NEGOTIATIONS with IRAN

5 REQUIREMENTS FOR A GOOD DEAL

- Inspections and Verification
- Possible Military Dimensions
- Sanctions
- Decades
- Dismantlement
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.
1. **INSPECTIONS AND VERIFICATION**

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**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.

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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.”

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

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“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
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
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.

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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.

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

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Over the past several years, strong majorities in the House and Senate have carefully enunciated the basic American requirements for a final agreement on Iran’s nuclear program. Congress has made clear that a good deal must eliminate every Iranian pathway to a nuclear weapon. Congress’ previous expressions provide important guidelines for its future review, under the provisions of the Iran Nuclear Agreement Review Act of 2015, should the P5+1 and Iran reach a final agreement. Each of the requirements below must be met to close off Iran’s path to a nuclear weapon.

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

- “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.”
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The Obama Administration has frequently gone on the record outlining its requirements for a good agreement – one that cuts off all pathways to a nuclear weapon – with Iran. Below are the statements from the administration.

1. INSPECTIONS AND VERIFICATION

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- “We can envision a comprehensive agreement that involves extraordinary constraints and verification mechanisms and intrusive inspections, but that permits Iran to have a peaceful nuclear program.”

- “On the military sites … there will have to be the ability for the IAEA to conduct inspections…”
  – Deputy National Security Advisor Ben Rhodes, News Briefing, April 10, 2015

2. POSSIBLE MILITARY DIMENSIONS

Iran must fully explain its prior weaponization efforts.

- “No. They have to do it [disclose past military-related nuclear activities]. It will be done. If there’s going to be a deal; it will be done. … It will be part of a final agreement. It has to be.”
  – Secretary of State John Kerry, PBS Newshour, April 8, 2015

- “…we have required that Iran come clean on its past actions as part of any comprehensive agreement…”
  – U.S. Negotiator Wendy Sherman, Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Feb. 4, 2014

3. SANCTIONS

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

- “It is the strong view of the administration that it would not be wise … to simply take away sanctions on day one.”
  – Deputy National Security Advisor Ben Rhodes, Israeli TV interview, April 6, 2015

- “U.S. and E.U. nuclear-related sanctions will be suspended after the IAEA has verified that Iran has taken all of its key nuclear-related steps. If at any time Iran fails to fulfill its commitments, these sanctions will snap back into place.”
  – U.S. State Department, Parameters for a Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action Regarding the Islamic Republic of Iran’s Nuclear Program, April 2, 2015
NEGOTIATIONS with IRAN

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- “Our goal is to reach a mutually-agreed long-term comprehensive solution that would ensure Iran’s program will be exclusively peaceful.”
  – U.S. Negotiator Wendy Sherman, Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Feb. 4, 2014

- “There will be no sunset to the deal that we are working to finalize – no sunset, none.”
  – Secretary of State John Kerry, April 2, 2015

5. DISMANTLEMENT
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- “Iran will be required to agree to strict limits and constraints on all aspects of its nuclear program, to include the dismantlement of significant portions of its nuclear infrastructure.”
  – White House Press Secretary Jay Carney, Press Briefing, Jan. 23, 2014

- “We are willing to consider a very limited, very intrusive, very heavily monitored, small limited enrichment program if it becomes a necessary. But nothing is agreed until everything is agreed.”
  – U.S. Negotiator Wendy Sherman, Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Feb. 4, 2014

- “Now, in terms of specifics, we know that they don’t need to have a underground, fortified facility like Fordow in order to have a peaceful nuclear program.”
As the P5+1 and Iran work towards a comprehensive nuclear agreement, major public gaps remain between the parties. On the five key requirements for a good agreement, elements of Iran’s leadership have staked out uncompromising positions that – if they truly represent Iran’s positions – will make a good deal unattainable. Congress must continue to press American negotiators to insist that any agreement meets each of these requirements.

1. INSPECTIONS AND VERIFICATION
Inspectors must be permitted unimpeded access to suspect sites.

- “We will never yield to pressure ... We will not accept unreasonable demands ... Iran will not give access to its (nuclear) scientists.”

- “Not only will we not grant foreigners the permission to inspect our military sites, we will not even give them permission to think about such a subject ... They will not even be permitted to inspect the most normal military site in their dreams.”
  – Brig. Gen. Hossein Salami, April 18, 2015

- “Visiting military centers is among our red lines and no such visit will be accepted.”

2. POSSIBLE MILITARY DIMENSIONS
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- “PMD is out of the question. It cannot be discussed.”
  – Anonymous Iranian official, Nov. 22, 2014

- “Iran … provided detailed explanations on the documents shown by the [International Atomic Energy] Agency to Iran and provided pieces of evidence that indicate such documents are fabricated.”
  – Iranian statement to the IAEA alleging that PMD concerns were fabricated, Dec. 1, 2014
3. SANCTIONS
Sanctions relief must commence only after Iran complies with its commitments.

- “We will not sign any deal unless all sanctions are lifted on the same day. ... We want a win-win deal for all parties involved in the nuclear talks.”
  – President Hassan Rouhani, April 9, 2015

- “All sanctions should be removed just when the deal is reached. If sanctions removal depends on another process then why we started to talk?”
  – Supreme Leader Ayatollah Ali Khamenei on Twitter, April 9, 2015

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- “The time frame of the Comprehensive Plan of Joint Action regarding Iran’s enrichment program will be 10 years.”
  – Iranian Fact Sheet on Nuclear Negotiations, April 2, 2015

- “Iran will continue its research and development on advanced machines and will continue the initiation and completion phases of the research and development process of IR-4, IR-5, IR-6, and IR-8 centrifuges during the 10 year period of the Comprehensive Plan for Joint Action.”
  – Iranian Fact Sheet on Nuclear Negotiations, April 2, 2015

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- “None of those measures include closing our facilities. The proud people of Iran would never accept that. Our facilities will continue. We will continue enriching, we will continue research and development, our heavy water reactor will be modernized and we will continue the Fordow facility.”
  – Minister of Foreign Affairs Javad Zarif, April 2, 2015

- “The export of stocks of enriched uranium is not in our program, and we do not intend sending them abroad. There is no question of sending the stocks abroad.”
  – Deputy for Legal and International Affairs of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Abbas Araqchi, March 29, 2015