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## OPINION: Beyond Iran's nuclear deal

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In recent years, Western countries have made several foreign policy miscalculations arising from overreliance on simplistic information and rationales, leading to misunderstanding of the other side's culture and intentions, while also misjudging the readiness of their own citizens to pay with their lives and treasure.

This results in policies that are mismatched with a nation's ability to respond correctly to the changing environment and circumstances -- requiring the active misleading of the public with false and manipulated information.

In the current nuclear crisis with Iran, the West was in danger of repeating some of the same mistakes.

On November 24, 2013, the world powers escaped repeating past mistakes by reaching the most significant agreement on the nuclear dossier in Geneva through diplomacy.

Based on this agreement Iran will stop enriching uranium beyond 5 percent, "neutralize" its stockpile of uranium enriched beyond its domestic needs, give greater access to International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) inspectors at its nuclear sites, have no reprocessing and no further development of the heavy water facility in Arak, and in return the world powers will impose no new sanctions in addition to providing limited sanctions relief.

The ultimate goal of the "Action Plan" agreed in Geneva is to reach a mutually-agreed long-term comprehensive solution that would ensure Iran's nuclear program will be exclusively peaceful and enable Iran to fully enjoy its right to nuclear energy for peaceful purposes under the relevant articles of the NPT in conformity with its obligations therein.

After a decade of denial of the rights of Iran for enrichment, the world powers ultimately accepted that the comprehensive solution would involve a "mutually defined enrichment program with practical limits and transparency measures" to ensure the peaceful nature of the program.

The two parties would begin negotiations on a reciprocal, step-by-step process to reach the end state which

would lead to the comprehensive lifting of all UN Security Council sanctions, as well as multilateral and national sanctions related to Iran's nuclear program.

Due to the efforts of nuclear negotiation teams, there is now a road map to resolve the Iranian nuclear dispute in a peaceful environment of mutual trust and that the parties deliver on their commitments.

Another great outcome is the fact Iran-US direct talks are resolved and the two capitals are communicating at a higher level. The breakthrough on nuclear negotiations happened because of direct talks between American and Iranian officials authorized by Presidents Rouhani and Obama prior to the Geneva talks.

The deal has opened the door for the two governments to have a constructive engagement regarding other standing crises such as Syria, Iraq and Afghanistan. No doubt such negotiations can open up a new path toward a Middle East and world that are more secure.

The nuclear deal with Iran is a great success for non-proliferation. But the fact is that global nonproliferation and disarmament issues need efforts far beyond the Iranian nuclear case.

One of the main objectives of the nuclear Non Proliferation Treaty (NPT) is to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons and related technologies.

Since the NPT came into force, India, Pakistan, Israel and North Korea (the latter was a member of NPT and later withdrew) have proliferated and some of them tested nuclear bombs.

Despite this fact, the US signed strategic partnership agreements with India in the defense, security, and nuclear spheres; has pledged more than \$30 billion in direct aid to Pakistan since 1948, about half for military assistance, and more than two-thirds appropriated in the post-2001 period. Relations with Israel have remained strong, with Washington contributing over \$130 billion in direct aid to Tel Aviv in the past decades.

Prior to world powers resuming nuclear talks with Iran in Geneva, French President Francois Hollande visited Israel and stated that his country will never tolerate nuclear proliferation.

The French president made this strong statement after Paris provided Israel with the Dimona reactor used for weapons development; Saddam Hussein's Iraq with a weapons-grade fuel nuclear reactor; Pakistan with plutonium extraction technology and continued to assist India after it exploded its first nuclear weapon in 1974.

The other main objective of the NPT is to guarantee complete disarmament of nuclear weapons by the NPT nuclear-weapon states, namely China, Russia, the United Kingdom, France and the United States. Although the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council (P5) have all ratified the NPT, none has fulfilled its commitment under the NPT to give up its nuclear weapons.

After more than four decades, they still possess huge stockpiles of nuclear warheads. Currently, Russia and the United States each have about 10,000 nuclear warheads, of which about half are awaiting dismantlement. France has around 300, the United Kingdom about 225 and China roughly 240.

Moreover the world powers have not demonstrated their seriousness to realize the UN decision on the Weapon of Mass Destruction Free Zone in the Middle East.

Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu denounced the agreement with Iran as a historic mistake. "Today the world became a much more dangerous place because the most dangerous regime in the world made a significant step in obtaining the most dangerous weapons in the world."

Israel's Prime Minister made such statements while he knows very well that Israel is the only country in the Middle East which possesses hundreds of "the most dangerous weapons."

The world powers should not be deceived by such statements and must be serious to finalize an agreement on a Middle East Free of Weapons of Mass Destruction.

The world powers are on the right path on the Iranian nuclear case, but based on the IAEA reports and the US intelligence assessment, there is no evidence of a milligram of weaponization in the Iranian nuclear program or that Iranian authorities have made any decision to build a nuclear bomb.

The five permanent members of the UN Security Council by establishing strategic relations with countries possessing nuclear bombs, keeping stockpiles of more than 20,000 nuclear warheads, continuing to modernize their arsenals and related infrastructure, have severely violated the NPT, neglected disarmament and undermined nonproliferation.

They need to end double standards, focus on the core issues related to nonproliferation and demonstrate their sincerity on a world free of nuclear weapons.

(Seyed Hossein Mousavian, a former Iranian ambassador and spokesman for Iran's nuclear negotiators, is a research scholar at Princeton's Woodrow Wilson School. His latest book is *The Iranian Nuclear Crisis: A Memoir*, published by Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.)

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