

As negotiators close in on a nuclear agreement with Iran, Congress must press American diplomats to insist on a good deal that eliminates every Iranian pathway to a nuclear weapon. To accomplish this goal, each of the following five minimum criteria must be met:



1. INSPECTIONS AND VERIFICATION

Inspectors must be permitted unimpeded access to suspect sites.

A good deal must support “anytime, anywhere” inspections – including all military facilities – to verify Iranian compliance. Iran’s decades-long history of cheating on international obligations suggests it will secretly attempt to continue its nuclear weapons program. Iran cannot be permitted any safe havens where it could pursue this ambition.



2. POSSIBLE MILITARY DIMENSIONS

Iran must fully explain its prior weaponization efforts.

A good deal must require Iran to come clean on all of its prior nuclear work, such as developing triggers for a nuclear weapon, as required by six United Nations Security Council resolutions. The entire scope of Iran’s nuclear activities must be known to establish a baseline against which to measure future actions. Iran must also be made to comply with prior commitments; allowing Iran to shirk them will only tempt it to defy commitments made under a new deal.



3. SANCTIONS

Sanctions relief must commence only after Iran complies with its commitments.

A good deal must lift sanctions gradually as Iran meets its obligations under the agreement. Further, any deal should specify clear and immediate consequences for Iranian violations. The international community must retain significant leverage while Iran demonstrates compliance; it must not provide immediate sanctions relief or unfreeze a significant portion of Tehran’s assets so Iran can “take the money and run.”



4. DURATION

Iran’s nuclear weapons quest must be blocked for decades.

A good deal must prevent Iran from becoming a nuclear threshold state. The announced framework would lift nuclear restrictions in 10 to 15 years and grant Iran virtually instant breakout time after 12 or 13 years. A deal must restrict Iran’s nuclear capabilities until it demonstrates conclusively, over time, that it no longer seeks a nuclear weapons capability.



5. DISMANTLEMENT

Iran must dismantle its nuclear infrastructure so it has no path to a nuclear weapon.

A good deal must require Iran to dismantle its nuclear infrastructure and relinquish its uranium stockpile such that it has neither a uranium nor plutonium pathway to nuclear weapons.



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1. INSPECTIONS AND VERIFICATION

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A good deal must support “anytime, anywhere” inspections – including all military facilities – to verify Iranian compliance. Iran’s decades-long history of cheating on international obligations suggests it will secretly attempt to continue its nuclear weapons program. Iran cannot be permitted any safe havens where it could pursue this ambition.

Anytime, Anywhere: A good deal must empower the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) to conduct robust and intrusive short-notice inspections of any site – declared or undeclared – including all military locations. No facilities can be off-limits, in order to verify that Iran is abiding by its commitments and not conducting illicit nuclear activities.

Clear Protocols: A good deal must establish detailed rules for IAEA inspections so that Iran has no recourse to employ future delaying tactics. Iran must not be able to veto specific inspections. Inspectors must be able to pursue a lead while the trail is still hot.

Expanded Inspections: A good deal must require Iran to accept a monitoring and verification regime that extends beyond the additional inspections ordinarily required under the Additional Protocol (AP) to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. The AP alone does not assure IAEA access to military sites or Iranian scientists – both of which Iran has insisted it will shield. Expanded inspections are required to verify that Iran is adhering to its commitments.

No Arbitrary Deadlines: A good deal must ensure that a robust inspection regime remains in place until the IAEA concludes that all of Iran’s nuclear work is peaceful in nature and that Iran is not conducting any illicit nuclear activities.

Supply Chain Oversight: A good deal must establish a mechanism to oversee the entire supply chain of Iranian procurement that supports Iran’s nuclear activities. Also, Iran must understand that it will be penalized for any procurement through illicit channels and any diversion of known nuclear materials within Iran.

Any inspections regime “should include an agreement granting the IAEA necessary access to inspect all suspect sites, including military facilities.”

– Letter to President Obama signed by 391 House members on March 18, 2014

“Any inspection and verification regime must allow for short notice access to suspect locations”

– Letter to President Obama signed by 367 House members on March 20, 2015

“We believe Iran must also submit to a long-term and intrusive inspection and verification regime.”

– Letter to President Obama signed by 83 Senators on March 18, 2014



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2. POSSIBLE MILITARY DIMENSIONS Iran must fully explain its prior weaponization efforts.

A good deal must require Iran to come clean on all of its prior nuclear work, such as developing triggers for a nuclear weapon, as required by six United Nations Security Council resolutions. The entire scope of Iran's nuclear activities must be known to establish a baseline against which to measure future actions. Iran must also be made to comply with prior commitments; allowing Iran to shirk them will only tempt it to defy commitments made under a new deal.

Abide by International Commitments: A good deal must require Iran to come clean on the possible military dimensions of its nuclear program, as specified in six U.N. Security Council resolutions (1696, 1737, 1743, 1803, 1835 and 1929) and in resolutions of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) Board of Governors.

Fulfill Commitments to the IAEA: A good deal must ensure that Iran ceases stonewalling and reports on past nuclear activities. In fulfillment of its November 2013 commitment to the IAEA, Iran must come clean on its nuclear weapons research and development, importation, testing, deployment, and delivery systems. Out of 12 IAEA questions regarding Iran's nuclear program, the regime has only answered one. Iran must make its documents and scientists available to the IAEA so that it can resolve these questions in accordance with normal IAEA procedures.

Establish a Baseline: A good deal must require Iran to provide a full accounting of past and present nuclear sites, equipment, material, persons, documents and activities. Only with this baseline can the IAEA accurately gauge "breakout" time (the time required to produce enough fissile material for one nuclear weapon).

"Unless we have a full understanding of Iran's past program, it will be impossible for the international community to judge Iran's future breakout time with certainty."

– Letter to President Obama signed by 367 House members on March 20, 2015

Any agreement "must fully explain the questionable activities in which [Iran] engaged at Parchin and other facilities."

– Letter to President Obama signed by 83 Senators on March 18, 2014

"An agreement that effectively prevents Iran from acquiring a nuclear weapons capability demands transparency on the extensive research and development work that Iran has undertaken in the past."

– Letter to Secretary of State Kerry signed by 354 House members on October 1, 2014



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3. SANCTIONS

Sanctions relief must commence only after Iran complies with its commitments.

A good deal must lift sanctions gradually as Iran meets its obligations under the agreement. Further, any deal should specify clear and immediate consequences for Iranian violations. The international community must retain significant leverage while Iran demonstrates compliance; it must not provide immediate sanctions relief or unfreeze a significant portion of Tehran's assets so Iran can "take the money and run."

Conditional Relief: Despite Iranian demands for immediate and total sanctions relief, a good deal must ease economic restrictions gradually, only as the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) provides ongoing verification that Iran is meeting the conditions of the deal.

No Signing Bonus: Some reports indicate that up to \$30-\$50 billion of Iranian assets, held by foreign banks under sanctions, could be provided to Tehran for signing an agreement. A good deal must not rush billions to Tehran for just a signature. Iran's assets should only be unfrozen as Iran demonstrates full compliance with its requirements.

Established Consequences: A good deal must provide swift, specific consequences for Iranian violations during the process of lifting sanctions, and beyond.

Dispute Resolution: A good deal must establish a dispute resolution process to provide the P5+1 a defined, rapid mechanism to resolve disagreements over inspections and Iranian behavior, prior to unfreezing assets or continuing to ease sanctions.

Other Sanctions Maintained: A good deal must ensure that all non-nuclear U.S. sanctions on Iran remain in place, such as those related to terrorism, human rights and ballistic missiles. Specifically, sanctions must remain in place against Iran's Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC), which is responsible for Iran's support of terrorism, repression and human rights abuses at home, and also provides considerable support to Syria,

Hezbollah, Iraq's Shiite militias, and Yemen's Houthi rebels. The Comprehensive Iran Sanctions, Accountability, and Divestment Act of 2010 as modified by the Iran Threat Reduction Act of 2012 insists on the termination of U.S. financial and energy sanctions only after the president certifies that Iran has ceased funding international terrorism and relinquished its pursuit of nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons, along with ballistic missiles.

Transparent Procurement: A good deal must ensure Iran discloses its supply channels when seeking to procure nuclear-related materials and technologies subject to sanctions, to include conventional arms and ballistic missiles. Per the framework agreement, a newly-established IAEA procurement oversight body must enforce this process to prevent Iran from secretly bypassing the agreement, and must include important restrictions on conventional arms and ballistic missiles.

"We anticipate that any sanctions relief would be phased in over a lengthy period of time to allow the opportunity to gauge Iranian compliance. Further, the consequences for Iran of non-compliance or breach must be stipulated in the agreement. Any violation of the agreement must be met with a robust U.S. and international response."

– Letter to President Obama signed by a bipartisan group of 28 Senators on July 25, 2014



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4. DURATION Iran's nuclear weapons quest must be blocked for decades.

A good deal must prevent Iran from becoming a nuclear threshold state. The announced framework would lift nuclear restrictions in 10 to 15 years and grant Iran virtually instant breakout time after 12 or 13 years. A deal must restrict Iran's nuclear capabilities, to include research and development, until it demonstrates conclusively, over time, that it no longer seeks a nuclear weapons capability.

No Early Sunset: A good deal must not expire until Iran has proved over time that its nuclear ambitions are for peaceful purposes only. Iran must not be able to adhere to the limited time constraints of an agreement while it continues to acquire the capability to produce nuclear weapons. There are no assurances that Iran's governance or ideology would be more peaceful in 10 years than it has been for the past 35 years.

Extended Breakout Time: A good deal must extend Iran's "breakout" time (the time required to produce enough fissile material for one nuclear weapon) beyond one year. There must be sufficient time to conclusively determine if Iran has violated the agreement and to galvanize the international community to mount an effective response. According to President Obama, Iran's current breakout time is two to three months.

Restricted Enrichment Capability: A good deal must restrict Iran's uranium enrichment program to low-level enrichment (3.5%) in order to establish that its nuclear ambitions are peaceful. Iran should not be freed from restrictions limiting the number and types of centrifuges enriching uranium until it is clear that Iran has no intention to develop nuclear weapons. Removing these restrictions after 10 years, as indicated in the framework agreement, could give Iran an almost instantaneous breakout time after just a few years.

Restricted Stockpile: A good deal must ensure a very limited Iranian uranium stockpile, preferably by shipping virtually all enriched uranium out of the country. In addition, all spent nuclear fuel from the Bushehr reactor must be shipped out of the country for the reactor's lifetime.

Limited Nuclear Research: A good deal must, among other measures, counter Iranian nuclear weaponization efforts by limiting Iran's ability to conduct nuclear weapons research, development and testing for decades.

Monitor Iran's Supply Chain: A good deal must monitor the entire supply chain of Iranian procurement that supports Iran's nuclear activities for decades.

"Verifiable constraints on Iran's nuclear program must last for decades."

– Letter to President Obama signed by 367 House members on March 20, 2015



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Mere Disconnection is Insufficient: A good deal must not accept easily reversible steps, but must make it difficult for Iran to break out. Iran asserts it will not dismantle any of its estimated 19,000 centrifuges – instead it may agree to disconnect and store some of them in country. The estimated time required to reconnect these centrifuges ranges from one week to several months. A good deal must provide a more restrictive mechanism to limit Iran's enrichment capacity.

Dismantle or Dramatically Modify Arak: A good deal must address other elements of Iran's nuclear infrastructure to prevent it from realizing nuclear threshold status for an extended period of time. One such step, as laid out in the framework, would be to dismantle and remove the core from the Arak heavy water reactor to prevent it from producing weapons-grade plutonium – the second route to a nuclear weapon.

Uranium Stockpile: A good deal must require Iran to relinquish the overwhelming majority of its uranium stockpile. Given that highly-enriched uranium can be swiftly produced from low-enriched uranium, it is critical that Iran cannot have access to a stockpile of significant amounts of low or medium enriched uranium.

Heavy Water Stockpile: As laid out in the framework, a good deal must require Iran to sell any heavy water remaining from the Arak reactor on the international market.

"We are hopeful a permanent diplomatic agreement will require dismantlement of Iran's nuclear weapons-related infrastructure...such that Iran will not be able to develop, build, or acquire a nuclear weapon."

– Letter to President Obama signed by 391 House members on March 18, 2014

"Any agreement must dismantle Iran's nuclear weapons program and prevent it from ever having a uranium or plutonium path to a nuclear bomb."

– Letter to President Obama signed by 83 Senators on March 18, 2014

"Iran has no reason to have an enrichment facility like Fordow."

– Letter to President Obama signed by 83 Senators on March 18, 2014