a book several years ago entitled “White Rage,” written by Carol Anderson. Carol Anderson is a professor at Emory University. The book was given to me by my brother-in-law, and I was skeptical that I would even read it, let alone like it. Well, I have to state that I have read it and recommended it over and over to my colleagues in the Senate, including giving a copy to then Senate Majority Leader Harry Reid. He decided, after reading the book, that it was so good that he invited Professor Carol Anderson to come speak to our caucus. She is an amazing person and a great historian.

She followed “White Rage” with this book, “One Person, No Vote.” In it she tells the history of voter suppression. It is an eye-opener.

After the Civil War and all those deaths to end slavery, after the assassination of Lincoln and after the effort was made to finally give to Blacks in the South a chance to become full-fledged citizens, they ran into Jim Crow laws.

She talks about something which I had heard of but knew little about. I would like to say a word from the book.

The question is about the efforts made to suppress the Black vote in the South, and she writes:

That became most apparent in 1890 when the Magnolia State passed the Mississippi Plan, a dizzying array of poll taxes, literacy tests, understanding clauses, newfangled voter registration rules, and “good character” clauses—all intentionally racially discriminatory but dressed up in the genteel garb of bringing “integrity” to the voting booth. This feigned legal innocence was legislative evil genius.

Virginia representative Carter Glass, like so many others, swooned at the thought of bringing the Mississippi Plan to his own state [of Virginia], especially after he saw how well it had worked. He rushed to champion a bill in the legislature that would “eliminate the darkey as a political factor . . . in less than five years.” Glass, whom President Franklin Roosevelt would one day describe as an “unreconstructed rebel,” planned not to “deprive a single white man of the ballot, but [to] inevitably cut from the existing electorate four-fifths of the Negro voters” in Virginia.

One delegate questioned him: “Will it not be done by fraud and discrimination?”

“By fraud, no. By discrimination, yes,” Glass retorted. “Discrimination! Why, that is precisely what we propose . . . to discriminate to the very extremity . . . permissible . . . under . . . the Federal Constitution,

with a view to the elimination of every negro voter who can be gotten rid of, legally, without materially impairing the numerical strength of the white electorate.”

Unapologetic, straight in his remarks, his racism was rampant, and so it was across the country.

Black lives matter. America matters. And our democracy matters. Once and for all, the right to vote should be enshrined in our Constitution. People died for it. It is time for us to work hard to show that we care.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the text of the bill be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the text of the bill was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

S.J. RES. 75

*Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article is proposed as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of the Constitution when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States:*

“ARTICLE—

“SECTION 1. Every citizen of the United States, who is of legal voting age, shall have the fundamental right to vote in any public election held in the jurisdiction in which the citizen resides.

“SECTION 2. The fundamental right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State or political subdivision within a State unless such denial or abridgment is in furtherance of a compelling governmental interest and is the least restrictive means of furthering that compelling governmental interest.

“SECTION 3. The portion of section 2 of the fourteenth article of amendment to the Constitution of the United States that consists of the phrase ‘or other crime,’ is repealed.

“SECTION 4. The Congress shall have the power to enforce this article and protect against any denial or abridgement of the fundamental right to vote by legislation.”

#### SUBMITTED RESOLUTIONS

#### SENATE RESOLUTION 666—HONORING THE FAITHFUL AND UNWAVERING SERVICE OF CIVIL AIR TRANSPORT AND AIR AMERICA TO THE UNITED STATES

Mr. CASSIDY (for himself and Mr. RUBIO) submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Select Committee on Intelligence:

S. RES. 666

Whereas, over the course of 4 decades, the courage, dedication to duty, superior airmanship, and sacrifice of the men and women of Civil Air Transport and Air America set high standards for future covert air operations;

Whereas, during the Cold War, aircrews and ground personnel of Civil Air Transport and Air America gave selflessly in service to the worldwide battle against communist oppression;

Whereas, across multiple active military theaters from the Far East to Southeast Asia, the legendary men and women of Civil Air Transport and Air America served heroically, and many of those men and women gave their lives in the defense of freedom;

Whereas, often at great personal risk of enemy ground fire and possible capture, Air America acted quickly and decisively to conduct search and rescue operations to recover downed aviators in trouble, always fully embodying the "Airman's Creed"; and

Whereas the individuals of Air America performed these search and rescue operations despite often outdated equipment, hazardous terrain, dangerous weather, and the bureaucracy of their own governments: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved*, That the Senate—

(1) recognizes the skill, bravery and loyalty of veterans of Civil Air Transport and Air America; and

(2) honors the sacrifices of veterans of Civil Air Transport and Air America to defend freedom and protect the United States.

#### AMENDMENTS SUBMITTED AND PROPOSED

SA 2505. Mr. RUBIO (for himself and Ms. COLLINS) submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2499 proposed by Mr. MCCONNELL to the bill S. 178, to condemn gross human rights violations of ethnic Turkic Muslims in Xinjiang, and calling for an end to arbitrary detention, torture, and harassment of these communities inside and outside China; which was ordered to lie on the table.

SA 2506. Mr. RUBIO (for himself and Ms. COLLINS) submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill S. 178, supra; which was ordered to lie on the table.

SA 2507. Mr. RUBIO (for himself and Ms. COLLINS) submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2499 proposed by Mr. MCCONNELL to the bill S. 178, supra; which was ordered to lie on the table.

SA 2508. Mr. RUBIO (for himself and Ms. COLLINS) submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill S. 178, supra; which was ordered to lie on the table.

SA 2509. Mr. GRASSLEY submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2499 proposed by Mr. MCCONNELL to the bill S. 178, supra; which was ordered to lie on the table.

SA 2510. Mr. GRASSLEY submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2499 proposed by Mr. MCCONNELL to the bill S. 178, supra; which was ordered to lie on the table.

SA 2511. Mr. GRASSLEY submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2499 proposed by Mr. MCCONNELL to the bill S. 178, supra; which was ordered to lie on the table.

SA 2512. Mr. MORAN (for himself and Mr. BLUMENTHAL) proposed an amendment to the bill S. 2330, to amend the Ted Stevens Olympic and Amateur Sports Act to provide for congressional oversight of the board of directors of the United States Olympic and Paralympic Committee and to protect amateur athletes from emotional, physical, and sexual abuse, and for other purposes.

SA 2513. Mr. CASSIDY (for himself, Mr. DAINES, Mr. ROMNEY, and Mr. RUBIO) submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2499 proposed by Mr. MCCONNELL to the bill S. 178, to condemn gross human rights violations of ethnic Turkic Muslims in Xinjiang, and calling for an end to arbitrary detention, torture, and harassment of these communities inside and outside China; which was ordered to lie on the table.

SA 2514. Ms. MCSALLY submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2499 proposed by Mr. MCCONNELL to the bill S. 178, supra; which was ordered to lie on the table.

SA 2515. Ms. MCSALLY (for herself, Mr. DAINES, Mr. CORNYN, and Mr. SULLIVAN) sub-

mitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2499 proposed by Mr. MCCONNELL to the bill S. 178, supra; which was ordered to lie on the table.

SA 2516. Ms. MCSALLY submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by her to the bill S. 178, supra; which was ordered to lie on the table.

SA 2517. Ms. MCSALLY submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2499 proposed by Mr. MCCONNELL to the bill S. 178, supra; which was ordered to lie on the table.

SA 2518. Mr. BLUNT (for himself, Mrs. CAPITO, and Mrs. HYDE-SMITH) submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill S. 178, supra; which was ordered to lie on the table.

SA 2519. Mr. BLUNT (for himself and Mr. DAINES) submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill S. 178, supra; which was ordered to lie on the table.

SA 2520. Mr. BLUNT (for himself and Mr. ALEXANDER) submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill S. 178, supra; which was ordered to lie on the table.

SA 2521. Mr. BLUNT submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2499 proposed by Mr. MCCONNELL to the bill S. 178, supra; which was ordered to lie on the table.

SA 2522. Mr. BLUNT (for himself, Mrs. CAPITO, and Mrs. HYDE-SMITH) submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2499 proposed by Mr. MCCONNELL to the bill S. 178, supra; which was ordered to lie on the table.

SA 2523. Mr. BLUNT (for himself and Mr. DAINES) submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2499 proposed by Mr. MCCONNELL to the bill S. 178, supra; which was ordered to lie on the table.

SA 2524. Mr. BLUNT (for himself and Mr. ALEXANDER) submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2499 proposed by Mr. MCCONNELL to the bill S. 178, supra; which was ordered to lie on the table.

SA 2525. Mr. BLUNT submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill S. 178, supra; which was ordered to lie on the table.

SA 2526. Mr. TOOMEY submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2499 proposed by Mr. MCCONNELL to the bill S. 178, supra; which was ordered to lie on the table.

SA 2527. Mr. TOOMEY submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill S. 178, supra; which was ordered to lie on the table.

SA 2528. Mr. TOOMEY (for himself and Mrs. CAPITO) submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill S. 178, supra; which was ordered to lie on the table.

SA 2529. Mr. TOOMEY (for himself and Mrs. CAPITO) submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2499 proposed by Mr. MCCONNELL to the bill S. 178, supra; which was ordered to lie on the table.

SA 2530. Mr. ALEXANDER submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2499 proposed by Mr. MCCONNELL to the bill S. 178, supra; which was ordered to lie on the table.

SA 2531. Mr. ALEXANDER submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2499 proposed by Mr. MCCONNELL to the bill S. 178, supra; which was ordered to lie on the table.

SA 2532. Mr. ALEXANDER submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2499 proposed by Mr. MCCONNELL to the bill S. 178, supra; which was ordered to lie on the table.

SA 2533. Mr. ALEXANDER submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2499 proposed by Mr. MCCONNELL to the bill S. 178, supra; which was ordered to lie on the table.

SA 2534. Mr. ALEXANDER submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2499 proposed by Mr. MCCONNELL to the bill S. 178, supra; which was ordered to lie on the table.

SA 2535. Mrs. CAPITO (for herself and Ms. COLLINS) submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2499 proposed by Mr. MCCONNELL to the bill S. 178, supra; which was ordered to lie on the table.

SA 2536. Mrs. CAPITO (for herself and Ms. COLLINS) submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by her to the bill S. 178, supra; which was ordered to lie on the table.

SA 2537. Mr. DAINES submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2499 proposed by Mr. MCCONNELL to the bill S. 178, supra; which was ordered to lie on the table.

SA 2538. Mr. GRAHAM submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2499 proposed by Mr. MCCONNELL to the bill S. 178, supra; which was ordered to lie on the table.

SA 2539. Mr. GRAHAM submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2499 proposed by Mr. MCCONNELL to the bill S. 178, supra; which was ordered to lie on the table.

SA 2540. Mr. BARRASSO submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2499 proposed by Mr. MCCONNELL to the bill S. 178, supra; which was ordered to lie on the table.

SA 2541. Mr. BARRASSO submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill S. 178, supra; which was ordered to lie on the table.

SA 2542. Mr. CRAPO submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2499 proposed by Mr. MCCONNELL to the bill S. 178, supra; which was ordered to lie on the table.

SA 2543. Mr. WICKER submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill S. 178, supra; which was ordered to lie on the table.

SA 2544. Mr. WICKER submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2499 proposed by Mr. MCCONNELL to the bill S. 178, supra; which was ordered to lie on the table.

SA 2545. Mr. PERDUE (for himself and Mr. BLUNT) submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2499 proposed by Mr. MCCONNELL to the bill S. 178, supra; which was ordered to lie on the table.

SA 2546. Mr. PERDUE (for himself and Mr. BLUNT) submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill S. 178, supra; which was ordered to lie on the table.

SA 2547. Mr. DAINES (for himself and Mr. ALEXANDER) submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2499 proposed by Mr. MCCONNELL to the bill S. 178, supra; which was ordered to lie on the table.

SA 2548. Mr. DAINES submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill S. 178, supra; which was ordered to lie on the table.

SA 2549. Mr. GRASSLEY submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2499 proposed by Mr. MCCONNELL to the bill S. 178, supra; which was ordered to lie on the table.

SA 2550. Mr. SCOTT, of Florida submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2499 proposed by Mr. MCCONNELL to the bill S. 178, supra; which was ordered to lie on the table.

SA 2551. Mr. SCOTT, of Florida submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to