

A Venezuela of 30 million people is a completely different kind of military operation, and we would not expect it to go perfectly because none ever go perfectly.

How will you respond to an American family who loses the life of a child or whose child is injured in the event of a war against Venezuela, when they ask you: Why did you not even think it was important enough to have a debate and vote in the U.S. Senate? Why did you let this President—why would you let any President—make that decision on his or her own without you even weighing in?

I will close with this. I have stood on this floor and made this same argument when the President is a Democrat. It happened often during President Obama's term, and I made the same argument against unilateral Executive war when the President was a Democrat, as I am now making when the President is a Republican.

I believe, as I stand here today, if these same facts were applying strikes on boats, massing of warships, the President saying he has authorized covert action, the President saying he has looked at land targets, and that President was Joe Biden or Barack Obama—I believe I would have many Republicans voting with me on this resolution, not because they don't like President Biden or President Obama but because they would take this responsibility, no war without Congress, that we pledge an oath to because it is in the Constitution we pledge an oath to—they would take it seriously.

I urge you to take this as seriously as you would take it if the President were a Democrat. It shouldn't matter. We should not be going to war without a vote of Congress. The lives of our troops are at stake. Respect them and their families, and please vote yes on the resolution.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The minority leader.

Mr. SCHUMER. Mr. President, first let me thank our great Senator from Virginia Senator Kaine. He has been the most vigilant watchdog against over-encroachment of the military. He has been the most rigorous watchdog in making sure Congress's power to make war and engage in acts of war are upheld.

There are many Presidents, as Senator Kaine pointed out, who try to push the boundaries, but no President has pushed the boundaries more than President Trump.

Americans need Kaine here to do just what he is doing.

Thank you, Senator Kaine.

I also want to thank Senator Paul and Senator Schiff for championing this resolution today because the Senate will vote to discharge a resolution that says two—two—simple things.

First, it affirms that the United States will always support our troops when they act to protect the American people and themselves from foreign attack.

But it also says that if Donald Trump wants to engage in military hostilities against Venezuela, he must seek authorization from Congress first.

As we speak, America's largest aircraft carrier, the *Gerald Ford*, is on its way to the Caribbean. It is part of the largest military buildup in our hemisphere that we have seen in decades.

According to press reports, Donald Trump is considering military action on Venezuelan territory. But it also sounds like nobody really knows what the plan is because, like so many other things with Donald Trump, he keeps changing his mind. Who knows what he will do tomorrow.

To date, we have heard no clear goals, no clear timetable, no clear explanation for what Donald Trump's objective is in Venezuela. This is unacceptable, and it is dangerous.

Even in our briefing with Secretary Rubio, yesterday, we walked out of the room with more questions than answers. We need a clear explanation.

I am demanding a full Senators' briefing on this issue of Venezuela and the intervention there, at once.

In the meantime, the Senate must act today to discharge this resolution because Donald Trump seems ready to lead our troops over the Rubicon with a blindfold over his eyes, and that is a recipe for catastrophe.

Congress must assert its authority on matters of war and peace, and time is of the essence. Multiple warships have been moved from other parts of the world to be just off the coast of Venezuela. By some estimates, 10 percent of the Navy's deployed assets are now in the Southern Command area of responsibility.

These actions certainly do not sound like mere drug enforcement against organized criminals—not even close. These are actions you take before you consider launching a major military operation against another country, and that authority—the Constitution is clear—must come from Congress.

Nobody here denies the Maduro regime is horrific and undemocratic, and we also agree drug traffickers and organized criminals who poison Americans ought to be tracked down and dismantled. That was why, when I was majority leader, Congress provided billions for counternarcotics operations and granted sweeping authorities to combat the flow of narcotics and opioids like fentanyl.

If we must do more, we should. We should help law enforcement, intelligence operators, and Federal agents to dismantle criminal networks and drug smugglers. But saber-rattling and military escalations are a poor substitute—a poor substitute—for a real counternarcotics strategy.

I ask my colleagues: Remember what Colin Powell used to say about military force? You break it; you own it.

It is the old Pottery Barn rule.

This is the danger of unilateral attacks against Venezuela. If we break it, we are going to own it. The mere

thought of another endless war ought to make the American people sick to their stomachs.

So, today, the Senate must act to uphold the Constitution, uphold our national security, and reaffirm the authority of Congress to have its proper say on matters in war and peace.

I yield the floor.

#### VOTE ON MOTION TO DISCHARGE

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion to discharge.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

There appears to be a sufficient second.

The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

The result was announced—yeas 49, nays 51, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 608 Leg.]

#### YEAS—49

|                 |           |            |
|-----------------|-----------|------------|
| Alsobrooks      | Hirono    | Rosen      |
| Baldwin         | Kaine     | Sanders    |
| Bennet          | Kelly     | Schatz     |
| Blumenthal      | Kim       | Schiff     |
| Blunt Rochester | King      | Schumer    |
| Booker          | Klobuchar | Shaheen    |
| Cantwell        | Lujan     | Slotkin    |
| Coons           | Markey    | Smith      |
| Cortez Masto    | Merkley   | Van Hollen |
| Duckworth       | Murkowski | Warner     |
| Durbin          | Murphy    | Warnock    |
| Fetterman       | Murray    | Warren     |
| Gallago         | Ossoff    | Welch      |
| Gillibrand      | Padilla   | Whitehouse |
| Hassan          | Paul      | Wyden      |
| Heinrich        | Peters    |            |
| Hickenlooper    | Reed      |            |

#### NAYS—51

|           |            |            |
|-----------|------------|------------|
| Banks     | Fischer    | Moody      |
| Barrasso  | Graham     | Moran      |
| Blackburn | Grassley   | Moreno     |
| Boozman   | Hagerty    | Mullin     |
| Britt     | Hawley     | Ricketts   |
| Budd      | Hoeven     | Risch      |
| Capito    | Husted     | Rounds     |
| Cassidy   | Hyde-Smith | Schmitt    |
| Collins   | Johnson    | Scott (FL) |
| Cornyn    | Justice    | Scott (SC) |
| Cotton    | Kennedy    | Sheehy     |
| Cramer    | Lankford   | Sullivan   |
| Crapo     | Lee        | Thune      |
| Cruz      | Lummis     | Tillis     |
| Curtis    | Marshall   | Tuberville |
| Daines    | McConnell  | Wicker     |
| Ernst     | McCormick  | Young      |

The motion was rejected.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Wyoming.

#### MORNING BUSINESS

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

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

#### ARMS SALES NOTIFICATION

Mr. RISCH. Mr. President, section 36(b) of the Arms Export Control Act requires that Congress receive prior notification of certain proposed arms sales as defined by that statute. Upon such notification, the Congress has 30 calendar days during which the sale

may be reviewed. The provision stipulates that, in the Senate, the notification of proposed sales shall be sent to the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

In keeping with the committee's intention to see that relevant information is still available to the full Senate, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the notifications that have been received. If the cover letter references a classified annex, then such an annex is available to all Senators in the office of the Foreign Relations Committee, room SD-423.

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

DEFENSE SECURITY  
COOPERATION AGENCY,  
Washington, DC.

Hon. MIKE JOHNSON,  
*Speaker of the House,*  
*House of Representatives, Washington, DC.*

DEAR MR. SPEAKER: Pursuant to the reporting requirements of Section 36(b)(5)(C) of the Arms Export Control Act (AECA), as amended, we are forwarding Transmittal No. 25-1L. This notification relates to enhancements or upgrades from the level of sensitivity of technology or capability described in the Section 36(b)(1) AECA certification 24-26 of March 12, 2024.

Sincerely,

MICHAEL F. MILLER,  
*Director.*

Enclosure.

DEFENSE SECURITY  
COOPERATION AGENCY,  
Washington, DC.

Hon. JAMES E. RISCH,  
*Chairman, Committee on Foreign Relations,*  
*U.S. Senate, Washington, DC.*

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: Pursuant to the reporting requirements of Section 36(b)(5)(C) of the Arms Export Control Act (AECA), as amended, we are forwarding Transmittal No. 25-1L. This notification relates to enhancements or upgrades from the level of sensitivity of technology or capability described in the Section 36(b)(1) AECA certification 24-26 of March 12, 2024.

Sincerely,

MICHAEL F. MILLER,  
*Director.*

Enclosure.

DEFENSE SECURITY,  
COOPERATION AGENCY,  
Washington, DC.

Hon. BRIAN MAST,  
*Chairman, Committee on Foreign Affairs,*  
*House of Representatives, Washington, DC.*

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: Pursuant to the reporting requirements of Section 36(b)(5)(C) of the Arms Export Control Act (AECA), as amended, we are forwarding Transmittal No. 25-1L. This notification relates to enhancements or upgrades from the level of sensitivity of technology or capability described in the Section 36(b)(1) AECA certification 24-26 of March 12, 2024.

Sincerely,

MICHAEL F. MILLER,  
*Director.*

Enclosure.

TRANSMITTAL NO. 25-1L

Report of Enhancement or Upgrade of Sensitivity of Technology or Capability (Sec. 36(B)(5)(C), AECA)

(i) Prospective Purchaser: Government of Poland.

(ii) Sec. 36(b)(1), AECA Transmittal No.: 24-26.

Date: March 12, 2024.

Implementing Agency: Navy.

(iii) Description: On March 12, 2024, Congress was notified by congressional certification transmittal number 24-26 of the possible sale, under Section 36(b)(1) of the Arms Export Control Act, of two hundred thirty-two (232) AIM-9X Sidewinder Block II Tactical Missiles; and sixteen (16) AIM-9X Sidewinder Block II Tactical Missile Guidance Units. Also included were missile containers; training aids; active optical target detectors; spares; support equipment; missile support; U.S. Government and contractor technical assistance; and other related elements of logistics and program support. The estimated total cost was \$219.1 million. Major Defense Equipment (MDE) constituted \$181.3 million.

This transmittal notifies the inclusion of the following additional MDE items: one hundred and twenty (120) AIM-9X Sidewinder Block II tactical missiles. The following non-MDE items will also be included: missile containers; training aids; active optical target detectors; spares; support equipment; missile support; U.S. Government and contractor technical assistance; and other related elements of logistics and program support. The estimated total cost of the new items is \$100.1 million. The estimated MDE value will increase by \$80.1 million to a revised \$261.4 million. The estimated non-MDE value will increase by \$20 million to a revised \$57.8 million. The estimated total case value increases by \$100.1 million to a revised \$319.2 million.

(iv) Significance: This notification is provided as the additional MDE items were not enumerated in the original notification. The inclusion of these items represents an increase in capability over what was previously notified. The proposed sale will support Poland's capability to meet current and future threats by providing more flexibility and maintaining Poland's capability to counter regional threats.

(v) Justification: This proposed sale will support the foreign policy and national security objectives of the United States by improving the security of a NATO Ally that is a force for political stability and economic progress in Europe.

(vi) Sensitivity of Technology:

The Sensitivity of Technology Statement contained in the original notification applies to items reported here.

The highest level of classification of defense articles, components, and services included in this potential sale is SECRET.

(vii) Date Report Delivered to Congress: November 4, 2025.

#### ARMS SALES NOTIFICATION

Mr. RISCH. Mr. President, section 36(b) of the Arms Export Control Act requires that Congress receive prior notification of certain proposed arms sales as defined by that statute. Upon such notification, the Congress has 30 calendar days during which the sale may be reviewed. The provision stipulates that, in the Senate, the notification of proposed sales shall be sent to the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

In keeping with the committee's intention to see that relevant information is still available to the full Senate, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the notifications that have been received. If the cover letter references a classified annex, then such an annex is available to all Senators in the office of the Foreign Relations Committee, room SD-423.

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

DEFENSE SECURITY  
COOPERATION AGENCY,  
Washington, DC.

Hon. MIKE JOHNSON,  
*Speaker of the House, House of Representatives,*  
*Washington, DC.*

DEAR MR. SPEAKER: Pursuant to the reporting requirements of Section 36(b)(1) of the Arms Export Control Act, as amended, we are forwarding herewith Transmittal No. 25-49, concerning the Air Force's proposed Letter(s) of Offer and Acceptance to the Government of Singapore for defense services estimated to cost \$353 million. We will issue a news release to notify the public of this proposed sale upon delivery of this letter to your office.

Sincerely,

MARY BETH MORGAN  
(For Michael F. Miller, Director).

Enclosures.

DEFENSE SECURITY  
COOPERATION AGENCY,  
Washington, DC.

Hon. JAMES E. RISCH,  
*Chairman, Committee on Foreign Relations,*  
*U.S. Senate, Washington, DC.*

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: Pursuant to the reporting requirements of Section 36(b)(1) of the Arms Export Control Act, as amended, we are forwarding herewith Transmittal No. 25-49, concerning the Air Force's proposed Letter(s) of Offer and Acceptance to the Government of Singapore for defense services estimated to cost \$353 million. We will issue a news release to notify the public of this proposed sale upon delivery of this letter to your office.

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Enclosures.

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COOPERATION AGENCY,  
Washington, DC.

Hon. HON. BRIAN MAST,  
*Chairman, Committee on Foreign Affairs,*  
*House of Representatives,*  
*Washington, DC.*

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: Pursuant to the reporting requirements of Section 36(b)(1) of the Arms Export Control Act, as amended, we are forwarding herewith Transmittal No. 25-49, concerning the Air Force's proposed Letter(s) of Offer and Acceptance to the Government of Singapore for defense services estimated to cost \$353 million. We will issue a news release to notify the public of this proposed sale upon delivery of this letter to your office.

Sincerely,

MARY BETH MORGAN  
(For Michael F. Miller, Director).

Enclosures.

TRANSMITTAL NO. 25-49

Notice of Proposed Issuance of Letter of Offer Pursuant to Section 36(b)(1) of the Arms Export Control Act, as amended

(i) Prospective Purchaser: Government of Singapore.

(ii) Total Estimated Value:  
Major Defense Equipment\* \$0.  
Other \$353 million.  
Total \$353 million.

Funding Source: National Funds.

(iii) Description and Quantity or Quantities of Articles or Services under Consideration for Purchase: Foreign Military Sales (FMS) case SN-D-GFU was below congressional notification threshold at \$27 million (\$0 in MDE) and included U.S. government