

IRAN SANCTIONS

What I also came to the floor to talk about today is something we actually managed to get done just a few days ago when the Senate passed the House-passed Iran Threat Reduction and Syria Human Rights Act. This is one thing people who don't agree on much of anything else in the House and Senate can figure out how to agree on. This bill, while I think it could have been a little stronger, was still a strong effort to reach a conclusion that hopefully the President will sign as soon as possible and send the right message to Iran that even amid our vigorous disagreements on all these other issues, including something as important as cyber security, Congress stands united against Iran developing nuclear capacity.

Let me give some of the highlights of the bill. This would create strong new measures on any entity that invests in Iran's petroleum, petrochemical, or natural gas sector, strong measures against any entity that provides goods, services, and infrastructure or technology to Iran's oil and natural gas and any entity that provides refined petroleum products to Iran.

Iran is an economic basket case. They have all this oil, but they can't turn enough of it into gasoline for their own country because of the kind of government under which they are suffering.

Again, this bill would create new, strong measures against any company or entity that insures or reinsures investments in Iran's oil sector; that engages in joint ventures with the National Iranian Oil Company; that provides insurance or reinsurance to the National Iranian Oil Company or the National Iranian Tanker Company; that helps Iran evade oil sanctions through reflagging or some effort that tries to hide the real source of oil coming from Iran; that sells or leases or otherwise provides tankers to Iran; that transports crude oil from Iran concealing the origin of Iranian crude in any way. These are good measures that strengthen what we have been doing, and what we have been doing is having some impact. I believe we need to have more impact because the result would be so unacceptable if Iran successfully gets a nuclear weapon.

The bill prevents Iran from bringing money back when it sells oil in other countries. Now, 80 percent of their hard currency comes into the country that way. So we would say that can't happen. And 50 percent of all the money that runs the government comes in that way. When the President signs this bill, we are saying this shouldn't be allowed to happen. It also prevents the purchasing of Iranian sovereign debt.

I have been working on this issue for a long time. In 2006 I worked with my colleagues in the House and Senate and the administration to secure the first Iran Freedom Support Act, which updated the Iran sanctions law and put

into law many of the things we have been doing. This bill, along with that bill, addresses problems we need to be concerned about as a country.

Late last year the Senate passed an amendment to the Defense bill, 100 to 0, to block Iran's access to global capital markets. Foreign banks that do business with Iran's banks won't be able to do business with the U.S. financial system.

Nobody disputes what a nuclear Iran would mean to the world. Iran is currently led by a man who has called for the destruction of our ally Israel. Iran's government funds and supports terrorist organizations and regimes all over the Middle East that threaten American allies and interests and American citizens. The Iranian regime is dangerous, it is undemocratic, it treats its own people brutally, and it associates itself with other countries that do the same thing. North Korea, Venezuela, and Syria are allies of Iran. What does that tell us? We can sometimes tell a lot about a country by the few friends it has left in the world. Iran bankrolls Hezbollah and has strong financial ties with Hamas. Remember, this is a country that can't even produce their own gasoline, even though they send oil out every day, because they are focusing on nuclear activities when they have so many other needs. So there is no reason to believe a nuclear Iran would not be a threat to the United States.

Some of our country partners in that region, such as Turkey, feel they have to develop nuclear programs if Iran does.

The Iranian people, many of whom advocate for freedom and demonstrated their bravery in the 2009 uprisings, are not our enemies. This government, however, is our enemy, and this government should not be allowed to have a nuclear weapon.

We are going to have to work together to more vigorously persuade countries such as Russia and China that their ties with Iran aren't in the best interest of the world. We have to work to encourage our European allies to accept some further risk as they also continue on the path they are on to make these sanctions work better.

I understand there is some risk here, but the Senate—which doesn't agree on a lot of things—agrees that an unacceptable conclusion to what is going on in Iran right now would be a nuclear Iran.

I urge the President to sign this bill to implement the provisions as quickly as possible and to work with other countries in the world to see that we all advance the interests of peace by insisting that Iran not continue on the course it is on.

Madam President, I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Michigan.

Mr. LEVIN. Madam President, I am very pleased that the Senate is now taking up the nomination of Gershwin Drain to be a judge on the Eastern District Court of Michigan.

Judge Drain has an impressive legal career. He graduated from the University of Michigan Law School and then went on to earn a master's of judicial studies degree in 1991. He has served with distinction as a trial judge for over two decades in all three of our trial courts, from the lowest court, which is a so-called district court, to the recorder's court and the circuit court.

He has demonstrated a career-long dedication to helping the people understand how our legal system works. As a longtime columnist for the Michigan Chronicle newspaper, he has explained often-complex legal issues in language accessible to lay readers, broadening understanding of and appreciation for our courts. Beyond his writing, Judge Drain has been very active in the community, including membership on the education committee of the Southfield Christian School Board.

It is important to note that the confirmation of Judge Drain would help to remedy the judicial emergency in the Eastern District of Michigan. Vacancies and caseloads in the Eastern District meet the Federal judicial system's definition of an emergency. These judicial emergencies lead to delays and, even worse, to the risk of rushed judgments that could deprive Americans of the impartial justice that is so much a necessary component of our democratic system of government.

Judge Drain was asked about some of his past writings and statements during his confirmation hearing at the Judiciary Committee on such issues as capital punishment and mandatory minimum sentences. He indicated that some of those views—some of them decades ago—have evolved. He was candid in saying where they have changed. I don't agree with everything Judge Drain said 20 years ago, but nonetheless, without the slightest hesitancy, Senator STABENOW and I have recommended him to be a judge on the Eastern District Court for Michigan.

The test of his fairness has been shown by the fact that he has served with distinction for over two decades on trial courts. Another test of his fairness is how the legal community feels about Judge Drain.

Senator STABENOW and I have appointed a judicial advisory commission to make recommendations to us for the judicial positions we have on the Federal district courts. His nomination was the result of an examination by and consideration of a host of people interested in being Federal court judges in the Eastern District. His competition was great. There are literally dozens of qualified people whom we considered—more accurately, our judicial advisory commission considered—to recommend to the President for nomination. He was one of the persons they recommended. This is a commission we have appointed in order to remove the nominees whom we recommend to the President, as much as we can, from partisan politics and to

put them instead under consideration to be a judge with great objectivity. We have a broadly based commission. I think the best test of his fairness and objectivity and his ability to judge people not based on anything other than the merits of the case in front of him is testified more than anything to by the fact that the broadly based judicial advisory commission recommended his nomination to us as one of the people to be considered, and we recommended him to the President.

The American Bar Association has also spoken on this issue. He has been recommended unanimously as qualified for the Federal bench by the Standing Committee on the Federal Judiciary of the American Bar Association.

So we are in a position here where we have a judicial emergency on the Eastern District Court. We have a situation where the delays that result deprive Americans of what they are entitled to. We have a nominee who has been recommended by a broadly based commission that Senator STABENOW and I have appointed. He has been given a unanimous rating of "qualified" by the American Bar Association. And I think his commitment has been shown not just by his decades of service as a trial judge but by the way he answered the questions in his confirmation hearing. He said—and he has shown this in practice—that "my personal beliefs, both past and present, have no bearing on the decisions I make in court." The notion that he would insert his own personal judgment in place of the law is contradicted by not just his testimony but by a record of decisions that indicate he abides by the concept of judge as impartial arbiter.

Senator STABENOW and I strongly urge our colleagues to confirm Judge Drain. We hope that can happen in the next hour.

Madam President, I yield the floor and ask that the time between now and the time for voting be equally divided between the majority and the minority.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered. The quorum call will be equally divided.

The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Jersey.

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

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

POLITICIZING ISRAEL

Mr. LAUTENBERG. Madam President, I rise today out of disbelief with the rhetoric coming from Republicans and their Presidential candidate concerning the U.S. relationship with Israel. Frankly, it pains me to see that a political trip to Israel is carried with a message to scare the Israelis that President Obama and this administration are not as fast and as complete as they are.

I have had numerous trips to Israel. One was the 6-day war in 1967, when the Israelis had battled with the Egyptians, and I got there shortly after the guns stopped shooting. I went to the Sinai Desert and watched the Israelis on guard while the Egyptian soldiers were carrying necessary items, such as water and food, for their people. I was reminded then that the Israelis always have to be on guard. They are never free to go about their domestic interests and problems without having one eye open to make certain the rockets that are being aimed at them aren't going to tear their people apart again, as their people have experienced—the worst of human relations, a blight on mankind which can never be forgotten, and the Israelis remember it very clearly.

Unfortunately, Republicans want to use our relationship with Israel as a political game, which is terrible for America's national security and bad for Israel. The implication that we are weak in our support for Israel is foul play and encourages Israel's enemies to look and say: Well, maybe America is not as solid on its support of Israel, because Mr. Romney, when asked the question about what he would do differently with Israel, says he would do just the opposite of what President Obama has done.

We have built a relationship between our countries that is firm and unshakable since 1948. To try to clumsily interfere with that is shameful. Republicans are distorting the state of U.S.-Israel relations for political gain and sending the wrong signal to the rest of the world.

When you listen to the Republicans—especially their Presidential candidate, Mitt Romney discuss Israel, reality is often replaced with distortion and fantasy. Mitt Romney says President Obama has not been a friend of Israel. That couldn't be any further from the truth. When we examine the record, it is clear that President Obama shares my convictions about the enduring bond between Israel and the United States. It is clear that there is no greater friend to Israel than this President.

But you don't have to take my word for it. Here is a chart that carries a message from a distinguished leader in Israel, the Israeli Defense Minister, Ehud Barak. He says very clearly:

[T]his administration under President Obama is doing in regard to our security more than anything that I can remember in the past.

He made certain that it is quite understood that the relationship with Israel and America is solid and well-balanced. This is coming from, as I said, a distinguished, decorated military leader. He helped plan the historic raid on Entebbe to rescue Israelis who were held in a grounded airplane. He understands Israel's security.

Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu has called the Obama administration's security policy for

Israel "unprecedented." But if you listen to Republicans over here in the United States, they say we have all but abandoned Israel's security. They are encouraging hostile neighbors with their misrepresentations. Shame on them.

Governor Romney in particular has demonstrated frightening ignorance about Israel and its security needs. The prime example of this behavior is the Republican Presidential nominee's complete inability to articulate what exactly he would do differently than President Obama. When asked about what his policy regarding Israel would be, and I have to quote him here, he said: "I'd look at the things the President has done and do the opposite."

What a threatening statement that is. He said he wants to do the opposite of President Obama. So let's look at what that would mean. Obama blocked Palestinian statehood when it was brought up in the U.N. He had a big fight on his hands to keep that from happening. So that means Romney, as President, would allow Palestinian statehood in the U.N. He said he is going to do the opposite.

Record high U.S. aid for Israel? Romney is going to do the opposite. That means he has to lower the U.S. aid for Israel.

Obama says all options on the table for dealing with Iran are there. That means that Mitt Romney, if President, would only use "containment" of a nuclear Iran as his yardstick for dealing with this incredible problem.

So, everybody, beware. Israelis, beware. Don't be taken in by this and don't let people in America be taken in by this. They know that Israel is America's best friend.

Last September, when the Palestinian Authority aggressively pursued a U.N. vote on statehood, that is when President Obama stood strong and blocked it. If we are to believe Mitt Romney, however, as indicated here, he would have allowed this unilateral action on Palestinian statehood to proceed.

Just a few days ago, President Obama signed into law a new bill that will strengthen U.S. security with Israel even further. But again, if we are to believe Mitt Romney, he would have lowered Israeli aid and weakened, thusly, Israel's defenses against the threats it constantly faces.

And last, President Obama has stood absolutely firm in his call to stop Iran from development of a nuclear weapon. The Obama administration has been clear that all options are on the table to prevent Iran from becoming a nuclear threat to its neighbors. President Obama has put in place the strongest sanctions ever against Iran, sanctions that have punished and isolated Iran more than ever before. If we are to believe Mitt Romney here as well, under President Romney America's policy toward Iran would be one of accepting a nuclear-armed Iran that threatens Israel's—and the world's—very existence.