You know,

Mr. Speaker, it is sad that the chains

of bondage are often too light to be felt

until they are too strong to be broken.

History has shown humanity to be susceptible

to malignant dangers that approach

inaudibly and nestle among us

until the day of sudden calamity comes

and finds us empty-handed, brokenhearted,

and without excuse. The ominous

intersection of jihadist terrorism

and nuclear proliferation has been inextricably

and relentlessly rolling toward

America and the free world for

decades. Mr. Speaker, this menace is

now nearly upon us, and it represents

the gravest short-term threat to the

peace and security of the human family

in the world today.

The Islamic Republic of Iran, due to

the jihadist ideology of its leaders, represents

a particularly significant danger

to America and her allies. It was 31

years ago that the Iranian Revolution

occurred, and that nation’s relentless

march to jihad was born. Shortly

thereafter, Mahmoud Ahmadinejad and

a few other Islamic revolutionaries led

a student revolt that shocked and defied

the world when they kidnapped

and held 53 American hostages for 444

days. Then during the Iraq-Iran war,

Mr. Speaker, the Iranian regime again

shocked the entire world with its brazen

barbarity when reports surfaced

that Iran was clearing the way for its

tanks by using a force they referred to

as the Basij. This was a phalanx formation

of child soldiers and old men that

they would recruit from the streets

with promises of glorious rewards for

their self-sacrifice. This was signified

by plastic keys that were given to the

children to wear around their necks in

order for them to unlock the gates of

heaven as they marched to their own

bloody deaths.

Between 1980 and 1988, Mr. Speaker,

Iran’s radical leaders sacrificed an estimated

100,000 innocent Iranian children

in this gruesome process. Row upon

row would be marched into battle, falling

under the rapid fire of the enemy’s

machine guns and clearing minefields

with their own bodies to make way for

Iranian tanks. This, Mr. Speaker, is

the ideology that gives rise to Iran’s

now-President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad.

Those radicalized, brainwashed, Basij

forces have now come of age and are

among Mr. Ahmadinejad’s strongest

supporters. And today the President of

the Islamic Republic of Iran has now

led his Nation to become the world’s

largest sponsor of terrorism.

President Ahmadinejad was speaking

to the whole world when he said, ‘‘And

you for your part, if you would like to

have good relations with the Iranian

nation in the future, recognize the Iranian

nation’s greatness and bow down

before the greatness of the Iranian nation

and surrender. If you don’t accept

to do this, the Iranian nation will later

force you to surrender and bow down.’’

How can we possibly trust such a

man to have his finger on a button that

could launch nuclear missiles aimed at

our families? And how would we negotiate

with a nuclear Iran when their

jihadist ideology considers Armageddon

a good thing and believes that it is

God’s will for them to annihilate

America and Israel? Despite claiming

to desire peace, Ahmadinejad has consistently

undermined every advancement

toward peace in the Middle East

by supporting terrorist groups such as

Hezbollah, Hamas, and Shiite insurgents,

and militias in Iraq responsible

for killing and maiming U.S. and coalition

forces and countless innocent citizens.

What possesses us, Mr. Speaker, to

believe that they would not do the very

same with nuclear weapons? Mr.

Speaker, Iran has recently begun to enrich

uranium to beyond 20 percent,

which is four times the amount necessary

for peaceful domestic energy

production. It also means that they are

70 percent of the way to weapons-grade

uranium capable of fueling nuclear

warheads. Iran’s leaders still claim

that they’re just enriching uranium for

solely peaceful intentions, Mr. Speaker.

But the IAEA put it this way: ‘‘We

are being asked to believe that Iran is

building uranium enrichment capacity

to make fuel for reactors that do not

exist.’’

Over the last several years, Iran has

shifted its stories with each well-documented

discovery about its enrichment

efforts by the IAEA. First it claimed it

had no centrifuge program whatsoever.

Then it claimed it had only done a limited

amount of centrifuge testing. And

now we know, in fact, that Iran possesses

not a few but thousands of centrifuges.

Mr. Speaker, if the Iranian enrichment

program is only for producing

nuclear power plants for fuel, why have

they continuously deceived the world

and hidden it for three decades?

With its languishing economy and

literally centuries worth of natural gas

reserves, Iran’s claim that it seeks nuclear

capability solely for peaceful purpose

is ridiculous beyond my ability to

express, Mr. Speaker. Iran has disregarded

three previous rounds of security

council sanctions and has repeatedly

misled the IAEA.

They have built underground enrichment

facilities at that Natanz and the

newly discovered underground facility

at Qom, and they’ve continued to test

the long-range ballistic missiles that

could be used to deliver a nuclear payload.

Mr. Speaker, back in 2005, I stood on

this floor and called for Iran to be referred

to the United Nations Security

Council. At that time Iran had fewer

than 150 centrifuges. Today the Iranian

program now includes over 8,000 centrifuges.

And only a total of maybe

3,000, Mr. Speaker, is the commonly accepted

figure for a nuclear enrichment

program that can be used as a platform

for a full scale industrial program capable

of churning out enough enriched

uranium for dozens of nuclear war

heads.

The IAEA reports that Iran has already

manufactured enough uranium

hexafluoride to ultimately manufacture

at least 20 nuclear warheads.

It’s also been reported that Iran has

experimented with polonium, Mr.

Speaker. Now, Mr. Speaker, polonium

is a radioactive isotope with only one

known purpose on this entire Earth,

and that is to trigger a nuclear explosion.

Iran has a multiple medium-range

ballistic missile program. Based on the

success of their medium range Shahab

III, Iran is now attempting to develop

intercontinental ballistic missiles, the

Shahab IV, the Shahab V and the

Shahab VI, and the Simorgh two-stage

rocket.

The regime only last year successfully

launched its first satellite. Mr.

Speaker, this is the same technology

necessary to integrate a nuclear warhead

and an intercontinental ballistic

missile.

Now, Mr. Speaker, this brings me to

something even more ominous. There

is growing evidence that Iran is pursuing

a nuclear high altitude electromagnetic

pulse weapon, or an EMP, capability.

An EMP attack on America,

Mr. Speaker, would consist of a nuclear

blast detonated at high altitude which

would instantaneously generate an

electromagnetic pulse that would be

spread out over our homeland at the

speed of light with devastating effect.

In evidence of this, Iran has practiced

launching a mobile ballistic missile

from a vessel in the Caspian Sea. It has

also tested high altitude explosions

using the Shahab III, a test mode consistent

with an EMP attack and described

the tests as successful. Experts

have no other explanation for this type

of test than that it was an effort to develop

an EMP capability.

Now, Mr. Speaker, it would only take

one such weapon properly designed and

delivered to critically damage our

country’s electrical grid. According to

some experts in such a scenario, an estimated

percentage of 70 to 90 percent

of the population of the United States

would become unsustainable.

Mr. Speaker, it is impossible for me

to even wrap my mind around that figure

or that scenario. Now, for those

who are unfamiliar with the high altitude

electromagnetic pulse threat, let

me extensively quote for a moment Dr.

William Graham, the chairman of the

EMP Commission who testified before

the House Armed Services Committee

on the threat to the United States

from an EMP attack. He states: ‘‘EMP

is one of a small number of threats

that can hold our society at risk of catastrophic

consequences. The electromagnetic

fields produced by EMP

weapons deployed with the intent to

produce EMP have a high likelihood of

damaging electrical power systems,

electronics and information systems

upon which American society depends.

Their effects on critical infrastructures

could be sufficient to qualify as catastrophic

to the Nation.

A determined adversary can achieve

an EMP attack without really having a

high level of sophistication. For example,

an adversary would not have to

have long-range ballistic missiles to

conduct an EMP attack against the

United States. Such an attack could be

launched from a freighter off the U.S.

coast using a short- or medium-range

missile to loft a nuclear warhead to

high altitude.

Mr. Speaker, I just don’t know how

to put it any clearer. Terrorists sponsored

by a rogue state could potentially

execute such an attack, and they

could do so without even revealing

their identity.

Mr. Speaker, an effective EMP attack

on America would send this Nation

back to the horse and buggy era

without the horse and buggy. For terrorists,

this is their ultimate goal. An

EMP, I am afraid, could be the ultimate

asymmetric weapon.

Now, Mr. Speaker, there are two

things in history that have supercharged

worldwide recruitment and incitement

for jihad. First was the taking

of our hostages in Iran. And second

was the tragedy that occurred on 9/11.

A nuclear attack on Israel or America

would activate and accelerate jihad

worldwide in ways that we can only

begin to imagine. If Iran is allowed to

develop nuclear weapons, our entire

world reality changes, Mr. Speaker.

First, containing nuclear proliferation

becomes almost hopeless. President

Obama’s idyllic vision of working

toward a nuclear-free world would be

absolutely dead. Iran is a threshold

state, and its nuclear program is already

on the brink of catalyzing nuclear

proliferation throughout the entire

Middle East. Egypt, Saudi Arabia,

Turkey all have signaled their interest

or intent to become a nuclear power if

Iran does. Ahmadinejad is in fact

quoted as saying, ‘‘Iran is ready to

transfer nuclear know-how to other Islamic

nations due to their need.’’

A nuclear Iran also means the Arab-

Israeli peace process would be dead.

Our security assurances to our allies in

the region would be drastically weakened,

and America might well be forced

to extend its nuclear umbrella, Mr.

Speaker.

Moreover, any leverage over the Iranian

dictatorship that we might once

have possessed will now be completely

lost.

Mr. Speaker, if Iran attains nuclear

weapons capability despite our demands

that its nuclear program be dismantled,

what reason will that regime

ever have again to believe America’s

word actually means anything?

Unfortunately, Mr. Speaker, there is

more. Iran is the world’s largest state

sponsor of terrorism, and it continues

to brazenly provide support, whether

finances, weapons or warfighters, to its

proxies, including Hamas, Hezbollah

and other jihadist terror groups.

It should send a chill down our spines

to consider that the same willingness

Iran has demonstrated to proliferate

missile technology to its terrorist

proxies would undoubtedly also become

a willingness to proliferate nuclear

weapons technology to those same terrorists.

Mr. Speaker, in 1988, Osama bin

Laden called it a religious duty for al

Qaeda to acquire nuclear weapons. Admiral

Mike Mullen, the Chairman of

the Joint Chiefs of Staff has said, ‘‘My

worst nightmare is terrorists with nuclear

weapons. Not only do I know they

are trying to get them, but I know they

will use them.’’

This is the greatest danger of all, Mr.

Speaker. If Iran does step over that nuclear

threshold, rogue regimes and terrorists

world over will then have the

access to these monstrous weapons. No

wonder the State of Israel is concerned.

Mr. Speaker, Israel remains the truest

friend America has in this world.

And yet, in recent days, Israel has received

more open rebuke from the

Obama administration for plans to

build houses in Jerusalem than Iran

has received for building a secret uranium

enrichment facility to build nuclear

weapons that would threaten the

entire world. It astonishes me, Mr.

Speaker. And may I remind this administration

that Jerusalem is not a settlement.

It is the capital of the nation

of Israel founded and built by the ancient

people of Israel 3,000 years ago.

And when this administration criticizes

Israel, do they not understand

that Israel’s enemies and ours see it as

weakening of the Israeli-American alliance

and an opportunity to boldly advance

violence against Israel and the

hegemony of our common enemies in

the Middle East.

Israel and America need each other

now as much as we ever have, Mr.

Speaker, because nuclear Iran presents

a threat to the paradigm of freedom for

the entire world, and it truly represents

a fundamental existential

threat to the State of Israel.

A Jewish author, Primo Levi, was

once asked what he had learned from

the Holocaust. He replied, When a man

with a gun says he’s going to kill you,

believe him.

At this moment, Iranian President

Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, a man who, in

the same breath, both denies the Holocaust

ever occurred and then threatens

to make it happen again, is arrogantly

holding a gun with which he vows to

wipe the State of Israel off the map.

In June of 2008, Ahmadinejad again

made clear where he stands. ‘‘Israel,’’

he declared, ‘‘is about to die and will

soon be erased from the geographical

scene.’’

Ahmadinejad has also said, ‘‘Anybody

who recognizes Israel will burn in

the fire of the Islamic nation’s fury.’’

Sheik Hassan Nasrallah, the leader of

Hezbollah, said, ‘‘We have discovered

how to hit the Jews, where they are

most vulnerable. The Jews love life, so

that is what we will take away from

them. We are going to win because

they love life and we love death.’’

Mr. Speaker, indeed it seems that

Hitler’s ghost still walks through the

streets of Tehran.

In December 2001, former Iranian

President Ali Akbar Rafsanjani was

commenting on the possibility of an

Israeli retaliation after an Iranian nuclear

strike. He said, ‘‘The use of an

atomic bomb against Israel would destroy

Israel completely while the same

against the Islamic world would only

cause damages. Such a scenario is not

inconceivable.’’

Mr. Speaker, the small nation of

Israel could fit geographically into my

congressional district almost three

times. An Iranian Shahab III missile

can reach Israel in 12 minutes. If Iran

can develop and attach a medium-size

nuclear warhead to that missile, Tel

Aviv or Jerusalem could be ashes within

15 minutes after the missile was

launched from Iran. If the warhead was

detonated above the atmosphere over

Israel in an EMP attack, the entire

Jewish nation could be completely incapacitated.

Israel missile defenses

would only have about a 50–50 chance

of knocking down even just the first of

such missiles.

Mr. Speaker, Israeli Prime Minister

Golda Meir said many years ago: ‘‘In

our long war with the Arabs, Israel has

always had a secret weapon: no alternative.’’

Mr. Speaker, Israel has very few options

and no margin for error.

Israel understands that Iran is currently

ruled by a regime whose present

leaders embrace an evil, poisonous ideology

that causes mothers to leap for

joy when their children blow themselves

to pieces so they can kill other

innocent human beings. And a responsible

Israeli leader facing a mortal

threat from a nuclear armed terrorist

state will do whatever is necessary to

defend his people.

Mr. Speaker, Israel will not be made

to walk silently into the gas chambers

again.

And when the day comes when the

head of Israeli intelligence tells the

prime minister that Iran is on the

brink of an operational nuclear weapons

capability, Israel will act, and in

their own self-defense, and no one will

have any right to blame them.

So let me say this, Mr. Speaker: If

and when the people of Israel find

themselves with no time left and no

choice but to defend themselves by

taking preemptive military action to

prevent Iran from gaining nuclear

weapons, the Obama administration

will owe an apology to the whole world

for failing to act, but especially to

Israel for leaving them with no choice

but to act on behalf of all of us.

America and the western world will

then have a moral responsibility to

stand with Israel in whatever follows.

Mr. Speaker, there is a moment in

the life of every problem when it is big

enough to be seen by a reasonable person

and still small enough to be solved.

Almost 5 years ago, I stood at this podium

and called upon the United States

to recognize that Iran was pursuing nuclear

weapons and should be referred to

the Security Council. Soon thereafter,

Iran announced it had enriched uranium

using an array of 164 centrifuges.

Today, Iran has over 8,000 centrifuges.

Mr. Speaker, our predictive timetables

have also often been wrong altogether.

Both North Korea and Iran

stunned the international community

with the extent and rapidity of their

development of missile capabilities. In

1998, the intelligence community said

North Korea was years away from developing

long range missiles. And then

on August 31 of that same year, North

Korea launched a Taepodong-1 missile

that landed between Japan and Hawaii.

And of course, Mr. Speaker, North

Korea now has nuclear weapons.

Today it is also clear that the 2007

NIE report on Iran woefully underestimated

the urgency of the Iranian nuclear

threat. My point, Mr. Speaker, is

so very simple. We are running out of

time to prevent Iran from gaining nuclear

weapons.

But where is the Obama administration?

While some of the greatest security

threats in a generation are rushing

upon this one, the Obama administration

has been busy insulting our

friends and emboldening our enemies,

all the while taxing and borrowing and

spending our economy into such a

place of vulnerability that our capacity

to respond to these threats in the future

will be demonstrably diminished.

And when it comes to the growing incontrovertible

danger of a nuclear

armed Iran, this administration has

been asleep at the wheel, Mr. Speaker.

During Mr. Obama’s entire tenure,

the administration’s policy toward

Iran has been appeasement, denial, broken

deadlines, and talk of sanctions.

And now just today—just today—the

Wall Street Journal reports that the

administration actually plans to soften

its position on sanctions toward Iran.

Mr. Speaker, it is becoming very

clear that the Obama administration

has now embraced an unspoken policy

of allowing Iran to develop nuclear

weapons and is even now preparing to

embrace a policy of containment afterwards.

This administration’s refusal to

make the hard choices now translates

into capitulation and acquiescence to

Iran’s fanatical goal. What an

inexplicably naive and inexpressibly

dangerous policy.

Whatever challenges there are in

dealing with Iran today, Mr. Speaker,

they will pale in comparison to the

dangers of dealing with them after

they have gained nuclear weapons. Because

once that threshold is crossed,

Mr. Speaker, Iran will be able to pass

that technology and those weapons on

to the most dangerous terrorists in the

world. And this administration and so

many to come will face the horrifying

reality of nuclear jihad. And those of

us who have been blessed to walk in

the sunlight of freedom in this day will

be consigning our children to walk in

the minefield of nuclear terrorism tomorrow.

If the Obama administration

allows this to happen, Mr. Speaker, future

generations will remember it as a

treacherous betrayal of the entire

human family.

Seven decades ago, a murderous ideology

arose in the world. The dark

shadow of the Nazi swastika fell first

upon the Jewish people of Germany.

And because the world did not respond

in time to such an evil, it began to

spread across Europe until it lit the

fires of World War II and the hell on

earth that followed. It saw atomic

bombs fall on cities and over 50 million

people dead worldwide. All because,

Mr. Speaker, the world’s free people did

not respond in time.

History has taught us that evil

ideologies must ultimately be defeated

in the minds of human beings, but in

the meantime they must often be defeated

upon the battlefield.

Mr. Speaker, our choice with Iran is

no longer a choice between the way the

world is now and the way the world

might be after a military strike to prevent

them from gaining nuclear weapons.

No, our ultimate choice now is between

what the world will be like after

a preemptive strike on Iran or what

the world will be like after Iran gains

nuclear weapons.

Mr. Speaker, we are out of time.

America must absolutely make the

necessary decision to impede Iran’s nuclear

program through the immediate

imposition of comprehensive, coordinated

and crippling economic sanctions,

both unilaterally and in concert

with our allies, to strike at Iran’s petroleum

trade and its finances. These

actions must be taken regardless of our

success or failure within the United

Nations Security Council.

We must also actively work to support

Iran’s courageous and noble dissidents

and assure them that America

stands with them in their quest for democracy

and freedom. Their protests

represent what may be one of the very

last remaining hopes for peacefully destabilizing

the regime and sending it

toppling into the dust of history once

and for all.

But finally, Mr. Speaker, let there be

no mistake. It must be unequivocally

clear to the radical leaders of Iran that

military action will occur if they continue

in their maniacal pursuit of nuclear

weapons.

For these reasons, I have introduced

a bill called the Peace Through

Strength Act which would express support

for the Iranian dissidents and

would significantly expand economic

sanctions against Iran and those nations

that continue to do business with

Iran including in banking and in oil.

My bill would also require that the

Secretary of Defense would be required

to develop and maintain viable military

options to prevent the successful

development or deployment of a nuclear

weapons capability by the Government

of Iran.

So in closing, Mr. Speaker, may I remind

us all that we face an enemy in

jihad that’s even more insidious than

Soviet communism and we live in a

time when a terrorist state is on the

brink of developing nuclear weapons. I

think Brink Lindsey said it best. He

said, ‘‘Here is the grim truth. We are

only one act of madness away from a

social cataclysm unlike anything our

country has ever known. After a handful

of such acts, who knows what kind

of civilizational breakdown might be in

store?’’

Mr. Speaker, I am afraid that the

last window we will ever have to stop

Iran from gaining nuclear weapons is

very rapidly closing.

So I end my comments tonight with

Winston Churchill’s prescient warning

to the leaders of his day. He said, ‘‘If

you will not fight for the right when

you can easily win without blood shed,

if you will not fight when your victory

will be sure and not too costly, you

may come to a moment when you have

to fight, with all the odds against and

only a precarious chance of survival.

There may be a worse moment. You

may have to fight when there is no

hope of victory because it is still better

to perish than to live as slaves.’’

Mr. Speaker, let us resolve for the

sake of our children and for future generations

that we of this generation will

do all within our power to prevent a

dark chapter in history being written

on our watch and to hasten a day when

Iran and its proxies will no longer be

able to threaten the world with nuclear

jihad, and when the persecuted and repressed

and noble citizens of Iran can

walk together with free peoples across

this world in the sunlight of human liberty.

God let it be, Mr. Speaker.