

EXECUTIVE SESSION

But the decision to withdraw from Iraq created a crisis of confidence, a capability crisis. When there is a vacuum in the Middle East, people go back to their corners—and that is exactly what has happened in Iraq with the lack of an American presence.

Here is what is so heartbreaking. Some 10,000 or 15,000 U.S. soldiers strategically placed would have held this together and politics would have taken over. But it is hard to do political agreements when you are subject to being killed by people on the other side. You need a certain level of security to advance society.

That security has completely been lost in Iraq, and Syria is a contagion for the entire region.

Our indecision and indecisive action in Syria—it was bipartisan, by the way. Plenty of Republicans said: Stay out of Syria; it is none of our concern. What Senator MCCAIN and I have been worried about in Syria for about 3 or 4 years is that Iran and Russia were behind Assad. It is not in our interest for Iranians to be in Syria because it is very hard to get them to abandon their nuclear program if they think we are weak in Syria, and it is in our national security interest for Syria not to become an Islamic state.

About 3 years ago there were 500 foreign fighters. Today there are 26,000. So to those Republicans and Democrats who said stay out of Syria, don't use airstrikes or air power, I am sad to say that I think you were wrong. I think Syria has become an absolute breeding ground for radical Islamists, and the next attack against our country could very well originate from the people who are fighting in Syria today. And I have never been more worried about another 9/11 than I am right now.

So, Mr. President, if you are willing to adjust your policies, we will sit down with you. If you are willing to sit down with your generals and get some good, sound military advice, we will stand with you because what happens in Iraq and Syria does matter. I don't think we need boots on the ground. I don't think that is an option for consideration. But if our military leaders say that we need to stop ISIS because it is in our national security interests through the use of our air power, count me in if that is what our generals say.

I will stand with you, Mr. President, if you correct your policies. If you continue to be delusional about the world, I will be your worst critic.

With that, I yield back.

CONCLUSION OF MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair thanks the distinguished Senator from South Carolina for yielding the floor.

Morning business is closed.

NOMINATION OF CRYSTAL NIX-HINES FOR THE RANK OF AMBASSADOR DURING HER TENURE OF SERVICE AS THE UNITED STATES PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE TO THE UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL, SCIENTIFIC, AND CULTURAL ORGANIZATION

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate will proceed to executive session to consider the following nomination, which the clerk will report.

The assistant legislative clerk read the nomination as follows:

Nomination of Crystal Nix-Hines, of California, for the rank of Ambassador during her tenure of service as the United States Permanent Representative to the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, there will be 30 minutes of debate on the nomination equally divided in the usual form.

Who yields time?

No one having yielded time, the time will be charged equally to both sides.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Indiana.

Mr. COATS. Mr. President, I rise to oppose the nomination of Crystal Nix-Hines to be the U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, otherwise called UNESCO. I wanted to speak on this nomination and once again express my firm opposition to the administration's stated intention to circumvent U.S. law—the law that was passed by this body regarding funding of UNESCO—and an intention repeated by Ms. Nix-Hines at her hearing before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee last year.

I have nothing personal against this individual. I have not met her. I am sure she is a woman of good character and qualified for the job. But nevertheless I think it is important that we understand before we take this vote what we are doing here and why we shouldn't be doing it and that Ms. Nix-Hines's previous statement is relevant to her confirmation to this organization.

If confirmed, this nomination will result in the administration sending a representative to an organization which we do not fund and in which we have no vote. That is right. We will be sending a confirmed U.S. Ambassador to an organization which we do not support and in which we have no vote. That contradiction can only mean the administration is still attempting to change those circumstances by seeking waiver authority, and that is the reason why I am speaking today and why I am opposing this nomination.

Let me provide some context. In late 2011 UNESCO offered membership to the Palestinian Authority. This was a consequence of a Palestinian campaign

to achieve recognition as a state by appealing unilaterally and directly to the United Nations and its agencies. UNESCO's decision to admit Palestine as a full member has further dimmed prospects for negotiated peace in the Middle East.

My fear is that this step—which the Palestinians regard as a success—will encourage them to press for membership in other U.N. bodies as well, achieving a legitimacy through the U.N. that they don't deserve as a state and that they need to understand presents major obstacles to ever achieving some type of reconciliation between the Israelis and the Palestinians. This will harm Israel, it will harm the Palestinians' own interests, harm the U.N. agencies involved, and damage our own national interests.

To prevent this sort of unilateral maneuver by the Palestinians, U.S. law—it is the law—has long prohibited funding to any U.N. agency that admits Palestine as a member. The purpose of this termination and the will of Congress regarding it was to discourage such reckless behavior by the U.N. and by the Palestinians.

Let me repeat that. The harm that is done through this has caused us—brought us to a point where we passed a law signed by the President that said we will not support any agency that acknowledges and admits Palestine as a recognized state. That is our policy. So funding UNESCO or even providing a waiver for that would be a clear violation of U.S. law.

We have seen the administration try to work around Congress in a number of ways, neglecting to check the law in terms of what they are required to do. We are currently in an embroiled situation here with this detainee release from Guantanamo of five of the top leaders of the Taliban—a blatant violation of the law that exists on the books in terms of consultation with Congress before this is done. Nevertheless, that is not what I am here for today. That is another issue.

Our laws require the United States to cut off budget support to UNESCO, and we will do the same to other agencies that also circumvent the correct path to negotiated settlement. I think that is good policy.

When some administration officials spoke publicly soon after the UNESCO vote about finding a "work-around" or seeking a waiver, I introduced legislation not to tolerate such alternatives and said I would not support the waiver. I repeated those efforts in subsequent State and Foreign Operations appropriations bills when the administration included appropriations for UNESCO in its budget request and Secretary Kerry said in his testimony that they would be "seeking to change or repeal the law."

In his comments on the subject, Secretary Kerry spoke about the value he saw in this U.N. agency but said nothing about the value of discouraging Palestinian efforts to circumvent negotiations and change its status at the

U.N. before there is an agreed settlement.

Similarly, in Ms. Nix-Hines statement for the Foreign Relations Committee, she spoke forcefully about her views on UNESCO and its importance to U.S. interests. Maybe it is true, maybe it is not true, but nevertheless she said nothing about how the Palestinian end run at the United Nations has harmed our quest for a Middle East settlement. She repeated the administration's intention to seek a waiver of existing law to resume contributions to UNESCO, declaring, "We are not a country that turns tail when decisions do not go our way. We are not a people who shrink from challenge."

Well, that is true, we are not. But in stating that, she has equated a principled stance on an important issue—a stance she does not agree with—as an act of cowardice. It is an act of law. It is an act that was passed by this body with support from the House of Representatives and signed by the President of the United States. So her statement makes no sense unless you come to the conclusion that she was handed talking points—as other members of the administration have been—and told: Go ahead and go down and say this if this question comes up. Don't worry about the facts.

I can understand why a nominee to UNESCO would want to restore U.S. funding to the organization and thus restore the U.S. vote there, but to purposely ignore or misconstrue the opposing view—one stated in U.S. law and supported by this Congress for 20 years—and then to go on and imply that such a view is cowardly—that is offensive. That is offensive to those Members who have supported this law, who enacted this law. It is offensive to the President who signed this law. It is offensive to the American people who sent us here to pass laws and to enforce those laws as passed. To call that action cowardly is something that is offensive as well.

The laws that are designed to discourage U.N. bodies from admitting Palestinian authority before a comprehensive settlement are essential if negotiations are to have any chance at all. Far from being anachronistic, as some connected with UNESCO are claiming, they are more current and important now than ever. It is now that the Palestinians are trying to change their status at the U.N. unilaterally, and it is now that we must use the available tools to prevent it.

If we were to grant waiver authority to the administration as they have requested, the floodgates would open. The existence of waiver authority—not to mention the actual exercise of a waiver—would embolden the Palestinians to make even greater unilateral efforts to achieve membership in U.N. bodies, and the result would present repeated funding dilemmas for us and would make a true negotiated peace that much more difficult to achieve.

The nomination of a candidate for the UNESCO position at least gives me

this opportunity to restate clearly and unambiguously once again that I remain firmly opposed to providing funds to UNESCO or any other U.N. agency that repeats this serious error, and I hope my colleagues would understand this and support it also. Thus, I cannot support funding UNESCO while Palestine is a member, nor will I support a waiver of existing restrictions, and I don't think anyone else should either because it violates U.S. law.

To repeat, this nomination means the administration wants to send a representative to an organization which we do not fund and in which we have no vote. That contradiction can only mean the administration still wants to change those circumstances by seeking waiver authority, and therefore I will oppose this nomination and hope my colleagues will support the same.

Mr. JOHNSON of South Dakota. Mr. President, I wish to urge my colleagues to join me in supporting Dr. Stanley Fischer to be Vice Chair of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System. I also urge my colleagues to join me in supporting Mr. Jerome Powell and Dr. Lael Brainard to be members of the Federal Reserve Board of Governors.

Each of these individuals has a unique set of skills and experiences to provide the Board of Governors a diverse perspective on how to continue to help the economy recover and promote a more stable financial system.

Dr. Fischer's background is impressive. In May, he was confirmed by the Senate to be a member of the Federal Reserve. Between 2005 and 2013, he was the head of the Bank of Israel. Prior to his service at the Bank of Israel, Dr. Fischer held positions as the vice chairman of Citigroup and the First Deputy Managing Director of the International Monetary Fund. Before the IMF, Dr. Fischer was the Killian professor and Head of the Department of Economics at MIT, where he taught some of the most preeminent economists of our time, including former Fed Chairman Ben Bernanke, former Council of Economic Advisers Chair Greg Mankiw, and European Central Bank President Mario Draghi. Former Fed Chairman Bernanke said of Dr. Fischer: "Stan was my teacher in graduate school, and he has been both a role model and a frequent adviser ever since. An expert on financial crises, Stan has written prolifically on the subject and has also served on the front lines."

Mr. Powell became a member of the Federal Reserve Board of Governors in 2012. He has served during a period in which the Fed tackled a number of important issues, including implementing the Wall Street Reform Act and maintaining strong monetary policy that promotes job creation and economic recovery. Prior to his appointment, Mr. Powell was a visiting scholar at the Bipartisan Policy Center, where he focused on Federal and State fiscal issues. Mr. Powell also served as an As-

sistant Secretary and as Undersecretary of the Treasury under President George H.W. Bush.

Dr. Brainard previously served as Under Secretary for International Affairs at the Treasury from 2010 to 2013. She also served as Deputy Director of the National Economic Council and as the U.S. Sherpa to the G8. She was vice president of the Brookings Institution and an Associate Professor of Applied Economics at MIT Sloan School of Management.

The Federal Reserve Board has many important tasks at hand including effective monetary policy that promotes full employment, continued implementation of Wall Street Reform, and taking steps that will improve financial stability, reduce systemic risk and end "too big to fail." I am confident these three nominees will be extremely valuable in these endeavors and I hope we can confirm them without delay. I urge my colleagues to support Dr. Brainard, Mr. Powell, and Dr. Fischer.

Ms. LANDRIEU. Mr. President, I come to the floor today to speak in support of the nomination of Dr. Stanley Fischer to be Vice Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System. I know Dr. Fischer personally and have worked with him over the years, and I am fully confident that he is well qualified to succeed Janet Yellen as Vice Chairman of the Fed, as she begins her tenure as Chair.

Dr. Fischer has had an extraordinarily impressive and well-rounded career thus far. After receiving his bachelor's and master's degrees from the London School of Economics and his Ph.D. at MIT, Fischer served in high-level positions in academia, the private sector, as well as at multiple international financial institutions. His knowledge and expertise of economic policy is world-renowned—in fact some of the most influential economic policy makers today, including former Federal Reserve Chairman Ben Bernanke and the head of the European Central Bank, studied under the guidance and influence of Dr. Fischer.

Most recently, Stanley Fischer served as governor of the Bank of Israel. Appointed in 2005 by then-Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon and Finance Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, Dr. Fischer led Israel's central bank and steered its economy through the global financial crisis. When the global crisis first hit in 2008, Fischer took decisive action to protect the Israeli economy. His decision to lower interest rates actually came a day before the Fed, the Bank of England or the European Central Bank took similar action.

It is largely due to his leadership that while other countries, including the United States, were still struggling in the depths of recession in 2009, Israel emerged more or less unscathed. In fact, by 2009 the Israeli economy had recovered to the point where central bank assistance was no longer needed, and Fischer actually made the decision to raise interest rates. Furthermore, as

It is Todd's good fortune to be married to Adrianna Logalbo. They began dating when Todd was on my staff. So, as I say, Todd and his family have been good friends to me for a very long time.

From 2009 to 2011, Todd was a legislative assistant on the staff of Senator Herb Kohl of Wisconsin, handling agriculture and agriculture appropriations for Senator Kohl. He then served as special assistant in the Office of Congressional Relations at the Department of Agriculture, and since 2012, Todd has been senior advisor to the Secretary of Agriculture. In this role, he provides strategic advice and guidance to the Secretary regarding USDA's budget, legislative, and regulatory agenda.

Given Todd's strong personal qualities, experience, and proven abilities, I could not have been happier when I learned that President Obama had chosen him to serve as Assistant Secretary of Agriculture. I look forward to continuing to work with Todd and know that he will do a tremendous job in this new role.

VOTE ON MCCORD NOMINATION

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, if there is no further debate, the question is, Will the Senate advise and consent to the nomination of Michael J. McCord, of Ohio, to be Under Secretary of Defense (Comptroller)?

The nomination was confirmed.

VOTE ON CHU NOMINATION

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If there is no further debate, the question is, Will the Senate advise and consent to the nomination of R. Jane Chu, of Missouri, to be Chairperson of the National Endowment for the Arts?

The nomination was confirmed.

VOTE ON BATTA NOMINATION

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If there is no further debate, the question is, Will the Senate advise and consent to the nomination of Todd A. Batta, of Iowa, to be an Assistant Secretary of Agriculture?

The nomination was confirmed.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, with respect to the nominations just confirmed, the motions to reconsider are considered made and laid upon the table and the President will be immediately notified of the Senate's action.

LEGISLATIVE SESSION

MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate will resume legislative session and be in a period of morning business until 1:45 p.m., with Senators permitted to speak therein for up to 10 minutes each, with the time equally divided and controlled between the two leaders or their designees.

The Senator from Michigan.

TAX TREATIES

Mr. LEVIN. Madam President, the unanimous consent proposal that I just made a few moments ago that was objected to by the Senator from Ken-

tucky related to the need of the Senate to take up the ratification of five tax treaties that were approved by the Committee on Foreign Relations on a unanimous voice vote, including a revised U.S.-Switzerland tax treaty that was amended in 2009, with a protocol enabling the United States to obtain more information—more information from Switzerland about U.S. taxpayers with hidden Swiss bank accounts.

We have been trying to close down these offshore tax havens and the way in which they aid and abet American tax avoidance for years. Here we have a tax treaty which will help us get more information about the American taxpayers who are trying to avoid paying their taxes to Uncle Sam, and we get an objection to the ratification, even to taking up the ratification of this treaty.

American taxpayers have had it. I would say have had it up to here, except that will not come across on the record. They have had it with profitable corporations and wealthy individuals avoiding taxes through the use of tax havens, shell companies, and tax avoidance schemes. The American people want us to end it. We ought to legislate an end to it.

By the way, it is long overdue. We ought to close the tax loopholes which are used so the most profitable corporations in this country avoid paying taxes by shifting their intellectual property to shell corporations that they create in tax havens or by other kinds of tax dodging.

We can put an end to it. We can close those tax loopholes. We ought to do it but that is not what should be before us today. What should be before us today but for that objection we had from the Senator from Kentucky, are the tax treaties which have been approved by our Foreign Relations Committee, one of which was signed 4 years ago.

We have all heard about Swiss bank accounts that are used to hide money from Uncle Sam. Back in 2008, in a bipartisan report I issued with then the ranking Republican on the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, Norman Coleman, with bipartisan support, we disclosed that UBS, the largest bank in Switzerland, had opened as many as 52,000 bank accounts, with about \$20 billion in assets, for U.S. citizens who had hidden their accounts from our Treasury.

UBS later signed a deferred prosecution agreement with the U.S. Treasury and the Department of Justice in which they admitted helping; that is, aiding and abetting, U.S. clients evade U.S. taxes. We are talking about UBS now. They paid a \$750 million fine. They turned over the names of about 4,700 U.S. clients who had hidden accounts in that bank.

UBS was not alone. Earlier this year in a bipartisan report—this is not a partisan issue—in another bipartisan report that I issued with my current ranking member, Senator MCCAIN, the

Subcommittee showed that Credit Suisse, Switzerland's second largest bank, had been engaged in the same type of aiding and abetting. Credit Suisse had opened about 22,000 Swiss bank accounts for U.S. account holders, with up to \$12 billion in assets, that were undisclosed to U.S. tax authorities. After its wrongdoing was exposed, Credit Suisse pled guilty to facilitating U.S. tax evasion and paid a fine of about \$2.6 billion.

In both those cases, the Swiss banks had quietly sent Swiss bankers to do business on U.S. soil, opening accounts, sometimes in the name of offshore shell corporations, arranging all of that; bringing in cash, by the way, from Switzerland; and slipping account statements between magazine pages to their U.S. clients. In order that there not be anything visible at an airport or wherever, they put the statement of their U.S. account holder in a Sports Illustrated magazine and would hand the magazine to their clients. How surreptitious can you get?

We also heard about how U.S. clients who visited Credit Suisse in Switzerland rode in a secret, remotely controlled elevator to a room with no windows and reviewed documents that were then shredded. Why? Why all of that secrecy and surreptitiousness? They wanted to show those U.S. clients, to dramatize, just how secretly the Swiss banks operate and how those Swiss bank accounts would be hidden from U.S. authorities.

But after years and years of effort, we found out what was going on, and we made it public. Even Switzerland could not defend what its banks were doing.

So in 2009, Switzerland agreed to strengthen the U.S.-Swiss tax treaty to enable us to obtain more information about secret Swiss bank accounts opened by U.S. taxpayers.

It is still not voluminous information which we are going to get under that tax treaty, but it is more information. It would give us a better chance of finding the tax dodgers, those U.S. citizens who try to avoid paying their share of taxes and dumping the tax load on all of their fellow citizens, by the way, who have to pick up the added burden.

So with the existing U.S. treaty—we already have a tax treaty with Switzerland, the one that we want to amend—it requires us to establish something which is very difficult to prove; that is, tax fraud, before Switzerland would hand over the information on U.S. account holders with Swiss bank accounts.

We have treaties with all kinds of countries. No other treaty we have has that standard; that we have to show tax fraud before we can get information from a foreign bank. So the revised tax treaty, approved by the Foreign Relations Committee, again unanimously, would enable the United States to obtain information from Switzerland that "may be relevant" to