

And there would be premium hikes—let me mention that: premium hikes—for everybody else who gets their insurance through the marketplace when Republicans take away the tax credits that lower their premiums.

During his confirmation hearing, I gave Dr. Oz the opportunity to go on the record and reassure the American people he wouldn't go along with the Republican scheme to rip away healthcare. He refused. So, I also asked Dr. Oz: If he was confirmed, would he travel to Malheur County in my home State? It is an overwhelmingly rural and red county and also has the most recipients of Medicaid in any county in Oregon.

Dr. Oz agreed to come to Malheur County and explain Trump's catastrophic cuts, face-to-face, with Oregonians. I am going to hold him to that. He is going to have to answer to the people of Oregon and Malheur County about these inhumane policies.

Republicans are full steam ahead with their plans to gut Americans' healthcare and put for-profit insurance companies and private equity firms in charge of America's health.

So here is the real question with respect to this vote that will be coming up: What is at stake on the Mehmet Oz vote?

What is at stake is whether your aging parents can be safe in their nursing home. What is at stake is whether your kids can go see a doctor. What is at stake is the very health and well-being of your family.

By supporting the Oz nomination, Republicans are sending a very clear message that they are a lot more afraid of Donald Trump than having to answer to their own constituents.

Every Member of this body that votes to confirm Dr. Oz is going to own the consequences of this decision, those consequences that I spelled out. I urge the Senate to oppose this nomination when we vote later.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Nevada.

ISRAEL

Ms. ROSEN. Mr. President, since October 7, when Hamas launched the deadliest terrorist attack in Israel's history, Israel has continued to face a barrage of threats from Iran and its terrorist proxies in the region. Attacks on Israel, they didn't just happen on October 7. That is when it started.

The resolutions we are debating today will hurt Israel's ability to defend itself against these attacks. These resolutions would block weapons that are critical to restocking Israel's defenses and deterring Iran, Hamas, Hezbollah, the Houthis, and others.

Just this weekend, the Houthis launched a ballistic missile attack on Israel.

If passed, these resolutions would embolden more attacks like these from Iran and, again, its terrorist proxies. It would send a disastrous statement to the world, emboldening terrorism and

potentially prolonging wars in the region.

Now, I know some on my side of the aisle are considering supporting these resolutions because they may disagree with the current Israeli Government. But let's be clear. Support for the U.S.-Israel relationship is not an endorsement of all the actions of any one Israeli Government, in the same way that other nations' support for America does not equal an endorsement of all the actions, well, by the Trump administration.

So I urge my colleagues to stand with and stand for our historic and mutually beneficial relationship with Israel and the Israeli people.

As the only democracy in the Middle East, Israel has been our strongest ally in the region, and the passage of these resolutions, well, it would damage our bond for years to come.

Government leaders, politicians, well, they come and go, but our commitment to Israel's security must be ironclad.

Restricting much needed arms to Israel because you don't agree with everything the current government is doing will leave our ally vulnerable, not only to current threats of terrorism but to future threats of terrorism.

While Israel has an absolute right to defend itself and the aid provided to Israel is critical to its defense, I do share the concerns of many of my colleagues about the need to limit civilian casualties during these conflicts. That is an important reason why I oppose these resolutions.

The joint direct attack munitions, or JDAMs—the very same guidance kits that would be restricted by one of these resolutions—would actually help convert unguided, dumb bombs into more accurate ones. These save civilian lives by enabling the Israeli Air Force to hit military targets more precisely than they would without JDAMs.

By providing Israel with JDAMs, which make weapons more precise and more accurate, we are helping Israel to defend itself, while also working to minimize civilian casualties.

The munitions these resolutions would block are also critical because Israel continues to face threats from both above and below the ground. For this reason, it is essential that Israel be able to reach all their military targets, including reinforced concrete structures like terror tunnels, weapons depots, factories, and rocket missile sites.

These resolutions would undermine these capabilities.

I know many of you here are torn. You want to do what is right for Israel, the United States, and the region. And I believe that we all share a goal of ending the war between Hamas and Israel, and we all look forward to a future without hostilities where the hostages taken by Hamas are finally all freed.

Right now, 59 hostages—only about half of whom are still believed to be alive, including a living American hostage—still are in Hamas captivity. They are still in Hamas captivity. And I think we can all agree that freeing all of these hostages is a fundamental piece to ending the war.

Passing these resolutions could threaten that goal. We have seen Hamas harden their stances on negotiations when they perceive gaps between the United States and Israel. After almost 550 days—550 days—the hostages cannot afford to have Hamas delay one day longer.

So to best ensure the safety and security of Israel and the Palestinian people, to end civilian casualties on both sides, and to ensure we never ever have another October 7 again, Hamas cannot be allowed to remain in power in Gaza in any capacity.

I still hold hope for a future where two states live side by side in peace—a future that is free from Hamas, which has devastated countless lives in the region, of both Israelis and Palestinians.

And the key component of making this a reality is to make sure that Israel maintains its qualitative military edge to push Hamas out of Gaza for good.

Passing these resolutions would do the opposite. It would allow Hamas to entrench even further in Gaza, believing Israel's stockpiles are decimated, allowing them to expand their foothold, emboldening their current and future assault of Israelis and oppression of the Palestinians.

Blocking these arms sales will hurt Israel. It will send the wrong message to Hamas, to Iran, and to all of its terrorist proxies that America is abandoning our ally.

So I want to be clear. I want to repeat this: The message to terrorists, if these bills are passed—the message to terrorists—will be that they can continue without impunity.

If we are serious about preventing another atrocity like October 7, if we are serious about limiting civilian casualties, if we are serious about ensuring that Israel can defend itself, if we are serious about sending a message to terrorists around the globe, if we are serious about a stable path forward, and if we are serious about stability in the region and a safe and secure State of Israel, someday living alongside a peaceful, independent Palestinian State, I urge all of my colleagues to vote no on these resolutions.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Vermont.

#### LEGISLATIVE SESSION

Mr. SANDERS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to resume legislative session.

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

MOTIONS TO DISCHARGE—S.J. RES.  
33 AND S.J. RES. 26

Mr. SANDERS. Pursuant to section 36(b) of the Arms Export Control Act, I move to discharge the Committee on Foreign Relations from further consideration of S.J. Res. 33 and S.J. Res. 26 relating to the disapproval of the proposed foreign military sales to the Government of Israel of certain defense articles and services.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the titles.

The senior assistant executive clerk read as follows:

Motion to discharge from the Committee on Foreign Relations (S.J. Res. 33) providing for congressional disapproval of the proposed foreign military sale to the Government of Israel of certain defense articles and services.

Motion to discharge from the Committee on Foreign Relations (S.J. Res. 26) providing for congressional disapproval of the proposed foreign military sale to Israel of certain defense articles and services.

Mr. SANDERS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate debate the motions concurrently with all other provisions from yesterday's order remaining in effect.

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

CAMPAIGN FINANCE

Mr. SANDERS. Mr. President, let me begin by telling the American people something that they already know, and that is, as a result of the disastrous Citizens United Supreme Court decision, we now have a corrupt campaign finance system that allows billionaires to buy elections and to influence major pieces of legislation. That, I think, is not a secret to the American people.

If you are a Republican and you vote against the Trump-Musk administration in one way or another, you have got to look over your shoulder and worry that you are going to get a call from Elon Musk, the wealthiest man in the world, and he will tell you that if you vote against what he wants, he will spend unlimited amounts of money to defeat you in the next election. That is not a great secret. That is what Musk has been saying publicly.

If you are a Democrat, you have to worry about the billionaires who fund AIPAC, the American Israel Public Affairs Committee. If you vote against Israeli Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu and his horrific war in Gaza, AIPAC will punish you with millions of dollars in advertisements and other ways to see that you are defeated.

AIPAC's PAC and super PAC spent nearly \$127 million combined during the 2023-2024 election cycle, according to the Federal Election Commission. And I must confess that AIPAC has been successful. Last year, they defeated two Members of the U.S. House who opposed providing military aid to Netanyahu's extremist government.

Now, given all of that, I would hope that Democrats and Republicans who understand that they were elected to

protect the interests of their constituents, not billionaire campaign contributors, would support the ending of Citizens United and would move us toward public funding of elections so billionaires could not continue to control the political and legislative process.

Further, I would hope that both parties would move to end super PAC funding in their primaries, keep the super PAC money, Musk money, AIPAC money out of the Democrat and Republican primaries.

I would hope that that would be the case so that we can, once again, become a government of the people, by the people, for the people, and not a government run by the billionaire class.

ISRAEL

Mr. President, I trust that every American and certainly every Member of the Senate understands that Hamas, a terrorist organization, began this terrible war with its barbaric October 7, 2023, attack on Israel, which killed 1,200 innocent people and took 250 hostages.

The International Criminal Court was correct in indicting the leaders of Hamas as war criminals for those atrocities. Clearly, Israel had the right to defend itself against Hamas.

But most Americans also understand that while Israel had a right to wage war against Hamas, it did not and does not have the right to wage war against the entire Palestinian population, and, tragically, that is exactly what we have seen over the last year and a half.

Let us be clear: Prime Minister Netanyahu's racist and extremist government has waged an all-out, barbaric war against the Palestinian people and made life unlivable in Gaza.

Within Gaza's population of just 2.2 million people, more than 50,000 have been killed and more than 113,000 have been injured, 60 percent of whom are women, children, and elderly people. That is 7.4 percent of the population of Gaza killed or wounded—7.4 percent in a year and a half.

If those same percentages were applied to the United States, in terms of a horrible war where our people were killed or wounded, it would mean that over 25 million Americans would have been killed or wounded.

In total, since this war began, 15,000 children—children—in Gaza have been killed, and today there are some 17,000 orphans. But it is not just the dead and the wounded.

Israel's indiscriminate bombardment has damaged or destroyed two-thirds of all structures in Gaza, including 92 percent of the housing units—as you can see from this photo. Ain't a whole lot left. I don't know why they need any more bombs; they basically destroyed the entire area. Nothing much left to be destroyed.

Almost no part of Gaza has been left unscathed. Most of the population now is living in tents or other makeshift structures. Most of the territory's hospitals and primary healthcare facilities

have been bombed, leaving virtually all Gazans without basic medical care at a time when bombs are flying and people are being wounded, and think about what that means. I have met repeatedly with doctors, American doctors and others, who have served in Gaza, and they are treating hundreds of patients a day without electricity, without anesthesia, without clean water, including dozens of children arriving with gunshot wounds to the head. I have seen the photographs and the videos.

Gaza's civilian infrastructure has been totally devastated, including almost 90 percent of water and sanitation facilities. Most of the roads in Gaza have been destroyed or made impassable. Gaza's educational system has been obliterated. Children are not going to school. According to the World Bank, more than 2,000 educational facilities ranging from kindergartens to universities have been destroyed. Hundreds of schools have been bombed, as has every single one of Gaza's 12 universities. There has been no electricity in Gaza for 17 months, no electricity.

Put simply, Netanyahu and his extremist government have killed or wounded over 7 percent of Gaza's population and has turned Gaza into a wasteland unfit for human life. That is what has been going on over the last year and a half.

In terms of where we are today, right now, the Netanyahu government broke the cease-fire 2 weeks ago, endangering the well-being of the remaining hostages held by Hamas.

Further, in the last 2 weeks, they have intensified their assaults against the Palestinian people. According to UNICEF, since Netanyahu broke the cease-fire, more than a thousand people have been killed, including over 300 children, and more than 600 children have been wounded in the last short period of time.

UNICEF says that most of these children were killed while sheltering in makeshift tents or damaged homes. Just in the last 24 hours, 97 more people have been killed in Gaza.

Since Netanyahu broke the cease-fire, even more aid workers, the people whose job it is to try to help people who have been wounded or hurt, more aid workers have been killed, putting the total of over 400—400—aid workers have been killed since the war began.

Earlier this week, the United Nations announced that they have recovered the bodies of 15 emergency aid workers who were killed by Israeli forces while wearing their emergency responder uniforms and then dumped into a mass grave in southern Gaza.

They were buried alongside the destroyed emergency vehicles, clearly marked ambulances, a fire truck, and a U.N. car.

With the resumption of bombing, hundreds of thousands of Gazans are once again being forcibly displaced by bombing and evacuation orders.