

There is Hamas, which gets approximately 90 percent of its military budget from Iran and benefits from Iranian training and weapons. Then there is Hezbollah, the terrorist organization on Israel's northern border with Lebanon, which is also armed and financed by Iran. Then there are the Houthis in Yemen, who are backed by Iran and who, in the aftermath of October 7, fired missiles and drones headed in the direction of Israel, likely at Iran's direction. There are the Shia militias who are attacking American soldiers in Iraq and Syria, the Palestinian Islamic Jihad, and the list literally goes on.

As I said on the floor last week, through its proxies, Iran is literally getting away with murder. One has to wonder what the Middle East would look like today if Iran hadn't spent decades funding and arming terrorist organizations. Nor are Iran's malign activities confined to the Middle East. Iran has provided Russia with drones to use in its war of aggression against Ukraine, and now it appears that Iran is helping Russia to build a drone manufacturing facility to dramatically increase Russia's drone supply.

Meanwhile, Russia's Foreign Minister was in Iran last week and met with the Iranian President. A Reuters article on the meeting reported:

Russia and Iran are firming up bilateral relations in a 'trusting' atmosphere, Russia's foreign ministry said . . .

Mr. President, Iran doesn't just represent a danger to peace and stability in the Middle East and beyond. It is directly responsible for much of the strife that we see there. And in the wake of the October 7 attack and Israel's military response, Iran has threatened Israel with escalation and a war on "multiple fronts."

It is time to make clear to Iran that its deadly activities can't continue. The Biden administration must clearly articulate to the Iranians that if they do not stand down or if they greenlight any escalation against Israel, the United States and our allies will respond. In the meantime, the administration should be exploring all avenues for ending Iran's career as a state sponsor of terror. Israel and the Arab world deserve a chance to move forward, free of Iran's malign meddling.

President Biden and his administration do not have the strongest track record on Iran—witness their misguided attempts to reboot the Obama administration's problematic nuclear deal and the decision to unfreeze \$6 billion in Iranian funds as part of a deal to free American prisoners. The President did, finally, listen to calls from myself and others in the wake of Hamas's attack to once again freeze that \$6 billion, and the administration was right to move more U.S. forces into the region to deter escalation and to respond to attacks on U.S. troops.

But it is clear that a lot more needs to be done if we want to stop Iran from funding terror. I am disappointed that the President has continued in his

choice of Jack Lew as Ambassador to Israel. Mr. Lew played a key role in developing and carrying out the Obama administration's misguided nuclear deal, and his nomination does not exactly send the message to Iran that the Biden administration will be cracking down on Iranian warmongering.

Thirty-three Americans died as a result of Hamas's October 7 act, and as many as 10 Americans are still likely trapped as hostages, with hundreds of other Americans still stuck in Gaza. Meanwhile, a number of American military personnel have been injured in drone attacks in Iraq and Syria carried out by Iran-backed groups. Add the more than 1,400 individuals who died in Hamas's October 7 attack and countless other terrorism-related deaths in the Middle East and it becomes very clear that Iran's hands are stained with the blood of thousands.

If there is to be any hope of peace in the Middle East, if there is to be any hope for a brighter and more secure future for Israelis and Palestinians and many others, then Iran's career as a state sponsor of terror must be ended. And I will do everything I can with my colleagues in Congress to see that that is accomplished. And I hope the Biden administration will do the same. It is time to end Iran's reign of terror.

ANTI-SEMITISM

Mr. President, before I yield the floor, I want to take just a moment to talk about the disturbing displays of anti-Semitism we are seeing around the world and, appallingly—appallingly—right here at home. From celebrations of Hamas's attack to threats of violence directed against Jewish individuals and organizations and a U.S. Senator, the weeks since October 7 have contained horrifying echoes of a very dark time in human history.

The spectacle of a mob storming a runway to hunt for Jewish passengers is a sight I never thought that I would see in my lifetime, and I pray it is a sight that we will never see again. But preventing this kind of evil from expanding its foothold is going to require action on our part: a willingness to stand up and to call it out and to affirm that this kind of hatred has no place in a civilized society.

In the days to come, I hope that leaders around the world will make it very clear that anti-Semitism's day is over and neither our Nation nor the world community will ever allow the dark history of the 20th century to be repeated in the 21st.

I yield the floor.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will call the roll.

The senior assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

U.S. SUPREME COURT

Mr. DURBIN. Mr. President, last night, I announced that the Senate Judiciary Committee, which I chair, will vote to subpoena Harlan Crow, Robin Arkley, and Leonard Leo—two billionaire megadonors and one of their enablers—who sit at the center of the ethical crisis currently gripping the U.S. Supreme Court.

This vote is the next step in the committee's ongoing investigation on the ethics of the Supreme Court. It comes only after Mr. Crow refused to comply with committee requests and Mr. Leo and Arkley outright stonewalled the committee in the exercise of our constitutional authority.

For years—years—reports of ethical misconduct by individual Justices on the Court have raised serious concerns; but over the past year, a series of investigative reports have brought the long-simmering issue to a boil. Story after story has emerged about lavish gifts and luxury trips that Supreme Court Justices shamelessly accepted and failed to disclose. The reported behavior is unworthy of anyone in public office, and it has led to an historic loss of public confidence in the Supreme Court.

Some background here is necessary. Harlan Crow is a billionaire and a Republican megadonor. He first met Justice Clarence Thomas in the mid-1990s after Thomas's confirmation to the Supreme Court. Not long after they met, Crow began to shower Justice Thomas with lavish gifts, flights on his private jet, invitations to an all-male, invitation-only private club, and a \$19,000 Bible that once belonged to Frederick Douglass.

We know about these initial gifts because Justice Thomas listed them and disclosed them on the financial disclosure forms he was required to submit under Federal law, but those disclosures abruptly stopped in 2004, almost 20 years ago, after a Los Angeles Times report questioned their propriety.

We have since learned that Justice Thomas since continued to receive gifts from Crow that are staggering in both their number and value—from additional flights on Crow's private jets to nearly annual stays at Crow's luxury camps and private clubs, to vacations on Crow's superyacht. Justice Thomas simply stopped disclosing these gifts to the American people.

But Harlan Crow is not the only billionaire bankrolling the lavish lifestyle of a Supreme Court Justice, and Justice Clarence Thomas is not the only Justice to accept improper gifts.

Let's turn to Robin Arkley. In 2008, Arkley hosted Justice Samuel Alito in his luxury fishing lodge in Alaska. There, Alito fished, flew on the lodge's bush planes, and enjoyed wine costing upwards of \$1,000 a bottle—\$1,000 a bottle. Justice Alito included none of this on his financial disclosure—nothing.

That 2008 luxury fishing trip was arranged by a man named Leonard Leo. Leo has been a longtime leader of the

conservative Federalist Society and other far-right organizations. He is the key architect of the rightwing campaign to take over the Federal courts, facilitating relationships between political donors and Justices, championing conservative political causes, and wielding a shadowy network of influence over Federal and State judges.

How can a Supreme Court Justice accept such lavish gifts, let alone fail to disclose them to the American people? The answer is very simple: The Supreme Court of the United States, the highest court in the land, does not have an enforceable code of conduct. Unlike employees of the executive and legislative branches—virtually all of them—unlike Members of Congress and all other Federal judges, the nine Supreme Court Justices alone decide for themselves what conduct is and is not appropriate.

More than 11 years ago, I asked Chief Justice Roberts to adopt a binding code of conduct for all Supreme Court Justices. I have renewed that request repeatedly this year, including last month when I sat literally physically next to the Chief Justice and spoke at the Judicial Conference. Some Justices have now publicly joined the call for an ethics code. I do believe the majority of the Justices on the Supreme Court are embarrassed by these disclosures and want this to come to an end.

So far, Chief Justice John Roberts and the Court have failed to do anything. In the face of the Supreme Court's failure, the Senate Judiciary Committee has exercised its constitutional right and duty to investigate this ethical crisis in order to craft and advance legislation to address it.

Beginning in May, the committee has sent letters to a number of these billionaires, activists, and organizations connected to the undisclosed gifts and travel. I am sorry to say I happen to believe that we have just seen a small amount of the lavish gifts that have gone to the members of the Court. Thanks to the investigative efforts of journalists, as well as the Senate Finance Committee, we have discovered some of these things, but, sadly, I believe there is much more out there.

We are seeking details about what exactly has been given to these Supreme Court Justices as well as how certain individuals and groups that have business before the Court gained such enormous access to the private lives of these Justices. Getting this information is critical.

While there has been reporting on the Justices' ethical failures, I am sorry to say that there is more information out there we need to find.

Just last week—listen to this—the Senate Finance Committee revealed that yet another wealthy benefactor, Anthony Walters, had forgiven a \$267,000 interest-only loan to Justice Thomas to purchase a luxury RV. Justice Thomas failed to disclose that.

So you understand what happened: The Justice, who seems to fancy these

RVs, had his eye on one that cost over a quarter of a million dollars. Mr. Walters agreed to loan him the money to buy the RV. Justice Thomas made one annual payment of interest on that debt, and then the debt was forgiven. And so the RV is his, a gift from Mr. Walters.

While the loan itself had been the subject of prior reporting, it was only through the Finance Committee's investigation—and the cooperation of Mr. Walters, let me add—that the favorable terms of the loan and its ultimate forgiveness came to light. In contrast to Mr. Walters' willing cooperation, Leonard Leo, Harlan Crow, and Robin Arkley—more of these fawning billionaires—have produced no substantive response and have otherwise stalled the Judiciary Committee's investigation.

Instead, their responses offer a host of baseless arguments that ignore the committee's constitutional authority to inform its legislative efforts. Their defensive and dismissive response make you wonder, What are they trying to hide?

I am not going to stand idly by as these fawning billionaires, with interests before the Court, use their immense wealth to buy private access to the Justices and then deny the Senate Judiciary Committee information to which we are lawfully entitled. That is why the committee will vote to authorize subpoenas to these individuals.

This has been a long battle for many of us, and my colleague Senator WHITEHOUSE has shown extraordinary leadership on this issue as well.

Eleven years ago, it came to my attention that the Supreme Court just didn't have a code of conduct. How can we justify this? Nine Justices on the highest Court in the land, no code of conduct. What about the other Federal judges? They are bound by a code of conduct. If the Justices on the Supreme Court merely assumed the same code of conduct, with some modifications, we would at least say they are making a step in the right direction, but they ignored it, and they resisted it. In fact, Justice Alito and Justice Thomas have been belligerent when they have been confronted with these issues; that it is no one's business but their own as to what they do with their private lives.

Unfortunately, when you accept a post in public service, that is not the case. Our private lives become part of that public service. And certainly, if there is any suggestion of a conflict in a situation where individuals—billionaires—who have an interest before the Court are buying access and time with these Justices, that is certainly relevant to our work in the Senate Judiciary Committee.

Mr. President, as a member of the committee, you understand we have gone through this process very deliberately and patiently and slowly and reached a point where we believe subpoenaing this information is the only

way to get the facts before the American people.

I am hoping that this is successful; I hope that it becomes bipartisan; and I hope that we bring to this Court the type of reputation which it has enjoyed over the years.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. PADILLA). The Senator from Alabama.

ISRAEL

Mr. TUBERVILLE. Mr. President, I come to the floor today to express my strong—very strong—support for Israel. On October 7, Israel was suddenly and deliberately attacked by a group of terrorists. Now, they didn't attack military institutions; they attacked citizens—citizens in Israel. It has been described by some as Israel's 9/11 or Israel's Pearl Harbor.

They killed women and children. They filmed themselves, and they broadcast it on the internet. They were proud. They were very proud of what they were doing. They killed more than 1,400 innocent people. This includes more than 30 Americans. Sometimes that is forgotten by our mainstream media.

This is the largest terrorist killing of Americans since 9/11. More than 100 people—100 people—are still held hostage by Hamas, and this also includes Americans.

So we need to do two things: First, we need to get the hostages out. That is very, very important. It has been too long. Then, we need to ensure that this never happens again.

You know, Israel can do both of these things. Israel has a highly—a very highly—advanced military and a highly advanced economy. The only way to ensure that Hamas cannot ever attack again, as Israel says, is to wipe them from the face of the Earth.

This is Israel's mission, and we hear this from their leaders every day. The role of the United States in this conflict should be to support and supply.

So let's first talk about support. Over the last 2 weeks, we have seen the left-wing protest against Israel and support of Hamas. It is hard to believe, but it is very, very, very true. We have seen them overseas in London and in Sydney, but we have also seen them here in the United States on college campuses.

To me, that is absolutely disgusting. I will just mention a few examples. Students at Harvard—at Harvard, mind you—defended Hamas for what they did. Next, they will be complaining about not being able to get jobs. I wonder why they won't be able to get jobs, especially in places like Wall Street.

Students at the University of California, Long Beach, handed out fliers with pictures of Hamas. The list goes on and on. But this tells us a lot about the state of our education in this country.

I was involved in education for 40 years. I can understand it. These kids don't know the first thing about the Middle East or about foreign policy. A