



**WHY THE IRAN DEAL
IS BAD FOR BOTH
AMERICA AND ISRAEL**

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Administration maneuvers on Iran deal undercut Congressional authority

By Joshua S. Block

During the high-stakes negotiations with the Islamic Republic of Iran, U.S. negotiators made monumental miscalculations, renege on critical redlines that were once considered non-negotiable. Its latest maneuvers to filibuster Congressional votes of approval or disapproval of the deal illustrate the depths to which the Administration has sunk in order to ram through this grave foreign policy and national security error.

It actually makes sense why the White House would go to such extremes in order to stifle debate on the Iran deal. The President's shiny new victory is already permanently tarnished by the American people's overwhelming disapproval of the deal. Polls indicate that Americans by a 2 to 1 ratio are opposed to it, with only 21 percent of Americans in favor. Other studies have clearly shown that the more that people know about the agreement the less they like it. Meanwhile, among the American people's elected officials in Congress a bipartisan majority in both the Senate and the House of Representatives are firmly opposed.

With Iran doubling down on its vow to bring "Death to America," Americans from coast to coast have concluded that allowing \$150 billion to



follow to the world's leading terrorist sponsor, stripping away a vital arms embargo and permitting an anti-American and anti-Semitic regime to retain its nuclear infrastructure and hover on the precipice of developing nuclear weapons is hardly in our best interests

By wielding the filibuster to prevent an up or down vote on a binding resolution of disapproval in the Senate as a formal protest of the nuclear accord, the White House is flouting the will of the American people and depriving their elected officials in Congress the opportunity to go on the record regarding the Iran deal. By doing so, the Administration is demanding partisan loyalty from Democrats that

strips Congress of its Constitutional authority as a co-equal branch of government.

The White House is willfully disregarding America's system of checks and balances. It has repeated the mantra that this deal was the best that could be achieved and that the alternatives to the deal are worse. Indeed, many lawmakers who support the deal have done so while issuing caveats that they have serious concerns.

Using the rationale that Congress must fall into line with support, especially for bad deals that undermine our national security, sets a very dangerous precedent. Future Administrations will place any number of international agreements before Congress expecting approval and warning that failure to do so will undermine the credibility of the Executive Branch and that alternatives are worse.

Such a flawed approach completely undercuts the standing of Congress as a co-equal branch of government. Congress has a vital role to play when it comes to foreign policy, and rather than abdicating its authority it should wield it to strengthen international agreements and ensure that such deals truly are the best that can be achieved.

In the case of the Iran deal and moving forward, rather than accepting as a fait accompli the agreements placed before it by the Administration,

the representatives of the people should have the opportunity to evaluate proposals on their merits. And Congress must retain its prerogative to evaluate the facts and vote accordingly rather than being strong-armed into accepting Administration hyperbole that the alternatives are worse.

The actual provisions outlined in the Iran deal are bad enough. But marginalizing the legislative branch to shut down debate on a deal that ultimately paves the way for Iran to realize its deadly nuclear ambitions is particularly alarming. The White House has both a moral and constitutional obligation to allow Congress to weigh in on such a critical foreign policy decision that so greatly affects American national security.

Despite the Obama Administration's best efforts to prevent any Congressional review or debate of this accord, Congress and the American have spoken clearly and in majority bipartisan opposition. As this Administration moves forward, it does so over those objections and on its own behalf, not on behalf of the American people, or those who make the law of the land.

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Joshua S. Block is President & CEO of The Israel Project.

A deal that ensures Iran has the capability to destroy America



THE WASHINGTON TIMES

In a speech before the American Enterprise Institute earlier this month, former Vice President Dick Cheney made the case why Congress should have rejected the Iran nuclear deal and why President Obama's concessions to Iran have dire consequences for America.

Here are key excerpts from that speech.

I know of no nation in history that has agreed to guarantee that the means of its own destruction will be in the hands of another nation, particularly one that is hostile. What President Obama is asking the United States Congress to do [on the Iran deal] is unique—historically and dangerously unique. The results may be catastrophic.

The claims made by President Obama, Secretary Kerry, and other members of the Obama Administration about this agreement have been robust. This deal will, they have said, and I quote “prevent Iran from obtaining a nuclear weapon,” “cut off all Iran’s pathways to a bomb, including the covert pathway,” provide us with a “certainty we will know what they are doing” in the nuclear arena, “prevent nuclear proliferation,” encourage stability across the Middle East, and “prevent war.” These assertions are simply false.

Take the president’s assurance that the agreement will “prevent Iran from obtaining a nuclear weapon.” In a more candid moment a few months ago, he admitted that under this deal, the Iranians in thirteen years or so will have—and I quote, “advanced centrifuges that enrich uranium fairly rapidly, and at that point the breakout times would have shrunk down to zero.” The president’s own words make clear that this agreement does not keep Iran from nuclear capability. Quite the opposite, it guarantees that in less time than has passed since 9/11, a regime

with “Death to America” as a pillar of its national policy, will have the ability and material to produce an arsenal of nuclear weapons.

And at that point what is to prevent them from doing so? Well, President Obama tells us, they promise they won’t. We are asked to rely on the word of a country that has cheated on every nuclear agreement to which they have been a party that once they have the means in place to become a nuclear power, they won’t do it.

The president says this deal will “stop the spread of nuclear weapons in this region.” In fact, by legitimizing the Iranian enrichment program for the first time ever, the deal will likely accelerate nuclear proliferation as other nations demand the same right. America’s friends and allies in the Middle East, including the Gulf Arab states, know that their own security hangs in the balance as the United States enables Iran to acquire nuclear weapons. They have watched the Iranians get the better of us in these negotiations. They know we are simultaneously withdrawing from the region and making cuts to our own nuclear arsenal and defense budget. They are already assessing that the security guarantees long provided by the United States are increasingly meaningless, and that announced red lines are more likely to be abandoned than defended by the United States today.

They are more likely in this environment, and in the aftermath of this deal, to determine that their own security requires that they possess their own nuclear weapons.

The president says this deal will ensure “the international community will be able to verify that [Iran] will not develop a nuclear weapon.” He has said the inspections regime is historic and that the agreement cuts off “every one of Iran’s pathways to a bomb,” including, magically, the covert pathway. Let’s look at the facts. After we were assured repeatedly by members of his administration that this agreement would include “anytime/anywhere” inspections, President Obama has accepted a deal that gives the Iranians anywhere from 24 days to many months to delay inspections at suspicious sites.

The value of this agreement—and the veracity of the president’s claims about it—rest on the inspections regime contained within it. Inspectors need to know what Iran has done in the past so they have a baseline against which to assess whether that country is cheating in the future. Secretary Kerry seemed to understand this in April 2015 when he said

the Iranians would have to disclose past activity. “They have to do it,” he said. “It will be done. If there’s going to be a deal, it will be done.” Two months later, in July of this year, Secretary Kerry’s position changed dramatically, “We’re not fixated on Iran specifically accounting for what they did at one time or another,” he said, because, and I quote, “We have absolute knowledge” with respect to Iran’s past activities. If you’re looking for a quick summary of Secretary Kerry’s position on the need for Iran to completely disclose all its past nuclear activity, you could say he was for it before he was against it.

General Mike Hayden, former director of the CIA and the NSA, has said he knows of no American intelligence official who would claim, as Secretary Kerry does, that “we have complete knowledge” of what Iran has done in the past. Detecting elements of a country’s nuclear program and predicting how close it is to breakout is a notoriously difficult intelligence task. It is one that we have failed at time and time again. The United States failed to predict the first Soviet atomic test in 1949, the first Chinese test in 1964, the first Indian test in 1974, the first Pakistani test in 1998, and the first North Korean test in 2006.

All of this should raise serious concerns about the claims President Obama has made that the agreement guarantees a breakout time of at least a year.

The president also expressed firm resolve on the matter of sanctions. They would be lifted when, and only when, the Iranians had first met their obligations. It worked out a little differently of course. They got that \$12 billion and other sanctions relief right away. Soon, the regime will be a player again in the oil and financial markets. And, finally, something on the order of \$150 billion will be coming their way in the assets released under the deal.

We were told, and are still being told, that at the first sign of cheating, sanctions will suddenly “snap back” on the regime. In reality, the deal makes it very difficult to re-impose sanctions, or to impose any new ones. It enables Iran to walk away from the agreement completely if any attempt is made to sanction them anew.

President Obama has agreed to Iranian demands to remove restrictions on key elements of the infrastructure Tehran uses to support global terrorism, including the IRGC Quds Force. He agreed to lift restrictions on Iran’s ICBM program and on its ability to import and export conventional weapons. If this agreement is approved, these concessions will further Iran’s efforts to achieve one of its main objectives in the

Middle East—to drive the United States out. Former undersecretary of defense Ambassador Eric Edelman recently testified that under the JCPOA, quote, “The United States will not be able to rely, as it has for the past 30 years, on an assumption that it will have unimpeded access and control in all the domains of warfare in the Persian Gulf.”

This agreement will enable Iran to modernize and expand its military capabilities while the United States military suffers from the devastating Obama-era defense cuts and the effects of sequestration. Contrary to claims made by the President and Secretary of State, the United States will be in a far worse position to defend our interests and prevent a nuclear armed Iran when the Obama agreement sunsets than we are today.

It isn’t just Hezbollah, the Houthis, and Bashar Asad who will benefit from the lifting of restrictions on Iran. Iran’s ties to terrorist groups are extensive. That’s why Republican and Democratic administrations alike have identified them as the world’s leading state-sponsor of terror. In 2011, President Obama’s Treasury Department designated six al Qaeda terrorists for their involvement in a network that moves money and terrorists across the Middle East, including into Iraq and Afghanistan. That network was headquartered in Iran.

The President has said he understands that Iran’s support for terror continues. He has said that should not stop Congress from approving his nuclear deal. He seems willfully blind to the fact that the benefits conveyed to Iran in this agreement—the money, the conventional weapons, the sanctions relief—facilitate and enable the Iranian regime’s support for terror and terrorists groups, including those who have attacked the United States and are today threatening our security, our allies and our interests.

A far better deal is still possible, and it begins with reasserting our original objective on each of these matters: Iran must halt its enrichment and reprocessing activities. It must halt its ballistic missile activities. It must provide a full and complete accounting of all its past nuclear activities. It must allow complete go anywhere/anytime access, including at military sites. There should be no sanctions relief until Iran has fulfilled these obligations. If Iran chooses not to do so, they must understand that the United States stands ready to take military action to ensure they do not acquire a nuclear weapon.

Schumer: Iran won't change its ways under this deal



THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Sen. Charles Schumer of New York was one of the highest profile Democrats to rebuff President Obama and come out against the Iran nuclear deal. Below are excerpts from his Aug. 6 statement explaining the decision.

Every several years or so a legislator is called upon to cast a momentous vote in which the stakes are high and both sides of the issue are vociferous in their views.

Over the years, I have learned that the best way to treat such decisions is to study the issue carefully, hear the full, unfiltered explanation of those for and against, and then, without regard to pressure, politics or party, make a decision solely based on the merits.

I have spent the last three weeks doing just that: carefully studying the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action, reading and re-reading the agreement and its annexes, questioning dozens of proponents and opponents, and seeking answers to questions that go beyond the text of the agreement but will have real consequences that must be considered.

Advocates on both sides have strong cases for their point of view that cannot simply be dismissed. This has made evaluating the agreement a difficult and deliberate endeavor, and after deep study, careful thought and considerable soul-searching, I have decided I must oppose the agreement and will vote yes on a motion of disapproval.

In making my decision, I examined this deal in three parts: nuclear restrictions on Iran in the first ten years, nuclear restrictions on Iran after ten years, and non-nuclear components and consequences of a deal. In each

case I have asked: are we better off with the agreement or without it?

In the first ten years of the deal, there are serious weaknesses in the agreement. First, inspections are not “anywhere, anytime”; the 24-day delay before we can inspect is troubling. While inspectors would likely be able to detect radioactive isotopes at a site after 24 days, that delay would enable Iran to escape detection of any illicit building and improving of possible military dimensions (PMD) – the tools that go into building a bomb but don't emit radioactivity.

Furthermore, even when we detect radioactivity at a site where Iran is illicitly advancing its bomb-making capability, the 24-day delay would hinder our ability to determine precisely what was being done at that site.

Even more troubling is the fact that the U.S. cannot demand inspections unilaterally. By requiring the majority of the 8-member Joint Commission, and assuming that China, Russia, and Iran will not cooperate, inspections would require the votes of all three European members of the P5+1 as well as the EU representative. It is reasonable to fear that, once the Europeans become entangled in lucrative economic relations with Iran, they may well be inclined not to rock the boat by voting to allow inspections.

Additionally, the “snapback” provisions in the agreement seem cumbersome and difficult to use. While the U.S. could unilaterally cause snapback of all sanctions, there will be instances where it would be more appropriate to snapback some but not all of the sanctions, because the violation is significant but not severe. A partial snapback of multilateral sanctions could be difficult to obtain, because the U.S. would require the cooperation of other nations.

If the U.S. insists on snapback of all the provisions, which it can do unilaterally, and the Europeans, Russians, or Chinese feel that is too severe a punishment, they may not comply.

Second, we must evaluate how this deal would restrict Iran's nuclear development after ten years.

Supporters argue that after ten years, a future President would be in no weaker a position than we are today to prevent Iran from racing to the bomb. That argument discounts the current sanctions regime. After fifteen years of relief from sanctions, Iran would be stronger financially and better able to advance a robust nuclear program. Even more importantly, the agreement would allow Iran, after ten to fifteen years, to be a nuclear threshold state with the blessing of the world community. Iran would have a green light to be as close, if not closer to possessing a nuclear weapon than it is today. And the ability to thwart Iran if it is intent on becoming a nuclear power would have less moral and economic force.

If Iran's true intent is to get a nuclear weapon, under this agreement, it must simply exercise patience.

In addition, we must consider the non-nuclear elements of the agreement. This aspect of the deal gives me the most pause. For years, Iran has used military force and terrorism to expand its influence in the Middle East, actively supporting military or terrorist actions in Israel, Syria, Lebanon, Yemen, Iraq, and Gaza. That is why the U.S. has labeled Iran as one of only three nations in the world who are “state sponsors of terrorism.” Under this agreement, Iran would receive at least \$50 billion dollars in the near future and would undoubtedly

use some of that money to redouble its efforts to create even more trouble in the Middle East, and, perhaps, beyond.

To reduce the pain of sanctions, the Supreme Leader had to lean left and bend to the moderates in his country. It seems logical that to counterbalance, he will lean right and give the Iranian Revolutionary Guard (IRGC) and the hardliners resources so that they can pursue their number one goal: strengthening Iran's armed forces and pursuing even more harmful military and terrorist actions.

Finally, the hardliners can use the freed-up funds to build an ICBM on their own as soon as sanctions are lifted (and then augment their ICBM capabilities in 8 years after the ban on importing ballistic weaponry is lifted), threatening the United States. Restrictions should have been put in place limiting how Iran could use its new resources.

When it comes to the non-nuclear aspects of the deal, I think there is a strong case that we are better off without an agreement than with one.

Using the proponents' overall standard – which is not whether the agreement is ideal, but whether we are better with or without it – it seems to me, when it comes to the nuclear aspects of the agreement within ten years, we might be slightly better off with it. However, when it comes to the nuclear aspects after ten years and the non-nuclear aspects, we would be better off without it.

Admittedly, no one can tell with certainty which way Iran will go. It is true that Iran has a large number of people who want their government to decrease its isolation from the world and focus on economic advancement at home. But it is also true that this desire has been evident in Iran for thirty-five years, yet the Iranian leaders have held a tight and undiminished grip on Iran, successfully maintaining their brutal, theocratic dictatorship with little threat. Who's to say this dictatorship will not prevail for another ten, twenty, or thirty years?

To me, the very real risk that Iran will not moderate and will, instead, use the agreement to pursue its nefarious goals is too great.

Therefore, I will vote to disapprove the agreement, not because I believe war is a viable or desirable option, nor to challenge the path of diplomacy. It is because I believe Iran will not change, and under this agreement it will be able to achieve its dual goals of eliminating sanctions while ultimately retaining its nuclear and non-nuclear power.



ILLUSTRATION BY GREG GROESCH

Why the Iran deal makes war more likely



By Sen. Orrin Hatch

The Iranian regime is one of our most dangerous foes.

It has declared the United States to be the Great Satan. It has repeatedly proclaimed its intent to wipe Israel off the map. It has perpetrated violence against American servicemen and civilians alike. It has sown conflict across the most volatile region of the world. And it has oppressed its people by some of the most ghastly methods imaginable.

Given the threat posed by this rogue regime, preventing Iran from acquiring a nuclear weapons capability is absolutely critical. It is a goal shared across party lines as well as amongst many of our friends and allies abroad. All of us here prefer to prevent Iran from acquiring this capability by diplomatic means if possible, rather than by armed conflict.

In light of this shared desire to resolve the Iranian threat without a war, I examined the Obama administration's proposed agreement hopeful—if skeptical—that I could support the deal. Nevertheless, the duty incumbent upon us as Senators is not to accept or reject this deal based on knee-jerk reactions or blind partisan loyalty, but rather to determine our stances based on thorough examination and reasoned judgment. Regrettably, after much study I have concluded that this is a catastrophically bad deal that I must strongly oppose.

Far from blocking the Iranian regime's path to nuclear weapons capability, this agreement actually secures what Mark Dubowitz, the Executive Director of the Foundation for Defense of Democracies, calls a "patient pathway" to nuclear weapons capability. Consider the timeline. From day one, the Iranian regime will be allowed to enrich uranium using thousands of centrifuges and to conduct nuclear research and development.

After eight years, Iran will be allowed to begin building hundreds of advanced

new centrifuges annually and will be allowed to expand its ballistic missile program.

After fifteen years Iran will be permitted to:

- Stockpile significant quantities of enriched uranium;
- Use advanced centrifuges to enrich uranium on an industrial scale;
- And build heavy water reactors according to the State Department's own fact sheet.

And after only ten years, Iran's breakout time to rush for a nuclear weapon drops "almost down to zero," as President Obama himself admitted.

All that the Iranian regime has to do is abide by the terms of the agreement to achieve threshold nuclear weapons status with an expanded infrastructure for the production of nuclear material and a viable means of delivering a nuclear weapon to targets as far away as the United States.

Moreover, the deal's means of ensuring and verifying the Iranian regime's compliance with these temporary limits on its nuclear program are, frankly, pathetic. Our only peaceful means of recourse under the deal, the so-called snapback mechanism, involves an incredibly cumbersome process.

In light of these incredible concessions to the Iranian regime, I am also deeply troubled by the great benefits the Iranian regime stands to enjoy from this deal.

Foolishly, in exchange for these minimal, temporary concessions, the Iranian regime stands to reap enormous rewards in sanctions relief. According to figures cited by President Obama, the Iranian regime will regain control of more than \$150 billion dollars currently frozen in the world's financial institutions. Sanctions relief will also allow an influx of international businesses into Iran, bringing about a stronger economy and greater revenue for the Tehran regime.

If the Iranian regime suddenly becomes flush with cash, what incentive will it have to change priorities 15 years from now? Doesn't this deal reward what the Obama administration called "bad behavior" in one of the most astonishing understatements that I have ever heard?

I can only conclude that Obama administration officials proved to be weak negotiators because of absolute desperation for a deal. These massive

concessions to the Iranian regime for so little in return were produced by this administration's knee-jerk aversion to the prospect of using military force, a preoccupation demonstrated by the constant rhetoric that we hear from the White House that the only alternatives to this deal is war.

That claim is patently false. We can and should go back to the negotiating table. While reassembling the sanctions coalition that this agreement throws away will not be easy and may not even be fully possible, a nation as strong as ours still has plenty of tools at our disposal. Our unparalleled economic and military might give us significant leverage to get a better deal, and we should not be misled by overly simplistic rhetoric to conclude otherwise.

War is never a happy matter to contemplate, especially from a position of responsibility such as the United States Senate. In this body, we are saddled all too often with the sorts of decisions in which

counsels further against any course of action that leads to war.

It is my unwavering judgment that this deal makes war much more likely. Let there be no doubt.

A deal that paves, rather than precludes, Iran's path to nuclear weapons capability makes war more likely.

A deal that makes the Iranian regime more confident of its ability to protect its nuclear program from international pressure and military action makes war more likely.

A deal that funnels tens of billions of dollars to terrorists bent on destabilizing the Middle East makes war more likely.

A deal that provokes a nuclear arms race in the most volatile region on the globe makes war more likely.

A deal that surrounds Israel not only with a nuclear Iran, but also eventually with numerous other regimes with nuclear weapons capability and a genocidal attitude toward the Jewish State makes war more likely.



ILLUSTRATION BY HUNTER

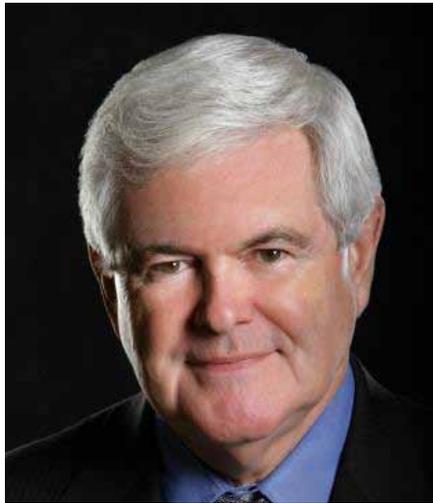
real people's lives hang in the balance:

None of us relish the prospect of war, especially in an age in which our weapons have a power almost too terrible to contemplate. In particular, neither I nor any of my colleagues seek a war with Iran. The Iranian people are not our enemies. They are our friends. No people has paid a higher price for the regime's record of terrorism, mass murder, corruption, and duplicity than the Iranians. The prospect of inflicting collateral damage on our long-suffering friends

And a deal that puts the Iranian regime and its terrorist allies one turn of a screwdriver away from a nuclear weapon and a means of delivering it across the oceans makes war more likely.

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Orrin Hatch, a Republican, is the senior U.S. senator from Utah. This was excerpted and adapted from his remarks on the Senate floor during the Iran nuclear deal debate.

An Iran deal that forgets the lessons of 9-11



By Newt Gingrich

There was something amazingly symbolic about Congress considering the Obama-Khamenei agreement on the 14th anniversary of the 9/11 attack.

Virtually every lesson Americans learned painfully that day has been forgotten in the rush to sign an agreement with the world's leading state sponsor of terror.

Fourteen years ago, the World Trade Center collapsed, the Pentagon was hit and a fourth plane crashed in Pennsylvania. The nation was horrified and enraged.

We learned that we could be surprised.

We learned that our enemies hated us and wanted to kill us.

We learned that our enemies were good at long term planning and at deception.

We learned once again that the military and intelligence communities play a vital role in keeping us safe.

Now, 14 years later, the president and his allies are ignoring every one of these lessons.

They have pushed an agreement that assumes we can trust our mortal

enemies and that assumes paper treaties and international bureaucrats can keep us safe.

They pressured their elected allies to side with them in this surrender to the Ayatollah Khamenei even when those allies know it is a terrible and dangerous idea.

Forget the harsh language of the opponents. Listen to what the supporters of the deal are saying.

First, our "partner" in this agreement, Iranian Supreme Leader Khamenei, reminded us that he views America as "the Great Satan" and vowed that Israel will be eliminated within 25 years. He said:

[Ayatollah] Khomeini called America 'the Great Satan.' That is a very wise saying ... Satan only deceives man, but the U.S. deceives, murders, and imposes sanctions ... After the nuclear talks were over, I heard that the Zionists in occupied Palestine had said: 'In the meantime, thanks to the results of the talks, we will have 25 years of quiet regarding the problem of Iran. After 25 years, we will think of something.' I respond to them by saying: 'First of all, in 25 years you will not be alive!...God willing, in 25 years there will be no such thing as the Zionist regime in the region, and secondly, during this period, the fighting Islamic spirit will not give the Zionists even a single day of serenity...'

When the leader you are trying to trust tells you before the agreement is ratified that he will destroy Israel and he will continue to preach "Death to America," you have to wonder what he will say after it is approved.

Our enemies' assessment of the deal is alarming enough. But some of the best arguments against it come from its supporters here in the United States.

Sen. Cory Booker explained his vote in favor of the agreement this way: "We have now passed a point of no return that we should have never reached, leaving our nation to choose between

two imperfect, dangerous and uncertain options ... Left with these two choices, I nonetheless believe it is better to support a deeply flawed deal, for the alternative is worse."

Sen. Richard Blumenthal set a low bar when he argued that "while this is not the agreement I would have accepted at the negotiating table, it is better than no deal at all."

Sen. Claire McCaskill said, "This deal isn't perfect and no one trusts Iran."

Rep. Scott Peters of California conceded that "the JCPOA is not perfect. It doesn't end Iran's support of terrorism or permanently end Iran's civilian nuclear energy program. It does extend the international weapons ban for five years and ballistic missile ban for eight years, but does not make the bans permanent."

Rep. Earl Blumenauer, an Oregon Democrat, said, "This agreement doesn't solve our problems."

Rep. Jerrold Nadler of New York said he was "concerned that many of the key elements expire in the 10-15 year timeframe..."

Sen. Amy Klobuchar said "the agreement is by no means perfect" and went on to indicate how much we have to prop up our allies when we are signing an agreement which frightens them: "I will also push for increased security assistance to Israel and enhanced defense cooperation with our Arab allies to combat terrorism throughout the region." Of course, the terrorism she wants to combat is supported in large part by the Iran which is about to get billions from the deal.

You can read a long list of what Democrats have said about the deal here. The statements are universally timid, conditional and understated.

The weak support might be because Democrats in Congress realize the Obama-Khamenei agreement is doubly dangerous. First, and most important, it is risking the security and safety of the

United States and its allies on an unenforceable paper agreement with religious fanatics who keep chanting "Death to America" and "Death to Israel." This agreement will turn tens of billions of dollars over to the leading state sponsor of terrorism in the world. It will dramatically strengthen and legitimize the Iranian dictatorship. It could become a national security nightmare.

Second, and politically fascinating, President Obama and his allies are now gambling the future of the Democratic Party on the trustworthiness and good will of the Ayatollah Khamenei.

At any time over the next 14 months, the Iranians could behave so aggressively that the Democratic Party would lose all credibility on national security.

The Iranian dictatorship set out 36 years ago to destroy the Carter Presidency. They did everything they could to humiliate him. It was symbolically important that they released the American hostages as Reagan was being sworn in.

The truth is that neither President Obama nor Secretary of State John Kerry have any idea what the Ayatollah and his dictatorship will do.

The Wall Street Journal captured this extraordinary vulnerability in an editorial, "Khamenei the Democrat." As the editorial noted "by putting up a blocking minority in Congress, the Democrats now own what will follow from the nuclear deal. That's another way of saying that, on this issue at least, the Ayatollah now owns them. Whatever Iranian 'democracy' decides next month on the deal, its Democratic supporters in the U.S. had better steel themselves for a rough ride."

Never in American history has a great political party tied its identity to a foreign dictator that publicly asserts it wants "Death to America."

Fourteen years after the 9/11 attack, we should all remember just how dangerous this can become.

Why more than 200 prominent generals, admirals oppose Iran deal

THE WASHINGTON TIMES

The number of retired generals and admirals signing on to a letter to Congress rejecting the Iran nuclear deal has continued to swell, with the former high-level U.S. military officers putting their stamp on the document that asserts the "agreement will enable Iran to become far more dangerous" and "introduce new threats to American interests."

The letter was initially sent to House and Senate leaders from both parties in early August with 190 signatures — among

them several individuals who've held high-level positions in past administrations, including former Navy Vice Admiral John Poindexter, who served as President Ronald Reagan's national security adviser.

Retired Air Force Lt. Gen. Thomas McNerney, who held various defense advisory positions during President Bill Clinton's administration, is also a signatory.

By the end of August, the number had grown to 214.

The letter outlines a litany of complaints about the nuclear deal. "The agreement as constructed does not 'cut off every

pathway' for Iran to acquire nuclear weapons," the letter states. "To the contrary, it actually provides Iran with a legitimate path to doing that simply by abiding by the deal."

The former military officials also assert that the deal is "unverifiable," lamenting that the agreement allowed for a "secret side deal" between Iran and International Atomic Energy Agency that will ultimately prevent U.N. weapons inspectors "from reliably detecting Iranian cheating."

The letter marked the latest in a growing list of memos sent to Capitol Hill by

opponents -- as well as proponents -- of the nuclear accord in hopes of swaying lawmakers to support or reject the deal.

More than 120 wealthy Democratic donors, including Hollywood producer Norman Lear and former Clinton-Gore campaign chair Mickey Kantor, wrote to Democratic leaders on the hill in early August, urging them to express support for the nuclear accord.

The military letter was signed by retired generals and admirals who served in both Democrat and Republican administrations over the past 40 years.

An Open Letter to Fellow Americans from the Tea Parties of the West

From Dr. Wm. Ames Curtright, founder of The Gathering of the Eagles in Turner, Oregon. Ames Eagles is a consortium of over 60 Tea Party and patriotic groups. As the representative of these groups, I present this plea!

Dear Friends and Patriots,

The recent deal driven by President Obama's Executive Order between the United States and Iran opens the door to a treacherous and dangerous future. Not even one Republican has voted in favor of this deal, yet due to the unilateral process, Mr. Obama is setting the stage for a disaster.

It's time that Democrats recognize who Obama is. In our perspective, "the Tea Party," he is the enemy.

Now that Democrats have blocked a vote in the Senate on the Iran deal, essentially allowing it to take effect, I fear that the American people can only perceive this as one thing: **High Treason!** This action by the Democrats in Congress is a **betrayal of their constitutional duty and the American people's trust!**

The Iran nuclear deal provides billions for Iran to continue its aggression against America and its essential ally, Israel. It will be perceived by any soldier who has served in battle as aiding and abetting the enemy.

The president has left a clear message for soldiers who serve in the battlefield and the patriots who form these Tea Party groups,

Obama stands with the enemy! Evidence of that is in his own actions, starting with the releasing of numerous known terrorists from Guantanamo Bay. **He refuses to call attacks on America what they are; terrorist attacks.** He has opened our Southern border to criminals. He has minimized the brutal actions of ISIS killing Christians.

Iran has **killed hundreds of our soldiers** by providing IEDs to insurgents and Iraq, and we are still not at war. Iraq was a mistake. Tea Party people believe that Iran should have been the target.

As we speak, **tanks and weapons are being unloaded in Syria, in anticipation** of an approved United States deal with Iran. The triad of our enemy is composed of Iran, Syria, and Russia.

It is obvious that Russia, through its own actions, is holding a proxy war against America and Israel.

It also continues to increase its weapons and supplies to Syria and Iran in anticipation of the new supply of money from the Iran Deal. Thus we have members of Congress who, through their inaction, and naivety wish to release these billions of dollars to Iran so Tehran can continue its attacks on the American people and so terrorists can continue their genocide of Christians and to fund their war against Israel.

Allow me as a representative of these Tea Party groups and a past soldier and defender of this nation to put Congress on notice! We are the Tea party! We helped take the House and Senate for republicans and conservatives.

Any congressman or senator who provides funds to, or votes for, this enemy must be held accountable. If you share our concern, I urge you to take action and call Congress and the White House with the following message in mind:

- 1) House Speaker John Boehner must determine that because President Obama has not submitted to Congress the widely reported side deals, the President has not yet submitted the Iran agreement as required by Corker-Cardin. Therefore, the 60-day clock for congressional review has not yet begun. Thus, federal law still prohibits the Obama administration from lifting sanctions.
- 2) Senate Leader Mitch McConnell must use whatever parliamentary tactic he can find to allow a simple-majority vote on a resolution expressing the sense of the Senate that this is a bad deal.
- 3) McConnell and Boehner should make clear to the CEOs of banks holding frozen Iranian funds that their misplaced reliance on the President's lawlessness would not necessarily excuse them from civil or criminal liability if they release billions in funds to Khamenei.

The time is urgent and the situation is dire. Your voice counts and taking a few minutes to make a call or send an email will make a difference. Millions of Americans share your concern.

For the Congressional switchboard, please call: 202-224-3121. Just ask to be transferred to your Congressman.
For the White House, please call: 202-456-1414.

Yours for a more perfect Union,

Wm. Ames Curtright

Dr. Wm. Ames Curtright DBA
Chairman, Ames Eagles



Ames standing under 'In God We Trust' in our nation's capital.



We must always remember where a man comes from.

A deal that erases the president's red lines

By DAVID BOYER

THE WASHINGTON TIMES

From allowing Iran to keep enriching uranium to abandoning “anywhere, anytime” inspections of Tehran’s nuclear facilities, the Obama administration has crossed many of its own red lines in the nuclear deal that will lift tough economic sanctions on America’s longtime adversary.

In December 2013, Secretary of State John F. Kerry said one of the requirements of a good deal with Iran would be to “help Iran dismantle its nuclear program.” He said it was “the whole point” of the sanctions.

But the actual deal? It doesn’t require Iran to dismantle its nuclear program. Iran gets to keep some of its uranium-enriching centrifuges and other aspects of its infrastructure.

In November 2013, Mr. Kerry said Iran has “no right to enrich” uranium.

The actual deal? Iran gets to continue enriching uranium, although it must get rid of two-thirds of its centrifuges and can’t enrich the material to weapons grade.

President Obama said he wanted inspections “anywhere, anytime” of Iran’s nuclear facilities to ensure Tehran is adhering to terms of the deal.

But the actual agreement? Iran gets 24 days’ notice of inspections of suspicious sites. A secret side deal allows Tehran’s own inspectors to check a military site where work on nuclear weapons was thought to have been carried out.

“To be conservative, I’d say at least a dozen red lines have been crossed,” said Michael Rubin, a security specialist at the American Enterprise Institute. “John Kerry is about as credible as Baghdad Bob and probably no more interested in the predominance of American security.”

The president and his advisers defend the deal as the best possible and say it will prevent Iran from building nuclear weapons. White House press secretary Josh Earnest said Monday that the agreement “will be a significant constraint on Iran’s nuclear program.”

“This is reducing their uranium stockpile by 98 percent, unplugging thousands of centrifuges, essentially gutting the core of their plutonium heavy water reactor and agreeing with the [International Atomic Energy Agency’s] request for information and access that’s required to complete their report about the possible military dimensions of Iran’s nuclear program,” Mr. Earnest said.

In Vienna, Iranian officials warned the U.N. agency Tuesday not to bow to pressure from Congress to detail its investigation into Tehran’s past nuclear work, saying Iran will not accept any leaks of their discussions.

Iranian Ambassador Reza Najafi said accusations that Iran ever worked on

nuclear weapons were baseless.

“The IAEA should at the same time exercise utmost vigilance to ensure full protection of all confidential information coming to its knowledge,” Mr. Najafi told reporters. “We won’t accept any kind of leakage of classified information by anyone.”

The resistance from Iran prompted Rep. Mike Pompeo, Kansas Republican and a prominent critic of the deal, to renew his call for the administration to release any secret side deals between the IAEA and Iran.

“From refusing to let the United States see the secret side agreements, to failing to explain if the IAEA will be allowed to inspect its Parchin military site, Iran is already acting as a bully — dodging

many provisions that expire after a decade or 15 years, making it impossible to claim that it permanently blocks Iran’s path to nuclear weapons. The president told NPR in an interview this month, “Essentially we’re purchasing, for 13, 14, 15 years, assurances that the breakout is at least a year.”

The easing of sanctions is another issue. Gen. Martin E. Dempsey, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, told Congress this summer that “we should under no circumstances relieve pressure on Iran relative to ballistic missile capabilities and arms trafficking.”

But under the nuclear agreement, sanctions on conventional arms are to be lifted in five years and missile sanctions in eight years.

James Phillips, a senior research fellow

Schumer of New York and Robert Menendez of New Jersey, have announced that they will oppose the deal.

Fighting words

Mr. Obama further riled some opponents Monday night by saying that he and Senate Minority Leader Harry Reid, Nevada Democrat, must “deal with the crazies” on various issues before they leave office. Rep. Diane Black, Tennessee Republican, was among those who took offense, thinking the president was referring to opponents of the Iran agreement.

“First, he likened opponents of his deal to Iranian hard-liners chanting ‘Death to America’ and now, in an even lazier line of attack, he’s simply resorted to calling us ‘crazies,’” she said Tuesday. “What’s ‘crazy’ in my book is cutting a deal with the world’s leading state sponsor of terrorism that allows at least 24 days to slow-walk nuclear inspections, that gives our expressed permission to continue enrichment, and gives Iran more than \$100 billion in sanctions relief that will inevitably be funneled to terrorist proxy groups.”

White House deputy press secretary Eric Schultz said Tuesday that Mr. Obama might have been flip with the remark, but he wasn’t referring to opponents of the Iran deal.

The White House circulated a letter Monday by Rep. Seth Moulton, a Massachusetts Democrat and Iraq War veteran who supports the accord. Mr. Moulton said there is no better deal because allies won’t push for more sanctions if the U.S. walks away from the agreement.

He also said taking military action against Iran “would once again imperil the lives of Americans to achieve much less than this deal achieves by diplomatic means.”

“Military action would only set Iran’s nuclear program back a few years at most, reaffirm their pursuit of a nuclear weapon, and drive the program underground,” Mr. Moulton said.

Some critics of the deal said Iranians realized that the president could concede on the nuclear agreement because he backed away from his “red line” three years ago on Syria’s use of chemical weapons.

Sen. Tom Cotton, Arkansas Republican, said Mr. Obama flinched in his showdown with Syrian dictator Bashar Assad.

“Anyone with eyes,” he said, “could conclude that the president doesn’t stick by his red lines. They also knew that since he was term-limited, he had a hard and fast negotiating deadline, which they didn’t really have. I think they used his political deadline against him.”

Mr. Obama has said repeatedly that “no deal is better than a bad deal.” In the eyes of his critics, it’s just one more red line that he has crossed.



questions and telling lies to hide its bad behavior,” Mr. Pompeo said. “Every member of Congress must at least demand that the administration provide us with this entire agreement before we have to vote on this critically important matter of national security.”

Words vs. deal

Critics in Congress and elsewhere point to the administration’s own words to outline how the deal falls short of what the U.S. hoped to achieve.

The Foreign Policy Initiative, a right-leaning think tank in Washington, has highlighted at least 20 areas of the agreement where the administration’s rhetoric doesn’t jibe with the text of the accord. For example, in 2013, Mr. Obama said he envisioned a deal that was so restrictive of Iran’s nuclear program “that they, as a practical matter, do not have breakout capacity” to build atomic weapons.

The agreement, however, contains

for Middle Eastern Affairs at The Heritage Foundation, also criticized “crazy” provisions in the agreement that will protect Iran from certain “snapback” sanctions on deals that Tehran signs between the lifting of sanctions and any violation of the nuclear accord.

Mr. Obama continues to lobby lawmakers ahead of next month’s vote in Congress on a resolution disapproving of the Iranian deal.

Sen. Debbie Stabenow of Michigan became the latest in a string of Democrats on Monday to back the agreement, bringing to 28 the number of senators supporting it.

“The imminent threat of Iran having a nuclear weapon outweighs any flaws I see in the international agreement,” Ms. Stabenow said. “For this reason, I must support the agreement.”

Mr. Obama must have at least 34 backers in the Senate to sustain his veto of the resolution.

Two Democratic senators, Charles E.

Iran's toll on America: 500 soldiers killed in Iraq

By **ROWAN SCARBOROUGH**

THE WASHINGTON TIMES

The Iranian Islamic regime was directly involved in the killing of more than 500 American service members in Iraq by supplying Shiite extremists with advanced roadside bombs, rocket-propelled explosives and other munitions, military officials say.

The 500-plus number, during fighting between 2005 and 2011, became the focus of debate last week as U.S. Central Command declassified reports that showed 196 Americans died from Iranian-made explosively formed projectiles (EFPs). But that is only part of the story.

Marine Corps Gen. Joseph Dunford, during Senate confirmation hearings in July, appears to be the first military official to use the 500 fatality figure, attributing it to Iranian "activities."

Subsequently, some Republicans opposed to the Iran nuclear deal began citing the number and attributing it to EFPs, since that is the most-talked-about Iranian weapon shipped to anti-American Shiite rebels. Some in the Pentagon grumbled that the 196 number was the result of officials wanting to downplay Iran's role in killing Americans.

But when Gen. Dunford spoke of Iranian "activities," he was referring to other weapons than just EFPs.

Navy Cmdr. Kyle Raines, a Central Command spokesman, said the 500 number is correct.

"As it relates to recent reporting on this, some had mischaracterized the CENTCOM data regarding the number of U.S. service member deaths resulting from EFPs in Iraq," Cmdr. Raines told *The Washington Times*. "It is important to understand that these CENTCOM statistics on EFP detonations are only a subset of all the Iranian activities estimated to have killed approximately 500 U.S. troops in Iraq during OIF [Operation Iraqi Freedom]."

He added: "There were rocket attacks and IRAM [improvised rocket-assisted munitions] among other tactics that also contributed to American soldier deaths."

It appears that Iran introduced IRAMS into the war around 2008. Shiite extremists mounted the weapons on trucks and drove to points where they could fire the rocket-propelled explosives into an American base. Press reports from Iraq said they were successful in killing Americans.

Iran entered the Iraq war in a big way in 2005 by authorizing its Quds special operations forces to train Iraqi Shiite militiamen and supply them with EFPs and other deadly weapons. The EFP is a particularly lethal roadside bomb similar to, but more advanced than, the ubiquitous

improvised explosive devices (IEDs).

The Quds forces, led by Gen. Qassem Soleimani, set up factories to produce the weapon, which unleashes rocket-type projectiles that penetrate American armored vehicles. As head of the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps' Quds Force, Gen. Soleimani is Iran's top terrorist commander, committed to the downfall of Israel and the United States and the destabilization of governments in the region.

The American death toll has political relevance today, as ardent foes of President Obama's nuclear deal repeatedly cite the fact that Iran has American blood on its hands in a war never directed at Tehran,



Marine Corps Commandant Gen. Joseph Dunford, Jr., testifies during his Senate Armed Services Committee confirmation hearing to become the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, on Capitol Hill in Washington, Thursday, July 9, 2015. Dunford said Russia poses the greatest national security threat to the United States and that it would be "reasonable" to supply lethal arms to Ukrainians fighting against rebels backed by Moscow. (AP Photo/Cliff Owen)

but at its archenemy, Saddam Hussein.

A wounded warrior still suffering from the blast of an Iranian bomb in 2005 has been appearing in a national TV ad, sponsored by a veterans group urging senators to vote against the nuclear deal.

"Every politician who's involved in this will be held accountable," says retired Staff Sgt. Robert Bartlett, his scarred face looking directly into the camera. "They will have blood on their hands. A vote for this deal means more money for Iranian terrorism. What do you think they're going

to do when they get more money?"

He urges viewers to call their senators. "I was blown up by an Iranian bomb," he says.

"They came from only one place"

Gen. Dunford's testimony on Iran's treachery came at his Senate confirmation hearing to be the next chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

Sen. Tom Cotton, Arkansas Republican and an Iraq War Army veteran, asked Gen. Dunford how many service members "were killed by Iranian activities" in Iraq.

"Senator, I know the total number of soldiers, sailors, airmen and Marines that were killed by Iranian activities, and the number has been recently quoted as about 500," Gen. Dunford said. "We weren't always able to attribute the casualties that we had to Iranian activity, although many times we suspected it was Iranian activity, even though we didn't necessarily have the forensics to support that."

"Forensics" was likely a reference to post-bombing examinations to find the telltale materials — often copper — of an Iranian EFP, as opposed to a more rudimentary IED. It was also a reference to any shrapnel or engine parts left by Iranian rockets.

Mr. Cotton took Gen. Dunford's answer to mean that the U.S. had confirmed the 500 figure and that likely many more were also killed by Iran.

Said Sen. Kelly Ayotte, New Hampshire Republican: "Certainly Iran has the blood of American soldiers on its hands for the explosive materials that they provided to the Shia militias in Iraq that killed many of our men and women in uniform."

Mr. Cotton continued his exposure of Iranian killings at a subsequent Senate Armed Services Committee hearing on the nuclear deal itself. He elicited a statement from Army Gen. Martin E. Dempsey, Joint Chiefs chairman, on how EFPs kill.

"A copper cone is melted at superhigh temperatures and projected, and essentially burns its way through armor plate," Gen. Dempsey testified.

He said "several hundred" Americans were killed by EFPs, which he attributed to Iran.

Another EFP expert is retired Army Gen. Stanley M. McChrystal, who directed terrorist manhunts in Iraq. He told *The New Yorker* magazine: "There was zero question where they were coming from. We knew where all the factories were in Iran. The EFPs killed hundreds of Americans."

Retired Army Lt. Gen. Michael Barbero, who ran the Pentagon office in charge of defeating roadside bombs, wrote in *The Weekly Standard* last month that Iran's proxy war against America "was abetted

by a particularly lethal weapon: explosively formed projectiles (EFPs). A form of roadside bomb with a sophisticated triggering mechanism and the ability to penetrate American armor, EFPs were estimated to account for 20 percent of U.S. deaths. And they came from only one place."

Terrorist training at Imam Ali

More than 3,000 American service members died in Iraq between 2005 and 2011. A 20 percent estimate means that more than 600 died from EFP attacks, if that statistic is correct.

Another senator calling out Iran's desire to kill Americans is Republican presidential candidate Ted Cruz of Texas.

Phil Novack, his spokesman, said the senator has asked Defense Secretary Ashton Carter to inform the families of the 500 service members cited by Gen. Dunford "that their loved ones were murdered by the same man who will now receive sanctions relief."

"The fact remains that General Soleimani, a man responsible for the deaths of hundreds of American service members, will receive sanctions relief to the tune of millions of dollars if the Iran deal is approved," Mr. Novack said.

U.S. officials have said that U.S. sanctions on Gen. Soleimani's assets will stay in place, but he will receive relief from other nations and will be able to travel more freely.

The publication *Defense One* first reported the 196 fatalities number last week.

The People's Mujahedin of Iran (MEK), the largest opposition group to Iran's Islamic theocracy, issued an intelligence report in 2007 describing in detail the Revolutionary Guard's role in arming and training fellow Shiites to kill Americans. This was about the time that the George W. Bush administration executed a major shift in policy and ordered a "surge" of more U.S. troops, primarily to defeat a Sunni insurgency, including al Qaeda in Iraq.

Iran organized and trained Iraqi Shiites at a base north of Tehran called Imam Ali, and the Quds Force did similar training at a facility south of the capital before inserting the extremists back inside Iraq.

"The Imam Ali base, historically the central location for training terrorists, has now been allocated entirely to the training of Iraqi militia," said the MEK report.

"The Iranian regime is secretly engaged in the organization and training of large Iraqi terrorist networks in Iran and sending them back to Iraq, to heighten insecurity and instability and force the coalition forces to leave Iraq, which would in turn pave the way for the establishment of an Islamic republic in Iraq," the MEK report said.

The deadly danger of appeasing Iran

By Clifford D. May

“Appeasement” gets a bad rap but, strictly speaking, the word implies nothing more than an attempt to make peace. If aggrieved adversaries can be pacified by reasonable concessions, what’s wrong with that?

Of course, when most of us talk about appeasement, we have in mind the policy of British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain who, in 1938, went to Munich in the hope of appeasing Germany and thereby achieving “peace for our time.” Winston Churchill famously admonished and predicted: “You were given the choice between war and dishonor. You chose dishonor and you will have war.”

It’s only fair to make two points in Chamberlain’s defense. First, he did not originate the policy of appeasement. Starting in the 1920s, many in Britain believed that too much blame for the Great War had been heaped on Germany’s shoulders and that the Treaty of Versailles was unjust. Given that premise, the possibility that appeasement might lead to reconciliation was hardly baseless. In “The Roots of Appeasement,” the great historian Sir Martin Gilbert described this effort as, initially at least, “a noble idea, rooted in Christianity, courage and common sense.”

Second, throughout the 1930s, war-weary Britons allowed their martial vigor to diminish even as Germany was aggressively rebuilding its military muscles. Churchill recognized how reckless this was but his arguments proved unpersuasive, in part because his opponents branded him a “war-monger.” The result was that by the time of the Munich meeting, Chamberlain could not credibly threaten to use force to stop Germany from marching into the Sudetenland or anywhere else on the continent.

So is appeasement a good policy or a bad policy? I would argue that it is, at best, a delaying tactic. “An appeaser,” Churchill also observed, “is one who feeds a crocodile, hoping it will eat him last.” But when in history has a tyrant or an empire builder ever been permanently conciliated?

I suspect you know where I’m heading. For six and half years, President Obama has reached out to America’s clenched-fisted adversaries and enemies. During his first months in office, he attempted to “reset” relations with Russia. To demonstrate his commitment, he canceled the missile shield the United States had promised to install in Poland and the Czech Republic. We now know that Mr. Putin was not propitiated. What we don’t know is how



ILLUSTRATION BY LINAS GARSYS

far Mr. Putin will go — and into which neighboring countries in addition to Ukraine and Georgia.

The following year, President Obama turned a blind eye to the Green Revolution against Iran’s theocrats. Similarly, in 2011, he declined to support peaceful dissent against Syrian dictator Bashar Assad. Next, he declined to support the secular opposition that coalesced in response to the Assad regime’s brutal repression of that dissent. This was a gift not just to Mr. Assad but also to his patrons, Russia and Iran.

This year, the president reestablished diplomatic relations with the Castro regime in Cuba and promised to

restore trade relations — concessions that have so far gone unreciprocated. Cyber attacks by China and North Korea have not been rewarded but neither have they provoked serious consequences.

As for the deal Mr. Obama has negotiated with Iran, it will enrich and empower the Islamic Republic’s rulers. In exchange, they are promising to delay a nuclear weapons program they claim has never existed.

It’s only fair to point out that these policies are less a departure from the past than the extension of a long-developing tendency. President Reagan did not seek to appease the Islamic Republic but neither did he make Iran’s rulers

pay a steep price for the invasion and occupation of the U.S. embassy and the detention and torture of American hostages. He responded fecklessly to the 1983 slaughter of 241 American service members in Beirut as well as other atrocities directed against Americans by Hezbollah, Iran’s proxy in Lebanon.

President Clinton did nothing about the 1996 Khobar Towers attack that killed 19 U.S. servicemen, an act of war “planned, funded, and sponsored by senior leadership in the government of the Islamic Republic of Iran,” according to a federal court ruling in 2006.

This update: Last week, the Saudis reportedly captured the reputed mastermind of that attack, Ahmed al-Mughassil, a senior leader of another Iranian-backed terrorist group, Hezbollah al-Hijaz (the Hijaz is a region of Arabia). He had been living in Beirut under the protection of Lebanese Hezbollah.

It’s worth noting that the families of Khobar Tower victims have never received compensation. Instead, under the Iran agreement, billions of dollars will be released to the rulers responsible for the slaughter.

Those who orchestrated Iran’s attempt to blow up the Cafe Milano in Georgetown in 2011 have gotten away with it, too. Two years ago, Mannsor Arbabsiar, an Iranian American, was sentenced to 25 years in prison for his role but, according to prosecutors, he had been recruited by a senior official in Iran’s Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps, the most powerful organization in Iran.

There have been a few exceptions to this trend. In negotiations with the Soviets, President Reagan really did prefer no deals to bad deals. President George H.W. Bush forced Saddam Hussein to disgorge Kuwait. President Clinton used air power to save Muslim communities in the Balkans. President George W. Bush toppled the Saddam regime and, eventually, found a general capable of defeating both al Qaeda in Iraq and Iranian-backed Shia militias. President Obama backed rebels fighting Libyan dictator Moammar Gadhafi.

From all these experiences, lessons can be learned. Not among them: that there’s no viable alternative to appeasement and that appeasement should therefore be enshrined as America’s default policy in a world where free peoples are, increasingly, an endangered species.

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Clifford D. May is president of the Foundation for Defense of Democracies and a columnist for The Washington Times.

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A former CIA Director diagnoses the Iran nuclear deal

By Michael Hayden

Despite the saga over Hillary Clinton's emails, Donald Trump's sprint to front-runner status in the Republican presidential race and some interesting pennant races, the news this summer has never drifted far from the nuclear deal with the Islamic Republic of Iran.

That's because it's a big deal. And a tough one to assess.

I've worked hard not to be reflexive about that assessment. Even when I've been critical, I've allowed that I know how hard this issue really is.

Over the past several weeks my personal thoughts and emotions about the deal have been sorting themselves out through a three-step process: first anger, which admittedly still lingers; then recognition, the product of assessing domestic and global political realities; and finally determination, a less emotional and more reasoned calculus on a way forward.

That's a lot for one column, so let me take these three stages one at a time.

Today, anger, and that's anger over both process and substance.

First, there was blatant (and conscious) overpromising by President Obama's administration. We were going to substantially dismantle the Iranian nuclear program. The hardened centrifuge facility at Fordow and the plutonium reactor at Arak had no place in a peaceful nuclear program. No deal could be considered effective without including Iran's nuclear-capable ballistic missiles. The Iranians would have to come clean about their past efforts to actually craft a bomb. Inspections would be anywhere, anytime.

These positions kept potential critics at bay during the negotiations, but their hedging or outright exclusion in the final agreement created a maddening gap between promise and performance.

Then, beyond these headlines, there was the fine print of the agreement and some sidebar arrangements, which have been trickling out as the minutiae of the deal have been studied and dissected. I must admit that I wasn't prepared for a U.S. promise to help the Iranians produce nuclear fuel or to protect the Iranian nuclear program against third-party sabotage. Color me surprised, too, for the late insertion of ballistic missiles into the agreement, not as a way to limit Iran's nuclear delivery systems, but to end sanctions and limits on Tehran's missile development program. Ditto the lifting of the embargo on conventional arms

deliveries to the Islamic Republic.

Happily, the deal creates a mechanism for "snapback" sanctions that avoids potential Russian or Chinese vetoes in New York, but it also seems to create a grandfather clause for any contracts signed with Iran before the snapback process goes into effect and then explicitly allows Iran to abrogate the entire agreement if any sanctions are reimposed. Not exactly a user-friendly formula.

Then there is the definition of access, as in international inspectors can "access" suspect sites. Apparently the common English meaning of the word access will not apply here as inspectors are not guaranteed that they can actually enter such sites. We have now learned that the international inspectors (who cannot include any Americans because the Iranians say they cannot) will outsource the taking of soil samples at the weapons development site at Parchin to the Iranians themselves.

The concessionary mood that continued after the deal suggests what life will be like post-agreement. Kassim Soleimani, head of Iran's deadly Quds Force and still sanctioned from international

travel, was recently welcomed to Moscow for discussions. The Russians then closed a deal to sell the Iranians the S-300 surface-to-air missile system, a violation of the spirit if not the actual language of the current arms embargo, and a sale sure to complicate the regional balance in the Gulf.

The Iranians, for their part, apparently felt emboldened enough to do some suspicious landscaping at Parchin, the site they will themselves later inspect. An IRGC brigadier announced massive ballistic war games. And a deputy foreign minister indicated that Tehran will seek the release of 19 Iranian "political prisoners" being held in the United States. Made me wonder if all this was the Persian equivalent of an extended middle finger.

Then, of course, there was the selling of the deal here in the United States. We were told that accepting this deal wasn't even a close call, its merits were so obvious compared to other alternatives. We were told that opponents of the deal should be discounted because many of them had supported the war in Iraq. Besides, so-called hardliners here were making common cause with hardliners



ILLUSTRATION BY LINAS GARSYS

in Teheran. (Hmmm — in my experience, people often resort to ad hominem attacks when they aren't that sure of their arguments.)

We were then told that the only alternative to this deal was war — if not immediately, then soon. I found it really hard to reconcile what we had been told for more than a year — that no deal was better than a bad deal — with the position that now it was this deal or inevitable conflict.

And so it went. Not for the first time, I felt like I had just been treated to a bait-and-switch at the large appliance department at Sears. And I'm pretty much reacting now the way I did when that first happened.

Anger can be a useful emotion; it's built into our genetic code to help with self preservation. But it can also be destructive, even when it is justified.

Next, phase two on my road to recovery: recognition.

The Iran Deal Leads to Bad Places

Sometimes you can live with bad details if you've got the big idea right. I suspect that that's the case in our normalization of relations with Cuba. Lots of folks have pointed to the fine print there saying that we didn't push the Castros hard enough for concessions on human rights and political freedoms. Probably so, but the long-term effects of an island of 11 million repressed people snuggling up to a nation of 320 million democrats with an economy hundreds of times larger than theirs are fairly predictable and positive.

But the Iran deal was going to be a near-run thing either way. The specifics of this deal really matter, and they matter in at least three dimensions.

The first is the core element of the agreement itself, the part that the president is asking us to focus on. New York Times columnist Tom Friedman summarized it this way after 45 minutes with Mr. Obama: "Judge this agreement on whether or not it prevents Iran from getting a nuclear weapon in the next 10 years."

There are arguments that the deal is actually insufficient for even that narrowly defined, time-limited task but, frankly, of the three elements I'm going to describe, this is the strongest. Even with the enumerated shortcomings of this element, the impacts of other elements are simply worse.

One of these is time. If the agreement is honored and works as advertised, in 10 years we will have an Iran where deal constraints are sunsetting with an

» see **NUCLEAR** | C13

industrial-strength nuclear complex permanently on the threshold of a nuclear weapon. That's what we negotiated, and that's actually a more important consideration than what we may or may not have stopped for the deal's first 10 years.

And then there are the more immediate non-nuclear implications of the agreement — what it means for all the other aspects of Iranian behavior so troubling to us in Iraq, Syria, Lebanon and Yemen, and what Iran's leaders are doing with regard to terrorism, Hamas and Hezbollah.

Iran is doing all that now as an isolated, impoverished, renegade state. What might it do if it were no longer isolated, no longer considered renegade and considerably richer than it is today?

As Vice President Biden might put it, this agreement is a “big no-fooling deal,” and most Americans and most members of Congress oppose it (from my point of view, with good reason).

The House will almost certainly reject the deal; the Senate is iffy since deal opponents lack the 60 votes needed for cloture, but it's still possible that both chambers will vote no. If they do, the president has promised to veto their rejection. If Congress fails to muster the two-thirds vote to override (as seems likely), we will be left with the most important international agreement since the end of the Cold War looking like Obamacare Redux, except that this bill couldn't even get approved along straight party lines.

I am no more sanguine about the future even if Congress does somehow manage to override Mr. Obama's veto. Certainly Congress has the right to do so, and American history is filled with examples of the executive being sent back to amend proposed agreements.

But that would be a heavy lift. Our side of the negotiations with Iran had five other members, and they have already voted their approval of the deal at the U.N. Several have obscenely rushed trade delegations to Tehran in anticipation of an end to international economic sanctions. Our reopening the text for renegotiation would be incredibly irritating to them.

Still, we have a powerful economy to use as a tool of influence. And if this turns out so badly that further action needs to be taken down the road, no one will be turning to Chancellor Angela Merkel for an inventory of the German air force's long-range bunker-busting capabilities. All eyes will be on us.

So we have a strong position and a strong argument, but I have no faith these are things that this administration would exploit. This administration has a habit of acting like the will of Congress was not controlling, and they have shown no stomach to re-engage the issue, cajole or pressure partners and allies or to

reconfront the Iranians. The administration has staked its future on their deal, and their predictions of the dire geopolitical effects of the “hard no” of an overridden veto will sadly all come true because they will not act to make it otherwise.

As already noted, the effects of the “soft no” of the veto being sustained are also bad. The prospect of the deal surviving only through a clever parliamentary maneuver of Congress — being forced to vote against rather than for the proposition — has already put it in the 2017 Inauguration Day crosshairs of a variety of presidential candidates.

American forces are part of the military balance in the region, and their continued strength – threatened by the last decade's ops tempo, today's budget cuts and tomorrow's threat of sequestration – needs to be assured.

That would carry a cost too. Super-powers act most responsibly and effectively when they are consistent and predictable. The Obama administration has made much of its sharp turn from its predecessor in withdrawing U.S. troops from Iraq, undercutting not just U.S. forces there but the premises of previous American policy. And we've all seen how well that discontinuity has worked.

So my recognition is that, without some new thinking, we have only two destinations, and they are both bad places. Perhaps we should be determined to find an alternative.

Some Necessary Changes to a Bad Deal

Most Americans and most members of Congress oppose the nuclear deal with Iran. But because of global politics and the corner we have painted ourselves into, an outright rejection could even be worse.

So how about a “yes, but “ or — if it suits your temperament — a “no, unless “ In other words, there are things about the proposed deal that may be worth preserving, but only if we can add some things and take some other steps.

Of course, that requires a rejection of the “it's this deal or war” meme and some serious negotiating between (as opposed to politicking by) Congress and the White House.

A standing congressional authorization for the use of military force should Iran seriously violate the agreement seems a no-brainer. The president has promised that all options would be on the table should Iran break out or sneak out, so why not cut to the chase, remind the Iranians of what “all options” really means and relieve this president and any of his successors of later time-consuming negotiations with Capitol Hill.

It seems equally obvious that lifting sanctions changes a lot of geopolitical calculations in the Middle East and some rebalancing, including military rebalancing, will be necessary. That means

more arms for our Arab friends and for Israel. And, for the latter, I would include (as former administration adviser Dennis Ross suggests) a promise of the “MOP,” the 30,000-pound bunker-busting Massive Ordnance Penetrator capable of destroying the hardened Iranian nuclear facility at Fordow.

President Obama said that Fordow had no place in a peaceful nuclear program. He was right. It's too small to make enough fissile material for nuclear energy, but it's big enough to make enough for a weapon. Fordow somehow survived the negotiations (in an admit-

tedly modified, but still reversible, form).

I feared giving the Israelis the MOP. I thought it gave them the means and the temptation to put America at war. On reflection, though, when it comes down to whom to trust on Fordow, I've decided it better to bet on our friends than on our adversaries.

American forces are part of the military balance in the region, and their continued strength — threatened by the last decade's ops tempo, today's budget cuts and tomorrow's threat of sequestration — needs to be assured.

Whatever the deal may or may not do to the Iranian nuclear program, Iran's ability to do mischief through proxies and conventional forces will be increased by the ending of international isolation, sanctions and the arms embargo. That the Navy has to gap its carrier coverage in the Gulf now should make a prima facie case that the cost of any deal must be making the DOD budget healthy. Period.

In that light, we also need the ability to meter the windfall that will come to the Iranians from the future sale of oil should we see that it is being used to support terrorism, threaten Israel, bolster dictators such as Syria's Bashar Assad or destabilize countries like Iraq or Yemen. Whatever the economic arguments for easing restrictions on American energy exports, they are now joined by the strategic argument that lower energy prices can help limit Iranian (and Russian) adventurism.

Within the nuclear deal itself, there are short-, mid- and long-term issues that need to be addressed, and they translate to the three critical components of a nuclear arms program: weaponization, delivery systems and fissile material.

The weaponization component is immediate: The IAEA is due answers from Tehran by mid-October on previous efforts to design an actual bomb and must report out by mid-December. Ideally, congressional action would be delayed

until then since Iranian forthrightness (or lack thereof) will say a lot about how the overall deal will be implemented.

At a minimum, Congress should demand the administration publicly account for the access Iran did (or did not) provide to facilities, documents and scientists, and consider this accounting in any congressional decision to permanently end (as opposed to the president temporarily suspending) sanctions.

In the mid-term, at year eight, international sanctions against the Iranian ballistic missile program will end, an almost-inexplicable result of eleventh hour negotiations in Vienna since Iran had declared this off the table when the U.S. earlier attempted to restrict the program.

Congress should direct the executive to aggressively apply tough and broad secondary U.S. sanctions against any state, business or entity that assists Tehran's ballistic missile program before or after the eight-year mark.

The long-term issue is the production of fissile material.

The Iranians will be allowed to deploy far more capable centrifuges in year eight of the agreement. Limits on the number of centrifuges expire at year 10. Limits on the quality and volume of stockpiled enriched uranium expire at year 15.

The president has admitted that by then, breakout time — the time needed to dash to a weapon's worth of highly enriched uranium — would be near zero. This is more an act of faith than statecraft.

We wouldn't concede these things to today's Iran; why do we presume that tomorrow's Iran will be different? U.S. adherence to this course should be conditioned on the totality of Iranian behavior over the next decade. Congress should preserve the option that if “that Iran” looks like “this Iran,” bets are off, at least as far as the U.S. is concerned.

Ideally that would be a product of the executive formally renegotiating the terms of the agreement. With or without that, Congress should express its will in American statute. That's inconsistent with the deal that's been agreed to, but the American president has characterized this as merely an executive agreement, not a treaty, and the Iranian president has said that it is not legally binding.

Even with these changes, the Iranian nuclear deal is far from a safe bet. But these changes will make it a safer bet, putting some steel — and perhaps some political consensus — into the way forward.

It might even have some staying power, representing as it would the will of America rather than just that of an outgoing president.

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Gen. Michael Hayden is a former director of the CIA and the National Security Agency.

A Shariah-approved nuclear attack

By James Woolsey and Peter Pry

Congress needed to stop President Obama's nuclear deal with Iran. The most important reason — Iran can threaten the existence of the United States by making an electromagnetic pulse (EMP) attack using a single nuclear weapon.

It may obtain one, relatively easily, by cheating in the use of the nuclear infrastructure permitted them under the agreement.

U.S. intelligence cannot meet the impossibly high standard of assuring that Iran cannot acquire a single nuclear weapon and, given the regime's existing nuclear infrastructure, cannot with absolute certainty guarantee that Iran does not already have one.

Secretary of State John Kerry's assertions on June 16 that the United States has perfect intelligence on Iran's nuclear program are not credible: "We know what they did. We have no doubt. We have absolute knowledge ..."

No.

Former CIA Director Michael Hayden is right to correct Mr. Kerry: "He's pretending we have perfect knowledge about something that was an incredibly tough intelligence target while I was director, and I see nothing that has made it any easier."

Mr. Kerry's disregard of the limits of U.S. intelligence is reason enough to reject the deal — since just one nuclear warhead can threaten the existence of the United States.

A single nuclear weapon detonated at high altitude over the United States would generate an EMP that could black out the electric grid and other life-sustaining, critical infrastructures, such as communications, transportation, banking and finance, food and water. The Congressional EMP Commission estimated a nationwide blackout lasting one year could kill anywhere from two of every three Americans by a low estimate up to nine of 10 Americans by starvation and social disruption.

"Death to America" is more than merely an Iranian chant — Tehran's military is planning to be able to make a nuclear EMP attack.

On July 21 at the annual meeting of the Electric Infrastructure Security

Summit in Washington, Rep. Trent Franks quoted from an Iranian military textbook, recently translated by the Defense Intelligence Agency's National Intelligence University. The textbook, ironically titled "Passive Defense" (2010), describes nuclear EMP effects in detail. It advocates in more than 20 pas-

sustained, as well as the avoidance of human casualties, serves as a motivation to transform this technology into an advanced and useful weapon in modern warfare."

Because EMP destroys electronics directly, but people indirectly, it is regarded by some as Shariah-compliant

The Iranians have done more than just think about EMP attack.

The Congressional EMP Commission found that Iran has practiced launching missiles and fusing warheads for high-altitude EMP attack, including off a freighter. Iran has apparently practiced surprise EMP attacks, orbiting satellites

on south polar trajectories to evade U.S. radars and missile defenses, at altitudes consistent with generating an EMP field covering all 48 contiguous United States. Iran launched its fourth satellite on such a trajectory as recently as February 2015.

A single nuclear weapon would complete the list of requirements.

Finally, because a nuclear EMP attack can be conducted by surprise and anonymously — deterrence may not work against EMP.

Deterrence depends upon knowing who attacked and being able to retaliate. Unlike a nuclear weapon used to blast a city, high-altitude EMP leaves no collectible bomb debris for forensic analysis to identify the aggressor.

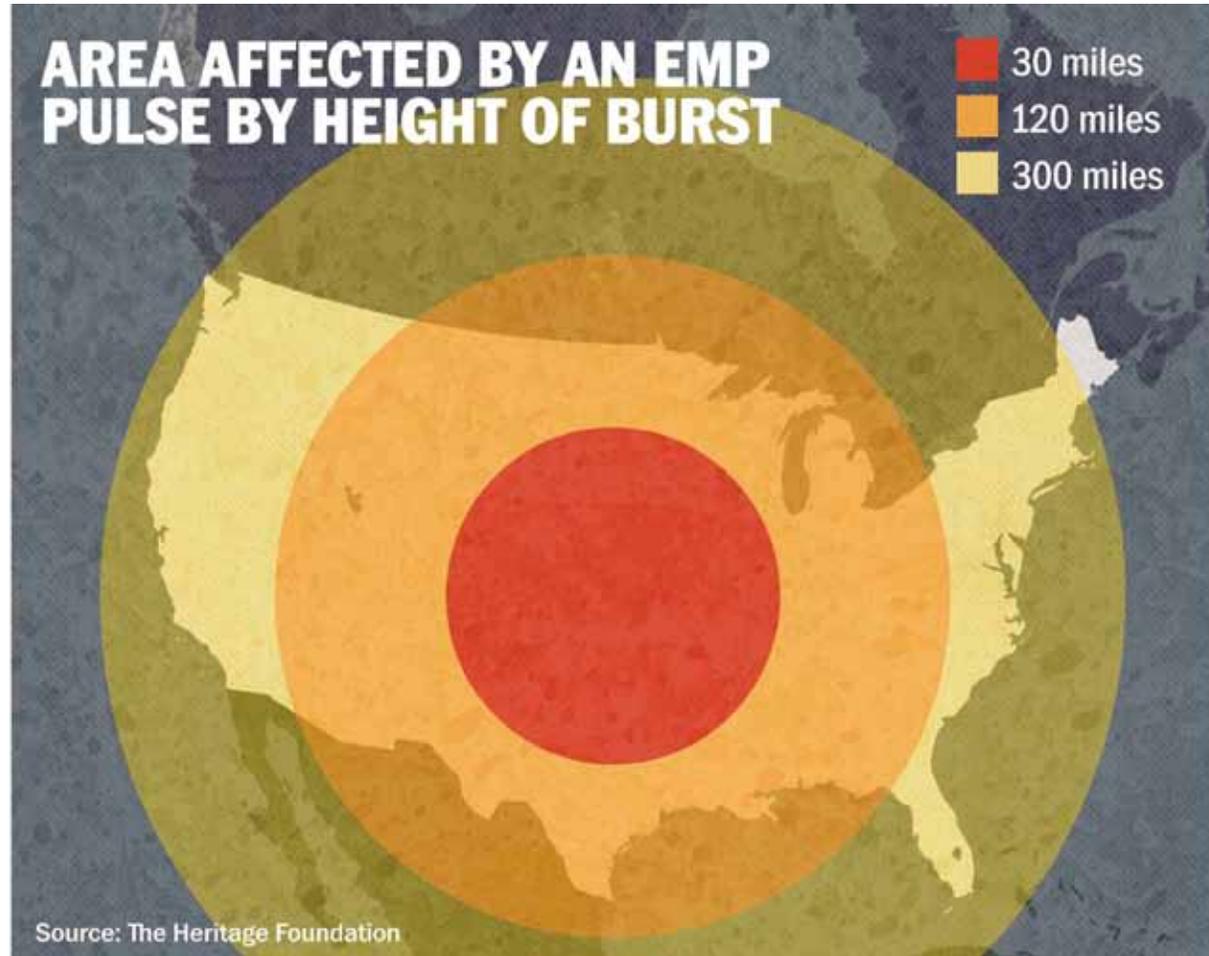
EMP attack by missile or balloon launched off a freighter could be from many possible actors. Even Yemen's Houthis have Scud missiles and

know how to use them, having recently killed the chief of Saudi Arabia's air force with a Scud strike on King Khalid Air Force Base.

Hundreds of satellites are in low earth orbit, unseen when approaching the United States from the south, that could help disguise the origins of an EMP attack. And the EMP could damage the means necessary to identify the attacker and U.S. retaliatory capabilities.

One Iranian nuclear weapon is one too many for an Iran ruled by theocratic totalitarian genocidal imperialists.

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sages an EMP attack to defeat decisively an adversary.

The official Iranian military textbook advocates a revolutionary new way of warfare that combines coordinated attacks by nuclear and non-nuclear EMP weapons, physical and cyber-attacks against electric grids to black out and collapse entire nations. Iranian military doctrine makes no distinction between nuclear EMP weapons, non-nuclear radio-frequency weapons and cyber-operations — it regards nuclear EMP attack as the ultimate cyber-weapon. EMP is most effective at blacking-out critical infrastructures, while it also does not directly damage the environment or harm human life, according to Iran's "Passive Defense":

"As a result of not having the other destructive effects that nuclear weapons possess, among them the loss of human life, weapons derived from electromagnetic pulses have attracted attention with regard to their use in future wars ... The superficiality of secondary damage

use of a nuclear weapon. "Passive Defense" and other Iranian military writings are well aware that nuclear EMP attack is the most efficient way of killing people, through secondary effects, over the long run. The rationale appears to be that people starve to death, not because of EMP, but because they live in materialistic societies dependent upon modern technology.

For example, an Iranian article on nuclear EMP attack, "Electronics To Determine Fate Of Future Wars" (1998), concludes hopefully (from the Iranian author's perspective):

"If the world's industrial countries fail to devise effective ways to defend themselves against dangerous electronic assaults, then they will disintegrate within a few years ... American soldiers would not be able to find food to eat nor would they be able to fire a single shot.

Written 17 years ago, Iranian military doctrine has assessed nuclear EMP attack against the United States for now nearly two decades.

Why the breakout time for Iranian nuclear weapons is imminent

By Paul Valley and Denny Haney

Since 1979, a cabal of nations has aided and abetted Iran in its efforts to develop a robust nuclear program under the guise of generating a nuclear energy system. This cabal is mainly comprised of Russia, China and North Korea. Since sanctions began being placed on Iran in 1979, with more added since, Iran still had enough free reign to develop its capabilities despite the sanctions regime because of this cabal. All the moving parts are in place, the material is there, and this means they are already nuclear — “breakout” is imminent now.

During this period, North Korea had evaded sanctions, and like Iran, lied, cheated and broke virtually every agreement it ever signed with the United Nations. Now North Korea is a nuclear weapons power, and we believe Iran has already achieved the same end. Each had created hidden facilities, but only North Korea has actually tested weapons fully. Because Iran has to date only detonated trigger devices that does not mean the mullahs do not have weapons capability now — they certainly have enough material.

The coalition of Russia, China and North Korea have assisted Iran in achieving a nuclear-capable weapon. Since the 1979 sanctions have been in place, Iran has had free reign to develop their nuclear weapons program unabated. This weapons program was under the guise of a nuclear energy program for domestic energy production. China and North Korea during this same time frame developed their nuclear programs, maturing them to include land-based and sea-launch weapons systems, testing their entire launch, delivery and detonation process through actual nuclear detonations.

Both Iran and North Korea are also fast approaching intercontinental missile capability, and Iranian government observers, research scientists and senior military officials have been on-site in North Korea for the testing of its systems. In essence, Iran has

had the benefit of North Korea essentially do its development and testing.

Iran has tested its launch systems like the Shahab series of launch-and-delivery vehicles and the attendant guidance and control systems, and certainly had fine mentors along the way. The cabal has assisted Iran along all the pathways for acquisition of a nuclear weapon — from system requirements, specifications, prototyping, development and acquisition. Iran has never had to go it alone.

It is now clear that since 2009, the Obama administration has crafted a plan that guarantees Iran

for its nuclear weapons program and terrorist proxies, Hezbollah, Hamas and others, including Bashar Assad of Syria.

What better way to wipe Israel off the face of the earth than a well-timed and specifically delivered nuclear weapon? What better time to negotiate a pathway to achieving a nuclear weapons capability, than when you already have one? It is important to note that Iran has been designing plans for the United States as well. After all, intercontinental ballistic missiles are not intended for neighboring Israel — they would be aimed at the United States and they have plans for an electromagnetic pulse weapon already drafted.

In January 2014, the Arms Control Association even agreed that “as Iran progresses down a path toward a nuclear-weapons capability, the difficulties in finding a compromise that would protect against a nuclear-armed Iran while being acceptable to the leadership in Tehran have grown.”

Given that the Iranians have not agreed to any inspection of any facility for many years, and will not now agree to inspection of nuclear facilities at military installations, the odds that Iran already has a nuclear weapon are really quite high. Why is it acceptable to that Iran gets to be its own inspector? The likely answer is Iran already has the capability.

With \$150 billion in assets flowing their way, Tehran will finalize the first series of deliverable weapons. A first-strike launch against Israel? Support of international radical Islam, the global caliphate and terrorism will accelerate worldwide. Nothing will stop Iran and its proxies now if the Iran deal goes forward.

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will have a nuclear weapon, and the devil is in the details. Among the details are side agreements between Iran and the International Atomic Energy Agency. We have learned that one of those arrangements calls for Iran to actually be its own inspecting body.

Now that the agreement has become a settled international agreement where the United States would be going it alone if Congress somehow negates our involvement in it, the world will release of up to \$150 billion in Iranian assets. This will all but guarantee funding

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ILLUSTRATION BY HUNTER

Iran is an Islamic theocracy that stones rape victims for being adulterers, hangs gays from cranes, seeks the destruction of America and Israel, and is the world's top state sponsor of terrorism. Because of the deal, it is now on a 15 year glide path to a nuclear weapon.

NoBombForIran.com

