

THE WEST MUST REACH A COMMON FRAMEWORK TO CONFRONT IRAN



The day finally has come. President Trump has pulled the U.S. out of the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA). **It has been the right decision to confront the Iran's hostility in the Middle East.**

Since the signature of the JCPOA, as Friends of Israel Initiative strongly alerted, the JCPOA has enabled Iran to keep the nuclear infrastructure intact, it has allowed to carry out advanced nuclear R&D, it has established an insufficient inspection and verification regime and it has set out sunset clauses that postpone the problem, far from solving it. In the meantime, the Iran's long-range ballistic program is active and expanding, the Iran's regional domination in Yemen, Syria Iraq and Lebanon has been enhanced, Iran heads once again the list of countries sponsors of terrorism, and the regime is not moderating, as the world witnessed during the last heavily-oppressed citizen protests at the end of 2017.

P5+1 powers, especially the U.S., the U.K., France and Germany have now an historic opportunity, posed by the U.S. President Donald Trump's position on the JCPOA, **to correct the mistakes of the past and work together towards a safer, better future.**

We are hereby convinced that a future agreement on Iran, if possible, must make "anytime, anywhere" inspections real, prohibit the development of long-range missiles capable to carry nuclear warheads, erase the possibility of Iran to acquire nuclear weapons, ban the advanced nuclear R&D, and stop the funding of terrorist groups such as Hamas or Hizballah. Other Western powers-led arrangement that does not deal with these issues would be futile.

In the Friends of Israel Initiative, **we take the Iranian constant threat to "wipe Israel off the map", as the Iranian leaders have constantly claimed, very seriously, and the Western powers should do the same.** A no-nuclear deal scenario is preferable than the Iran's nefarious internal and external agenda enhanced nowadays by the JCPOA.

The disastrous nuclear deal that has allowed Iran to be richer, stronger, better equipped and to build a Shia Crescent across the Middle East that now endangers the existence of Israel. The security of our allies is at stake. One day after the Trump's decision, Iran attacked Israel, violating all military and international conventions. A regional war is now closer due to the hostility of Iran in the Middle East. The JCPOA did not stop this eventuality.

The JCPOA is a bad deal that has worsened the global security since its implementation. In July 2015, a big opportunity was wasted. During the period of negotiations opened by President Trump's decision in January, another

opportunity to reach a better framework was lost. This time, the U.K., France and Germany have a third chance to conceptualize, along with the U.S., to achieve a common, long-lasting, and safe solution.

We therefore urge them to eliminate the danger of a nuclear Iran and roll back its global malign activities that threaten us and our allies.



FOII STATEMENT ON PRESIDENT TRUMP'S DECISION TO LEAVE THE JCPOA

May 7 2018

The members of Friends of Israel Initiative sincerely regret the lack of agreement between Europe and the United States on ways to fix the grave flaws of the nuclear deal with Iran. When the JCPOA was signed in 2015, we denounced it and called for a better agreement because we believed it was a bad deal that couldn't accomplish its stated goal: to avoid a future nuclear armed Iran.

In January President Trump demanded amendments to the deal so as to create a new and more robust framework that would more effectively restrict the nuclear path for Iran, as well as roll back Iran's dangerous regional behavior. Unfortunately, the negotiations to achieve this didn't make sufficient progress. We thus understand President Trump's entirely legitimate decision to unilaterally leave the JCPOA.

We urge all Western parties involved in the deal to take advantage of this new situation and to work together to create a new framework and a coherent strategy to deal with Iran comprehensively. In truth, it is Iran which has been the great beneficiary of the 2015 deal: not only has it kept intact most of its capabilities to produce a nuclear bomb and continued to modernize its nuclear infrastructure, but Iran has received billions of dollars spent on the export of instability and violence across the entire Middle East, instead of on the betterment of its own people crying out in the streets.

Iran was emboldened not curtailed by the JCPOA. The US leaving this bad deal should be seen as a new opportunity to confront the many challenges, not only the nuclear one, that Iran poses to her neighbors and to the world in general.

FOII'S ACTIONS ON IRAN NUCLEAR DEAL

Since its foundation, the Friends of Israel Initiative has sought to avoid reaching a bad deal with Iran, since it would be not only an existential threat to Israel, but also to the entire Western world. Here are some examples of FOII's relentless efforts.

Statements: FOII's Board Members have crafted open statements outlining the same points regarding Iran's nuclear ambitions.

· "Why we should be side by side with Israel now," (March 2012)

· "Statement on the Geneva Interim Agreement over the Iranian Nuclear Program," (November 2013) after the interim nuclear deal in Geneva was signed.

· "World Leaders Tell US Congress: World Needs a Better Deal", FOII's Board Members Statement, *The New York Times*, September 8, 2015

Global leaders tell US Congress: **WORLD NEEDS A BETTER DEAL**



Richard Kemp | Former Commander, British Forces in Afghanistan
Giulio Terzi | Former Foreign Minister, Italy
Alexander Vondra | Former Defense and Foreign Minister, Czech Republic
Jose Maria Aznar | Former President of Spain
John Howard | Former Prime Minister of Australia
Lord David Trimble | Former First Minister of Northern Ireland and Nobel Peace Prize Laureate
Uri Rosenthal | Former Foreign Minister, Holland
Carlos A. Montaner | Cuban-exiled writer and journalist

We, the undersigned, know from our many years of dealing with Iran that no nuclear agreement with a regime that has systematically cheated, defying the international community, can be perfect.

Yet, by any reasonable standard, the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA) is a bad deal. So bad that it can only be rejected. The JCPOA gives Iran too much while extracting too little. Iran will be allowed to retain its nuclear infrastructure intact, to modernize its facilities, to enrich enough uranium to advance nuclear R&D, and, consequently to become a nuclear threshold state. Additionally, the JCPOA will constrain Iran's nuclear activities for only 10 years at best. The weakness of the inspections and verification regime, which allows Iran not only to delay inspections of its nuclear sites for at least 24 days, but also to self-inspect some of its important military sites, underlines the profound challenge of policing a rogue regime that launched its nuclear program clandestinely, cheated continuously and played with UN inspectors as it saw fit. Once removed, reimposing the sanctions will prove a chimera.

In sum, the JCPOA doesn't solve the Iranian nuclear issue. Indeed, it makes the risk of a new conflict in the Middle East all the more likely, since the deal leaves Iran richer, stronger, and better equipped to pursue its drive for regional domination.

Even though the JCPOA deals exclusively with the nuclear issue, we also cannot simply ignore Iran's malign activities. Iran is emerging as a major power, with its repressive regime strengthened and therefore without any incentive to improve its appalling human rights record or end its support for terrorism. That's why our key allies in the region, from Israel to Saudi Arabia, have voiced their deep concerns.

However, we are convinced that a better deal can be reached. After years of defiance, Iran came to the negotiating table because of the painful price inflicted by international sanctions. Iran will have no choice but to accept a tougher, robust agreement if the P5+1, led by the U.S., maintain their resolve.

The U.S. Congress now has a historical responsibility over a deal that will have profound and long-lasting implications for the Middle East and the entire world. It is not true that without this agreement Iran will rush into building a bomb, but it is sure that under this agreement, Iran will walk to have a nuclear arsenal in a few years.

That is why we urge the U.S. Congress to reject the agreement in its present form, instead encouraging the Administration to return to the negotiating table and reach a deal that keeps the United States, its world allies and future generations safe from the threat of an Iranian nuclear weapon.

JOSE MARIA AZNAR | Former President of Spain

LORD DAVID TRIMBLE | Former First Minister of Northern Ireland and Nobel Peace Prize Laureate

JOHN HOWARD | Former Prime Minister of Australia

GIULIO TERZI | Former Foreign Minister, Italy

ALEXANDER VONDRA | Former Defense and Foreign Minister, Czech Republic

URI ROSENTHAL | Former Foreign Minister, Holland

CARLOS BUSTELO | Former Industry Minister, Spain

PROF. ANDREW ROBERTS | Historian, UK

ROBERT AGOSTINELLI | CEO, Rhodia group

LORD GEORGE WEIDENFELD | UK

COL. (r) RICHARD KEMP | Former Commander, British Forces in Afghanistan

RAFAEL L. BARDAJI | Former National Security Advisor, Spain

CARLOS ALBERTO MONTANER | Cuban-exiled writer and journalist

Op-eds: FOII's Board Members and collaborators have also published op-eds and analyses on the international media, in which they explained how detrimental it would be to open the gate of the nuclearization to Iran.

- "The Case for Pre-Emptive War, From Goliath to the Dardanelles," by Andrew Roberts, The Wall Street Journal, May 1, 2013.
- "Obama's balancing act: Playing the lion with Syria and the lamb with Iran," by Fiamma Nirestein, Il Giornale, September 25, 2013.
- "Failed to Cut a Deal with Iran? Better Than Making a Bad One," by José María Aznar, The Wall Street Journal, November 26, 2014.
- "Netanyahu, Churchill, and Congress" by Col. Richard Kemp, Gatestone Institute, March 1, 2015.
- "Confrontation with Iran Is Inevitable", Jose María Aznar, The Wall Street Journal, August 5, 2015
- "Congress must demand a better deal", Jose María Aznar and Lord David Trimble, The Hill, September 9, 2015
- "The consequences of a bad deal with Iran", Ambassador John Bolton, Los Angeles Times, July 26, 2015
- "The battle of perceptions" Carlos Alberto Montaner, August 31, 2015
- "Don't Give Iran's President a Pass, Ambassador" Giulio Terzi, The Wall Street Journal, November 13, 2015
- "Moderate Iran is a fantasy" Ambassador Giulio Terzi, POLITICO, January 27, 2016
- "Iran is as belligerent as ever" Ambassador Giulio Terzi, Israel Hayom, June 30, 2016.
- "The Deal with Iran: One Year of Deceit", Rafael Bardaji, El Medio, July 15, 2016
- "Interests First: Discarding Bad Agreements", Professor Andrew Roberts, Hoover Institution, November 21, 2016
- "Iran's Western partners risk blood on their hands," Ambassador Giulio Terzi, POLITICO, December 19, 2016
- Puppet-state Lebanon a pawn for ambitious Iran, Major General Andrew Molan, The Australian, April 24, 2017
- "How to Get Out of the Iran Nuclear Deal" Ambassador John Bolton, National Review, August 28, 2017
- "Iran Wants America to Ignore Its Nuclear Ambitions", Emily Landau, The National Interest, September 30, 2017
- "Thanks to Obama, America is two steps behind Iran in Middle East," Ambassador John Bolton, The Hill, October 23, 2017
- Puppet-state Lebanon a pawn for ambitious Iran, General Klaus Naumann and Lord General Richard Dannatt, The Hill, October 24, 2017.
- "Iran deal devotees try in vain to save a sinking ship", Ambassador John Bolton, The Hill, September 11, 2017
- "Trump Not Expected to Certify Iranian Compliance with the Nuclear Deal", Lee Smith, The Weekly Standard, October 4, 2017
- "Iran is the Greatest Threat to World Peace", Colonel Richard Kemp, Majalla, November 4, 2017
- "What Is Wrong with Europe's "Iran Policy"?" Ambassador Giulio Terzi, Jerusalem Post, November 15, 2017
- "Failure to support Israel against Iran could end in war", Colonel Richard Kemp, The Times, February 12, 2018
- "The World Must Unite to Stop Iran", Jose Maria Aznar and Stephen Harper, The Wall Street Journal, March 4, 2018
- "Iran: The Europeans Are Wrong Once Again", Rafael Bardaji, La Gaceta, March 22, 2018

Letters: To P5+1 members: During the final stages of the negotiations at 2015, FOII carried out an intense campaign to warn about the consequences of reaching a bad deal to European leaders of the E3+3 group: David Cameron, Angela Merkel, François Hollande, Donald Tusk, Jean-Claude Juncker, and Federica Mogherini. We advised them about the counterproductive deal in geopolitical terms and how a sanctions-free regime will undoubtedly expand Iran's ballistic missile program that, only a few weeks ago, rolled out a new long-range cruise missile, capable of targeting Central Europe. Besides, agreeing to a deal would be rewarding Iran's belligerency.

To the U.S. Congress: During the last stage of negotiations of the JCPOA, FOII also sent letters to the majority and minority leaders in the House of Representatives Kevin McCarthy (Rep.) and Nancy Pelosi (Dem.), as well to the majority and minority whips Steve Scalise (Rep.) and Steny Hoyer (Dem.), warning them about the bad consequences that the JCPOA implementation and about the historic moment to encourage the U.S. government to reach a better deal with Iran.

Working Papers: Our educational area has been very active regarding Iran's nuclear threat. As such, some of the most renowned experts on the matter have authored working papers — widely spread throughout FOII's network — explaining the implications in case that a bad deal was reached.

- "Delineating Western Goals during Nuclear Negotiations with Iran," Dore Gold, April 10, 2012.
- "Iran: Time is Running Out," Dore Gold, October 10, 2012. "Freezing Iran as a Nuclear Threshold State: Chances, Costs, and Consequences," Shmuel Bar, October 1, 2013.
- "The Iranian Nuclear Deal: Short-Term and Strategic Implications," Shmuel Bar, December 3, 2013.
- "What Was Left Out of Geneva: Weaponization and Missiles," FOII, January 10, 2014.
- "Iran's Hegemonic Drive and the Nuclear Talks," Dore Gold, May 2015.
- "Iran and the Middle East after the Nuclear Agreement," Shmuel Bar, May 2015.
- "The Next Five Years in the Middle East in the Wake of the Iranian Nuclear Agreement", Shmuel Bar, September 2015.
- "Report on Iran-Latin America Relations" Federico Pinedo, November 2015.
- "Risky Business: perils and pitfalls of entering the Iranian markets", Emmanuel Ottolenghi, June 2016.
- "The Trump Administration's Next Moves on the Iran Nuclear Deal", Lee Smith, January 2018.

Major Reports. FOII has elaborated two major reports to assess and evaluate the implementation of the JCPOA and to provide solutions and measures to fix the nuclear deal and to adopt a new policy on Iran.

- ["The Iran Deal a Year On: Assessing Iranian Ambitions"](#), jointly with the Henry Jackson Society.
- ["Walking Away from the Bad Deal with Iran"](#) Ambassador John Bolton, Lee Smith and Emily Landau.

This report was presented at the White House before President Trump decertified the JCPOA and outlined a new policy on Iran.

Dispatches and Alerts: As a tool of communications covering views, achievements, events, and more related information, FOII releases monthly Dispatches — and occasional Alerts— to its approximately 11,000 subscribers. The danger of a nuclear Iran has also been a core issue covered by our Dispatches and Alerts.

- April 2012 Alert: "A Last Chance for Iran?"
- November 2013 Dispatch: "A Bad Deal Is Worse than No Agreement."
- December 2013 Dispatch: "Interim Agreement in Geneva: Iran Has Won."
- March 2014 Dispatch: "Klos-C: Iran's Real Intentions."
- April 2015 Dispatch: "The Day after the Bad Deal."
- July 2015 Dispatch: "The Iranian Deal"
- October 2015 Dispatch: "The JCPOA Augurs a Dark Future"
- February 2017: "The Need to Revert the Bad Effects of the Nuclear Deal with Iran"
- October 2017: "It Is Time to Walk Away from the Bad Deal with Iran"

FOII'S ACTIVITIES

PRESENTATION OF THE HLMG'S REPORT "HIZBALLAH'S TERROR ARMY" AT THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

On April 25, **Lord General Richard Dannatt** and **Colonel Richard Kemp** led the launch of the High Level Military Group's new extensive study "Hizballah's Terror Army: How to Prevent a Third Lebanon" ([read](#)) at the House of Commons in London.



The launching event was attended by the **MP's Bob Blackman, Andrew Bowie, Jo Churchill, Simon Clark, Alberto Costa, Luke Graham, Robert Halfon, Fabian Hamilton, Simon Hoare, Phillip Holloborne, Paul Scully and Michael Tomlinson**; and by journalists Rober Boyes (*The Times*), Douglas Murray (*The Spectator*) and John Ware (*BBC*).

Also, **Lord David Trimble** (Nobel Prize Laureate and Friends of Israel Initiative Board Member), **Lord Leslie Turnberg, Lord Stuart Polak, Baron Toby Harris, Baroness Elizabeth Redfern and Baroness Jane Scott** were among the attendees.

During the presentation of the Hizballah's Terror Army report, both Lord General Dannatt and Colonel Kemp raise awareness about the prospects of a new war in Lebanon against Iran's proxy Hizballah, extensible to the whole region.

Lord Dannatt pointed out that "a new and serious war is thus brewing, premised on Iranian religiously driven Imperialism and implacable enmity to Israel. Such a war will be grave in extent and it is important to understand the context from a military perspective," and warned that "**Iran and Hizballah are breaking Israel's red lines making conflict likely.**" In Lord Dannatt's view, **Israel will require all of its friends in the West** to assert this in the face of the inevitable severe internal and external chorus of propaganda against it.

Colonel Kemp highlighted that "there is no reason for Iran and Hizballah's enmity against Israel on a diplomatic, legal or geo-strategic basis. It is based as a central facet of a religiously motivated **Iranian Islamist imperialism in the Middle**

East that threatens not just Israel, but Western interests.” Colonel Kemp ended his intervention alerting that Western policy and influence is failing and Iran has substantial levels of control now, in Iraq, in Syria, in Lebanon and further afield.

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*Since the agreement, Iran's bloody ambitions have grown only more brazen.
Donald Trump*

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To continue this important endeavor, we need your support.

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