

place to another: higher diesel prices, higher food prices, higher grocery prices throughout our economy, imposed on families already struggling with the costs of groceries and housing and healthcare and childcare and other necessities.

And, again, this is the President who said that he was going to end wars and focus on bringing down costs.

This is a strategic blunder on a massive scale. It is a self-inflicted wound on our country and all for what? That is the question every one of us should be asking as we vote shortly on this War Powers Resolution. How has continuing this war made the American people safer?

How has it made the Middle East more stable? How has it strengthened America's national security? I have yet to hear a credible answer to that question, and that is because there isn't one.

You know, these are the kind of questions that should be asked before a war is started, before we put American troops at risk. Colleagues, there is no good way out of a bad war. But as I have said repeatedly, when you are digging yourself a hole, the first thing you should do is stop digging, and that is what this resolution seeks to do.

Let us stop pretending that Congress has no role to play while American servicemembers remain in harm's way. Many of the people who enthusiastically supported launching this war have been unwilling to take responsibility for authorizing it.

That should concern every Member of this body. It should concern every American, regardless of party, because if a Member of the Senate truly believes that this war is justified and the right thing to do, put it up for a vote. Put it up for a vote for an authorization to use military force.

I disagreed with the decision to go to war in Iraq. And President Bush asked for an authorization for military force, and this Congress acted on it. In my view, they made the wrong decision, but at least they took responsibility for their actions as the Constitution requires.

So this is an opportunity, as the war escalates even further, as more American servicemembers are killed, as more civilians are killed, as oil and gas prices and other prices go up—this is an opportunity for this Congress to finally take responsibility. We passed the concurrent resolution in the past. We know the President has no respect for the law, but we have an obligation to our constituents. We should not duck that responsibility.

We should not simply allow this war to go on without up-or-down votes on an authorization to use military force. And today, we have a chance to take accountability and send a message by supporting this War Powers Resolution.

I urge all my colleagues to adopt it. I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. SHEEHY). The minority leader.

Mr. SCHUMER. Mr. President, Trump got America into this mess in Iran, and he has made it clear he is both unwilling and unable to get us out.

For the sake of our servicemembers, their families, working people from one end of the country to the other who are getting crushed by higher costs and gas prices, Senate Republicans need to join us and end Trump's war in Iran.

People across the aisle know—most everyone here knows—what a fiasco this war has been. Well, now we need a little courage and strength to end it. And we need to get our Republican colleagues to step up to the plate and do what that they know deep in their hearts is the right thing to do.

How many servicemembers will die before Senate Republicans decide this war needs to end? How many of our troops will be wounded before Senate Republicans find a spine? How many times will Democrats have to force a vote on our War Powers Resolution to bring our troops home before Senate Republicans join us? And they are going to have to vote on it again and again and again until they join us in ending this war.

Every time Republicans oppose our War Powers Resolution and vote against ending this war, they lose the faith of the American people. Senate Republicans keep trying to protect Donald Trump, but it is our men and women in uniform whose lives are in danger they should be protecting.

Senate Republicans know how dearly this war is costing the American people: gas \$4 a barrel, crude oil over \$100, families shelling out hundreds, if not thousands, of dollars in extra costs on basic goods, but Senate Republicans just want everyone to be calm and carry on.

But the American people are not calm. They don't like this war—Democrats, Republicans, Independents. So Senate Republicans need to wake up, not next week, not next month—now. Now is the time to wake up, Republicans. Now is not the time to keep bending the knee to Donald Trump, as he dizzies himself running around in circles chasing his own tail.

It is time to stand up for the American people and declare in one voice that this war cannot and must not go on. Every Member of the Senate, whatever your politics, ought to be up in arms over this war, its lack of direction, its lack of conclusion, its lack of consistency. Every single Senator ought to support our resolution to end this war.

We will keep forcing votes until Senate Republicans stop playing dumb and summon up the courage to do what is right.

VOTE ON MOTION TO DISCHARGE

Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays.

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

Is there a sufficient second?

There appears to be a sufficient second.

The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk called the roll.

Mr. BARRASSO. The following Senators are necessarily absent: the Senator from Alabama (Mrs. BRITT), the Senator from Kentucky (Mr. McCONNELL), the Senator from Alaska (Ms. MURKOWSKI), and the Senator from Kentucky (Mr. PAUL).

The result was announced—yeas 47, nays 49, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 207 Leg.]

YEAS—47

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

NAYS—49

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

NOT VOTING—4

Britt	Murkowski	Paul
McConnell		

The motion was rejected.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

EXECUTIVE CALENDAR

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. HAGERTY). Under the previous order, the Senate will proceed to executive session to resume consideration of the following nomination, which the clerk will report.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read the nomination of Daniel Mack Traynor, of North Dakota, to be United States Circuit Judge for the Eighth Circuit.

NOMINATION OF DANIEL MACK TRAYNOR

Mr. DURBIN. Mr. President, prior to his confirmation to the district court, Judge Daniel Traynor showed his true colors as a MAGA partisan. After he was confirmed, he had a chance to show that he could be a neutral arbiter on the bench. Yet after more than 6 years as a jurist, Judge Traynor has confirmed what Democrats warned about, that he would be a rubberstamp for President Trump.

As just one example, Judge Traynor has ruled in favor of the Trump administration in all 28 cases on his docket

involving challenges from immigrants who have been detained by ICE under the administration's illegal mandatory detention policy.

That includes seven habeas corpus petitions Judge Traynor volunteered to preside over in the District of Minnesota following Operation Metro Surge.

Judge Traynor is an outlier. Of the more than 17,800 cases in which Federal district judges have ruled on ICE's mandatory detention policy, at least 15,500 were rulings against the Trump administration, including the vast majority of rulings by Trump-appointed judges.

Judge Traynor's partisanship was also made apparent when he served as a contributing author and signatory of a May 2024 letter from Federal judges to the Columbia University president. The signatories vowed not to hire anyone who attended Columbia University beginning that year.

But Judge Traynor denied a recusal motion in a case brought by Columbia Law School's Initiative for a Just Society, implausibly claiming he wasn't biased against Columbia.

While he was comfortable taking a position on this controversial political question, Judge Traynor refused to answer questions at his hearing on who won the 2020 election, calling that well-settled fact a matter of "political controversy."

It is very clear that Judge Traynor seeks to remain in the good graces of President Trump, at the cost of his integrity and independence.

I urge my colleagues to oppose this nomination.

VOTE ON TRAYNOR NOMINATION

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is, Will the Senate advise and consent to the Traynor nomination?

Mr. SCOTT of South Carolina. Mr. President, 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 senior assistant legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. BARRASSO. The following Senators are necessarily absent: the Senator from Alabama (Mrs. BRITT), the Senator from Kentucky (Mr. MCCONNELL), the Senator from Alaska (Ms. MURKOWSKI), the Senator from Kentucky (Mr. PAUL), and the Senator from North Carolina (Mr. TILLIS).

The result was announced—yeas 48, nays 47, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 208 Ex.]

YEAS—48

Armstrong	Cramer	Hoeben
Banks	Crapo	Husted
Barrasso	Cruz	Hyde-Smith
Blackburn	Curtis	Johnson
Boozman	Daines	Justice
Budd	Ernst	Kennedy
Capito	Fischer	Lankford
Cassidy	Graham	Lee
Collins	Grassley	Lummis
Cornyn	Hagerty	Marshall
Cotton	Hawley	McCormick

Moody
Moran
Moreno
Ricketts
Risch

Rounds
Schmitt
Scott (FL)
Scott (SC)
Sheehy

Sullivan
Thune
Tuberville
Wicker
Young

NAYS—47

Alsobrooks
Baldwin
Bennet
Blumenthal
Blunt Rochester
Booker
Cantwell
Coons
Cortez Masto
Duckworth
Durbin
Fetterman
Gallego
Gillibrand
Hassan
Heinrich

Hickenlooper
Hirono
Kaine
Kelly
Kim
King
Klobuchar
Lujan
Markley
Merkley
Murphy
Murray
Ossoff
Padilla
Peters
Reed

Rosen
Sanders
Schatz
Schiff
Schumer
Shaheen
Slotkin
Smith
Van Hollen
Warner
Warnock
Warren
Welch
Whitehouse
Wyden

NOT VOTING—5

Britt
McConnell

Murkowski
Paul

Tillis

The nomination was confirmed.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the motion to reconsider is considered made and laid upon the table, and the President will be immediately notified of the Senate's action.

The Senator from Pennsylvania.

UKRAINE

Mr. MCCORMICK. Mr. President, I rise today to speak about the war in Ukraine and to say something that has been a long time coming: The tide is turning against Vladimir Putin.

For more than 4 years, Russia has waged a brutal, unprovoked war of aggression against a free and sovereign Ukraine. Putin bet that Kyiv would fall in days. He bet that the West would fracture in response. And when that didn't work, he bet that Ukraine would break in a few months. He was wrong on every count, and today he finds himself in a moment of weakness.

President Trump promised peace through strength, and his strategy is working. By restoring American deterrence, by driving our allies to historic levels of defense investment, and by pairing diplomacy with the credible threat of crushing economic pressure, President Trump has changed the trajectory of this war. And Putin—Putin is weaker today, and Ukraine is stronger. And now—now—is the time for America to lean into this strategic opportunity and to drive Putin's war machine into the ground.

Let's consider the facts. For the first time since 2023, Ukrainian forces have retaken more territory than Russia has gained. The Institute for the Study of War assesses that the war's momentum is shifting in Ukraine's favor, that Russia's spring and summer offensive has stalled, and that Russia cannot recruit soldiers fast enough to replace its losses—losses that are estimated to be between 30,000 to 40,000 per month.

Since President Trump returned to office in January 2025, Russia has suffered approximately 130 casualties for every square kilometer of Ukrainian territory gained. And as you see in chart 2, the red area circled in green here is all that Russia has been able to

conquer in the last 18 months. This is not a Russian war machine on the march; it is a war machine that is grinding itself to dust.

How has Ukraine done it? Well, they have done it through courage and ingenuity and innovation. Ukrainian drone operators now dominate the battlefield, extending the kill zone more than 10 miles beyond the frontlines. Ukraine has built, under fire, one of the most sophisticated defense technology sectors in the world. Ukraine produced over 3.5 million drones last year and is now deploying more than 10,000—10,000—drones daily.

Last week, at the Pennsylvania Defense and Innovation Summit, which I hosted, CIA Director John Ratcliffe confirmed that most Russian recruits arriving on the frontlines survive an estimated 20 to 30 minutes before they are killed or wounded, with drones causing over 80 percent of those battlefield casualties.

Our own warfighters—our own American warfighters—are beginning to implement the lessons learned on the Ukrainian battlefield, and I applaud Secretary Hegseth and Army Secretary Driscoll for leaning into these innovations—innovations that our Armed Forces require.

Ukraine has also proven it can strike deep into Russia itself. Russian oil refineries, airfields, ammunition depots, and logistics hubs hundreds of miles from the border are no longer sanctuaries. The war Putin started is now arriving on his own doorstep.

And this matters. This matters to us here in America for a simple reason: Ukraine has demonstrated beyond any doubt its ability and its willingness to defend its own sovereignty. The Ukrainian people are not—and I repeat, are not—asking American soldiers to fight for them; they are asking for the tools to finish the job themselves. As someone who wore our Nation's uniform, I understand the difference, and we have a critical opportunity to seize this momentum, to increase the pressure on Russia, to halt its unprovoked aggression.

No one has worked harder to end this war than President Trump. And, let's face it, Ukraine is not a perfect partner. Corruption remains a serious problem, and it should be held accountable to the reform commitments it has already made. President Zelenskyy has shown a willingness to come to the table at a time when Putin has rejected peace and continued firing on Ukrainian civilians.

You had better believe—you had better believe that Beijing is watching our next move very closely. If unbridled aggression pays in Europe and if unbridled aggression pays in the Middle East, it will be attempted in the Taiwan Strait. That is one of the many reasons I applaud the President for showing similar resolve against the threat from Iran. This, combined with increasing the pressure on Putin, will ensure that China gets the message: