

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.