

**U.S. Senate Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs
Subcommittee on Federal Financial Management, Government Information,
and International Security**

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Iran: Tehran's Nuclear Recklessness and the U.S. Response

Testimony of

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Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for giving me an opportunity to testify at today's hearing on "Iran's Nuclear Recklessness and the US Response" being held by the **Senate Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs**.

The threat of Iran's nuclear program to the US is very real, and it is highly dangerous. Make no mistake about it, if Iran is allowed to develop nuclear weapons, and the world does nothing about it, we will pay a horrendous price. It is no secret that Iran has developed an intermediate range Missile, known as the Shahab.

Words matter, Mister Chairman, and the words of Iran's leaders should give us all pause. When the President of Iran says that "Israel should be wiped off the map," we can not dismiss his words as rhetorical extravagance. When the elected leader of a nation that is brazenly pursuing a nuclear weapon option talks about wiping a nation off the map, those words, in themselves should cause us great concern.

The Shahab missile does not have precise guidance capabilities, making it of no real military use in purely military terms, it cannot hit military targets with anywhere near pinpoint accuracy. It is a terror weapon, pure and simple, that can only be used to deliver a warhead in the general direction of almost every urban center in the Middle East.

It would appear that Iran is well into the design phase of a nuclear weapon. If allowed to pursue their real objectives, the building of a nuclear bomb, the threat of nuclear terror attacks will be increased many times over. This cannot be allowed to take place. The cost of our inaction, and that of the world community would be incalculable.

It is unimaginable that the free world would permit terrorists to have access to such destructive power. Because if every nation can develop nuclear weapons while the world is frozen in a diplomatic stupor, then we may all be doomed to a nuclear holocaust.

The real danger to world peace is not the Iranian development of a missile system that can deliver a nuclear device 1,000 miles or more. The real danger is the clandestine transfer of nuclear materials that could be used by terrorist organizations. It would be difficult or impossible to hold countries involved in such transfers accountable for nuclear terrorist attacks.

The likelihood of the Iranians or any other nation launching attacks pales in comparison to terrorist groups which are so shadowy that they escape the ability to have their acts traced back to them. There is no mutually assured destruction which acts to prevent or deter these shadowy terrorist groups from launching suicide attacks as exists in the family of nations.

The crisis is immediate and unfortunately, the options available to the U. S. in this crisis are very limited.

But how does Iran's nuclear program affect America's security? If terrorist elements are able to obtain nuclear weapons from rogue states and are determined to deliver them to our country - they will not rely on missiles to fly them in and they will achieve absolute pinpoint accuracy in the delivery of these horrific weapons by smuggling them into American cities and detonating them in our

midst.

The stakes are high, Mr. Chairman, and the US is at an historic crossroads in our relations with Iran. This is like a prize fight. We either stay in the ring with the international community or we are outside the ring. Mr. Chairman, you cannot win a fight outside the ring.

To that end we must cultivate a grand coalition. If Russia is willing to help assure that Iran's peaceful nuclear technology and fuels are held in a well policed closed loop, if as one diplomat says even France sees the threat as real, if the UN and the IAEA are willing to act with resolve and meaning, then we should put aside all preconceptions and prejudices to work together to solve this deadly problem. If the Arab League can be brought to bear in this matter, to take into account that a nuclear Iran is destabilizing to the entire Middle East, all the better.

We are faced with the necessity to temper Iran's flirtation with nuclear empowerment by firmly asserting international limits on the future possibility of nuclear power in Iran or anywhere else in the non-nuclear world. The US must always be the moral leader in this quest for nuclear containment, we must be willing to provide the minds and the muscle to help enforce international will, but we must also seize the opportunity to galvanize world powers to stand at our side in the effort. If we are headed towards a nuclear doomsday – and we very well may be – then we should do so with the moral and military force of the entire enlightened world community among our ranks. We should not and cannot fight this fight alone.

The U.S. must commit itself fully and totally in the international community's efforts to constrict the spread of nuclear arms capability wherever and whenever this threat rears its head. This policy of constrictive engagement must involve the entire world

community.

I firmly believe in the efficacy of well defined and implemented sanctions, Mr. Chairman. As a member of the Senate I authored the **Iran Libyan Sanctions Act (ILSA)** in 1995 to deter Iran and Libya's support for terrorism.

Always keeping our goal of preventing nuclear proliferation firmly at the center of our foreign policy, we must respond with an agile and adaptive foreign policy towards rogue states such as Iran. I refer to this policy as *constrictive engagement. It is a policy to constrict Iran's choices, its actions, and its impulses in its quest for a nuclear capability, to squeeze its leaders hard until they understand that the world resolve is equal to their aggressiveness.* The tactical application of this policy is the effective use of economic and political sanctions and the use of world forums to bring to light the rogue nature of Iran's policies.

To that end we must remember President John Kennedy's timeless words: "Let us never negotiate out of fear. But let us never fear to negotiate." This should be the mantra of the world community toward rogue states and the terrorist activities they support.

In short, for positive actions that Iran takes, let there be a measured reward and for every transgression there must be penalties supported by the world community. Make no mistake about it, this will not be easy and the Iranians no doubt will test our resolve. But we must remain firm along with the free nations of the world in this time of crisis and challenge. For, without security, there can be no peace, and ultimately, no real freedom.