The single question I have for the witnesses regarding

Iran today is, what is left?

Because unless you have means to apply more pressure to Iran

diplomatically, politically, and economically, we are near the point

where other options will have to be considered. For a variety of reasons,

I think we would all like to avoid those options if we can.

Thanks to the good work done by the previous Congress and with

the support of the Obama administration, we have massively increased

the pressure applied by American economic and particularly

financial sanctions. Picking up where the Bush administration

left off, President Obama and Secretary Clinton did tremendous

work to build a new consensus now enshrined in a U.N. Security

Council Resolution to isolate Iran diplomatically and to restrict

many of its avenues of trade. But those efforts are, frankly, not

enough. The pressure on Iran has gone up, but this new heightened

pressure is nowhere near the point of forcing the ayatollahs to deal

away their nuclear capabilities.

What kind of pressure would suffice? It is hard to predict, but

here is what I would like to see.

The Iranian central bank and the entire Iranian banking sector

need to lose whatever capacity they retain to facilitate Iran’s international

commerce and trade. These institutions sustain Iran’s

criminal regime, underwrite terror, and facilitate Iran’s illicit WMD

programs.

Let us be clear. Sanctions have to hurt. If they don’t hurt, they

are not effective. The goal is not for us to pat ourselves on the back

and issue press releases here. It is to inflict crippling economic

pain over there. Iran’s banking sector needs to become the financial

equivalent of Chernobyl—radioactive, dangerous, and, most of all,

empty .

Other countries may object to this approach. Our response to

them should be simple and frank. Either assist us in cranking up

the pressure on Iran by economic and financial means, or accept

that the United States and other like-minded states will be compelled

to deal with Iran’s unresolved nuclear issues by other

means.

It has been 10 years since the Bush administration revealed

Iran’s secret enrichment capabilities, and the threat has only

grown since then. Iran’s efforts to acquire the means to produce nuclear

arms must be stopped. President Obama told the nation that

he would use all possible means at his disposable to prevent Iran

from crossing the nuclear arms threshold. I would say there are

still means that are yet unused, and we need to use them now.

Finally, I would like to express my deep dismay about the administration’s

truly pathetic and inadequate execution of the Iran

human rights protections provisions passed into law last year. I

refuse to believe that the State Department, after exhaustively examining

Iran’s massive machinery of repression, torture, rape, and

murder can only identify 14 Iranian officials to be targeted by

human rights sanctions. Here is a bunch more. Iranian officials

could do a lot better and, frankly, a group of Iranian boy scouts

could even do better.

This abject failure to execute the law is totally unacceptable; and

I would like to ask you, Secretary Sherman, if you would carry this

letter, which, unlike the State Department, actually names of a

bunch of Iranian officials. And if you would please deliver this to

Secretary Clinton.

Yes, Thank you.

I thank the chairman. Thank you especially for

this second of a series of two very important hearings.

I want to thank both of our expert witnesses for their very important

testimony and thank them and the administration for the

great work you have continued to do on pressing this. But my question

really remains: What is left to do? If we had our wish list of

all of the sanctions and actions that we could do, short of the ones

that we don’t want to necessarily contemplate or do, what would

that list be?

They are already on the list.

So you are saying we should list all of the affiliates,

agencies, subsidiaries of the IRGC?

Can we expect to see that soon?

And assuming we had the entire list and we did

the entire list, what then? You know, we have kind of had sanctions

on Cuba for 40-some odd years. Are we prepared to wait 40-

some odd years? Cuba doesn’t seem to be presently developing a

nuclear weapons program.

The point being we don’t have 40 years in Iran.

And the longer we wait, the time benefit is exclusively theirs, not

anybody else’s.

And the underlying point is, if we pounced on

every sanction on every organization and every individual—and I

have given you a list of some additional targets—what then? I

mean, with the events that occurred over the last several days, this

egregious act to commit an immense crime, an international crime,

in addition to being a crime to our country, to blow up a large number

of people, including an ambassador that we are duty bound to

protect, what is left to do? And, also, if they were—heaven forbid—

would have been successful in that attack, what would have been

our response?

But our response to the potential of the plot

being effective is more of the same?

Well, it is additional sanctions. Are we considering

something other than additional sanctions?

Yes, that is your quiver. Let’s say you blew the

whole load. All sanctions. Everything we know of and conceivably

could know of.

Not on my side, because I am not going to get

an answer because we don’t have one. Are we doing anything to

dissuade the Saudis from responding?

I don’t know what any of this means. It is like

in the previous administration and the administration before that,

the only thing that we would do when bad things happen is say

this is not acceptable.

I thank the chair. I yield back my time.