

workers, I think the Democrats should realize it's time to stop playing CEO with taxpayer dollars.

#### EARTH DAY IS OCEAN DAY

(Mr. FARR asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. FARR. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to commemorate Earth Day and speak of the important role our oceans play in combating global warming.

As we celebrate the 40th anniversary of Earth Day, we must remember that Earth Day issues are closely linked to ocean health. Think about it. Seventy percent of the earth is covered by water. The ocean plays a key role in climate formation. It is not only the atmosphere that collects CO<sub>2</sub>, but also the oceans are trapping CO<sub>2</sub>. That is why we have melting ice caps, rising sea levels, hotter-than-average temperatures, and more severe storms and periods of drought.

Ocean acidification has the greatest impact on corals, clams, oysters, and crabs. The seafood that we eat, like salmon, depend on those. Ocean health is directly related to land health. As we learn about our responsibility for the sustainable well-being of our planet, we must become concerned citizens of oceans as well.

Earth Day is ocean day. Think about it. There is more ocean than earth.

#### EPA'S CONTEST USING TAXPAYER DOLLARS

(Mr. OLSON asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. OLSON. Mr. Speaker, I rise to make Americans aware of a contest being held by the Environmental Protection Agency. In an attempt to explain how the bureaucracy works, the EPA has announced a video contest to encourage citizens to create videos that explain the Federal rulemaking process. The reward for showing how your government operates is a prize of \$2,500.

To some, I realize that might not seem like a lot of money, but as my friend MARSHA BLACKBURN astutely pointed out, \$2,500 is the total tax contribution for a working American making just under \$30,000 a year. Do we really want to ask any American to hand their total tax payment over to someone who made a YouTube video?

Mr. Speaker, we must restore fiscal discipline in the Federal Government, and ending this kind of spending is a good place to start.

#### HONORING ORENE ELLIS FARESE

(Mr. CHILDERS asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. CHILDERS. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to honor the life of Ms. Orene Ellis Farese—a singular woman of great accomplishment, style, and uncommon beauty. Her home was Ashland, Mississippi, where she was a true partner of her husband, famed attorney John B. Farese. They served together in the Mississippi legislature—the first couple to do so in our State and the United States.

The Fareses became the parents of four exceptional children: John Booth, Kay, Steve, and Jeff. The Farese household was a lively and hospitable one, always open to friends and to children's friends.

Mrs. Farese taught by example and placed a high priority on service and excellence. She founded the Ashland PTA and the Arts Festival, served as a Scout and church leader, and was present at every activity involving her children.

In 1938, Mrs. Farese graduated from Blue Mountain College—a momentous accomplishment for a woman at that time. Through her continued leadership, Mrs. Farese was a role model for young women in Ashland affirming that they, too, could accomplish anything with their lives. The Fareses put the tiny town of Ashland on the map and raised the bar for everyone.

Today, their children continue the Farese legacy of giving begun by their parents. I ask my colleagues to join me in honoring this sterling example of Mississippi womanhood and her beautifully lived life.

#### IT IS TIME FOR COMMONSENSE REFORM FOR WALL STREET

(Mr. MURPHY of New York asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, over the last 10 years, Washington failed to regulate our financial marketplaces, and some people on Wall Street took advantage of that to take ridiculous and dangerous risks with dollars that they couldn't back up. This must never be allowed to happen again. All across America, we know what happened. When Wall Street melted down, Main Street paid the price. It's time for us to put in place commonsense reforms to fix this system.

I was proud to support the financial reform that we passed here in the House last fall, and I look forward to getting a final bill in front of us. We must make sure that taxpayers never again are responsible for bailing out failed financial institutions. We must also protect our consumers from some of the risky and predatory behavior we saw in the marketplace from unregulated organizations pushing mortgages that couldn't be afforded. And we've got to inject transparency and accountability into our financial system. The fresh light of day will disinfect so many of the ills in our financial system.

This is about more than just reform. It's about strengthening the system and strengthening our economy and strengthening all of us in this country.

#### MOTION TO INSTRUCT CONFEREES ON H.R. 2194, IRAN REFINED PETROLEUM SANCTIONS ACT OF 2009

Mr. BERMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table the bill (H.R. 2194) to amend the Iran Sanctions Act of 1996 to enhance United States diplomatic efforts with respect to Iran by expanding economic sanctions against Iran, with the Senate amendment thereto, disagree to the Senate amendment, and agree to the conference asked by the Senate.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Mr. Speaker, I have a motion to instruct conferees at the desk.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the motion.

The Clerk read as follows:

Ms. Ros-Lehtinen moves that the managers on the part of the House at the conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the Senate amendment to the bill H.R. 2194 be instructed—

(1) To insist on the provisions of H.R. 2194, A bill to amend the Iran Sanctions Act of 1996 to enhance United States diplomatic efforts with respect to Iran by expanding economic sanctions against Iran, as passed by the House on December 15, 2009; and

(2) To complete their work and present a conference report and joint explanatory statement by no later than May 28, 2010.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 7 of rule XXII, the gentleman from Florida (Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN) and the gentleman from California (Mr. BERMAN) each will control 30 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Florida.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, this motion comes at a critical point in our efforts to prevent Iran from dealing a devastating blow to the security of our Nation, the security of our closest allies, and to global security and stability. The gravest threat comes from Iran's rapidly advancing nuclear weapons program.

Last week, Lieutenant General Burgess, the director of the Defense Intelligence Agency, and General Cartwright, the vice chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, testified that Iran could produce enough weapons-grade fuel for a nuclear weapon within 1 year. But even with this alarming scenario, we may be too optimistic given the Iranian regime's long history of deception.

Last September, yet another secret Iranian nuclear facility was revealed—an underground uranium enrichment plant. Inspectors from the International Atomic Energy Agency, or

IAEA, reportedly concluded that this facility's capacity is too small to be of use in producing fuel for civilian nuclear power but is well configured to produce material for one or two nuclear weapons a year. The regime has already announced that it intends to build 10 new uranium enrichment plants and will start construction on two in this coming year.

There is mounting evidence that Iran has been working on a nuclear warhead for many years. The IAEA's Iran report from February of this year stated that its inspectors had uncovered extensive evidence of "past or current undisclosed activities" to develop a nuclear warhead.

That same IAEA report, Mr. Speaker, raised concerns "about the possible existence in Iran of undisclosed activities related to the development of a nuclear payload for a missile."

Iran has long been at work on ballistic missiles and already has the ability to strike U.S. forces and our allies in the Middle East, such as Israel and in many other areas.

But Iran is not stopping there. A recent unclassified report by the Department of Defense estimated that Iran may be able to strike the United States with a missile by the year 2015.

□ 1030

The threat posed by the Iranian regime's nuclear ballistic missile and unconventional weapons capabilities is magnified by its continued support for violent extremism. According to this Pentagon report, Iran is "furnishing lethal aid to Iraqi Shia militants and Afghan insurgents. And Iran provides Lebanese Hezbollah and Palestinian terrorist groups with funding, weapons and training to oppose Israel." The same report stated that "Iran, through its longstanding relationship with Lebanese Hezbollah, maintains a capability to strike Israel directly and to threaten Israeli and U.S. interests worldwide."

We know that Iran has a long track record of using these capabilities. The Pentagon report confirms that the Iranian regime has been involved in or has been behind what the report describes as "some of the deadliest terrorist attacks of the past two decades, including: The 1983 and '84 bombings of the U.S. Embassy and annex in Beirut; the 1983 bombing of the Marine barracks in Beirut; the 1994 attack on the AMIA Jewish Community Center in Buenos Aires, Argentina; the 1996 Khobar Towers bombing in Saudi Arabia; and many of the insurgent attacks on coalition and Iraqi security forces in Iraq since 2003."

In other words, when the Iranian regime threatens America and Israel with destruction over and over again, they may mean it. Today the Iranian Revolutionary Guard is scheduled to begin a 3-day exercise involving their missiles and other weapons to demonstrate their ability to dominate the Persian Gulf and the Strait of Hormuz,

the choke point for much of the world's oil supply.

Diplomacy and engagement have had no real impact on the regime in Tehran. As Iran sprints towards the nuclear finish line, deadlines set by the Obama administration for compliance have been repeatedly disregarded. Now the strategy appears to be resting on securing a new U.N. Security Council resolution. However, Russia and China see themselves as friends of the regime in Tehran and have publicly stated that they will not support a resolution that puts any significant pressure on Tehran. In fact, The New York Times reported last week that Secretary of Defense Robert Gates "warned in a secret 3-page memorandum to top White House officials that the United States does not have an effective long-range policy for dealing with Iran's steady progress toward nuclear capability."

Mr. Speaker, the Congress must fill this vacuum. We must not sit idly by and wait for Iran to detonate a nuclear device. In February of 2006, the Congress adopted a concurrent resolution, citing the Iranian regime's repeated violations of its international obligations, underscoring that as a result of these violations, Iran no longer has the right to develop any aspect of the nuclear fuel cycle, and urging responsible nations to impose economic sanctions to deny Iran the resources and the ability to develop nuclear weapons. Then we moved to strengthen U.S. sanctions on Iran and to render support to Iranian human rights and pro-democracy advocates through the passage of the Iran Freedom Support Act of 2006.

Yet again, the U.S. has yet to bring to bear the full force of U.S. punitive measures on the Iranian regime. We have failed to act quickly and decisively before. This may be our last chance to apply pressure on Iran before it is too late. So while the motion to instruct we are considering calls on the conferees to conclude their work by May 28, it is my hope, Mr. Speaker, that we will not wait that long. We must strike at the regime's vulnerabilities and do so quickly and effectively.

As such, the motion to instruct conferees insists on the House-passed version of H.R. 2194, the Iran Refined Petroleum Sanction Act, also known as IRPSA. Chairman BERMAN and I, along with several other members of the Foreign Affairs Committee and the House as a whole, have introduced IRPSA to target one of the Iranian regime's key vulnerabilities; namely, its dependence on imported petroleum products, especially gasoline. The House passed it overwhelmingly on December 15 by a vote of 412-12.

The sanctions bill we enact must match the gravity of the growing threat. There are several provisions that the conference report must contain if this legislation is to have any significant impact. Because Iran's energy sector and its dependence on refined petroleum are the regime's Achilles' heel, in the motion to instruct we

must insist on sections 3(a) and 3(b), which strengthen sanctions regarding the development of Iran's petroleum resources and the export of refined petroleum products to Iran. We must not reward countries that allow their businesses and citizens to provide assistance to Iran's nuclear missile or advanced conventional weapons program to be rewarded with a peaceful nuclear cooperation agreement. Therefore, the House must insist on section 3(c), which prohibits such agreements being submitted to Congress or entering into force. We must insist, Mr. Speaker, on those provisions because the executive branch has not once applied sanctions under the Iran Sanctions Act on investment in the Iranian energy sector.

This problem originated more than a decade ago when former Secretary of State Albright exercised a sweeping waiver that turned that act into a paper tiger, and the State Department continues to ignore mandatory sanctions under that act on those who are assisting Iran's proliferation activities. We must also ensure that section 3(d) removes ambiguities regarding the President's waiver authority and, thereby, will ensure the speedy implementation of sanctions. And we must insist on section 3(f), which expands the definition of petroleum resources and products and closes loopholes in the original Iran Sanctions Act that have been repeatedly exploited by others. Because the Iranian threat will continue to grow, the House must insist also on section 3(h), which extends the Iran Sanctions Act by 5 years. And because we must not let those who have already violated our laws off the hook, we must insist on sections 4(a)(1), 4(a)(2), and 4(b)(1).

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to support this motion and ask conferees to embrace it and commit to sending the strongest possible bill to the President's desk. The clock is ticking. The centrifuges in Iran are spinning. Our time has almost run out.

With that, Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. BERMAN. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

I rise in strong support of the ranking member's motion to instruct. The world faces no security threat greater than the prospect of a nuclear-armed Iran. We must make certain that the prospect never becomes a reality. A nuclear Iran would menace, intimidate, and ultimately dominate its neighbors. It would be virtually impervious to any type of pressure from the West, whether regarding its support of terrorism or its crushing of freedom and human rights at home, and it would touch off a nuclear arms race in the Middle East that would shred the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty and almost inevitably lead to catastrophe. And worst of all, Iran might actually use its nuclear arms against those it considers its enemies.

The urgency of this issue is beyond dispute. Iran quite possibly will be capable of developing and delivering a

nuclear weapon in the next 3 to 5 years, and our task of preventing Iran from achieving nuclear weapons capability is made more complicated by the fact that we all know that our best weapon for fighting this battle—economic sanctions—takes time to work. So we need the strongest possible sanctions, and we need them fast.

That's why I support this motion to instruct. The House bill, H.R. 2194, the Iran Refined Petroleum Sanctions Act, is a good, strong measure; and I and my fellow conferees will fight for it in conference. We will also work with the Senate on measures to help Iran's brave dissidents circumvent regime efforts to block their communications.

Our colleague, the gentleman from Florida, will speak about an additional provision with respect to State decisions to disinvest that we want to include in this conference report. And I want to send this bill to the President by or before the May 28 deadline proposed in the motion to instruct.

This bill, along with the Senate bill, has already done much good. In recent months, in anticipation of our sanctions becoming law, several major energy companies have ceased selling refined petroleum to Iran. Others have announced they will not make new investments in Iranian energy. They are making the sensible choice that our bill encourages, choosing the U.S. market over the Iranian market. More will make that choice when our bill becomes law.

Meanwhile, our bill is goading other nations to intensify their efforts to achieve a sanctions resolution in the U.N. Security Council, and our own executive branch is getting the message that Congress is able and willing to take the grave matter of sanctions into our own hands.

April 30 will mark 1 year since we first introduced this sanctions legislation. Since then, Iran has increased the number of its working centrifuges and has reached the one-bomb equivalent level in its stock of low-enriched uranium. It has enriched uranium to 20 percent, a big step on its way to mastering the process of producing weapons-grade uranium, and has installed advanced third-generation centrifuges. It has been caught red-handed building a secret reactor near Qom, which research suggests could only have been intended for bomb-making purposes, and it has announced plans to build 10 more reactors.

Iran is in contempt of the international community, and I had hoped that a U.N. Security Council resolution requiring tough sanctions, followed immediately thereafter by additional muscular sanctions imposed by the European Union, would have happened by now. I know the administration is doing everything possible to bring that result about. Unfortunately, we are now nearly 4 months into 2010 with Iran on the verge of nuclear weapons capability and a U.N. Security Council resolution remains an uncertain prospect. We cannot wait any longer.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Mr. Speaker, I am so pleased to yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. BURTON), the ranking member of the Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on the Middle East and South Asia.

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. I thank the gentlelady for yielding.

You know, I think my colleagues have very eloquently explained the contents of the bill and what we need to do. But the thing I would like to talk about for a minute or two are the ramifications for America and the rest of the world if we don't do something. We get about 30 to 40 percent of our energy from the Middle East, and if I were talking to the American people, I would just say to them that if you look at your lights and you look at the energy you need for your car and for everything else, heating your house, you need to realize that if Iran develops a nuclear capability and that whole area becomes a war zone, the Persian Gulf, where a lot of oil is transported through, we would see a terrible problem as far as our energy is concerned, and that would directly affect our economy.

□ 1045

So it is extremely important that we do something and do something very, very quickly. We have waited too long. We have been talking about negotiating with Iran and putting sanctions on them for the past 4 or 5 years, trying to get our allies to work with us. The fact of the matter is nothing has happened, and Iran continues to thumb their nose at the rest of the world. This is a terrible, terrible threat. A terrorist state, Iran, with nuclear weapons is not only a threat to the Middle East, to Israel, our best ally over there, but it is a threat to every single one of us.

They are also working on intermediate range missiles and possibly intercontinental ballistic missiles. If they get those, nobody is safe. So it is extremely important that we take whatever measures are necessary to stop Iran from developing nuclear weapons.

Now, today we are taking a great first step. I hope when this goes to conference committee we come out with something that is so strong it really will have an impact on what Iran does. But if it doesn't, it is important that everybody in the world realize that we have to stop Iran from developing nuclear weapons because it is a threat to every single person on this planet in one way or another. We have got to stop nuclear proliferation, but the first thing we have to do is stop Iran, a terrorist state, from getting nuclear weapons.

I thank the gentlelady for yielding.

Mr. BERMAN. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 3 minutes to a distinguished member of the Foreign Affairs Committee, the gentlelady from Texas (Ms. SHEILA JACKSON LEE).

(Ms. JACKSON LEE of Texas asked and was given permission to revise and extend her remarks.)

Ms. JACKSON LEE of Texas. I thank the chairman very much both for his leadership and for this opportunity, with the ranking member, to really discuss and reinforce some of the principles that many of us support in a bipartisan manner. But I rise today to simply encourage the conference on this legislation and to be able to simply chronicle efforts that I think were not wasteful, but constructive.

I do believe the administration's effort at engagement was constructive and not wasteful. It is always important—for those of us who are lawyers—to create the record, the building blocks for the final decision of the court of law. In this instance, the court of law is the combination of the American people, this Congress, and this administration, and it is, likewise, the world community, the United Nations.

Also, the people of Iran are speaking and they are speaking loudly. No one can forget that fateful picture of a young lady lying in her own blood during the uprising of the people of Iran, not provoked by any world standards or provocation, but for the people of Iran simply saying enough of the despotism of this administration, of their country; enough is enough. They were willing to die in the streets. They took to the buildings to make loud noises at night, and they continue to pounce over and over again.

Iran is a challenge, and it is a terror around the world. Having just come back from Yemen, Bahrain, Qatar, and Pakistan, everywhere you went individuals, leaders in government were willing to indicate what a threat Iran was. Just yesterday, in a hearing on Syria, questions are now rising as to Iran's participation in funding Hezbollah to go into Lebanon. Of course some of those particular points are being denied, but frankly I think if there is any reason to move forward on a conference, it is the concept of the disruption of Iran in the region.

There are those who are in the Middle East who want peace. From Jordan, to Israel, to other places around, they want peace. If we begin to look at Yemen, that is in a distant location, a place where I visited, we know that it is an al Qaeda cesspool. We know that there are young men there that are susceptible to recruitment. All of this provides for a disruptive arena, and we here in this country must provide the moral standing of peace and democracy for those who desire so.

So I rise to support the people of Iran, those who are willing to sacrifice their lives and go into the streets. And it is well known that whatever we have tried to do, the engagement of the Cold War, the standoff, Iran continues to seemingly put forward its nuclear efforts.

I ask for support of this legislation, and I ask my colleagues to vote for this motion to instruct.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H.R. 2194, the Iran Refined Petroleum Sanctions Act of 2009. This legislation provides another tool for the President to prevent Iran from developing nuclear weapons by allowing the administration to sanction foreign firms who attempt to supply refined gasoline to Iran or provide them with the materials to enhance their oil refineries. These sanctions would further restrict the government of Iran's ability to procure refined petroleum. Currently, the availability of petroleum products is stagnant in Iran. Private firms have decided that the government of Iran's refusal to cooperate with the multilateral community on nuclear proliferation generates a significant risk to doing business with Iran.

I would like to thank Chairman BERMAN for incorporating my concerns about the human rights situation in Iran into the findings of this legislation. It is important that we acknowledge that, throughout 2009, the government of Iran has persistently violated the rights of its citizens. The government of Iran's most overt display of disregard for human rights happened in the presidential elections on June 12, 2009. As I said on June 19, 2009, "We must condemn Iran for the absence of fair and free Presidential elections and urge Iran to provide its people with the opportunity to engage in a Democratic election process." The repression and murder, arbitrary arrests, and show trials of peaceful dissidents in the wake of the elections were a sad reminder of the government of Iran's long history of human rights violations. The latest violations were the most recent iteration of the government of Iran's wanton suppression of the freedom of expression.

It is important that we are clear that our concerns are with the government of Iran and not its people. The State Department's Human Rights Report on Iran provides a bleak picture of life in Iran. The government of Iran, through its denial of the democratic process and repression of dissent has prevented the people from determining their own future. Moreover, it is the government of Iran that persecutes its ethnic minorities and denies the free expression of religion. As we proceed with consideration of this legislation, we should all remember that the sole target of these sanctions is the Iranian government.

Mr. Speaker, the government of Iran has repeatedly shown its disdain for the international community by disregarding international nonproliferation agreements. Iran's flagrant violation of nonproliferation agreements was evidenced most recently in the discovery of the secret enrichment facility at Qom. The government of Iran's continued threats against Israel, opposition to the Middle East peace process, and support of international terrorist organizations further demonstrate the necessity for action.

Iran's recent actions towards the international community reflect a very small measure of progress. Iran's decision to allow International Atomic Energy Agency, IAEA, inspectors to visit this facility was a positive sign, but not a sufficient indication of their willingness to comply with international agreements. The recent announcement that Iran will accept a nuclear fuel deal is also indicative of their willingness to engage in dialogue, though it remains to be seen what amendments they will seek to the deal. While these actions indicate a small degree of improvement in Iran's position, the legislation before us today demonstrates that only continued dialogue and positive actions

will soften the international community's stance towards Iran.

I would also like to emphasize that the legislation before us provides only one tool for achieving Iran's compliance with international nonproliferation agreements. I continue to support the administration's policy of engagement with Iran and use of diplomatic talks. I believe that diplomacy and multilateralism are the most valuable tools we have to create change in Iran. After those tools fail, I believe that the sanctions are an appropriate recourse.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Mr. Speaker, I am honored to yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from California (Mr. ROYCE), the ranking member on the Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Terrorism, Nonproliferation, and Trade.

Mr. ROYCE. I thank the gentlelady for yielding time.

As ranking member of the Subcommittee on Terrorism, Nonproliferation, and Trade, I strongly support this motion to instruct.

I think it is important for all of us to realize that right now Iran is at its weakest point in terms of its capacity to manufacture enough refined petroleum. It has to, at this point for its gasoline, import that into the nation. Already the impact, the effect of this legislation even coming up on the floor has been effective in backing companies away from doing business with Iran. Imagine what the effect will be if we pass this legislation. Imagine the impact it will have and the pressure that it will bring to bear because the threat of this legislation has already produced a situation in Iran that is very, very difficult for civil society and is making people understand the cost and the consequences for Iran to continue down this road.

Now, this morning the GAO will release a report that shows that foreign commercial activity in Iran's energy sector is going to begin to increase, and that will provide cash for Iran's nuclear program. That is why this bill is so important. A similar report 3 years ago showed half as many companies involved in this sector; now it is on the increase. The usual way of doing business of not standing up to the Russians and the Chinese and to others cannot continue; we have to take action.

Time is not on our side. Enrichment capability, the key aspect of a nuclear weapons program, is being mastered by that government. Not so long ago, I remember talking here on the floor about Iran's 164 centrifuges, and now the progress is measured in thousands and thousands of centrifuges. It is working on a weapon design, my colleagues, and may have a missile to carry that warhead to the United States within 5 years' time.

Today, the world's top terrorist state has its tentacles throughout the region.

Mr. BERMAN. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. MORAN).

Mr. MORAN of Virginia. I thank the chairman for his leadership on this issue.

As the chairman knows, I have some reservations about the effectiveness of a sanctions regime, but there is no question in my mind but that the worst thing that could happen is military confrontation because that would in fact unite the Iranian people against America and on the wrong side of history.

Now, it is too easy to think of Iran as a monolithic people. The reality is that Iran is the successor to the great Persian civilization, and it is a very diverse civilization. I share the chairman's concern about the current Government of Iran, which I don't think is consistent with Persia's history; and in fact their actions have been inexplicable and inexcusable. And the chairman is right, obviously, to respond. But the reality is that a very substantial portion of the Iranian population, perhaps a majority, in fact embraces American values of democracy and human rights and individual freedoms of expression, collective gathering, and freedom of worship; but they are not able to do that today.

I appreciate the fact that the chairman is determined to allow the technology that would enable the population to communicate their ideas, in fact to mobilize for the best interests of their nation and their future. We ought also to limit the availability of technology that the regime is using for precisely the opposite purposes: to censor and to perform surveillance against those people who would like to empower the Iranian people to take control of their own future.

This bill will be supported, it should be supported, and, again, I appreciate the chairman's leadership.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Mr. Speaker, I would like to yield an additional 1 minute to the gentleman from California (Mr. ROYCE), the ranking member of the Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Terrorism, Nonproliferation, and Trade.

Mr. ROYCE. I thank the gentlelady.

For those of us who have engaged in this region and have watched neighboring countries to Iran, watched their propensity to react as Iran has sped up its development, each of those countries is now looking at going nuclear. I would ask my colleagues to think about those neighbors of Iran that would create a heavily nuclearized Middle East should Iran succeed in this and what the impact would be. We can only imagine the turmoil and the tensions that will come to the Middle East should we not succeed in this effort to prevent Iran from developing these nuclear weapons.

Tomorrow's nuclear Iran would thus have a compounding effect with severe consequences for regional security and, as I pointed out earlier, for U.S. security. So the time for action has long passed. This bill will greatly help because it targets Iran's Achilles' heel at perhaps the only time that we can effectively do that.

Mr. BERMAN. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 2 minutes to the author of Florida legislation with respect to disinvestment from Iran's energy sector, our newest Member, the gentleman from Florida (Mr. DEUTCH).

Mr. DEUTCH. Mr. Speaker, the motion before us today is based on the simple fact that a nuclear-armed Iran is an unacceptable threat to our national security, poses an existential threat to our vital ally, Israel, and will ignite a destabilizing arms race throughout the Middle East.

We must take whatever action is necessary to prevent Iran from acquiring nuclear weapons. Iran is the world's leading sponsor of terror; its President denies the Holocaust, and he has openly declared his intention to wipe Israel off the map.

To be included among the powerful sanctions in this legislation is the removal of barriers that State pension boards raise which prevent the divestment of holdings in companies that help to fund Iran's nuclear weapons program.

In 2007, the Florida legislature passed critical legislation that mandated that workers' pension funds could not be used to support Iranian nuclear weapons. In Florida alone, we removed more than \$1 billion from companies that put their profits ahead of this Nation's national security. That is one State. This legislation will permit every State to divest from Iran just as Florida and 20 other States have already done. The divestment effort will become a full-fledged movement.

The threat from Iran is real. This threat is unacceptable, and it demands this aggressive effort on the part of the United States and our allies.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Mr. Speaker, I would like to yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Texas, Judge POE, a member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, because that's just the way it is.

Mr. POE of Texas. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, Iran is the world threat. They along with North Korea are working together to plot and build nuclear weapons to threaten the rest of the world.

Ahmadinejad, the little fellow from the desert, has already said that when he gets nuclear weapons, his first target is Tel Aviv in Israel. He has made it clear to the world that he wants to destroy Israel and he wants nuclear weapons; he wants missiles from North Korea to do that. But his threat is not just to the Israelis. It is to the entire region, and even to the United States. He continues to rant about how he wants the destruction of the West.

He helps Hezbollah in the north and he helps Hamas in the south both to engage and cause terror in Israel. Our answer has been, Well, let's talk to them; let's tell the Iranians that they're not playing nice, that they are going to cause problems in the world. Mr. Speaker, we cannot adopt the Nev-

ille Chamberlain philosophy and fool ourselves that the Iranians will honestly negotiate with the world. They lie to the world and the United States so they can buy time to build their nuclear weapons. More talking will not bring peace in our time. It will only allow them to build nuclear weapons.

□ 1100

So this sanction must work. It must be enforced. Prevent companies from dealing with our enemy government, the Iranian Government, and do not allow Iran to receive refined gasoline. We must mean it and we must enforce this.

The long-term solution with Iran is that there is a regime change. We hope the good people of Iran change their rogue government, a government that doesn't even represent the people, a government that had fraudulent elections last year and that took over control again.

Our government, our country, our people must be vocal about our support of this resistance movement. Iranians will, hopefully, remove their government by themselves and will peaceably set up a government that represents to the world that it will bring peace to the world.

That is the great hope for Iran. That is the great hope for the world—a peaceable regime change in Iran.

Right now, we need sanctions, and we need to let them know we mean it because we are not going to continue to talk forever and to hope that they will negotiate and play nice.

And that's just the way it is.

Mr. BERMAN. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 3 minutes to the gentlewoman from California (Ms. HARMAN).

Ms. HARMAN. I thank my California colleague for yielding to me, and I commend him for his leadership on this issue.

Mr. Speaker, in the course of my service on virtually all of the security-related committees in this House, I have visited some of the most dangerous and austere places on the planet—rugged, remote areas that provide sanctuary to the most ruthless and cunning terrorists. As a result, I am often asked to name those countries which I think pose the greatest threat to the security of our country and to the world. Iraq? Pakistan? Afghanistan? Yemen?

My answer every time is: Iran, Iran, Iran.

Given the zeal with which it promotes and supports instability in the Middle East, given its myopic obsession with the destruction of Israel, its arming of and financial assistance to Hezbollah and Hamas, and its implacable, duplicitous march towards a nuclear weapons capability, in my view, no other country comes close.

The question that confronts us is how to cause Iran's government to abandon interest in a nuclear weapons program.

Most agree—certainly, I do—that a multilateral approach is most likely to

succeed. Our efforts with the EU, led by the indomitable Stuart Levey, have been effective, but they haven't yet changed Iran's course.

Our country must continue its leadership role. Our efforts at diplomacy and at unilateral sanctions must drive stronger multilateral diplomacy and sanctions. That is why Congress must move to conference on Iran sanctions legislation and why it must enact by an overwhelming bipartisan vote the strongest package. That package should include divestments, and it should expand sanctions on individuals, institutions, as well as on nongovernmental entities, and it must cripple Iran's ability to import refined petroleum products.

Let me be clear, Mr. Speaker. Our problem is not with the Iranian people but with its government's reckless policies. Iran with nuclear weapons not only poses an existential threat to Israel; it poses an existential threat to us and to countries everywhere which espouse Democratic values.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Mr. Speaker, I am honored to yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. KIRK), an esteemed member of the Committee on Appropriations.

Mr. KIRK. Mr. Speaker, as the Iranians accelerate their nuclear program, indications are that America may be losing its nerve. In its latest report to Congress, the CIA said that Iran has continued to expand its nuclear weapon infrastructure and that it has continued uranium enrichment. This follows reports by the U.N.'s IAEA that Iran has mastered the art of making low-enriched uranium and that it is halfway to its goal of making bomb-grade fissile material.

So what are our options?

We know that Iran's greatest weakness is its dependence on foreign gasoline. The mullahs have so mishandled Iran's economy since 1979 that this leading OPEC, oil-producing nation is dependent on gasoline for 40 percent of its needs.

I wrote the first gasoline sanctions resolution with my colleague ROB ANDREWS in 2005. Over time, my colleagues and I have built a bipartisan coalition with Congressman SHERMAN behind a policy of ending Iran's gasoline sales.

I want to thank Chairman BERMAN and Ranking Member ROS-LEHTINEN for their success in bringing this bill to the floor. In these partisan times now, when have 514 Senators and Congressmen agreed on anything? But they agree on cutting off Iran's gasoline.

Now, without decisive bipartisan action soon, the security of our children and of our allies may depend on the good behavior of a terrorist nation now armed with the most dangerous weapon. So, as Congress has been sleeping, I think we should wake up. We should finally sign this bipartisan bill.

To Congress: Pass this legislation. To the President: Sign it and then seal off Iran's gasoline.

Without unilateral action to cut off Iran's gasoline, no other sanctions policy is serious. With it, we have a chance to remove a great danger to the security of American and Israeli children.

Mr. BERMAN. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from New York (Mrs. LOWEY), the chair of the Foreign Operations Subcommittee on Appropriations.

Mrs. LOWEY. I want to thank the chair for his leadership on this very important issue.

Mr. Speaker, I want to express my strong support for H.R. 2194, the Iran Refined Petroleum Sanctions Act, which mandates tighter sanctions against the Iranian regime. With its continued defiance of the international community and with the clock ticking on their nuclear capabilities, now is the time for action.

This week, Iran announced its testing of various missiles and weapons capabilities. U.S. officials have said Iran could develop a ballistic missile capable of striking the U.S. by 2015, and they have said that Iran's continued existential threat to our strongest ally in the Middle East, Israel, presents dire global security implications.

I urge the conferees to act with haste to address these urgent challenges with tough crippling sanctions. Let the speed with which Congress finalizes this legislation to sanction Iran be a message to the international community that time is of the essence if we are to contain Iran's threat to security, stability and prosperity worldwide.

Again, I thank the gentleman from California and the gentlewoman from Florida for their efforts. I urge my colleagues to vote in support of this motion to instruct.

#### GENERAL LEAVE

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days to revise and extend their remarks on the motion to instruct.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentlewoman from Florida?

There was no objection.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. ROSKAM), a member of the Committee on Ways and Means.

Mr. ROSKAM. I thank the gentlewoman for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, not long ago, I was briefed by an official on Iran's provocative action, and he gave a challenge in that briefing.

He said, Print out on your computer a red line. Print a big, thick, red bar on a white sheet of paper, and look at it from a distance. You'll think it's a solid red line, but if you'll look at it up close, what you will see is that it is actually a series of tiny, little pink lines all pushed together, but they're individual little lines. He said, What Iran has figured out is a way to break

through one tiny, little line at a time, just one at a time, one at a time, one at a time.

That is why we are here today, because we in the West, we in the United States, are on to what the Iranian leadership is doing. They are being incredibly provocative. There is no legitimate nuclear ambition for Iran. This is a regime that has said that Israel, our greatest ally in the Middle East, has no right to exist. They've said one provocative thing after another.

History is filled, Mr. Speaker, with examples of weakness and ambiguity in foreign affairs. What is the result? Largely, the result is calamity.

Now we have a chance to be united, to all come together to say we are not going to stand for this. We have come up with a remedy, and it is time for the conferees to move forward and to create this very tough and solid sanction against the petroleum products going into Iran. I urge the conferees to move quickly.

Mr. BERMAN. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. KUCINICH).

Mr. KUCINICH. Mr. Speaker, I support the Obama administration's historic efforts at nuclear weapon non-proliferation and nuclear security. It is a recognition that our security depends on dialogue and negotiation between nations. It was reflected in a proposal that was made last year to freeze Iran's nuclear programs at existing levels.

Now, in December of last year, I led the effort to oppose H.R. 2194, the Iran Refined Petroleum Sanctions Act. I stand here today, almost 5 months later, to reaffirm my objections to the underlying bill, and 5 months later, we have not come any closer to a diplomatic resolution to our objections to Iran's nuclear proliferation program nor have we attempted to amend the language of the Iran sanctions bill to ensure that it does not come at the cost of the well-being of the Iranian people we claim to support.

Iran imports 40 percent of its gasoline. Leaders of Iran aren't going to lack for gasoline, but the people of Iran already suffer. We have to ask ourselves:

Will this cause them to turn against their government or will it cause them to turn against the United States in our efforts to bring about a cessation of Iran's nuclear program? If we cared about the Iranian people, we would not be back on the House floor, considering Iran sanctions.

Congress can better demonstrate its commitment to the Iranian people and to their brave demonstrations for democracy by focusing on efforts to address the egregious human rights, civil liberties and civil rights abuses that they endure. The legislation under consideration will only play into the hands of the Iranian regime by diverting attention away from the significant social and economic problems that must be addressed.

I fear that this legislation will actually strengthen the hard-liners in Iran,

and I am sure that is not what we want to happen. This legislation will undermine any future efforts by the administration to engage diplomatically with Iran by limiting the tools the administration can use. Reports suggest that Iranians have delayed any agreements with the United States for a fuel swap due to internal divisions.

We must stand in support of the courageous battle for human rights and democracy that the Iranian people are engaged in, many at the cost of their lives.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Arizona (Mr. FRANKS), a member of the Armed Services and Judiciary Committees.

Mr. FRANKS of Arizona. I thank the gentlewoman.

Mr. Speaker, the ominous intersection of Jihadist terrorism and nuclear proliferation has been inexorably and relentlessly rolling toward America and the free world for decades.

We now find ourselves living in a time when the terrorist state of Iran is on the brink of developing nuclear weapons. If that occurs, all other issues will be wiped from the table because whatever challenges we have in dealing with Iran today will pale in comparison to dealing with an Iran that has nuclear weapons.

Yet, Mr. Speaker, the Obama administration seems to remain asleep at the wheel. We see repeated signals that the Obama administration may already be adopting a policy of containment. It is beyond my ability to express the danger of such a policy. I am afraid that the last window we will ever have to stop Iran from gaining nuclear weapons is rapidly closing.

While it is unlikely that the bill before us will be enough to prevent Iran from gaining nuclear weapons by itself, it is a step in the right direction, and I applaud its sponsors. I only pray that the Obama administration will wake up in time to prevent Iran from becoming a nuclear armed nation, from threatening the peace of the human family, and from bringing nuclear terrorism to this and to future generations.

Mr. BERMAN. Mr. Speaker, may I get the time remaining on both sides?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from California has 13½ minutes remaining. The gentlewoman from Florida has 6½ minutes remaining.

Mr. BERMAN. I yield myself 1 minute.

Mr. Speaker, my friend from Ohio (Mr. KUCINICH) articulated his reasons for opposing this legislation. We are now, of course, voting on a motion to instruct on the legislation, but I want to just take issue with several of his points.

Firstly, the reason there has not been a diplomatic resolution of the problem is that the regime in Iran has refused to engage in any meaningful and serious way in a resolution which would require them to change their behavior to end their ambition to obtain



a nuclear weapons capability, and that is where the blame lies. It is not because diplomatic alternatives have been ignored. It is because they have been undertaken and rebuffed by the regime in Iran.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. BERMAN. I yield myself 1 additional minute.

Secondly, I disagree very much with the gentleman's contention that our effort to seek to change Iranian behavior and to reverse Iran's decision to pursue nuclear weapons through the imposition of strong, robust, meaningful economic sanctions, both through this legislation and, even more importantly, through tough international sanctions by the community of nations, is going to cause the Iranian people to turn against us on behalf of their regime.

□ 1115

These are people who have risked their lives, their freedom, their liberty. They have been subject to execution, murder, imprisonment, all kinds of repression, efforts to suppress their speech and their political liberties by that regime and have taken great risks, notwithstanding the way that regime has reacted. I would suggest that those people will know more than anyone that the consequences that are befalling the people of Iran are a result of the regime's behavior, not the international community and America's efforts to change Iran's behavior.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Mr. Speaker, I am so honored to yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. CANTOR), our esteemed Republican whip and a member of the Committee on Ways and Means.

Mr. CANTOR. I thank the gentlewoman for yielding. I want to salute, first of all, the gentlewoman's leadership on this issue as well as that of the gentleman from California in bringing this to the floor. I would also like to thank the majority leader for bringing this to the floor as well.

Mr. Speaker, last year the new administration came to power insisting it had a new approach that would head off the looming threat of a nuclear Iran. By talking to and engaging with the regime in Tehran, the administration said we could convince the world's most active state sponsor of terrorism to abandon its nuclear weapons program. And if that didn't work, America ostensibly would gain the "moral authority" to galvanize China, Russia, and the rest of the world to go along with a regime of crippling sanctions against Tehran.

Fifteen months and countless missed deadlines later, the administration's strategy has failed. Our lack of resolve has only enabled Iran to accelerate its illegal activities.

Let us take this opportunity to remember how high the stakes are. The danger of a nuclear Iran is not hypothetical; it is real. It is a direct and serious threat to America. It is a game

changer that would set off a nuclear arms race throughout the Middle East, permanently destabilizing the world's most dangerous region.

Top U.S. military officials recently warned Congress that within 1 year Iran will have the fissile material it needs to make a nuclear weapon. Once Iran gets the bomb, the concept of deterrence that underpins U.S. national security is no longer valid.

The resounding voice of history reminds us that we ignore the threats of dangerous men and dangerous regimes at our own peril. That's why Congress must rise to the occasion and send the message to the world that the United States will not tolerate a nuclear Iran. It is time for a concerted effort to impose sanctions with real teeth, and that begins here today with the Iran Refined Petroleum Sanctions Act.

We must block the shipment of all refined petroleum to Iran, and we must cut off all international companies who do business with Iran's Revolutionary Guard from the U.S. financial system. Iran's trading partners must understand that they will no longer conduct business with the regime in Tehran with impunity.

Mr. Speaker, these are times of sharp partisan divide in our Nation's capital, but today we have the chance to come together to take a major step forward in the interests of world peace. The time for decisive action to head off the regime in Iran's nuclear program is now.

Mr. BERMAN. Mr. Speaker, before I yield to the majority leader, I yield myself 30 seconds.

One year and 3 months ago, America was pretty isolated in its goal of trying to stop Iran from getting a nuclear weapon. We absolutely need to move quickly because Iran is moving quickly. But there can be no doubt that the result of the events of the past 15 months have changed the dynamic fundamentally where the international community now recognizes the threat Iran's nuclear weapons pose and it is Iran who is isolated, not America. That is a direct result of the fundamental change of policy.

Mr. Speaker, I am now pleased to yield 1 minute to a great advocate of this legislation and of achieving this goal, the majority leader.

Mr. HOYER. I thank my friend of some 45 years, the chairman of the committee, for yielding. And I want to, before I start my remarks, say that I agree with him with respect to his observations regarding the Obama administration's efforts that are bearing positive fruit with respect to our allies around the world. We are not where we need to be and they are not all allies, but they certainly are partners in responding to this threat to the international community.

We know what a grave danger a nuclear Iran would pose to America's security, to our ally Israel's security, and, indeed, to the security of the international community. That is why

Mr. BERMAN and Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN reported out a bill. That is why we passed a bill. That's why the Senate has passed a bill. And now it's time to go to conference. It's time to resolve the differences that exist and send a clear and unmistakable message.

The dangerous consequences of inaction range from a fierce regional arms race to a nuclear umbrella for terrorism, to the unthinkable. With American and international security at stake, Iran's nuclearization is a grave proximate threat and cannot stand. That is why the United States must do everything in its power, Mr. Speaker, to stop Iran's nuclear pursuit.

Through years of diplomatic silence, Iran's nuclear program grew. President Obama took a course of patient engagement. And while Iran's unwillingness to negotiate in good faith has been exposed to the world, it has grown even closer to its goal. Today, the International Atomic Energy Agency feels that Iran has enough low-enriched uranium for two nuclear bombs.

So time is of the essence. By proceeding with this motion, Congress moves closer to the imposition of sanctions that will hit the Iranian economy at its weakest points: its banking system, the Revolutionary Guard Corps, and the refined petroleum Iran depends upon.

I support, strongly, this motion, knowing full well that sanctions are never a perfectly precise instrument and that they may mean hardship for ordinary Iranians who already suffer under the repressive regime in Iran. But I support sanctions nonetheless because they can work when the international community recognizes that an outlaw nation poses a common threat to us all, a case that President Obama and Secretary Clinton are making persuasively, as was the point of the chairman of the committee, to our fellow Security Council members and a case that the administration continued to make at this month's nuclear security summit. An extraordinary summit, I might add, of historical precedence, where 47 nations from around the world came here to Washington to meet together, including the President of China, to say that nuclear proliferation poses a danger to all, not just to a single nation, not just to a regional group of nations, but to all.

I support sanctions because Tehran can choose, at any time, to negotiate in good faith and set aside its aggressive nuclear pursuit. And I support sanctions because when properly designed, they can be a source of powerful pressure on the Iranian regime, pressure both external and internal.

As Britain's Telegraph newspaper reported on Monday, "there is now increasing resentment that Iran's once popular nuclear program could be distracting from more urgent needs in the face of economic mismanagement and sanctions. Far from resenting the U.S.-designed sanctions, Iranians blame the slowdown on their own government."

“‘Nuclear energy is something that I supported, but why go about it in this way?’ asked an Iranian citizen Zori Baghi, a pensioner and father of two.” He went on to ask, “‘If it is legitimate, then why are we suffering for it in this way? If it’s not legitimate, then do it in the right way or give it up. We’re paying too heavy a price,’” so said an Iranian citizen about that country’s nuclear ambitions.

It is my belief, my colleagues, that if smart sanctions take effect, more and more Iranians will come to the same conclusion and so, hopefully, will the Iranian regime. Sanctions will show the regime that its embrace of nuclear proliferation carries a cost that is far too high. We cannot expect a change of heart from Tehran, but we can demand a change of behavior.

My colleagues, this action is timely and perhaps past time, but it is always timely to do the right thing, to speak up, to act, and to encourage our allies as well and our partners and our fellow citizens in this globe to act in a way that will protect them and protect our international community.

So I rise in strong support of this motion to go to conference and the motion to instruct, and I thank my chairman for his leadership on this issue. He is working both to have effective action taken by the Congress and to assist the administration in reaching the objective in as positive a way as is possible.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Mr. Speaker, I continue to reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. BERMAN. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from New York (Mr. NADLER).

Mr. NADLER of New York. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, we all know that the prospect of an Iranian state armed with nuclear weapons is simply intolerable for the world. It poses an existential threat to our ally Israel. It would pose the threat of terrorism all over the Middle East under a nuclear umbrella, so we wouldn’t be able to oppose what Iran was doing. It poses a threat of a nuclear arms race in the Middle East. It poses the threat that we cannot rule out that this regime would give a nuclear weapon to a terrorist group like al Qaeda to use we can only guess where.

Finally, some people say, you know, we coexisted with a nuclear Soviet Union for 40 years, 50 years. We deterred them, deterrence works. Deterrence cannot work when you have a government that is religious in nature, many of whose elements are millenarian; that is, they believe that the final destruction of Israel even if it causes a nuclear war would bring on the return of the Hidden Imam more quickly. You cannot reason with a suicide bomber. You cannot deter a suicide bomber, which is in essence what parts of the Iranian Government are.

So we must prevent Iran from getting nuclear weapons. We also must

avoid the Hobson’s choice of having a situation where the advisers come in to the President and say, Mr. President, here are your two choices: One, do nothing in Iran, who will have nuclear weapons in a couple of weeks; two, militarily attack Iran. We don’t want that Hobson’s choice. We have to avoid a choice of military action or a nuclear Iran.

The Bush administration was here for 8 years. They pursued a policy of talk tough and carry a toothpick. They talked tough but stopped nothing, and for 8 years the centrifuges increased and increased in number and went round and round and came closer and closer to a nuclear Iran.

Now we have an administration that comes in with a policy of big sticks and big carrots and says first we will engage the Iranians. We will show them the advantages of avoiding a nuclear status, and we will by so doing establish the foundation for unified, not unilateral, sanctions action against Iran if necessary.

□ 1130

Now we’ve reached the stage where we have to start engaging in real sanctions, and we have allies, and we will get those sanctions, and we must take tough sanctions to avoid that Hobson’s choice.

And this resolution before us is part of that, to impose tough sanctions on the Iranians to make them reconsider, or to make it impossible for them to develop nuclear weapons.

So we must establish this now. We must pass this resolution because we do not want a Hobson’s choice of military action or a nuclear Iran, the latter of which is intolerable, and the first of which is something we should not ever want.

So I urge my colleagues to pass this resolution, and I thank the gentleman from California (Mr. BERMAN) and the gentlelady from Florida (Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN) for bringing it to the floor.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. I continue to reserve, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. BERMAN. Mr. Speaker I am pleased to yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. ANDREWS), one of the original creators of the concept of refined petroleum sanctions as a sanction.

(Mr. ANDREWS asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. ANDREWS. Mr. Speaker, there is a justifiable and broad consensus in our country and in this Congress that the regime in Iran cannot have a nuclear weapon. The issue is how to achieve that objective and why to achieve that objective.

We cannot act in isolation to achieve the objective. We must act to isolate Iran. This has been the fruit of the persistent diplomacy engaged in by the administration, assisted very nobly by Chairman BERMAN and our ranking member that has brought us to a point where the world is now isolating Iran.

Iran stands essentially alone in support of the proposition that its behavior has been justifiable.

The sanctions that are proposed by the underlying bill will be effective because they will force the Iranian leadership to choose between the prospect of prosperity if they drop their nuclear chicanery and the certainty of economic stress if they persist in retaining it.

The best evidence that these sanctions are effective is the crash program the Iranians themselves have embarked on to switch from gasoline to natural gas as a means of propelling vehicles.

More important than how to do this, though, is why to do this. In the early 1930s, there were ugly statements and vicious images coming out of Europe. People insisted that people who worried about that were exaggerating the threat. So much of the world, including, sadly, the United States turned away as those ugly signals were sent. The result was a tragedy of unspeakable proportions: 6 million innocent people killed in the Holocaust.

Today, there are ugly signals and words coming out of Tehran.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. BERMAN. I am pleased to yield 30 additional seconds to the gentleman.

Mr. ANDREWS. There are ugly signals saying that one Holocaust is not enough, that the Jewish state should be wiped off the face of the Earth.

We ignore these ugly signals at our own peril. We should learn the terrible history of the thirties and not repeat it. We should act swiftly, decisively and united with the rest of the world to impose meaningful sanctions on the Iranian Government that will prevent the day of an Iranian nuclear weapon from ever occurring.

I thank the chairman for his leadership on this issue, urge a “yes” vote and the swift adoption of the underlying legislation.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Mr. Speaker, I continue to reserve.

Mr. BERMAN. Mr. Speaker, I have one additional speaker requesting time. I am pleased to yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from New York (Mr. ENGEL), chairman of the Western Hemisphere Subcommittee, a hemisphere which has already seen Iranian efforts to penetrate.

Mr. ENGEL. Mr. Speaker, I thank the chairman for yielding to me. I thank the gentlewoman from Florida (Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN) for her strong voice.

And, boy, if there was ever anything that’s bipartisan, it’s this resolution. The one good thing that Iran has done is brought us all together because we realize that the Iranian threat to the world is the world’s biggest threat.

Iran remains the leading sponsor of terrorism around the world; and, as was mentioned before, the President of Iran, Ahmadinejad, has threatened to wipe Israel from the face of the Earth.



But the threat is not to Israel alone. It's to Europe, it's to the United States, it's to the entire world; and the entire world must speak with one voice.

I'm a proud cosponsor of H.R. 2194, the Iran Refined Petroleum Sanctions Act, and I want to commend Chairman BERMAN for this initiative, and Congresswoman ILEANA ROS-LEHTINEN as well.

Only a few short months ago, the world learned of the secret Iranian nuclear enrichment facility near the city of Qom. If there was ever any doubt that Iran was trying to build nuclear weapons, this revelation dispelled any shred of that doubt. The facility was kept secret from the IAEA, the International Atomic Energy Agency. It was built deep in a mountain on a protected military base. This is precisely how a country conceals a nuclear weapons program and defies U.N. Security Council resolutions, not how it develops peaceful energy technologies.

However, although Iran is a leading producer of crude oil, it has limited refining capacity. And this bill will increase leverage against Iran by penalizing companies that export refined petroleum products to Iran or finance Iran's domestic refueling capabilities. It's my hope that the administration will apply these additional sanctions to make absolutely clear to the Iranian regime that the world will not accept its nuclear ambitions.

As chairman of the Subcommittee on the Western Hemisphere of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, I'd also like to raise one additional concern which arose at my October hearing on Iran's role in the Western Hemisphere. Venezuelan leader Hugo Chavez recently agreed to provide 20,000 barrels per day of refined gasoline to Iran. It's anyone's guess as to whether this will be implemented, but the deal may be covered by the bill we are considering today. While some question whether Venezuela has the ability to provide gasoline to Iran since it imports some gasoline to meet its own demand, Chavez is clearly approaching a perilous area. I hope Chavez reconsiders this unwise step. And we must consider and keep focusing on Iran in the Western Hemisphere as well.

The U.S., our allies and the U.N. Security Council have recognized that a nuclear-armed Iran would be a danger to our ally, Israel, the Middle East, the nuclear proliferation regime and to the entire world. The Iranian regime is brutal to its own population, murders its own citizens, represses people who want to demonstrate against its stolen election, and it's time for us to stand up.

So I'm glad, in a bipartisan voice this morning, we say "no" to Iran; "no" to nuclear weapons for Iran; "yes" to support the underlying bill.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Mr. Speaker, we are ready to close if the gentleman is ready to.

Mr. BERMAN. Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself my remaining time.

Mr. Speaker, for several years we have watched Iran move ever closer to acquiring a nuclear weapons capability. No rational person can question that that is Iran's goal. And yet, even though Iran has violated its international treaty obligations, defied repeated U.N. Security Council resolutions, had one secret nuclear site after another revealed to the world, and rejected every offer to negotiate, the world has let it happen.

We, in this Chamber, have been elected to defend and promote the interests and security of our country. We must do everything we can to force Iran's leaders to change course and abandon their pursuit of nuclear weapons because the American people and our allies are their intended targets. We know this because they have repeatedly told us.

We cannot rely on hope for deliverance because that will only guarantee our destruction. So we must act quickly, and we must act decisively.

The bill that the House passed overwhelmingly last December, the Iran Refined Petroleum Sanctions Act, represents the best opportunity we have to do precisely that. If we, and our colleagues in the Senate, can craft a strong measure that can then be sent to the President, we will have met our responsibility to the American people.

I am confident, Mr. Speaker, that we can defeat the menace that is posed by Iran before it has a chance to strike us, but our time is running out.

Let us support this motion. Let us send a strong bill to the President's desk.

Mr. VAN HOLLEN. Mr. Speaker, we meet today to consider a motion to appoint conferees to reconcile the differences between the House and Senate versions of the Iran Sanctions Act. Though both versions would impose sanctions against companies that support Iran's petroleum sector, especially in the area of gasoline and other refined petroleum products, the Senate version includes additional provisions that would direct the president to freeze the assets of Iranian officials and prohibit the U.S. Government from providing contracts to companies that supply Iran with communications monitoring technology. These provisions must be reconciled before the final version can be presented to the President.

Stopping Iran's illegal nuclear enrichment program is an urgent matter, requiring a comprehensive strategy that targets Iran's important energy sector, and its access to the global financial system. These bills can help to achieve these goals.

Last year, Iran admitted the existence of a secret enrichment facility in the holy city of Qom that set in motion a renewed international effort to pursue more aggressive penalties against Iran for its nuclear activities. Using a variety of measures, including the United States led sanctions efforts in the United Nations, penalties currently under consideration by the European Union and the sustained campaign by the U.S. Treasury Department and others to persuade banks and other

businesses to curtail their activities with Iranian businesses, we must significantly increase pressure on Iran to persuade it to end its nuclear program. The United States and the international community must send a very clear signal that Iran faces a stark choice—Iran must end its illegal nuclear enrichment program or it will face increasingly severe consequences. All options for ending that program should remain on the table.

Mr. PAUL. Mr. Speaker I rise in opposition to this motion to instruct House conferees on H.R. 2194, the Comprehensive Iran Sanctions, Accountability and Divestment Act, and I rise in strong opposition again to the underlying bill and to its Senate version as well. I object to this entire push for war on Iran, however it is disguised. Listening to the debate on the floor on this motion and the underlying bill it feels as if we are back in 2002 all over again: the same falsehoods and distortions used to push the United States into a disastrous and unnecessary one trillion dollar war on Iraq are being trotted out again to lead us to what will likely be an even more disastrous and costly war on Iran. The parallels are astonishing.

We hear war advocates today on the Floor scare-mongering about reports that in one year Iran will have missiles that can hit the United States. Where have we heard this bombast before? Anyone remember the claims that Iraqi drones were going to fly over the United States and attack us? These "drones" ended up being pure propaganda—the UN chief weapons inspector concluded in 2004 that there was no evidence that Saddam Hussein had ever developed unpiloted drones for use on enemy targets. Of course by then the propagandists had gotten their war so the truth did not matter much.

We hear war advocates on the floor today arguing that we cannot afford to sit around and wait for Iran to detonate a nuclear weapon. Where have we heard this before? Anyone remember then-Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice's oft-repeated quip about Iraq: that we cannot wait for the smoking gun to appear as a mushroom cloud.

We need to see all this for what it is: Propaganda to speed us to war against Iran for the benefit of special interests.

Let us remember a few important things. Iran, a signatory of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, has never been found in violation of that treaty. Iran is not capable of enriching uranium to the necessary level to manufacture nuclear weapons. According to the entire U.S. Intelligence Community, Iran is not currently working on a nuclear weapons program. These are facts, and to point them out does not make one a supporter or fan of the Iranian regime. Those pushing war on Iran will ignore or distort these facts to serve their agenda, though, so it is important and necessary to point them out.

Some of my well-intentioned colleagues may be tempted to vote for sanctions on Iran because they view this as a way to avoid war on Iran. I will ask them whether the sanctions on Iraq satisfied those pushing for war at that time. Or whether the application of ever-stronger sanctions in fact helped war advocates make their case for war on Iraq: as each round of new sanctions failed to "work"—to change the regime—war became the only remaining regime-change option.

This legislation, whether the House or Senate version, will lead us to war on Iran. The

sanctions in this bill, and the blockade of Iran necessary to fully enforce them, are in themselves acts of war according to international law. A vote for sanctions on Iran is a vote for war against Iran. I urge my colleagues in the strongest terms to turn back from this unnecessary and counterproductive march to war.

Mr. KLEIN of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to support the motion to go to conference on the Iran sanctions legislation.

I am grateful to Chairman BERMAN and Ranking Member ROS-LEHTINEN for working with me on a provision included in the House version of this legislation to require companies applying for contracts with the U.S. government to affirmatively certify that they do not conduct business with Iran.

This legislation gives companies a simple choice: do business with the United States, or do business with Iran. We cannot allow the U.S. taxpayer to be last crutch of Iran's dangerous nuclear program. Not on our watch and not on our dime.

The time to act is now, and we must move with fierce urgency.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, the previous question is ordered.

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion to instruct.

The question was taken; and the Speaker pro tempore announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The SPEAKER. Pursuant to clause 8 of rule XX, further proceedings on this question will be postponed.

#### RAISING A QUESTION OF THE PRIVILEGES OF THE HOUSE

Mr. FLAKE. Mr. Speaker, I rise to a question of the privileges of the House and offer the resolution previously noticed.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the resolution.

The Clerk read as follows:

H. RES. 1287

Whereas, the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct initiated an investigation into allegations related to earmarks and campaign contributions in the Spring of 2009.

Whereas, on December 2, 2009, reports and findings in seven separate matters involving the alleged connection between earmarks and campaign contributions were forwarded by the Office of Congressional Ethics to the Standards Committee.

Whereas, on February 26, 2010, the Standards Committee made public its report on the matter wherein the Committee found, though a widespread perception exists among corporations and lobbyists that campaign contributions provide a greater chance of obtaining earmarks, there was no evidence that Members or their staff considered contributions when requesting earmarks.

Whereas, the Committee indicated that, with respect to the matters forwarded by the Office of Congressional Ethics, neither the evidence cited in the OCE's findings nor the evidence in the record before the Standards Committee provided a substantial reason to believe that violations of applicable standards of conduct occurred.

Whereas, the Office of Congressional Ethics is prohibited from reviewing activities taking place prior to March of 2008 and lacks the authority to subpoena witnesses and documents.

Whereas, for example, the Office of Congressional Ethics noted that in some instances documents were redacted or specific information was not provided and that, in at least one instance, they had reason to believe a witness withheld information requested and did not identify what was being withheld.

Whereas, the Office of Congressional Ethics also noted that they were able to interview only six former employees of the PMA Group, with many former employees refusing to consent to interviews and the OCE unable to obtain evidence within PMA's possession.

Whereas, Roll Call noted that "the committee report was five pages long and included no documentation of any evidence collected or any interviews conducted by the committee, beyond a statement that the investigation 'included extensive document reviews and interviews with numerous witnesses.'" (Roll Call, March 8, 2010)

Whereas, it is unclear whether the Standards Committee included in their investigation any activities that occurred prior to 2008.

Whereas, it is unclear whether the Standards Committee interviewed any Members in the course of their investigation.

Whereas, it is unclear whether the Standards Committee, in the course of their investigation, initiated their own subpoenas or followed the Office of Congressional Ethics recommendations to issue subpoenas. Therefore be it:

*Resolved*, That not later than seven days after the adoption of this resolution, the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct shall report to the House of Representatives, with respect to the activities addressed in its report of February 26, 2010, (1) how many witnesses were interviewed, (2) how many, if any, subpoenas were issued in the course of their investigation, and (3) what documents were reviewed and their availability for public review.

□ 1145

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The resolution qualifies.

#### MOTION TO REFER THE RESOLUTION

Mr. HASTINGS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I move the resolution be referred to the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct.

Mr. FLAKE. I move the previous question on the resolution itself.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The motion for the previous question is preferential.

The question is on ordering the previous question on the resolution.

The question was taken; and the Speaker pro tempore announced that the yeas appeared to have it.

Mr. FLAKE. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 187, nays 218, answered "present" 16, not voting 9, as follows:

[Roll No. 217]

YEAS—187

Aderholt  
Adler (NJ)  
Akin  
Alexander

Austria  
Bachmann  
Bachus  
Bartlett

Barton (TX)  
Biggert  
Bilbray  
Bilirakis

Bishop (UT)  
Blackburn  
Blunt  
Boehner  
Bono Mack  
Boozman  
Boustany  
Brady (TX)  
Bright  
Broun (GA)  
Brown (SC)  
Brown-Waite,  
Ginny  
Buchanan  
Burgess  
Burton (IN)  
Calvert  
Camp  
Campbell  
Cantor  
Cao  
Capito  
Carter  
Cassidy  
Castle  
Chaffetz  
Childers  
Coble  
Coffman (CO)  
Cole  
Cooper  
Crenshaw  
Culberson  
Davis (KY)  
Diaz-Balart, M.  
Donnelly (IN)  
Dreier  
Duncan  
Ehlers  
Emerson  
Fallin  
Flake  
Fleming  
Forbes  
Fortenberry  
Foster  
Foxy  
Franks (AZ)  
Frelinghuysen  
Gallegly  
Garrett (NJ)  
Gerlach  
Giffords  
Gingrey (GA)  
Goodlatte  
Granger  
Graves  
Griffith  
Guthrie  
Hall (TX)

Halvorson  
Heller  
Hensarling  
Herger  
Himes  
Hodes  
Hoekstra  
Hunter  
Issa  
Jenkins  
Johnson (IL)  
Johnson, Sam  
Jones  
Jordan (OH)  
King (IA)  
King (NY)  
Kingston  
Kirk  
Kirkpatrick (AZ)  
Kline (MN)  
Kosmas  
Lamborn  
Lance  
LaTourette  
Latta  
Lee (NY)  
Lewis (CA)  
Linder  
LoBiondo  
Loebuck  
Lucas  
Luetkemeyer  
Lummis  
Lungren, Daniel  
E.  
Mack  
Manzullo  
Marchant  
Markey (CO)  
McCarthy (CA)  
McClintock  
McCotter  
McHenry  
McKeon  
McMahon  
McMorris  
Rodgers  
McNerney  
Mica  
Miller (FL)  
Miller (MI)  
Miller, Gary  
Minnick  
Mitchell  
Moran (KS)  
Murphy (NY)  
Murphy, Tim  
Neugebauer  
Nunes  
Olson

Owens  
Paul  
Paulsen  
Pence  
Perriello  
Petri  
Pitts  
Platts  
Poe (TX)  
Posey  
Price (GA)  
Putnam  
Quigley  
Radanovich  
Rehberg  
Reichert  
Roe (TN)  
Rogers (AL)  
Rogers (KY)  
Rogers (MI)  
Rohrabacher  
Rooney  
Ros-Lehtinen  
Roskam  
Royce  
Ryan (WI)  
Scalise  
Schmidt  
Schock  
Sensenbrenner  
Sessions  
Shadegg  
Shimkus  
Shuster  
Simpson  
Smith (NE)  
Smith (NJ)  
Smith (TX)  
Souder  
Stearns  
Sullivan  
Taylor  
Terry  
Thompson (PA)  
Thornberry  
Tiahrt  
Tiberi  
Turner  
Upton  
Walz  
Wamp  
Westmoreland  
Whitfield  
Wilson (SC)  
Wittman  
Wolf  
Young (AK)  
Young (FL)

NAYS—218

Ackerman  
Altmire  
Andrews  
Arcuri  
Baca  
Baird  
Baldwin  
Barrow  
Bean  
Becerra  
Berkley  
Berman  
Berry  
Bishop (GA)  
Bishop (NY)  
Blumenauer  
Bocchieri  
Boren  
Boswell  
Boucher  
Boyd  
Brady (PA)  
Braley (IA)  
Brown, Corrine  
Capps  
Capuano  
Cardoza  
Carnahan  
Carney  
Carson (IN)  
Chu  
Clarke  
Clay  
Cleaver  
Clyburn  
Cohen  
Connolly (VA)

Costa  
Costello  
Courtney  
Crowley  
Cuellar  
Cummings  
Dahlkemper  
Davis (CA)  
Davis (IL)  
Davis (TN)  
DeFazio  
DeGette  
Delahunt  
DeLauro  
Deutch  
Dicks  
Dingell  
Doggett  
Doyle  
Driehaus  
Edwards (MD)  
Edwards (TX)  
Ellison  
Ellsworth  
Engel  
Eshoo  
Etheridge  
Farr  
Fattah  
Filner  
Frank (MA)  
Fudge  
Garamendi  
Gonzalez  
Gordon (TN)  
Grayson  
Green, Al

Green, Gene  
Grijalva  
Gutierrez  
Hall (NY)  
Hare  
Harman  
Hastings (FL)  
Heinrich  
Herseth Sandlin  
Higgins  
Hill  
Hinchey  
Hinojosa  
Hirono  
Holden  
Holt  
Honda  
Hoyer  
Inlee  
Israel  
Jackson (IL)  
Jackson Lee  
(TX)  
Johnson (GA)  
Johnson, E. B.  
Kagen  
Kanjorski  
Kaptur  
Kennedy  
Kildee  
Kilpatrick (MI)  
Kilroy  
Kind  
Kissell  
Klein (FL)  
Kratovil  
Kucinich