Hon. John A. Boehner Speaker of the House United States House of Representatives 1011 Longworth House Office Building Washington, D.C. 20515-3508

Hon. Nancy Pelosi Minority Leader United States House of Representatives 233 Cannon House Office Building Washington, D.C. 20515-0512

Hon. Mitch McConnell Majority Leader United States Senate 317 Russell Senate Office Building Washington, D.C. 20510-1702

Hon. Harry Reid Minority Leader United States Senate 522 Hart Senate Office Building Washington, D.C. 20510-2803

Dear Representatives Boehner and Pelosi and Senators McConnell and Reid:

As you know, on July 14, 2015, the United States and five other nations announced that a Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA) has been reached with Iran to prevent it from developing nuclear weapons. In our judgment as former senior military officers, the agreement will not have that effect. Removing sanctions on Iran and releasing billions of dollars to its regime over the next ten years is inimical to the security of Israel and the Middle East. There is no credibility within JCPOA's inspection process or the ability to snap back sanctions once lifted, should Iran violate the agreement. In this and other respects, the JCPOA would threaten the national security and vital interests of the United States and, therefore, should be disapproved by the Congress.

The agreement as constructed does not "cut off every pathway" for Iran to acquire nuclear weapons. To the contrary, it actually provides Iran with a legitimate path to doing that *simply by abiding by the deal*. JCPOA allows all the infrastructure the Iranians need for a nuclear bomb to be preserved and enhanced. Notably, Iran is allowed to: continue to enrich uranium; develop and test advanced centrifuges; and continue work on its Arak heavy-water plutonium reactor. Collectively, these concessions afford the Iranians, at worst, a ready breakout option and, at best, an incipient nuclear weapons capability a decade from now.

The agreement is unverifiable. Under the terms of the JCPOA and a secret side deal (to which the United States is not privy), the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) will be responsible for inspections under such severe limitations as to prevent them from reliably detecting Iranian cheating. For example, if Iran and the inspectors are unable to reach an accommodation with respect to a given site, the result could be at least a 24-day delay in IAEA access. The agreement also requires inspectors to inform Iran in writing as to the basis for its concerns about an undeclared site, thus further delaying access. Most importantly, these inspections do not allow access to Iranian military facilities, the most likely location of their nuclear weapons development efforts. In the JCPOA process, there is substantial risk of U.S. intelligence being compromised, since the IAEA often relies on our sensitive data with respect to suspicious and/or prohibited activity.

While failing to assure prevention of Iran's nuclear weapons development capabilities, the agreement provides by some estimates \$150 billion dollars or more to Iran in the form of sanctions relief. As military officers, we find it unconscionable that such a windfall could be given to a regime that even the Obama administration has acknowledged will use a portion of such funds to continue to support terrorism in Israel, throughout the Middle East and globally, whether directly or through proxies. These actions will be made all the more deadly since the JCPOA will lift international embargoes on Iran's access to advanced conventional weapons and ballistic missile technology.

In summary, this agreement will enable Iran to become far more dangerous, render the Mideast still more unstable and introduce new threats to American interests as well as our allies. In our professional opinion, far from being an alternative to war, the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action makes it likely that the war the Iranian regime has waged against us since 1979 will continue, with far higher risks to our national security interests. Accordingly, we urge the Congress to reject this defective accord.

Sincerely,

- 1. Admiral David Architzel, US Navy, Retired
- 2. Admiral Stanley R. Arthur, US Navy, Retired
- 3. General William Begert, US Air Force, Retired
- 4. General J.B. Davis, US Air Force, Retired
- 5. Admiral William A. Doughert, US Navy, Retired
- 6. Admiral Leon A. "Bud" Edney, US Navy, Retired
- 7. General Alfred G. Hansen US Air Force, Retired
- 8. Admiral Thomas Hayward, US Navy, Retired
- 9. Admiral James Hogg, US Navy, Retired
- 10. Admiral Jerome Johnson, US Navy, Retired
- 11. Admiral Timothy J. Keating, US Navy, Retired
- 12. Admiral Robert J. Kelly, US Navy, Retired
- 13. Admiral Thomas Joseph Lopez, US Navy, Retired

- 14. Admiral James A. "Ace" Lyons, US Navy, Retired
- 15. Admiral Richard Macke, US Navy, Retired
- 16. Admiral Henry Mauz, US Navy, Retired
- 17. General Lance Smith, US Air Force, Retired
- 18. Admiral Leighton Smith, US Navy, Retired
- 19. Admiral William D. Smith, US Navy, Retired
- 20. General Louis C. Wagner, Jr., US Army, Retired
- 21. Admiral Steve White, US Navy, Retired
- 22. General Ronald W. Yates, US Air Force, Retired
- 23. Lieutenant General Teddy G. Allen, US Army, Retired
- 24. Lieutenant General Edward G. Anderson, III, US Army, Retired
- 25. Lieutenant General Marcus A. Anderson, US Air Force, Retired
- 26. Lieutenant General Spence M. Armstrong, US Air Force, Retired
- 27. Lieutenant General Harold W. Blot, US Marine Corps, Retired
- 28. Vice Admiral Michael Bowman, US Navy, Retired
- 29. Lieutenant General William G. "Jerry" Boykin, US Army, Retired
- 30. Vice Admiral Edward S. Briggs, US Navy, Retired
- 31. Lieutenant General Richard E. "Tex" Brown III, US Air Force, Retired
- 32. Lieutenant General William J. Campbell, US Air Force, Retired
- 33. Vice Admiral Edward Clexton, US Navy, Retired
- 34. Vice Admiral Daniel L. Cooper, US Navy, Retired
- 35. Vice Admiral William A. Dougherty, US Navy, Retired
- 36. Lieutenant General Brett Dula, US Air Force, Retired
- 37. Lieutenant General Gordon E. Fornell, US Air Force, Retired
- 38. Lieutenant General Thomas B. Goslin, US Air Force, Retired
- 39. Lieutenant General Earl Hailston, US Marine Corps, Retired
- 40. Vice Admiral Bernard M. Kauderer, US Navy, Retired
- 41. Lieutenant General Timothy A. Kinnan, US Air Force, Retired
- 42. Vice Admiral J. B. LaPlante, US Navy, Retired
- 43. Vice Admiral Tony Less, US Navy, Retired
- 44. Lieutenant General Bennett L. Lewis, US Army, Retired
- 45. Vice Admiral Michael Malone, US Navy, Retired
- 46. Vice Admiral John Mazach, US Navy, Retired
- 47. Lieutenant General Thomas McInerney, US Air Force, Retired
- 48. Lieutenant General Fred McCorkle, US Marine Corps, Retired
- 49. Vice Admiral Robert Monroe, US Navy, Retired
- 50. Vice Admiral Jimmy Pappas, US Navy, Retired
- 51. Vice Admiral J. Theodore Parker, US Navy, Retired
- 52. Lieutenant General Garry L. Parks, US Marine Corps, Retired
- 53. Lieutenant General Everett Pratt, US Air Force, Retired
- 54. Vice Admiral John Poindexter, US Navy, Retired

- 55. Lieutenant General Clifford "Ted" Rees, Jr., US Air Force, Retired
- 56. Vice Admiral William Rowden, US Navy, Retired
- 57. Vice Admiral Robert F. Schoultz, US Navy, Retired
- 58. Lieutenant General E.G. "Buck" Shuler, Jr., US Air Force, Retired
- 59. Lieutenant General Hubert 'Hugh" G. Smith, US Army, Retired
- 60. Vice Admiral Robert Spane, US Navy, Retired
- 61. Vice Admiral Edward M. Straw, US Navy, Retired
- 62. Lieutenant General David J. Teal, US Air Force, Retired
- 63. Vice Admiral D.C. "Deese" Thompson, US Coast Guard, Retired
- 64. Lieutenant General William E. Thurman, US Air Force, Retired
- 65. Lieutenant General Billy Tomas, US Army, Retired
- 66. Vice Admiral John Totushek, US Navy, Retired
- 67. Vice Admiral Jerry Tuttle, US Navy, Retired
- 68. Vice Admiral Jerry Unruh, US Navy, Retired
- 69. Vice Admiral Timothy W. Wright, US Navy, Retired
- 70. Rear Admiral William V. Alford, Jr., US Navy, Retired
- 71. Major General Thurman E. Anderson, US Army, Retired
- 72. Major General Joseph T. Anderson, US Marine Corps, Retired
- 73. Rear Admiral Philip Anselmo, US Navy, Retired
- 74. Major General Joe Arbuckle, US Army, Retired
- 75. Rear Admiral James W. Austin, US Navy, Retired
- 76. Rear Admiral John R. Batzler, US Navy, Retired
- 77. Rear Admiral John Bayless, US Navy, Retired
- 78. Major General John Bianchi, US Army, Retired
- 79. Rear Admiral Donald Vaux Boecker, US Navy, Retired
- 80. Rear Admiral Jerry C. Breast, US Navy, Retired
- 81. Rear Admiral Bruce B. Bremner, US Navy, Retired
- 82. Major General Edward M. Browne, US Army, Retired
- 83. Rear Admiral Thomas F. Brown III, US Navy, Retired
- 84. Rear Admiral Lyle Bull, US Navy, Retired
- 85. Major General H. Hale Burr, Jr. US Air Force, Retired
- 86. Major General Bobby G. Butcher, US Marine Corps, Retired
- 87. Rear Admiral Jay A. Campbell, US Navy, Retired
- 88. Major General Henry D. Canterbury, US Air Force, Retired
- 89. Major General Carroll D. Childers, US Army, Retired
- 90. Rear Admiral Ronald L. Christenson, US Navy, Retired
- 91. Major General John R.D. Cleland, US Army, Retired
- 92. Major General Richard L. Comer, US Air Force, Retired
- 93. Rear Admiral Jack Dantone, US Navy, Retired
- 94. Major General William B. Davitte, US Air Force, Retired
- 95. Major General James D. Delk, US Army, Retired

- 96. Major General Felix Dupre, US Air Force, Retired
- 97. Rear Admiral Philip A. Dur, US Navy, Retired
- 98. Major General Neil L. Eddins, US Air Force, Retired
- 99. Rear Admiral Paul Engel, US Navy, Retired
- 100. Major General Vince Falter, US Army, Retired
- 101. Rear Admiral James H. Flatley, US Navy, Retired
- 102. Major General Bobby O. Floyd, US Air Force, Retired
- 103. Major General Paul Fratarangelo, US Marine Corps, Retired
- 104. Rear Admiral Veronica "Ronne" Froman, US Navy, Retired
- 105. Rear Admiral R. Byron Fuller, US Navy, Retired
- 106. Rear Admiral Frank Gallo, US Navy, Retired
- 107. Rear Admiral Albert A. Gallotta, Jr., US Navy, Retired
- 108. Rear Admiral James Mac Gleim, US Navy, Retired
- 109. Rear Admiral Robert H. Gormley, US Navy, Retired
- 110. Rear Admiral William Gureck, US Navy, Retired
- 111. Major General Gary L. Harrell, US Army, Retired
- 112. Rear Admiral Donald Hickman, US Navy, Retired
- 113. Major General Geoffrey Higginbotham, US Marine Corps, Retired
- 114. Major General Kent H. Hillhouse, US Army, Retired
- 115. Rear Admiral Tim Hinkle, US Navy, Retired
- 116. Major General Victor Joseph Hugo, US Army, Retired
- 117. Major General James P. Hunt, US Air Force, Retired
- 118. Rear Admiral Grady L. Jackson, US Navy, Retired
- 119. Major General William K. James, US Air Force, Retired
- 120. Rear Admiral John M. "Carlos" Johnson, US Navy, Retired
- 121. Rear Admiral Pierce J. Johnson, US Navy, Retired
- 122. Rear Admiral Steven B. Kantrowitz, US Navy, Retired
- 123. Major General Maurice W. Kendall, US Army, Retired
- 124. Rear Admiral Charles R. Kubic, US Navy, Retired
- 125. Rear Admiral Frederick L. Lewis, US Navy, Retired
- 126. Major General John D. Logeman, Jr., US Air Force, Retired
- 127. Major General Homer S. Long, Jr., US Army, Retired
- 128. Major General Robert M. Marquette, US Air Force, Retired
- 129. Rear Admiral Robert B. McClinton, US Navy, Retired
- 130. Rear Admiral W. J. McDaniel, MD, US Navy, Retired
- 131. Major General Keith W. Meurlin, US Air Force, Retired
- 132. Rear Admiral Terrence McKnight, US Navy, Retired
- 133. Major General John F. Miller, Jr., US Air Force, Retired
- 134. Major General Burton R. Moore, US Air Force, Retired
- 135. Rear Admiral David R. Morris, US Navy, Retired
- 136. Rear Admiral Ed Nelson, Jr., US Coast Guard, Retired
- 137. Major General George W. "Nordie" Norwood, US Air Force, Retired
- 138. Major General Everett G. Odgers, US Air Force, Retired

- 139. Rear Admiral Phillip R. Olson, US Navy, Retired
- 140. Rear Admiral Robert S. Owens, US Navy, Retired
- 141. Major General Robert W. Paret, US Air Force, Retired
- 142. Rear Admiral Robert O. Passmore, US Navy, Retired
- 143. Major General Richard E. Perraut, Jr., US Air Force, Retired
- 144. Rear Admiral W.W. Pickavance, Jr., US Navy, Retired
- 145. Rear Admiral L.F. Picotte, US Navy, Retired
- 146. Rear Admiral Thomas J. Porter, US Navy, Retired
- 147. Major General H. Douglas Robertson, US Army, Retired
- 148. Rear Admiral W.J. Ryan, US Navy, Retired
- 149. Rear Admiral Norman Saunders, US Coast Guard, Retired
- 150. Major General John P. Schoeppner, Jr., US Air Force, Retired
- 151. Major General Edison E. Scholes, US Army, Retired
- 152. Rear Admiral Hugh P. Scott, US Navy, Retired
- 153. Major General Richard Secord, US Air Force, Retired
- 154. Rear Admiral James M. Seely, US Navy, Retired
- 155. Major General Sidney Shachnow, US Army, Retired
- 156. Rear Admiral William H. Shawcross, US Navy, Retired
- 157. Rear Admiral Bob Shumaker, US Navy, Retired
- 158. Major General Willie Studer, US Air Force, Retired
- 159. Major General Larry Taylor, US Marine Corps, Retired
- 160. Rear Admiral Jeremy Taylor, US Navy, Retired
- 161. Major General Richard L. Testa, US Air Force, Retired
- 162. Rear Admiral Robert P. Tiernan, US Navy, Retired
- 163. Major General Paul E. Vallely, US Army, Retired
- 164. Major General Kenneth W. Weir, US Marine Corps, Retired
- 165. Major General John Welde, US Air Force, Retired
- 166. Rear Admiral James B. Whittaker, US Navy, Retired
- 167. Major General Geoffrey P. Wiedeman, Jr., MD, US Air Force, Retired
- 168. Rear Admiral H. Denny Wisely, US Navy, Retired
- 169. Brigadier General John R. Allen, Jr., US Air Force, Retired
- 170. Brigadier General John C. Arick, US Marine Corps, Retired
- 171. Brigadier General Loring R. Astorino, US Air Force, Retired
- 172. Rear Admiral Robert E. Besal, US Navy, Retired
- 173. Brigadier General William Bloomer, US Marine Corps, Retired
- 174. Brigadier General George P. Cole, Jr., US Air Force, Retired
- 175. Brigadier General Richard A. Coleman, US Air Force, Retired
- 176. Brigadier General James L. Crouch, US Air Force, Retired
- 177. Rear Admiral Marianne B. Drew, US Navy, Retired
- 178. Brigadier General Philip M. Drew, US Air Force, Retired
- 179. Brigadier General Jerome V. Foust, US Army, Retired

- 180. Brigadier General Larry K. Grundhauser, US Air Force, Retired
- 181. Brigadier General Thomas W. Honeywill, US Air Force, Retired
- 182. Brigadier General Gary M. Jones, US Army, Retired
- 183. Brigadier General Stephen Lanning, US Air Force, Retired
- 184. Brigadier General Thomas J. Lennon, US Air Force, Retired
- 185. Rear Admiral Bobby C. Lee, US Navy, Retired
- 186. Brigadier General Hans J. Mueh, US Air Force, Retired
- 187. Brigadier General Robert F. Peksens, US Air Force, Retired
- 188. Brigadier General Joe Shaefer, US Air Force, Retired
- 189. Brigadier General Graham E. Shirley, US Air Force, Retired
- 190. Brigadier General Stanley O. Smith, US Air Force, Retired
- 191. Brigadier General Hugh B. Tant III, US Army, Retired
- 192. Brigadier General Michael Joseph Tashjian, US Air Force, Retired
- 193. Brigadier General William Tiernan, US Marine Corps, Retired
- 194. Brigadier General Roger W. Scearce, US Army, Retired
- 195. Brigadier General Robert V. Woods, US Air Force, Retired

