

the private sector today in Iran—it doesn't give me any joy to say this. We had no choice. I don't know how they are standing. They are held together with duct tape and spit.

Israel and America ran 21,000 bombings. We bombed seaports, airports, the electrical grid, railroads, the petrochemical industry, the farm industry, their steel industry.

Six out of ten Iranians of adult age don't have a job and don't have any prospect of getting a job. Many parts of the country don't even have electricity.

We knocked out two-thirds of the Supreme Leader's missile launchers. Does he still have some left? Yeah. They are buried underground. He has to dig them out. You probably saw pictures on TV of the bulldozers. We think we have knocked out half of their cruise missiles and ballistic missiles. We are not sure how many drones.

They don't have an air force anymore in Iran. They don't have a navy either. They still have some small boats that the Revolutionary Guard, which is part of their military, runs, but they don't have a navy. We sunk all their ships. We attacked virtually every single building we know of which is run by the Revolutionary Guard, which is part of their military.

I don't think the American people, because the press hasn't reported it, have a full appreciation for the damage that we did and had to do. I have seen estimates as high as a trillion dollars for them to rebuild.

I know the press glibly reports: Oh, you know, China and Russia will help them build back. What is the point of the war?

Well, the point of the war: They are not going to have a nuclear weapon anytime soon. Charles Manson may be able to find a knife, but he is not going to have a nuclear weapon.

And in order to rebuild Iran, it is going to take 20 to 25 years. And I don't know if we will be able to recover all of the enriched uranium. Some of my Democratic colleagues and some of our colleagues in the media are saying: It is a failure because you didn't get their enriched uranium.

I never figured we would get it.

And a lot of my colleagues are saying: Well, it is a failure because you didn't effect regime change; that nutjobs are still in charge.

That is true. We can't dictate regime change. That is up to the Iranian people. The only way we can dictate regime change is sending in troops, and I don't want to do that.

But the fact of the matter is that if you think the theocracy run by the Government of Iran—the Charlie Mansons—who is dangerous to the world—and I do—then the world is a much safer place today, and that is just a fact. That is a fact.

It is going to be a long time before Charlie Manson can rebuild, and it is going to be a hell of a long time before the new Supreme Leader is going to get a nuclear weapon.

Third and final point. I don't know whether I will do this, but I will just do it. I don't hate anybody. I have said that before standing here, I don't. I do not. When I pray, I pray. God, don't let me hate because it is hard up here. It is not worth it.

But if I had a short list of people that I would consider hating, Congressman Eric Swalwell would be on it. He has undermined the confidence of the American people in this body.

Here is my impression of Congressman Eric Swalwell eating an ice cream cone.

You know why I do that? Life is hard, but it is harder when you are stupid. And if you are going to be stupid, by God, you better be tough. This is no country for creepy old men, and Congressman Swalwell, he is about to find that out. Karma may be slow, but it is almost always on time.

I yield to my friend Senator KELLY.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Arizona.

ORDER OF PROCEDURE

Mr. KELLY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that it be in order for Senator SANDERS to make motions to discharge S.J. Res. 32 and S.J. Res. 138 from the Committee on Foreign Relations and the Senate debate the motions to discharge concurrently; further, that the following Senators be permitted to speak on the motions to discharge, and upon the use or yielding back of time, the Senate vote on the motions to discharge in the order in which the motions were made: SANDERS for up to 20 minutes, VAN HOLLEN for up to 10 minutes, MERKLEY for up to 5 minutes, KAINE for up to 5 minutes, MARKEY for up to 5 minutes, and RISCH for up to 5 minutes.

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

WEAPONS SALES

Mr. KELLY. Mr. President, later today, we are going to take a vote on the delivery of bulldozers and 1,000-pound bombs to Israel. First, let me say that I cannot and will not abandon Israel. Israel is one of our closest partners. They have a right to defend themselves, and I will always support Israel's right to exist as a successful and prosperous nation.

As the Israeli people face the threat of missile and rocket attacks from Iran and its proxies, that support continues to be important today. Supporting a partner doesn't mean that we don't ask tough questions, and it doesn't mean that we always agree.

Our support for our allies must always be about what makes us stronger and safer, and we can look at what is happening in the region right now and understand that this is not business as usual, and it is not making us safer.

The United States and Israel are fighting a war against Iran without a clear strategy or goal. I have been

clear that I oppose this war in Iran and the reckless decisions being made by Prime Minister Netanyahu and President Trump.

Under Prime Minister Netanyahu's government, we have seen an expanded war in Lebanon that is putting innocent Lebanese civilians at risk and ongoing violence against Palestinians and their homes being demolished in the West Bank. All of this—all of this—has undermined the path forward for peace.

That matters when we are making decisions about sending these weapons, including bulldozers, that could be used to level more homes and put a two-state solution further at risk.

I flew 39 combat missions in Operation Desert Storm. I have been trusted with the grave responsibility of using deadly force against our enemies. It is not something I take lightly. Neither is the responsibility we have here.

That is the lens I have looked at these two votes through. We are in a moment where we have to ask ourselves: Does this bring us closer to peace and security?

So, today, I have decided to vote yes on these resolutions to stop these transfers. Our partnership matters for Israel and for the United States. I have been clear about that, and I will continue to be.

Israel must maintain the capabilities and means to protect its people. I am confident they can do that today and will be able to do so in the future with our partnership, and I will always support that.

We have to work together toward a future where the Jewish State of Israel is secure and where there is a durable peace in the region.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Vermont.

LEGISLATIVE SESSION

PROVIDING FOR CONGRESSIONAL DISAPPROVAL OF THE PROPOSED FOREIGN MILITARY SALE TO THE GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL OF CERTAIN DEFENSE ARTICLES AND SERVICES—Motion to Discharge

Mr. SANDERS. Mr. President, pursuant to section 36(b)(1) of the Arms Export Control Act, I move to discharge the Committee on Foreign Relations from further consideration of S.J. Res. 32.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The senior assistant executive clerk read as follows:

Motion to discharge from the Committee on Foreign Relations, S.J. Res. 32, a joint resolution providing for congressional disapproval of the proposed foreign military sale to the Government of Israel of certain defense articles and services.

PROVIDING FOR CONGRESSIONAL DISAPPROVAL OF THE PROPOSED FOREIGN MILITARY SALE TO THE GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL OF CERTAIN DEFENSE ARTICLES AND SERVICES—Motion to Discharge

Mr. SANDERS. Mr. President, pursuant to section 36(b)(1), I move to discharge the Committee on Foreign Relations from further consideration of S.J. Res. 138.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The senior assistant executive clerk read as follows:

Motion to discharge from the Committee on Foreign Relations, S.J. Res. 138, a joint resolution providing for congressional disapproval of the proposed foreign military sale to the Government of Israel of certain defense articles and services.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Vermont.

Mr. SANDERS. Mr. President, let me begin by thanking Senator KELLY not only for his remarks and his work as a U.S. Senator but for his service to our country in the military, and I very much appreciate his support for these resolutions.

Mr. President, 60 percent of our people here in the United States live paycheck to paycheck. They are struggling to pay for groceries, for housing, for healthcare, and, increasingly, the ability to fill up their gas tanks in their cars in order to get to work.

We also have a \$37 trillion national debt. Bottom line: The American people—whether they are Democrats, Republicans, or Independents, conservatives, moderates, or progressives—want to make certain that their tax dollars are spent responsibly.

And in strong and growing numbers, they do not want us to continue spending billions of their taxpayer dollars in support of the illegal, horrific, and expansionist war policies of the Netanyahu Government in Israel.

Since October 7, 2023, the United States has provided over \$21 billion—\$21 billion—in military aid to Israel. And today, we are saying loudly and clearly: Enough is enough.

We all know that on October 7, 2023, Hamas, a terrorist organization, attacked Israel. They killed more than 1,200 innocent men, women, and children and took hundreds of hostages. I believe that there is no disagreement in this Chamber that like any other country on Earth, Israel had the absolute right to respond to that barbaric Hamas attack.

But Israel did not have the right to violate international law and wage an all-out war of unspeakable destruction against the entire Palestinian people in what experts have correctly concluded is a genocide.

Israel did not have the right out of a population of 2.2 million to kill more than 72,000 Palestinians in Gaza and wound over 170,000. That is more than 10 percent of the population.

If that happened here in America, that would be over 30 million Ameri-

cans dead or wounded. And in Gaza, a strong majority of the dead and wounded are women, children, and the elderly.

By the way, that number is likely an underestimate as to the tragedy as bodies are literally being pulled out of the rubble every single day.

Israel did not have the right to destroy virtually all of Gaza's infrastructure, including its water and sewer systems and its supply of electricity. They did not have the right to demolish every one of Gaza's 12 universities, along with hundreds of schools, dismantling their entire educational system. A vast majority of the children in Gaza today are not in school.

Israel did not have the right to indiscriminately bomb civilian neighborhoods and damage or destroy over 90 percent of the housing units in Gaza—over 90 percent damaged or destroyed—resulting in the vast majority of the population there now sleeping in tents. That is where they are today.

Israel did not have the right to bomb over 90 percent of the hospitals in Gaza—hospitals—and kill 1,700 healthcare workers.

And Israel did not have the right to impose a blockade which prevented food, water, and medicine from entering Gaza, resulting in thousands of Palestinians being diagnosed with malnutrition and hundreds actually starving to death.

But, today, we are not just talking about Gaza. In the West Bank, in direct violation of international law that protects Palestinian territory, Israeli soldiers and settlers, since 2023, have killed over a thousand Palestinians, including 233 children. During that period, they have demolished more than 6,000 Palestinian homes and established more than 200 new illegal settlements and outposts in Palestinian territory.

And let us be clear, because I think there is some confusion about this. These actions are not just the results of some extremist, out-of-control settlers who are just doing whatever they want. Those actions are consistent with Israeli Government policy.

Netanyahu's Security Cabinet has approved the most sweeping changes to the West Bank's legal status since 1967, removing nearly all constraints on settlement expansion. Netanyahu himself declared:

There will never be a Palestinian state.

And I say that to some people here who still say: Well, we are in favor of a two-state solution.

That is not Mr. Netanyahu's position. He said:

"There will never be a Palestinian state."

His Finance Minister, Bezalel Smotrich, bragged that new settlement construction in the West Bank would "bury"—that is his word—"bury" the idea of a Palestinian state.

But it is not just Gaza and the West Bank. We now know that Netanyahu convinced President Trump to start an unprovoked and unconstitutional war on Iran.

For 40 years—for 40 years—Netanyahu had wanted the United States to participate with Israel in a war against Iran, and, finally, after 40 years of effort, he finally found in Trump a President willing to go along.

He couldn't get Democratic Presidents in the past and couldn't get Republicans in the past. In Trump, he finally found a President willing to go along.

This war, in violation of international law, has resulted already in the deaths of thousands of civilians, including hundreds of children in Iran and Lebanon, including 26 Israeli civilians who are now dead and 13 American soldiers who have lost their lives so far in this conflict.

All over the world, certainly including the United States, hundreds of millions of innocent people are suffering the economic consequences of this war, with higher prices and growing scarcity of basic goods.

I believe that in Vermont, now, the price of regular gas is about \$4 a gallon, and in parts of the country, it is even higher than that.

But for Netanyahu, Gaza was not enough. Attacking Iran was not enough. Netanyahu is now waging a full-blown war of expansion against Lebanon. That war in Lebanon has not only killed more than 2,000 people but has resulted in Israel occupying 14 percent of Lebanese territory.

Let me repeat that. The war in Lebanon has not only killed more than 2,000 people but has resulted in Israel occupying 14 percent of Lebanese territory.

The Israeli Defense Minister, Israel Katz, has announced that all Lebanese border villages will be demolished—will be demolished—his exact words, following "the model in Gaza"—demolish border villages.

Bezalel Smotrich, the Finance Minister, has warned that Dahieh, a suburb of South Beirut, will look like Khan Yunis, a city in Gaza that Israel reduced to rubble.

In other words, what they did in Gaza is now what they intend to do in parts of Lebanon. And these are not threats. They are promises.

For all of the reasons that I have given and more—and you are going to hear more from some of my colleagues, in a few moments—support for Israel in this country has plummeted. Today, according to a recent Pew poll, 80 percent of Democrats now have an unfavorable opinion of Israel, and 41 percent of Republicans share that view.

And the numbers in all parties, among young people, are even higher. Young people, whether they are young Democrats, progressives, or conservatives, do not want us to continue to fund the horrific war policies of Netanyahu.

A recent Quinnipiac poll also found that 60 percent—including three-quarters of Democrats, two-thirds of Independents, and 37 percent of Republicans—I say that to my Republican