

concerns expressed by those I represent. I want to clearly state my views on the President's proposed nuclear agreement with Iran.

Many remain puzzled as to why we are negotiating in the first place with a regime that has a stated intent to destroy the United States and Israel. Remember that just days after this deal was reached, Iran's Supreme Leader applauded and encouraged a large crowd gathered in Tehran as it chanted "Death to America!" and "Death to Israel!" Also puzzling is, even if we are going to negotiate, why be so unwilling to walk away when our stated objectives fall one after the other?

I share my constituents' frustration at a flawed, weak deal that seems to serve Iran's interests at the expense of our own.

How is that? First, inspections are not "anywhere, anytime" like negotiators originally said would be a deal-breaking must. In fact, at certain sites the Iranians could have up to 24 days' notice before inspectors are allowed in. That's a joke. And, even then, Americans are prohibited from making unilateral inspections.

Second, the "snap back" provisions the Administration points to as accountability mechanisms are weak by their own admission. Secretary Kerry and President Obama have repeatedly said that our unilateral economic sanctions don't work and put the United States at a disadvantage. Yet, the threat of those very sanctions "snapping back" into place is supposed to be the way we make sure Iran lives up to the agreement. They can't have it both ways. If our sanctions aren't strong enough on their own now, why would we rely on them as a way to hold Iran accountable in the future?

Third, under this deal, as much as \$150 billion would flow into Iran's coffers. Let's not kid ourselves to think that the world's foremost state sponsor of terrorism won't turn around and fund those who want to harm Americans and our allies. So, not only will we have paved the way for Iran to obtain a nuclear weapon and potentially initiated a nuclear arms race in the Middle East, but we will have strengthened the hand of this adversarial state while weakening our own.

I will continue to work with my colleagues to point out these weaknesses and make those supporting the deal explain why to the American people.

One silver lining is that the agreement is subject for review in the next administration because this is an executive agreement and not a treaty. Let's pray our next president doesn't adhere to a foreign policy doctrine of "leading from behind."

APPROVAL OF JOINT COMPREHENSIVE PLAN OF ACTION

SPEECH OF

HON. CHRISTOPHER P. GIBSON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 10, 2015

Mr. GIBSON. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of peace in the Middle East. Peace for our allies and friends in the region. Peace for the Iranian people. And sustainable peace for the United States.

Throughout my 29 years of military service, I served during war and peace. Throughout the Cold War, we constantly trained to re-

spond to and combat the greatest nuclear threat the world has ever faced: the Soviet Union. I deployed to Germany on what was effectively the front line, within walking distance of this grave threat. Afterwards, I fought in Desert Storm, with the Iraqi chemical and biological arsenal a threat at any moment. Finally, I deployed several more times to Iraq during the most recent war, fighting for stability against Islamic terrorists bent on death, chaos, and destruction.

In each of these experiences, I found the best and worst in humanity, and was always working towards lasting peace and stability.

I now have the honor to serve in the United States Congress, where I seek to prevent engagements in various regional conflicts, including those in Libya and Syria. I seek to bring a more democratic process to deploying American personnel into combat, which was the intent of the original 1973 War Powers Act. I take these positions because I know that the best and most responsible means of preventing conflict, or the exacerbation of conflict, is through strong diplomacy.

Today, I continue to fight to keep the United States out of another war. I work to protect and keep safe our allies and friends throughout the Middle East and the world. This is why I say no to an agreement that will only make us and our allies less safe in both the short and long term. The Iranian regime is the same regime that calls for death to America and Israel. This is the same regime engaged in destabilization of Iraq, Afghanistan, Yemen, and elsewhere. This is the same regime that funds the Assad regime in Syria which has used Weapons of Mass Destruction, killing hundreds of thousands of people. This is the same regime that funds terrorist organizations like Hezbollah, Hamas, and the Houthis. This is the same regime that directly funded, trained, and engaged in combat alongside radical Shiite militias that fought, injured, and killed American service men and women, including those under my command.

This deal not only allows, but in fact tacitly approves, Iranian access to modern conventional arms within five years. Within eight years, it lifts the ban on access to ballistic missile technology. The deal also allows Iran to immediately access tens of billions of dollars through sanctions relief, ensuring the modernization of its depleted conventional military and support for its world-wide terror network. The deal seeks to eliminate the legislative sovereignty of the United States Congress, our states, and our municipalities when it comes to key aspects of our foreign policy. The deal does not permit anytime, anywhere inspections. The deal does not outline how inspections will take place. The deal does not stop nuclear research and development in Iran. The deal does not prohibit Iran from seeking and obtaining nuclear weapons either through cheating or after the expiration of the terms.

I am afraid that this deal could hasten the pace to war, not end the threat of it. But this can be prevented. We can return to the negotiating table and engage from a position of strength. We can do so through stronger diplomacy; a more credible and consistent military posturing that does not appear haphazard and reactive; we can enact stronger sanctions, if needed; and finally, we must be willing to stick to a true red line and say no to a bad deal. I plead with my colleagues in the United

States Congress, as well as President Obama, Secretary Kerry, and others in this Administration: do not go ahead with this ill-fated and weak deal that hurts our national and international security.

APPROVAL OF JOINT COMPREHENSIVE PLAN OF ACTION

SPEECH OF

HON. LUCILLE ROYBAL-ALLARD

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 10, 2015

Ms. ROYBAL-ALLARD. Mr. Speaker, after careful study of public and classified information, extensive discussions with people on both sides of the issue, and much thought and deliberation, I have concluded that supporting the Iran nuclear agreement is the best option we have at this time to prevent Iran from having nuclear weapons. That is why I am supporting H.R. 3461, the legislation approving the Iran agreement.

While this agreement is not perfect, the deal provides unprecedented oversight and transparency over Iran's nuclear program that is not possible today. Furthermore, if the United States does not support the deal, I am concerned it could potentially isolate us from our partners who have given all indications that they are not prepared to walk away from this agreement.

We know Iran cannot be trusted. Therefore, if this deal is approved, there is no question we must be vigilant to make sure Iran does not violate the terms of the agreement. If there are any indications Iran is violating the deal, immediate action must be taken. We must never allow Iran to move towards having a nuclear weapon, and we must never give up working with Israel and our other allies until we achieve peace and stability in the Middle East.

APPROVAL OF JOINT COMPREHENSIVE PLAN OF ACTION

SPEECH OF

HON. PETER A. DeFAZIO

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 10, 2015

Mr. DeFAZIO. Mr. Speaker, today I stand in proud support of the international agreement reached by the P5+1 nations (France, Germany, the United Kingdom, Russia, China, and the United States) that is aimed at preventing Iran from becoming a nuclear-armed state. Preventing a nuclear arms race in the Middle East is essential to the security of the U.S., Israel, and the larger international community. It is why the U.S. led negotiations on this agreement and why this agreement has the unanimous support of the U.N. Security Council, over 90 nations, our Gulf state allies, and the world's largest powers.

Under this agreement, Iran has committed to obligations that go far beyond the requirements of the nuclear non-proliferation treaty. The agreement will block every pathway to a bomb for at least 15 years. It will require Iran to eliminate 97 percent of its stockpile of enriched uranium, remove two-thirds of its installed centrifuges that enrich uranium as well

as remove all the pipework and infrastructure that connects the centrifuges, and terminate the use of its advanced centrifuges to produce enriched uranium. Iran will be required to fill the core of the heavy water Arak reactor with concrete and repurpose it for peaceful purposes. Additionally the deal directs Iran to ship all spent fuel from the reactor out of the country, and prohibits Iran from building any new heavy water reactors. Experts say that these steps are not easily reversible and it would take Iran anywhere from 2 to 5 years to rebuild that infrastructure. Efforts to rebuild it would be detected within a few days.

Under the agreement, Iran's uranium and plutonium manufacturing capabilities will be both severely limited and strictly monitored by the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). The IAEA will be granted around-the-clock access to Iran's uranium mills, mines, conversion facilities, centrifuge manufacturing and storage facilities, making it nearly impossible for the Iranian government to violate their manufacturing restrictions. The IAEA will also have access to sites of concern where they believe unauthorized production to be taking place.

If Iran fully complies with this agreement it will be an historic moment not only for the U.S. but for the rest of the world. If Iran violates the agreement, U.S., U.N., and E.U. sanctions will be snapped back into place. Further, all U.S. sanctions on Iran related to their involvement in terrorism and human rights abuses remain in place. All of the P5+1 partners understand that the U.S. will continue to strongly enforce these sanctions, including sanctions that impact non-U.S. entities.

While I will not question the intentions of my colleagues, since we all have the same goal which is to prevent a nuclear-armed Iran, some of the rhetoric in opposition to this agreement has been damaging, unhelpful, and at times absurd. Opponents of the agreement have called into question the integrity of the IAEA and their ability as the world's foremost independent organization on nuclear non-proliferation to do their work—for example, by claiming that the confidential nuclear safeguards agreement between the IAEA and Iran is a "side deal" and must be made available to the U.S. government. There is too much at stake and this debate merits a serious conversation based on facts. We need to move beyond the irresponsible, heated rhetoric and do what's necessary to assure that this agreement is successful, will not be violated by Iran, and ensuring that if violations occur there will be serious consequences.

When this agreement is implemented Iran will be further away from the bomb than they are today. It will result in prolonging their timeline for creating a nuclear bomb from a matter of months to at least one year. Without the agreement, Iran would be able to continue their nuclear program unrestrained. If the U.S. walked away from the agreement, Iran would most likely ramp up their centrifuge production—as they did after the U.S. imposed sanctions—which would surely spark a nuclear arms race in the Middle East.

Congress should play a supportive role in ensuring that the president can implement this agreement and provide oversight of Iran's compliance. Instead, my Republican colleagues are attempting to scuttle and undermine it, damaging U.S. credibility in the international community and creating a potentially

dangerous security position for our nation. While I have not always agreed with President Obama's foreign policy choices I have fully supported his efforts to resolve the crisis over Iran's nuclear ambitions through diplomacy. The conclusion of this agreement demonstrates just how far the U.S. has come in repairing the damage wrought during the Bush administration. It proves that once again the U.S. can be trusted in working with both our allies and adversaries in navigating some of the world's most challenging security issues.

The U.S. has nothing to lose by implementing this agreement—all options remain on the table, but we have a lot to lose if we walk away. Rejecting this agreement like some of my colleagues are advocating would take us back to some of the darkest years in U.S. history. Opponents of this agreement are using arguments put forth by Dick Cheney and Benjamin Netanyahu, two leading cheerleaders of the Iraq war—the worst U.S. foreign policy mistake in the history of our nation. Nobody wants to become further entangled in an endless war in the Middle East. The U.S. wasted more than \$4 trillion on the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan and spent more money rebuilding Afghanistan than we did on the Marshall Plan to rebuild Europe after World War II. What have the results been? Afghanistan is still a mess and Iraq is rife with religious and ethnic strife and partially overrun by ISIS.

Preventing Iran from developing a nuclear weapon would be a huge step forward in the most unstable and dangerous region of the world. Implementing this agreement is the only option and the best alternative available to taking military action.

Lastly, I'm hopeful that the successful implementation of this agreement will lead to a permanent peaceful resolution to this matter and open up a new chapter in Iranian-U.S. relations. Iran's future is also at stake and there is a young Iranian population that would like to see better relations with the U.S. and a more open Iran. This agreement should not be viewed as an irreversible capitulation to Iran. It is the first step in what will be a very long and arduous road to resolving critical issues with Iran and ensuring a safer Middle East.

APPROVAL OF JOINT COMPREHENSIVE PLAN OF ACTION

SPEECH OF

HON. SANFORD D. BISHOP, JR.

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 10, 2015

Mr. BISHOP of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, after careful review of the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA), analysis by experts pro and con, consultation with advocates from AIPAC, and prayerful consideration, I have concluded that the JCPOA is a strong, verifiable agreement which, if implemented, provides the best available option, short of military action, to prevent Iran from securing a nuclear weapon.

Israel is our nation's closest friend in the Middle East and one of our nation's key allies. Our relationship is based on shared democratic values, mutual respect, and our Judeo-Christian heritage. I have witnessed first-hand Israel's remarkable culture, innovation, entrepreneurship, and patriotism, especially when I traveled to the Holy Land.

Drawing from my experience as a member of the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, the House Appropriations Subcommittee on Defense, and the House Appropriations Subcommittee on Military Construction and Veterans' Affairs, I have an acute appreciation for the tremendous security challenges Israel and its people face as the nation seeks to survive and thrive in a very hostile neighborhood. Consequently, I have always supported funding for Israel's missile defense programs; a peaceful resolution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict through direct and bilateral talks; and efforts such as the United States-Israel Strategic Partnership Act of 2013 to promote closer military, scientific, and economic ties between our two countries.

Moreover, I have consistently supported international sanctions against Iran, not merely to inflict economic hardships on the government and people of Iran because of their anti-American, anti-Israeli, and anti-Semitic conduct, but to ultimately bring Iran to the negotiating table to deter its nuclear weapons program, which poses a real and grave threat to Israel, the United States, and the entire world.

Because the threat of Iran acquiring a nuclear weapon is so ominous, our country was able to persuade a multitude of nations to join us, albeit reluctantly, in imposing these severe sanctions which have effectively brought Iran to the negotiation table regarding its nuclear weapons program. On July 14, 2015, negotiators from Iran, the United States, the United Kingdom, France, Germany, Russia, and China, along with the European Union, announced completion of a comprehensive nuclear agreement with Iran—the JCPOA.

The JCPOA requires that the full extent of the Iran nuclear program will be under constant surveillance—24 hours a day, 7 days a week—by the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) for at least 15 years, which is the strongest nuclear non-proliferation monitoring agency anywhere in the world. Even after 15 years, Iran will be permanently obligated to follow all international Nuclear Non-Proliferation treaty requirements. Monitoring of the most sensitive parts of Iran's nuclear program will continue indefinitely.

The JCPOA affirms that under no circumstance will Iran ever seek, develop, or acquire any nuclear weapons. It also places severe restrictions on Iran's uranium enrichment facilities, dismantles its plutonium production capabilities, and provides the IAEA access to all known and potential covert sites.

If Iran complies with the JCPOA, international sanctions will be lifted and Iranian funds frozen in foreign banks will be released. However, if Iran violates the agreement, sanctions will snap back into place and all options—including the use of military force—will remain available to the United States, Israel, and our allies to prevent Iran from obtaining a nuclear weapon. These options will only be strengthened by the intelligence gathered from the IAEA monitoring and inspections, as well as by the vast array of U.S. intelligence assets across the region and the world.

The JCPOA is not perfect. Neither side got everything they wanted. And a skeptical international community has deep concerns about Iran's long and nefarious record of human rights violations, financing of terrorism, hostility to Israel and the United States, as well as its destabilizing role throughout the Middle East.