

receive access to cruise missiles. To the extent practicable, these weapons and Patriot interceptors should be expedited for Kyiv's use. Given the backlogs in our own defense industrial base and that of the Europeans', investing in and supporting Ukraine's domestic war production is not something to be considered but something to be done.

I am encouraged by President Trump's announcement at last week's NATO Summit of his intention to issue licenses for Ukraine to build Patriot interceptors domestically. While details remain to be worked out and while there are obstacles to overcome to make this announcement a reality, it signals to Vladimir Putin that his war is on borrowed time.

The same holds true in pressuring Russia's economy through oil and gas sanctions.

The G7 said:

We will strengthen our sanctions, including those on the oil and gas sectors.

This statement coincides with the expiration of the most recent Treasury waiver on Russian oil sanctions, which was announced by President Trump last October. Those sanctions were having a significant impact by depriving Moscow of revenue. Secretary Bessent has not issued another waiver, nor should he.

The White House has taken an important step in endorsing longstanding legislation introduced by the late Senator Lindsey Graham. I have cosponsored this legislation, which would punish countries that continue to buy Russian oil with crippling tariffs. This is a clear, clear message to friends and foes alike: You can do business with Russia or you can do business with the United States, but you can't do both.

I welcome Leader THUNE's intention to bring this legislation to a vote soon, to send it to the President's desk for his signature, and to its becoming law.

Similarly, I call on our European allies to find new supplies of liquefied natural gas more quickly ahead of next year's deadline to phase out Russian purchases. The EU's imports of Russian LNG increased—they increased—in the month of May, reportedly providing Moscow with over \$1 billion in revenue. It is imperative for European countries to treat the war in Ukraine with the urgency it deserves and choke off Russia's revenue streams.

Despite over 1 million casualties and a badly damaged national economy, Vladimir Putin's objectives have not changed. From the outset of the full invasion he ordered in February of 2022, he has sought to subjugate Kyiv's sovereign authority to Moscow. He will not succeed, but his failure in Ukraine may make him more dangerous elsewhere. In the fall of 2022, as Russia's war effort faltered, Russian officials repeatedly threatened to use tactical nuclear weapons in Ukraine. Given Russian drone activity in NATO territory recently, our European allies who border Russia have legitimate fears that Putin could escalate the war to include them.

President Trump is absolutely right to expect our allies to assume responsibility for their own security. Today and for the next several years to come, however, the undeniable fact is that American forces have capabilities which cannot be replicated by the rest of NATO. Our continued involvement and leadership are critical to deterring Putin should he believe that he can take action against NATO and succeed either by taking territory or by fracturing the alliance.

Last month's G7 statement is unequivocally clear in recognizing the threat Putin poses to European security. Through continued American leadership, Putin will fail in his goals to conquer Ukraine and split the West, and not just Europe but the entire world will be safer because of it.

150TH ANNIVERSARY OF BURDETT, KANSAS

Mr. President, this summer, from July 17 to 19—not too far away—residents of Burdett, KS, will come together to celebrate the 150th anniversary of the town's founding.

Burdett is a small community of fewer than 250 residents, and it is particularly meaningful to me as a place that I have represented since I was first elected to public office as a State senator.

The community is special to me because, on election night of that State senate race, Browns Grove Township was the very first township to report its voting totals, and the tally showed that I just might win my uphill race for the Kansas State Senate.

Some of my best remembrances are the Monday community potluck lunches and the annual Tri-County picnic in the city park. I have knocked on every door in Burdett and talked with members of the community about their hopes, their concerns, and how we can preserve our special way of life for another generation of Kansans.

This summer, as local residents commemorate Burdett's history, they will also pay tribute to one of their own: Clyde Tombaugh, whose significant contributions advanced the fields of scientific discovery and space exploration. It is impossible to visit Burdett without seeing the pride the community has in his accomplishments.

Born February 4, 1906, Clyde was raised on a farm just outside Burdett, and he quickly developed a love of astronomy and learning. As a teenager, he taught himself how to build his own telescopes out of spare parts that he found around the family farm.

Later, his commitment to research and exploration would lead him to make a remarkable discovery that made history and helped to unlock a new understanding of our solar system. On February 18, 1930, at the age of just 24, Clyde discovered the existence of Pluto, the only major planet discovered here in the United States.

Following this achievement, Clyde earned his bachelor's and master's degrees in astronomy from the University of Kansas, and he went on to make

many more contributions to advancing the fields of scientific research and space exploration.

In 2015, NASA honored him by carrying a portion of his ashes aboard the New Horizons spacecraft on its mission to Pluto. The heart-shaped region of Pluto's surface was officially named Tombaugh Regio in his honor, paying tribute to his accomplishments and cementing the legacy of a Kansas farm kid in one of the most remote parts of our solar system.

As Burdett celebrates its 150th anniversary—and I say congratulations to them—it is a history that is embodied by the story of Clyde Tombaugh, someone with determination, hard work, and curiosity, whose discoveries helped to shape how future generations understand our universe.

For decades, this tight-knit community of Burdett has preserved his legacy and made certain the world remembers his contributions to science, research, and discovery.

I hope everyone passing through southwestern Kansas will take the time to visit Burdett to learn the history and the legacy of this little town on the plains of Kansas.

On behalf of the U.S. Senate to the citizens of Burdett—past, present, and future—I congratulate the community of Burdett on its 150th anniversary and express my gratitude for the way in which its residents have honored and preserved the memory of one of our most notable Kansans and how kind they have always been to me.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Hawaii.

IRAN

Mr. SCHATZ. Mr. President, Donald Trump is dragging us back into war again, and no one is exactly sure why. He achieved almost none of his objectives that he set out at the beginning of war, while spending tens—if not hundreds—of billions of dollars and forcing Americans to pay more for everything, especially gas and groceries. It has been only a few days since the fighting resumed, and gas is already up to \$4.89 nationally and \$5.44 in Hawaii. And the President can't be bothered to explain why we are at war again and what we are supposed to be getting out of it.

So let's just go through his own stated objectives at the start of the war and see where we stand today.

No. 1, regime change: "There will be no deal with Iran except UNCONDITIONAL SURRENDER"—all caps—Donald Trump said in the first week of war.

He told the Iranians:

When we are finished, take over your government. It will be yours to take.

How did that work out?

The regime is intact. The regime is led by a younger ayatollah with the same last name, emboldened by the knowledge that they survived months of war against the world's greatest superpower. The Iranian opposition is weaker than it was before the war, and the Iranian people are no freer today.

Look, regime change wars rarely ever end well. And the idea that Trump was going to be able to go in and quickly topple the regime, much like he did in Venezuela a month earlier, was always absurd. But he did it anyway.

OK. Goal No. 2, no nuclear weapons: "We will ensure that Iran does not obtain a nuclear weapon. . . . They will never have a nuclear weapon," Trump said on the day he launched the war.

Now, it is true that heavy strikes last summer and the first phase of the war this spring have set back Iran's nuclear program. It is also true that in the memorandum of understanding—that has since fallen apart—Iran agreed to the same thing it agreed to under the JCPOA.

Under the Obama nuclear agreement, we got all of this without having to go to war. And the criticism of the Obama agreement—and I was on the floor defending it—was that it didn't last long enough—not that it wasn't any good, but that it didn't last in perpetuity; that it was only good for 10 years.

Now we have got nothing. Now we have got nothing.

To that point, having repeatedly ruled out allowing any uranium enrichment and demanding that Iran turn over its uranium stockpile, Trump has changed his tune on both: "It is a little hard"—"it is a little hard"—"when other people have it, other adjoining states have it, and you're not letting them have it for purposes of electricity and things like that."

This is Trump on uranium enrichment.

On acquiring stockpiles, he said:

You could make the case, why even bother? It's not very valuable stuff.

Why even bother?

And that is the story of this war in a nutshell. Trump sets before us an impossible goal. And when it fails, he then moves the goalposts or backs down completely.

The next goal, obliterating Iran's missiles:

We're going to destroy their missiles and raze their missile industry to the ground. It will be totally . . . obliterated.

He said that on February 28. But according to press reports, U.S. intelligence Agencies estimated that roughly 70 percent of Iran's pre-war missile stockpile was still intact as of May. And just this week, Iran started firing missiles again at tankers in the Strait of Hormuz and at military bases across the Middle East, demonstrating both its leverage and its ability to continue fighting.

OK. Well, what about the goal of cutting off Iran's funding for proxy groups?

The administration has mostly stopped talking about it, and there was no mention of Iran's support for Hezbollah or other groups in the MOU. In fact, the MOU allowed Iran to sell its oil freely, even though Trump's own State Department told Congress that oil exports are a primary revenue source for Iran's financing of proxies.

So all of the stated objectives of this war have not been met.

Finally, how are they doing on keeping the Strait of Hormuz open and free?

Well, it is closed again, and Trump and Iran are back and forth going at it over who gets control and who gets to charge tolls. To be clear, this was never a problem prewar. And so now the objective in ending this war is just to get to the status quo before the war.

We went to war to eliminate their ballistic missile capability—not on the nuclear side. Not a success.

We went to war to change the regime. Not only not a success, but a terrible failure. We have got a younger and more radical and entrenched Ayatollah in the regime of Iran. And now they know they can withstand our best hit.

We went to war to eliminate their nuclear program; and not only did we not do that, but Donald Trump himself is kind of characterizing it like it is no big deal.

And so now we are negotiating not for any of the reasons that were stated to put our servicemembers in harm's way and to spend tens of billions of dollars of taxpayer funding for this war and to raise the price of gasoline by a buck, buck fifty a gallon, to raise the price of fertilizer and plastics and natural gas and electronics—to raise the price of almost everything.

We met none of our objectives, and now our objective is just to keep sea lanes open. Sea lanes were open. Sea lanes are always open. That is not a foreign policy objective of the United States of America in the sense that we have to work really hard to do it. Freedom of navigation is a basic principle that we enforce around the world, but we don't have to bomb anybody to get it.

And so now the endgame is: Let's try to get the strait open and pretend that the reasons that we went to war were not the reasons that we went to war.

And I think what is the most disgusting about all of this—you know, someone used to say: Armies don't go to war. Countries go to war. Now, why does that matter? You cannot go to war without the support of the American public. You cannot go to war without explaining to the American public what you are up to.

And what happened many months ago was Donald Trump woke up one morning and said: I guess we are taking kinetic action against Iran. And people are finding: OK, sorry, what? What exactly are we doing and why?

There was no buildup; there was no explaining; and most importantly for us as U.S. Senators, there was no vote on the authorization of the use of military force.

Now, they are going to say that under the War Powers Resolution, they have this ability to basically take military action if there is an imminent threat to the safety of the United States of America. And then they would have 60 days, and it is kind of complicated exactly how it works.

But what they have said now is that "No, this isn't a war." That is No. 1.

"Oh, yeah. Sorry. It is a war, but we have 60 days."

"Oh, the war is off because the MOU for the cease-fire is now being implemented."

And now the war is back on, and they are acting as if, as a legal matter, this new kinetic engagement is a second and separate war and the clock starts again and you have got 60 days again to delay Congress from weighing in.

And this is not some procedural nicety. This isn't me as a politician, like, protecting my prerogatives. The reason this matters is the people's representatives in the Congress have to vote before we go to war. And there are some narrow exceptions. If we are in danger, you don't want to have to, like, assemble Congress if we are in immediate danger. Fine. We are not in immediate danger. We were never in immediate danger.

If you want to claim that the ICBM array that the IRGC had was a danger to the United States, come down, at least testify before the Foreign Relations Committee and the Armed Services Committee, and then at least have a debate on the damn floor of the U.S. Senate.

And it is worse than that because to the extent that we have had any votes at all, we actually have prevailed. A majority of Members of this body have said that this war should come to a conclusion.

And so my Republican colleagues are saying: Hey, why don't we pass the Defense authorization? After all, it is a big bipartisan bill, and we always do it. That is true. We always do it.

And I think 13 out of 14 years or 12 out of 13 years, I voted for the National Defense Authorization Act. And the reason I voted no yesterday is because I am not voting for a defense bill until this war is over, and I am not voting for a defense bill until we get to debate the most important thing happening in terms of our national defense. We are at war, and we are being prevented from even overseeing it. We are just asked to fork over tens and tens of billions of dollars without so much as weighing in on this is an authorization of the use of military force.

The President, as the Commander in Chief of our military, may engage kinetically with another country. We have decided that. We have been elected. We have decided that.

None of that happened. Why? Because they don't have the votes for that. Why do they not have the votes for that? Because this war is stupid, and the public knows it.

I yield the floor.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. SCHMITT). The clerk will call the roll.

The senior assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mrs. BLACKBURN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

REMEMBERING LINDSEY GRAHAM

Mr. BLACKBURN. Mr. President, America lost a fearless patriot in our friend Lindsey Graham. He devoted his life to serving the people of South Carolina and this Nation. He never shied away from a difficult fight, and he always stuck to his principles.

It has been so moving to see all the tributes to his life and his legacy pour in from each side of the aisle. It speaks to who he was as a leader, statesman, and a public servant. He believed in robust, respectful bipartisan debate, and he knew that, in Washington, you can only solve problems by building a big tent and inviting people to join you. He did it time and again, across more than three decades in public office, working to protect our national security, strengthen our military, secure our border, protect kids online, and save our elections.

I had the honor of serving alongside him on the Judiciary Committee, including during his time as both chair and ranking member. He knew that peace and prosperity are only possible under the rule of law, and he fought to defend the rule of law.

Just a few months ago, Lindsey and I filed the 287(g) Expansion Act to encourage State and local law enforcement to partner with ICE and accomplish President Trump's goal of deporting criminal illegal aliens and keeping our communities safe.

Last month, we also introduced the Election Security Partnership Act to get more States to submit their voter rolls to DHS through the SAVE Program and secure our elections. On that issue, Lindsey was a champion of the SAVE America Act to ensure that only American citizens vote in American elections. The Senate should put election integrity measures on the floor for a vote and honor his legacy. That is exactly what he would encourage us to do.

It was so moving to see his sister DARLINE sworn into office yesterday to complete his term. My prayers are with her and with his family, friends, staff, and all who loved him. May he rest in peace.

BIRTH TOURISM

Mr. President, few things are more sacred than our citizenship. It is what empowers us to defend our freedoms, choose our elected representatives, and serve our Nation. It is what makes us "we the people." Yet, for years, one industry has undermined this cherished institution, and that industry is birth tourism.

Each year, tens of thousands of foreigners give birth in our country with the intention and the only intention of securing U.S. citizenship for that child—for that child. These tourists are often wealthy nationals from China and Russia. Then they return to their home countries as soon as they receive that child's paperwork—their U.S. passport, their Social Security number.

Behind this appalling practice is a multimillion-dollar industry that helps clients exploit our Nation's immigration laws. What they are doing is helping people circumvent the legal process.

During President Trump's first administration, the Justice Department investigated this, and they actually charged 19 people for operating 3 birth tourism schemes in Southern California. These schemes brought thousands of Chinese nationals to our country to give birth.

The operators actually instruct their clients on how to apply for visas and trick the system. They instruct them on how to deceive U.S. Customs officials about the purpose of their stay, and then they instruct them on where to get medical care, where they are going to be housed. They also purchased flights and then made those housing arrangements for those individuals while charging them tens of thousands of dollars.

This is fraud.

What we do know is that among the customers of these birth tourism companies are Chinese Government officials, including individuals affiliated with state-owned radio stations and the Public Security Bureau in the Beijing Municipal Government.

In a separate scheme, a company with branches in Miami and in Russia charged clients up to \$49,000 to help them travel to our country to obtain citizenship for their newborns. On its website, the company boasted that it served—and I am quoting from the website—"the wives of dignitaries, oligarchs, and celebrities." So they admit they are committing fraud. They admit they are circumventing U.S. law.

What is so interesting about this is they take it a step further. They have come here. They have defrauded the system. They have deceived U.S. officials. They have the baby. They get their paperwork, and they are going to exit the country. So these companies now advise these women on how to gain permanent residency status through their newborn's citizenship.

Bear in mind, I have just said these are the wives and women who are a part of the Chinese Communist Party leadership. The website says, from Russia. It is oligarchs. It is celebrities. It is officials. They are giving birth and then having that child deemed a U.S. citizen and then leaving the country to rear that child with a Russian mindset or a Chinese mindset.

Last week, Governor Greg Abbott launched an investigation into a Texas hospital that advertised childbirth packages in Mexico with the tagline "Have My Baby in Texas."

So by exploiting our Nation's immigration laws, this industry helps clients obtain all the blessings of American citizenship and none of the responsibilities. Zero. Zip. Nada. Nothing.

You know, the question to ask is, Is this what our men and women in uniform have fought for when we talk

about defending our Nation, our sovereignty, our freedoms? To have a cheap, fraudulent company conduct fraudulent activity and sell U.S. citizenship? Well, that is what they are doing.

Now think about what it takes to become a U.S. citizen if someone wants to be naturalized as a U.S. citizen. First, they must maintain continuous residency in the United States for 5 years, have good moral character, demonstrate an attachment to the principles of the U.S. Constitution and a firm grasp of U.S. and American history, display proficiency in English, and take an oath of allegiance to the United States.

Do those responsibilities and actions sound anything like what these birth tourism companies are out here selling? The answer is no, absolutely not.

Again, the Democrats work overtime trying to make illegal legal. We saw it through Joe Biden with the open border. We saw it with Cabinet Secretary after Cabinet Secretary who tried to find workarounds, who tried to say: We are going to enforce part of the law but not all of the law.

They want it to be convenient. They don't want any borders. They are just not going to stand and defend the United States.

The children of birth tourists avoid all of those requirements for naturalized citizenship. Yet—get this—they can vote in our elections. The day they turn 18, they can be voting. They can serve in public office. And yes, indeed, on a U.S. passport, they can come and go as they please.

To address this abuse of our laws, President Trump issued an Executive order last year that prohibited the newborn children of foreigners from obtaining U.S. citizenship. In a disappointing ruling earlier this month, the Supreme Court struck down that order, allowing this horrible practice of birth tourism to continue.

The Trump administration has vowed to use every legal avenue available to them to end birth tourism in America. Congress should do everything in its power to support this effort, which is why this week, I have reintroduced the Ban Birth Tourism Act. This bill would amend the Immigration and Nationality Act to ban birth tourism as a permissible basis for obtaining a temporary visitor visa to gain admission to our country. It would also add birth tourism to the list of immediately deportable offenses under the law. These measures would help ensure that future Democrat administrations cannot lay out the welcome mat for foreign visitors hoping to exploit our laws.

The way I look at it, our citizenship, being an American—and we have all stood and celebrated our great Nation as we have celebrated America 250, and we know that to each and every citizen, being a citizen is one of the greatest blessings. It means you are part of the greatest people in the greatest country on the face of the Earth. It must never be for sale.