

Keep the Iran Deal — 10 Good Reasons Why

March 2018

President Trump should maintain the U.S. commitment to the Iran nuclear deal. Doing so will bring substantial benefits and strengthen America's hand in dealing with North Korea, as well as Iran, and help maintain the reliability of America's word and influence as a world leader. Ditching it would serve no national security purpose.

Maintaining Rigorous Implementation of the Agreement Enhances U.S. and Regional Security

- Iran will be prohibited from exceeding severe limits on its nuclear program under continuing, unprecedented international monitoring, preventing it from moving toward a nuclear weapon for the duration of the agreement. If there is no follow-on agreement that maintains constraints on Iran and if Iran should move toward acquiring a nuclear weapon, nothing prevents the U.S. from taking action.
- 2. Direct U.S.-Iran communications will be better maintained for crisis management if the nuclear agreement remains in place. The potential for military confrontation, inadvertent accidents and consequent misjudgments in Syria and the Gulf may require the contingency for emergency contacts made possible through the Joint Commission of the nuclear agreement.
- 3. North Korea could not claim that the U.S. abrogates agreements without cause and would be more likely to negotiate an end to its nuclear program. Efforts to limit nuclear proliferation would be strengthened.
- 4. Other states in the region would have significantly reduced motivation to develop nuclear weapons if Iran's program remains under intense scrutiny and restrictions.

The Agreement Enhances U.S. Stature and Leadership

- 5. U.S. relations with major European allies, who all oppose U.S. withdrawal, would be preserved for advancing U.S. national security interests beyond the nuclear deal.
- 6. The U.S. will build credibility and retain influence with its negotiating partners to ensure strict implementation with the agreement, be able to lead efforts to strengthen it, or garner strong support for imposing additional sanctions if necessary. Should U.S. efforts with allies fail to reach understandings on remaining in the agreement, the Western Alliance would face significant additional strain.
- 7. Iran will be denied the opportunity to blame the U.S. should it renew its nuclear program in response to a U.S. withdrawal. Russia and China will be denied the opportunity to claim they are true guardians of international order.

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Maintaining the Agreement Provides Opportunities to Decrease Tensions in the Region

- **8. U.S. political and diplomatic influence would not be eroded, improving the U.S.'s ability to advance the resolution of regional conflicts.** There are no military solutions to the conflicts in the Middle East. The U.S. should not cede to Russia, Iran, or others, control over political settlements in Syria, Yemen, and Iraq.
- 9. Iranian hardliners who claim the U.S. can never be trusted would be proven wrong and their influence weakened.
- 10. Russia and China would have greater difficulty moving closer to Iran politically, economically, and militarily which could lead to increased transfers of conventional weapons and a Russia-Iran strategic alliance.
- **Ambassador (ret.) Morton Abramowitz,** Assistant Secretary of State for Intelligence and Research; Ambassador to Thailand and Turkey
- Graham Allison, Assistant Secretary of Defense
- Ambassador (ret.) Brooke D. Anderson, Alternate Representative for Special Political Affairs at the U.S. Mission to the United Nations; Chief of Staff and Counselor of the National Security Council
- **Brigadier General (ret.) Ricardo Aponte,** U.S. Air Force and Director of Innovation and Experimentation, U.S. Southern Command
- Vice Admiral (ret.) Donald Arthur, U.S. Navy and Surgeon General, U.S. Navy
- **Major General (ret.) Donna Barbisch,** U.S. Army and Director, Chemical, Biological, Radiological and Nuclear Defense Program Integration
- **Brigadier General (ret.) Roosevelt Barfield,** U.S. Army and Deputy Director of Operations, U.S. Africa Command
- **Rear Admiral (ret.) Jamie Barnett,** U.S. Navy and Deputy Commander, Navy Expeditionary Combat Command
- **Howard Berman,** U.S. House of Representatives and Chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs
- **Ambassador (ret.) Nicholas Burns,** Under Secretary of State and Ambassador to NATO and Greece **Jeff Bingaman**, U.S. Senate
- **Brigadier General (ret.) Donald C. Bolduc,** U.S. Army and Commanding General, Special Operations Command-Africa
- David L. Boren, U.S. Senator and Governor of Oklahoma
- **General (ret.) Chuck Boyd,** U.S. Air Force and Deputy Commander in Chief, U.S. European Command
- **Major General (ret.) David P. Burford,** U.S. Army and Deputy Commander for Mobilization and Reserve Affairs, U.S. Special Operations Command
- **Brigadier General (ret.) Jeffrey B. Cashman,** U.S. Air Force and Director, Manpower, Personnel and Services, Air National Guard
- **Brigadier General (ret.) Stephen A. Cheney,** U.S. Marine Corps and Inspector General, U.S. Marine Corps



- Joseph Cirincione, President of the Ploughshares Fund
- Lieutenant General (ret.) James Clapper, U.S. Air Force and Director of National Intelligence
- **Brigadier General (ret.) Julia J. Cleckley,** U.S. Army and Special Assistant to the Director of the Army National Guard
- **Ambassador (ret.) James F. Collins,** Ambassador at Large for the New Independent States and to the Russian Federation
- **Major General (ret.) Peter Cooke,** U.S. Army and Commanding General, 96th Regional Support Command
- Thomas Countryman, Assistant Secretary of State for International Security and Nonproliferation
- Ambassador (ret.) Chester A. Crocker, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs
- **Ambassador (ret.) Ryan Crocker,** Ambassador to Afghanistan, Iraq, Pakistan, Syria, Kuwait, and Lebanon
- Ambassador (ret.) Walter Culter, Ambassador to Saudi Arabia, Tunisia, and Congo-Zaire
- Ambassador (ret.) James B. Cunningham, Ambassador to the United Nations, Israel, and Afghanistan
- John Danforth, U.S. Senate and Ambassador to the United Nations
- Tom Daschle, U.S. Senate and Senate Majority Leader
- Suzanne DiMaggio, Senior Fellow and Director of the Iran Initiative at New America
- Ambassador (ret.) James Dobbins, U.S. Special Representative for Afghanistan and Pakistan
- David Dreier, U.S. House of Representatives and Chairman of the House Committee on Rules
- **Major General (ret.) Mari K. Eder,** U.S. Army and Commanding General, 76th Operational Reserve Command
- **Robert Einhorn,** Assistant Secretary for Nonproliferation and the Secretary of State's Special Advisor for Nonproliferation and Arms Control
- Admiral (ret.) William J. Fallon, U.S. Navy and Commander, U.S. Central Command
- **Brigadier General (ret.) Robert J. Felderman,** U.S. Army and Deputy Director Plans, Policy and Strategy, U.S. Northern Command
- **Ambassador (ret.) Robert Gallucci,** Assistant Secretary of State for Political-Military Affairs and Ambassador at Large
- **Lieutenant General (ret.) Walter Gaskin,** U.S. Marine Corps and Deputy Chairman, NATO Military Committee
- **Leslie Gelb,** Assistant Secretary of State for Political-Military Affairs and Director of Policy Planning and Arms Control at the Department of Defense
- Rear Admiral (ret.) F. Stephen Glass, JAGC, U.S. Navy and Senior Judge Advocate, Naval Reserve
- **Ambassador (ret.) James Goodby,** Ambassador to Finland and Deputy Chief of the U.S. delegation to the START talks
- **Vice Admiral (ret.) Kevin P. Green,** U.S. Navy and Deputy Chief of Naval Operations (Plans, Policy and Operations)
- **Lee H. Hamilton,** U.S. House of Representatives, Chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, and Vice Chair of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States



- **Ambassador (ret.) William C. Harrop,** Ambassador to Israel and Inspector General, U.S. Department of State
- Gary Hart, U.S. Senate and U.S. Special Envoy to Northern Ireland
- **Brigadier General (ret.) Don Harvel,** U.S. Air Force and Air National Guard Advisor to the Commander of the Air Force Special Operations Command
- **General (ret.) Michael Hayden,** U.S. Air Force and Director of the National Security Agency and Director of the Central Intelligence Agency
- Stephen B. Heintz, President of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund
- Ambassador (ret.) Carla A. Hills, U.S. Trade Representative
- James Hoge, Former Editor of Foreign Affairs Magazine
- **Ambassador (ret.) Laura S. H. Holgate,** U.S. Representative to the International Atomic Energy Agency and United Nations; and Special Assistant to the President for Weapons of Mass Destruction, Terrorism, and Threat Reduction of the National Security Council
- **Major General (ret.) Sanford E. Holman,** U.S. Army and Commanding General, 200th Military Police Command
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- **J. Bennett Johnston,** U.S. Senate and Chairman of the Senate Committee on Energy and Natural Resources
- Nancy Landon Kassebaum, U.S. Senate
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- Ambassador (ret.) Patrick F. Kennedy, Under Secretary of State for Management
- Daryl G. Kimball, Executive Director, Arms Control Association
- Ambassador (ret.) Jimmy Kolker, Ambassador to Uganda and Burkina Faso
- Ambassador (ret.) Daniel Kurtzer, Ambassador to Israel and Egypt
- Major General (ret.) Dennis Laich, U.S. Army and Commander, 94th Regional Readiness Command
- **Ellen Laipson,** Vice Chair of the National Intelligence Council and President Emeritus of the Stimson Center
- **Major General (ret.) Steven J. Lepper,** U.S. Air Force and Deputy Judge Advocate General, U.S. Air Force
- Carl Levin, U.S. Senate and Chairman of the Senate Committee on Armed Services
- Ambassador (ret.) John Limbert, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Iran
- Ambassador (ret.) William H. Luers, Ambassador to Czechoslovakia and Venezuela



- Richard G. Lugar, U.S. Senate and Chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations
- **Ambassador (ret.) Princeton Lyman,** Ambassador to Nigeria and South Africa, and Assistant Secretary of State for International Organizations
- **Major General (ret.) Randy Manner,** U.S. Army and Deputy Commanding General, 3rd U.S. Army, ARCENT, Kuwait
- **Ambassador (ret.) Edward Marks,** Former Deputy Coordinator of the Office of the Coordinator for Counterterrorism at the Department of State and Ambassador to Cape Verde and Guinea-Bissau
- **Brigadier General (ret.) Carlos E. Martinez,** U.S. Air Force and Mobilization Assistant to the Deputy Chief of Staff for Warfighting Integration
- Jessica T. Mathews, Director of the Office of Global Issues of the National Security Council
- **Lieutenant General (ret.) John W. Morgan, Ill,** U.S. Army and Commander, Allied Land Force Command-Heidelberg (NATO)
- **Ambassador (ret.) Richard W. Murphy,** Ambassador to Saudi Arabia and Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs
- **Vali Nasr,** U.S. Special Representative for Afghanistan and Pakistan and Dean of Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies
- **Richard Nephew,** Deputy Coordinator for Sanctions Policy at the Department of State and Director for Iran of the National Security Council
- Ambassador (ret.) Thomas Niles, Ambassador to the European Union, Greece, and Canada
- Sam Nunn, U.S. Senate and Chairman of the Senate Committee on Armed Services
- Joseph Nye, Assistant Secretary of Defense and Chairman of the National Intelligence Council
- Paul O'Neill, U.S. Secretary of the Treasury
- **Rear Admiral (ret.) David R. Oliver, Jr.,** U.S. Navy and Principal Deputy Undersecretary of Defense for Acquisition, Technology, and Logistics
- Ambassador (ret.) Rick Olsen, U.S. Special Representative to Afghanistan and Pakistan
- Admiral (ret.) Eric Olson, U.S. Navy and Commander of Special Operations Forces
- William Perry, U.S. Secretary of Defense
- **Ambassador (ret.) Thomas Pickering,** Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs and Ambassador to Israel, Russia, India, El Salvador, Nigeria, Jordan, and the United Nations
- Paul R. Pillar, National Intelligence Officer for the Near East and South Asia
- Ambassador (ret.) Nicholas Platt, Ambassador to Pakistan, the Philippines, and Zambia
- **Major General (ret.) Gale S. Pollock,** CRNA, FACHE, FAAN, U.S. Army and Acting Surgeon General, Army Medical Command
- **Don Riegle,** U.S. Senate and Chairman of the Senate Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs
- Chuck Robb, U.S. Senate and Governor of Virginia
- Rear Admiral (ret.) Harold Robinson, U.S. Navy and Deputy Chief of Chaplains
- **Brigadier General (ret.) Ronald F. Rokosz,** U.S. Army and Deputy, Operations Directorate, the Army Staff



- **Ambassador (ret.) J. Stapleton Roy,** Assistant Secretary of State for Intelligence and Research and Ambassador to China, Indonesia, and Singapore
- **Brigadier General (ret.) John M. Schuster,** U.S. Army and Deputy Commanding General, 88th Regional Support Command
- General (ret.) Brent Scowcroft, U.S. Air Force and U.S. National Security Advisor
- **Rear Admiral (ret.) Joe Sestak,** U.S. Navy and Deputy Chief of Naval Operations for Warfare Requirements and Programs
- Gary Sick, Director for Iran and the Persian Gulf of the National Security Council
- **Jim Slattery,** U.S. House of Representatives
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- **Rear Admiral (ret.) Michael Smith,** U.S. Navy and President, American College of National Security Leaders
- Ambassador (ret.) Craig Stapleton, Ambassador to France and the Czech Republic
- Mark Udall, U.S. Senate
- **Ambassador (ret.) Nicholas A. Veliotes,** Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs and Ambassador to Egypt and Jordan
- **Ambassador (ret.) Edward S. Walker, Jr.,** Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern Affairs and Ambassador to Israel, Egypt, and the UAE
- James Walsh, Research Associate at MIT's Security Studies Program
- **Brigadier General (ret.) Marianne Watson,** U.S. Army and Director of Manpower and Personnel, National Guard Bureau
- Colonel (ret.) Lawrence Wilkerson, U.S. Army and Chief of Staff to the Secretary of State
- Lieutenant General (ret.) Willie Williams, U.S. Marine Corps and Director Marine Corps Staff
- General (ret.) Johnnie Wilson, U.S. Army and Commanding General, U.S. Army Materiel Command
- Timothy E. Wirth, U.S. Senate
- **Ambassador (ret.) Frank Wisner,** Ambassador to India, Egypt, the Philippines, and Zambia; and Under Secretary of State for International Security Affairs
- **Major General (ret.) Margaret C. Wilmoth, PhD, MSS, RN, FAAN,** U.S. Army and Deputy Surgeon General for Mobilization and Army Reserve Affairs
- Brigadier General (ret.) Daniel P. Woodward, U.S. Air Force and Director, Air Force Regional Affairs
- Major General (ret.) Margaret Woodward, U.S. Air Force and Commander, 17th Air Force
- **Brigadier General (ret.) Stephen N. Xenakis, M.D.,** U.S. Army and Commanding General, Dwight David Eisenhower Army Medical Center

^{*} The signers of this statement were either former senior officials of the U.S. government or prominent national security leaders who have not held senior government positions. The positions listed after the names of the former government officials are senior posts held while in office. The positions listed after the names of those who were not from the government are listed with their current position.