

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:

America is serious about peace through strength.

But to be clear, we cannot confuse the current momentum we see on the battlefield with victory—two very different things. Putin is still betting on one thing: that he can outlast us, that our attention will drift, that our resolve will soften and his oil revenues will fund this war machine long enough to exhaust Ukraine's defenses.

Our job, the job of this body, is to prove him wrong, and that means striking at the one thing—the one thing—that keeps the Kremlin's war going: money. Money is what keeps the Kremlin's war going. That is why I am proud to support two strong bipartisan bills that would give President Trump additional tools to leverage in the pursuit of peace.

The first is the appropriately named Lindsey O. Graham Sanctioning Russia Act. Senator Graham championed a foreign policy rooted in American strength, from the defense of Ukraine to the cause of freedom everywhere. As you see on chart 3, this legislation would authorize sweeping sanctions on Russian officials, oligarchs, banks, state-controlled entities, and the shadow fleet that Putin has used to evade sanctions. It would give our President the authority to impose tariffs of up to 100 percent on the top importers of Russian crude oil or natural gas and the top five countries facilitating Russian oil sanctions evasion. Finally, it would cut Russia off from U.S. capital and energy markets by prohibiting U.S. investment in Russia, purchases of Russian sovereign debt, and broker-dealer funded transfers involving the Russian Government.

The message is simple: If you bankroll Putin's war, you will pay a price in the American capital markets.

The second bill is bipartisan legislation that I have introduced with my colleagues here in the Senate—Senator COONS, Senator HUSTED, and Senator WARREN—the Decreasing Russian Oil Profits Act. As you see on chart 4, the DROP Act targets the single most important source of revenue propping up the Kremlin's war machine: oil. This legislation fills a gap in our sanctions posture by requiring targeted sanctions on anyone, anywhere, dealing in Russian-of-origin oil—the purchasers, the shippers, the financiers, and the executives who profit from them.

Now is the time to move on these Russia sanctions bills to give the President the tools and the leverage he needs to end this conflict, and now is the time to increase the pressure on Putin's unbridled aggression.

This is a bipartisan cause because it is an American cause.

Peace comes through strength—never through weakness, never through wishful thinking. And the tide is turning. Ukraine is doing its part on the battlefield, and now—now—the United States must capitalize on this strategic opportunity to weaken Putin's Russia.

I urge my colleagues to pass the Lindsey O. Graham Sanctioning Russia

Act and the DROP Act without delay. Give our President—give our President—the tools he needs to bring this conflict to a peaceful resolution.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Vermont.

ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE

Mr. SANDERS. Mr. President, a couple of years ago, as you may recall, there was a movie—a film—that came out called “Don't Look Up,” starring Jennifer Lawrence and Leonardo DiCaprio. The film was about a large comet heading to Earth that would destroy the entire planet, and the astronomers who discovered the comet kept trying to gain the attention of people and explain to them what was happening and the need for immediate and bold action to save the planet.

In that movie, they failed, and the planet was destroyed. That was a movie.

Now, let me tell you about something that is not a movie, not fiction but reality. I fear that we are living through the same scenario that existed in the movie. People, especially their elected representatives, are not paying attention, and the results could be catastrophic.

This time, we are not talking about a fictional comet. What we are talking about is artificial intelligence which will almost certainly be the most transformational technology in the history of humanity. It will profoundly impact the life of every man, woman, and child in our country. The scale, scope, and speed of this transformation will be unprecedented.

Nearly every day, there is a news story about how AI is already transforming the world—from our economy to its impact on our kids, to our privacy rights, to our political institutions, to the existential threat that it poses to the entire world.

Let us take a deep breath. When we think about AI, the first question that we have to ask ourselves is a pretty simple one: Who is pushing this revolutionary transformation of society? Who is going to benefit from it? And who is going to get hurt by it?

And the answers to those questions are not complicated. At a time in American history when we have more income and wealth inequality than we have ever had before, the AI revolution is being pushed by the very wealthiest people in our country, including Elon Musk, Jeff Bezos, Mark Zuckerberg, Peter Thiel, and Larry Ellison.

And why are these multibillionaires investing many hundreds and hundreds of billions of dollars into AI and robotics? Is it because they want to improve human life? Is it because they want to address the economic struggles facing the 60 percent of our people who are living paycheck to paycheck—Americans who are struggling to pay for groceries, healthcare, housing, and education? Is it because they want to make sure that all Americans have access to healthcare as a human right

and that we successfully address the crises we face in housing, education, and so many other areas?

Is that why these multibillionaires are pushing this revolution? Maybe, but I doubt it. I think the answer is quite obvious, and everybody in America knows it. These multibillionaires are investing in AI and robotics because they want to become even wealthier and even more powerful than they are today. That is what is motivating these investments.

I think it is enormously important that we take a hard look at what an uncontrolled AI push by the wealthiest people in our country will mean to ordinary Americans.

Over the past year, I have spoken with workers and union leaders, computer scientists, psychologists, religious leaders, environmentalists, and privacy experts about AI and robotics. And while each of these people may be focusing on a different aspect of the overall situation, they all agree that the unregulated race to develop more and more powerful AI represents a profound threat to humanity.

This is exactly what the average American today is telling us. Recently, a poll came out from the publication Heatmap which expresses an enormous change in sentiment with regard to data centers. Whereas, a year ago, Americans were evenly split on whether they supported building a data center near where they live, there is now a 50-point gap, with 71 percent of Americans opposed to building a data center near where they live.

And it is not just data centers. When pollsters ask how people feel about AI, there is enormous and growing apprehension. A recent Quinnipiac poll found 55 percent of Americans think AI will do more harm than good, and only 5 percent think AI development is being led by people and organizations that represent their interests.

Let me give you some of the reasons—just some—as to why the overwhelming majority of Americans are deeply concerned about the rapid development of AI and robotics. The American people feel, with 70 percent numbers in a recent poll, that AI will lead to fewer jobs, and they are quite right about their concerns.

Elon Musk, who has invested hundreds and billions in AI and robotics, recently said that “AI and robots will replace all jobs.”

Bill Gates, who has also made huge investments in these technologies, predicted that humans “won't be needed for most things.”

Mustafa Suleyman, the CEO of Microsoft AI, said most white-collar work “will be fully automated by an AI within the next 12 to 18 months.”

And it is not just white-collar jobs that we are talking about. Earlier this year, the Wall Street Journal reported that Jeff Bezos is seeking to raise \$100 billion to purchase factories all over America. His goal? Replace the millions of workers who are employed in these plants with robots.