

[From the United Against Nuclear Iran, Nov. 3, 2015]

UANI SUPPORTS SENATE CONFIRMATION OF ADAM SZUBIN AS UNDER SECRETARY FOR TERRORISM AND FINANCIAL CRIMES

AMBASSADOR WALLACE AND SENATOR LIEBERMAN EXPRESS SUPPORT FOR CONFIRMATION

NEW YORK, NY—United Against Nuclear Iran (UANI) CEO Ambassador Mark D. Wallace and UANI Chairman Senator Joseph I. Lieberman issued the following statement today regarding the Senate confirmation of Adam Szubin as Under Secretary for Terrorism and Financial Crimes in the U.S. Department of the Treasury:

“UANI was a leading opponent of the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA) nuclear agreement with Iran. The administration’s success in blocking bipartisan and majority opposition to the JCPOA on Capitol Hill should not be the basis to oppose the confirmation of Director Szubin as Under Secretary of the Treasury for Terrorism and Financial Crimes. Simply put, he is the best person for the job, a true expert, a dedicated public servant and fully committed to serve his country. He has shown those traits over two successive administrations—a rare feat in Washington. On behalf of UANI, and in the strongest possible terms, we support Director Szubin’s confirmation. We respectfully call on all of our Senate friends who were rightfully frustrated by the administration’s tactics related to the JCPOA to put those concerns aside and support the confirmation of Director Szubin.”

Mr. BROWN. He has support across the political spectrum—or at least he did until he was nominated by this President.

I serve on the banking committee with Chairman SHELBY. I sit next to him as the ranking member. I like Senator SHELBY. I work with Mr. SHELBY day-by-day on many things. He has described Mr. Szubin as “eminently qualified.” He has served with distinction in senior national security roles—I will say it again—for 15 years under Presidents of both parties. He is well regarded around the world for his intellect, courage, and expertise. He deserves the strong backing of the Senate.

Republicans in Congress need to stop holding our national security apparatus hostage to political demands. They should allow—we should allow Adam Szubin and other national security nominees to be approved as soon as possible.

Again, strip the partisanship away. Do what is right: Confirm Adam Szubin; confirm these other national security people.

They aren’t controversial. The only thing controversial about these nominations is that Barack Obama made them. Well, the last time I checked, he was elected President of the United States twice, including my No. 1 swing State in the country—the hardest one to win, the one that both parties fight for in every election. He carried my State twice. He carried my State by over 100,000 votes.

He is the President of the United States. He appointed Adam Szubin, who is eminently qualified, who has had support from both parties. Why don’t my colleagues confirm him, giv-

ing him the full range of powers to fight ISIS, to keep ISIS from getting the resources and the financing they are getting now to launch these terrible terrorist crimes against innocent men and women all over the world?

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Pennsylvania.

Mr. CASEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to speak in morning business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is in morning business.

The Senator is recognized.

ISIS

Mr. CASEY. Mr. President, I rise today to speak about the recent terrorist attacks around the world—including, of course, the horror of Paris—but also to talk about what undergirds that, and that is the threat posed by ISIS. Some use the acronym ISIL; Daesh is another phrase that has been used to describe this vicious terrorist group. But I think we need to—at the same time as we are trying to prevent terrorist attacks—focus on the broader policy to destroy ISIS.

We know it has been 4½ years since the people of Syria began protesting against the repressive regime of Bashar al-Assad. As we also know, that conflict escalated rapidly and was coupled with a dysfunctional and sectarian government in Iraq, especially starting from the capital of Baghdad. The fighting and unrest created space for extremism to grow and to take root.

About 1½ years ago, we saw the emergence of the group we now know as ISIS. This group poses a very serious threat to our national security as well as to the security of many parts of the world. There is no question that ISIS is a clear threat to the security of our partners in the region and—as we know most horrifically, in the last few days—in Europe.

They also have a desire to attack the U.S. homeland. We know that. We have to remember that this is a group that originated as an Al Qaeda offshoot. They share the same motivations or at least similar motivations, and they, of course, share the same brutality, if not worse.

In recent weeks, ISIS has claimed responsibility for horrific attacks outside of Syria and Iraq. They claim responsibility for the bombing of a Russian airliner that went down over Egypt in the Sinai, killing all of its passengers—Russian passengers. ISIS suicide bombers attacked a market in Beirut, Lebanon, last week, just before Paris. Then, of course, came Friday night, the 13th. This was, as has been reported, a coordinated, ruthless, and despicable attack in Paris that killed 129 innocent civilians.

So what this horror—and we could list other examples, but these most recent events remind us—what this horror reminds us, is what our job is in Congress and across our country, but

especially when it comes to the role of the U.S. Federal Government. We have at least two responsibilities in this area. No. 1 is to prevent terrorists from coming into the United States of America; and second, but related, is to destroy ISIS, without a doubt. To do both of these will continue to be difficult and challenging. Anyone who comes up with a simple proposal or a commentary that makes it seem simple really doesn’t know what they are talking about, really doesn’t understand the complexity of this. I even doubt their commitment to it when they give one-line answers to difficult challenging problems.

Last year, I was blessed, in June of 2014, to have the chance to go to Normandy. Senator LEAHY, the senior Senator from Vermont, organized a visit to Normandy on the 70th anniversary of D-day. For someone representing any State—in my case representing the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, from where so many Pennsylvanians and, of course, so many Americans died on the beaches of Normandy or died within days of that battle—it was deeply moving to be in Normandy, to listen to presentations from those who had lived through the horror of Normandy and those who were coming back to celebrate the fact that they had served and were alive after these 70 years.

We were able to see the beaches. We saw the cemetery. I walked down to the cemetery, and the first grave I happened to look at was one of a Pennsylvania soldier, just fortuitously when I was looking at the first marker, the first grave.

One of the themes of that visit, of course, was France, the people of France thanking the United States, thanking allies and expressing gratitude in so many different ways, in heartfelt ways, at the leadership level, from President Hollande, all the way down. And one of the best images of that gratitude was displayed in this picture. I will put it up on the easel. This is an enlarged version of what was on a brochure. You can see it, and it is written in two languages, of course. The translation is “70th Anniversary of the Liberation of France,” in English and French, and the date—June 6, 2014, commemorating the 70th anniversary.

What you may not be able to make out from a distance is the image. It is, of course, a beach, and it is the image of a little girl. She has an orange plastic pail and a green plastic shovel—an image we all understand—a child going on to the beach to play in the sand. She is in a yellow dress, with her back towards us, and she is moving towards the beach.

What is so moving about this expression of gratitude by the people of France is that the shadow that emanates from that little girl is not her shadow. Rather, it is the shadow of an American GI, or what I believe to be an American GI, and I am not sure anyone could contest that. It is a profound and

very moving and very powerful expression of gratitude that all of us can understand; that this little girl would not be able to be on that beach to play in freedom—or any of the other places that were under attack during World War II—were it not for the bravery of American soldiers, the commitment of the American people, and the work that was done to undergird that effort by the allies against the axis powers.

It is a very powerful reminder of the contribution of that soldier depicted by the shadow and the freedom that little girl can enjoy because of that sacrifice—a profound sacrifice, a sacrifice you cannot even describe if you had volumes of books to write about it. I was moved because it was a wonderful expression of gratitude to the people of the United States by the French people.

I was thinking about that in the aftermath of this horror. Folks all over the United States and around the world were expressing solidarity with the people of Paris and the people of France, and it gave us the chance to try to give back to them in the aftermath of their tragedy, a year or so after they had expressed gratitude to us. This relationship between our two countries is very strong and goes back to the beginnings of our Republic, even back to the days of the Revolution.

That image of that little girl probably couldn't be expressed or presented were it not for what happened in World War II and what happened on the beaches of Normandy. Again, we were able to achieve that result by working with allies the world over. It would not have been possible were it not for the work of people around the country sacrificing—the soldiers and their families, the factories, the spouses who worked in the factories while soldiers were overseas. There was a lot of good work done then by the Congress to support the war effort. We have to figure out a way here to get back to that kind of sacrifice, that kind of commitment.

There was a reminder recently of what a Member of this body said around that time, about 1945. Senator Arthur Vandenberg from the State of Michigan delivered a seminal speech in January 1945 on this floor. Senator Vandenberg was a Republican, an avowed isolationist and a strong opponent of President Roosevelt. But on that day he said:

We cannot drift to victory. We must have maximum united effort on all fronts. . . . and we must deserve the continued united effort of our own people.

It is Vandenberg's example of setting aside partisan politics for the good of our Nation that gives us this expression: Politics stops at the water's edge. We have all heard that expression. If we haven't, we should educate ourselves, and if we have heard it, we should remind ourselves of it. But I am afraid when we debate foreign policy and security policy, there is often a dismissal of that basic lesson he taught us. I am afraid we have lost sight of his

legacy that politics must stop at the water's edge when it comes to our security, whether that is the fight against terrorism itself or whether that is a military campaign against ISIS.

This fight against ISIS demands our attention, but it also demands our unity. Unity is not just a nice expression, something we should hope for. The challenge demands it. If we are not unified, it is going to be very difficult to defeat ISIS or any other threat, frankly. We must not do oversight by sound bite when it comes to this policy. We can engage, as some have done—not everyone but enough to be concerned in both Houses of Congress—in categorical condemnation of the President's policy on virtually everything in the international arena. That doesn't move the ball down the field. It also doesn't absolve the President of accepting and incorporating critiques of the policy—specific critiques of what we should be doing or are not doing or might want to consider. But categorical condemnation doesn't help anyone. It doesn't solve the problem. It just divides people and prevents us from having that essential unity to make sure the strategy works.

I have been critical of a number of the President's policies on the international stage. I haven't always agreed with him. But if one is going to disagree with the President or disagree with a colleague about something as important as a strategy to defeat what most people believe is the biggest threat to the civilized world, you should be very specific. Unity demands that you be specific. We don't have time for just words and finger pointing. We need a bipartisan approach to this challenge.

So we do need bipartisanship. We need sober and serious deliberation, and we also need spirited debate. I am not advocating that someone doesn't criticize the policy or engage in a very heated exchange with someone who has a different point of view. But it has to be a debate, and it has to be an engagement that yields a result. And the result is a policy and a strategy that is going to be effective and that has some degree of substantial unity.

A lot of our allies look at the squabbles here in Washington and wonder how serious we are about this fight. If all we do is just comment and answer reporters' questions, maybe go to a hearing once in a while, that is OK, but this policy is going to take a lot more than that. Some of our allies look at our failure to unite behind a common strategy and wonder whether the United States will be an enduring partner for as long as it takes to eliminate ISIS from the planet—not just to defeat them on the battlefield but to destroy them. A lot of these allies, I am afraid, are wishing for more Senator Vandenberg or at least more Vandenberg-Roosevelt days, when someone could disagree almost violently about domestic policy or even an aspect of our security, but at some point you

came together and said: We are going to move forward with this strategy and work together.

In November of last year, the President outlined a multipart strategy to address the threat posed by ISIS. He spoke about the airstrike campaign in Iraq and Syria, which now involves 11 countries and has yielded more than 8,000 airstrikes as of last week. Those strikes have taken out ISIS leaders. They have taken out financiers, bomb makers, foreign fighters and foreign fighter recruiters.

Of course, most recently—just last week, just before the horrific news about Paris—we were told the man responsible for the beheadings of ISIS hostages had, in fact, been killed. That was a good result for the civilized world. We also heard from the President at that time—and since that time—of a 60-plus nation coalition.

Most recently, there have been hits on the tanker trucks bringing oil out of ISIS-held areas for sale on the black market, hits on communications equipment or weapons caches, and they have helped protect opposition fighters who cleared the way for significant territorial gains, especially by the Kurdish Peshmerga forces—great fighters in this battle. Reports now indicate that ISIS territorial holdings in Iraq and Syria have been diminished by as much as 25 percent in roughly the last year. CENTCOM's assessment—this isn't an assessment by a politician; this is CENTCOM—indicates that the refinery in the city of Tikrit has been largely retaken, as has been the city of Sinjar and a main road connecting ISIS strongholds in Raqqa and Mosul. These airstrikes are denying ISIS safe haven and significantly hindering their ability to move freely around areas where they operate.

So what have we heard over and over? Airstrikes alone will not win this. I agree with that. I get that. But airstrikes are moving the ball down the field in the sense that they are giving the opportunity to fighters on the ground and helping in other aspects of the strategy. So we have to continue the airstrikes. I hope people around here don't start saying: Well, airstrikes alone don't do the job; so let's stop the airstrikes. No, we have to continue them and, if necessary, for years—many years.

But this strategy is not just a military strategy. The President also outlined an effort to counter the financial networks that support ISIS, which gets funding from multiple sources. We know them: illicit oil sales, trafficking in antiquities and other goods, extortion of the local communities, and outside donations. The Department of Defense is targeting financiers for kinetic strikes, a fancy way of saying you are going to be taken out if you are a financier. Treasury has sanctioned a number of senior ISIS leaders and facilitators, cutting off access to the U.S. financial system. The strategy also includes measures to address foreign fighter recruitment and travel. We

are also working to expose ISIS's hypocritical propaganda which many Muslim leaders around the world have said is inconsistent with their religious values. It is clear there can be no enduring defeat of ISIS without remedies for the governance issues which created this space for extremism to fester.

In Iraq we are working to create an inclusive government that has a capability to counter ISIS. In Syria we need a negotiated political solution that ensures Bashar al-Assad—whose continued presence in Damascus has been a recruiting windfall for ISIS—has no role in the future of Syria and has to go. I have said that many times. I appreciate the fact that Secretary Kerry and his team have recognized these underlying problems and have worked to address them.

So while the administration has taken important steps, we know it is not enough. We know that. Recent events require an intensification of our efforts. I have critiqued this Syria policy for years and will continue to press the administration to do more on ISIS financing. We have to make sure ISIS can't pay their people's salaries. We have to cut off their financing so they can't operate, so they can't pay for propaganda, so they can't buy weapons, so they can't buy ammunition, and so they can't make the horrific IEDs that kill innocent civilians and soldiers. So we must continue this debate as Members of the Senate with the administration. Part of making sure we get the financing challenge in the right place is to confirm Mr. Adam Szubin, who would play a substantial determinative role in the Treasury Department.

So what do we do? It has been very difficult to get people focused on a bipartisan strategy. There is a lot more we can do. I believe the establishment of a bipartisan study group, comprised of experts and former government officials from both sides of the aisle, will be useful at this juncture. This group should be authorized by Congress, appropriated a modest amount of money for supporting its work, similar to the Iraq Study Group formed in 2006. The group should evaluate the nature of the ISIS threat as well as the conditions in Iraq and Syria that have allowed it to grow and evolve, and it should evaluate the military and nonmilitary options available to the United States to address this threat and the underlying conflicts and governance issues. There is a lot this group could do and contribute to what would be a stronger, bipartisan, unified policy. There are many outside experts whose careers of service in the Middle East, and civilian, military, and intelligence roles, offer a wealth of expertise. This group could conduct its work over a 6- to 9-month period and report back to Congress with its findings. If they could do it faster, we would certainly authorize and encourage them.

Initiating a bipartisan study doesn't mean we should press pause on our current efforts. Members of Congress need

to continue supporting our soldiers, bringing the fight to ISIS with intensity and focus. We need to continue our efforts to reach a negotiated political transition in Syria and to encourage inclusivity and good governance in Iraq. If a Sunni soldier doesn't feel a part of his own government, they have to support a unifying government. We need to continue to press the growing humanitarian crisis emanating from Iraq and Syria, but I believe our efforts to defeat ISIS and our long-term goal of countering violent extremism would benefit from a serious bipartisan expert study group.

In closing, I will once again invoke the words of Senator Vandenberg. In the speech he gave in the 1940s, he said: "Here in the Senate we do not have perpetual agreement between the two sides of the aisle, but we have never failed to have basic unity when crisis calls."

"We have never failed to have basic unity when crisis calls." Crisis has called, right now. We know that. The crisis is ISIS and terrorism. We have to destroy ISIS and prevent terrorism from coming to our shores. We don't have time for politics. We don't have time for people talking in sound bites and pretending they are doing oversight. We need bipartisan work that will bring people together on a unified strategy. I urge my colleagues to reflect on the spirit of Vandenberg's seminal speech and to find a unified path forward that supports our long-standing partners and protects the security of this great Nation.

I will conclude with a picture. This is a picture of a little girl who can walk on a beach in freedom because of the bravery and sacrifice of our soldiers in World War II. If we are worthy—worthy of that sacrifice—we had better get our act together, come together—both parties—and make sure we have a bipartisan policy. We don't have time for finger-pointing. We have to come together and make sure we do all we can to have a sound, serious, bipartisan effort against ISIS and against terrorists. I believe that is a mission worthy of a great nation and certainly worthy of the sacrifice of the people who are on the battlefield right now—our soldiers, our fighters, as well as soldiers from around the world—and certainly worthy of the sacrifice that led to the beautiful expression of gratitude that the French people gave us just last year.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Ohio.

Mr. PORTMAN. Mr. President, I look forward to working with my colleague from Pennsylvania on that sound bipartisan policy he is talking about, and I want to talk a little bit about that today. He mentioned Senator Vandenberg, who famously said that partisanship ends at the water's edge. I think he would have been surprised by President Obama's comments beyond the water's edge in Turkey yesterday,

where he attacked Republicans who dared to talk about the need for us to ensure that we know who is coming to our shores and specifically with regard to refugees and having a proper vetting process in place. In fact, the House of Representatives—with over 40 votes from Democrats—I understand just voted on legislation today, which is a veto-proof majority, to say we ought to tighten requirements for people who want to come to our shores.

So we do need to work together. We do need to ensure that partisanship does not get in the way of working together as Americans to solve these problems. The partisan speech from across the ocean, well beyond our shores, was an example of where we are not meeting the standards Mr. Vandenberg set out.

As we all know now, last weekend ISIS terrorists killed over 130 innocent people in a series of very well-coordinated attacks in Paris. I would say these attacks did not occur in isolation. They were one but a series of attacks that occurred within a 24-hour period. Sometimes we forget the context of these attacks. The series of attacks left 43 people dead in Beirut, 18 people dead in Baghdad, countless wounded—all ISIS attacks. In the preceding month, ISIS took credit for a downed Russian airplane, claiming the lives of 224 innocent civilians. In September, Islamic extremists murdered nearly 50 in Yemen.

In fact, if we look back over the period of last year, several hundred civilians have been killed in nearly 30 attacks—incidents spanning the Middle East, North Africa, Europe, Asia, and North America. It is impossible to deny the growing threat that this extremism poses to our Nation, our allies, and our shared values and global stability.

Despite all of its great qualities, technology has bridged the oceans that once separated us from foreign turmoil and brought this threat to our communities and to our homes, the places we feel most safe. These attacks must serve as a wake-up call, not only about the nature of the enemy we face in ISIS but about the chaotic and dangerous state of the world and the dire need for American leadership to address it.

The attacks in Paris were not a "set-back," as the President said. They were a continuation of terrorist acts. They were a tragedy and a warning—a warning that if we fail to take a leadership role in combatting extremist behavior everywhere it resides, we will confront another tragedy here, on our shores.

We cannot develop a successful strategy to defeat ISIS unless we understand its true nature. There has been a lot of talk this week about Syrian refugees and whether they should be properly vetted. Of course they should, but we need to take a broader look at this issue and have a broader discussion about the roots of the problem: Why are these refugees streaming into Europe and coming here? We need to look

at not just the roots of the problem but what is the comprehensive strategy to address that problem.

We can't develop a successful strategy to defeat ISIS unless we understand its true nature. The President's insistence on downplaying the extremist threat and viewing each act in isolation is a fundamental flaw in his national security policy, in my belief. Referring to ISIS as the "JV team," as it seized nearly one-third of Iraq, publicly stating that ISIS has been "contained" just hours before the attack in Paris, and then referring to those attacks as a mere "setback" are all symptomatic of this failed policy, in my view.

I think this is a time for moral and strategic clarity. I think of Roosevelt and Churchill in World War II. I think of Kennedy and Reagan in the Cold War. Times of crisis require seeing threats as they are and not as we might wish them to be. Nothing would make me happier than if the President of the United States would provide this clarity.

We now know that the Paris attacks were planned in Syria, organized in Belgium, and carried out in France. This revelation is yet another confirmation of a key fact many of us have been saying for years: ISIS is a global threat with global reach and ambitions. It is motivated by a radical Islamist ideology that while rejected by the majority of Muslims, nevertheless holds great appeal to too many Muslims around the world. This ideology rejects any form of government that is not based on a radical interpretation of Sunni Islamism and holds that it is the duty of all Muslims to wage jihad against those who do not share their views—including of course the United States, including of course Israel, including of course the apostate regimes, as they call them, like America's Arab allies all through the Middle East.

The President continues to insist that the limited scale and scope of the administration's strategy to counter ISIS is working, but ISIS is not just a nuisance to be managed. It is a global threat to be defeated. Rather than containing ISIS to a geographic region, the conflict in Syria and Iraq has served as an incubator for terrorism. The territory ISIS holds provides a safe haven for these terrorists to train, organize, gather resources, and project power. Tens of thousands of foreign fighters from Europe, the United States, and around the world have flocked to the frontlines of the global jihad, and many return home with the training and resources necessary to carry out monstrous attacks. Meanwhile, a flood of refugees fleeing atrocities and persecution in Syria have provided ISIS operatives a community in which they can easily hide. Indeed, it appears at least one of the Paris attackers was someone who disguised himself as a refugee to get into Europe.

This enemy is cunning and knows it cannot defeat us on a conventional

fight on the battlefield, so it is employing asymmetric warfare to attack our values and degrade the collective security of our nations. They know they have access into every home and are using modern media technologies to exploit a disenfranchised minority. Their audience spans the globe. Think about this: If they only reach 0.0001 percent of the global population, then they have an army of over half a million potential terrorist recruits.

More intelligence cooperation between the United States and our allies is absolutely necessary to track suspected ISIS terrorists and prevent them from hiding their presence and launching attacks. The United States should also increase the scale and intensity of military operations against ISIS targets. If we can give the French the intelligence to be able to attack key ISIS targets in Syria, then why haven't we used that intelligence ourselves to degrade the enemy? We must intensify the use of our military. We must intensify U.S. Special Operations forces and local allies. We must defeat ISIS forces on the ground and retake territory.

As I have argued for a couple of years now, we cannot ignore the broader conflict in Syria and must lead our allies in pursuing a comprehensive strategy to not just defeat ISIS but to also achieve a negotiated resolution of the Syrian conflict.

Over 4 million people have fled Syria. The Government of Syria has murdered over 200,000 of its own citizens. I saw an interview today where someone was asking one of the refugees from Syria what their preference was—to go to Europe or to go to the United States. The refugees said what most refugees said: I want to go home, but I need a safe haven there.

We should have a no-fly zone in Syria and provide for people the ability to stay in their own country. Military force alone will not solve this problem. Obviously, we need to do more and engage the Muslim world in this effort, but it can shape the parameters of an acceptable solution.

These measures are all important, but they all stem from the recognition of something far more fundamental. In the absence of U.S. leadership, chaos and instability ensues. It takes active American leadership to reassure our allies, to deter our enemies, and to uphold the international order upon which global stability and prosperity depend. We should not be the world's policemen; I agree with that. It is more like being the world's sheriff, where you bring together a posse of like-minded nations. Whether it is the NATO countries with regard to Ukraine or whether it is our Sunni allies with regard to what is happening in the Middle East, we must be the sheriff who pulls the posse together. In the absence of that, in the absence of that leadership, we will not meet this challenge.

In the Middle East, the chaos we see is not just contained in Syria, and it is

not just confined to ISIS. As the United States prepares to provide billions in sanctions relief agreed to in the Iran nuclear deal, Iran has been very busy. Iran has sent ground troops into Syria as part of a new joint offensive with Assad, Russia, and the terrorist group Hezbollah. Iran has tested a ballistic missile, they have arrested several American citizens living in Iran, and they have threatened to wipe Israel off the map of the Middle East. Ayatollah Khamenei has now banned any further negotiations with the United States of America.

Meanwhile, Russian forces are conducting combat operations in the Middle East for the first time since 1941. Russia has launched a sustained air campaign—not really against ISIS, as Putin claims, but almost entirely against U.S.-backed rebel groups and other moderate groups opposed to both ISIS and Assad. There is discussion of them targeting ISIS more. I hope that is true. In Europe, Russian forces continue to occupy portions of eastern Ukraine and continue to occupy Crimea. After a brief lull, violence is once again rising, as Russian efforts to undermine the democratic pro-Western government of Ukraine persist. Russia also continues to wage an unprecedented information war that leverages all elements of national power to confuse, demoralize, and mislead.

In the meantime, hundreds of thousands of refugees fleeing conflict in the Middle East stream into Europe, threatening to overwhelm Europe's ability to vet and process them and create opportunities for terrorists to evade detection and conduct attacks like those we saw in Paris.

In the Pacific, China is building artificial islands in international waters to reinforce its claims in the South China Sea.

This is the world that unenforced redlines and leading from behind have created. It is a world where the very structure of international order is under siege and where the direction of our collective future is brought into question. Of course, this trend is not irreversible, but the United States must first step out of the shadows.

Ronald Reagan spoke memorably about peace through strength. We must be unambiguous in our support of our allies, and we must be clear-eyed and resolute in standing up to our foes. This is the path to peace and security for us and for the world.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Alabama.

PRESIDENT'S REFUGEE RESETTLEMENT PLAN

Mr. SESSIONS. Mr. President, I appreciate very much the remarks of Senator PORTMAN. I think he is touching on some critically important issues that all of us need to fully understand. As always, his insights are valuable and worthy of serious consideration by all.