

Building confidence

Implications of the nuclear deal with Iran | By Ambassador Seyed Hossein Mousavian

On April 2, 2015, Iran and the P5+1 reached a framework agreement that ensures intrusive transparency and confidence building measures on Iran's nuclear program in return for a lifting of all nuclear-related sanctions and respecting the legitimate rights of Iran for enrichment, with continued talks until the June 30 deadline toward a comprehensive deal. This initial agreement is a positive step toward ending 12 years of contention over Iran's nuclear program. The next few weeks will be particularly difficult, as thorny technical issues are negotiated and specific phasing out of sanctions is agreed upon. While the drama over the nuclear talks will continue for the next few weeks until the comprehensive agreement is reached and goes into effect, we have to look at the post-deal environment.

Implications for Iran's nuclear program for the next ten to 25 years:

Enrichment: Reduce installed centrifuges by approximately two-thirds of about 19,000 installed today, limiting uranium enrichment to 3.67 percent, reduce current 10,000 kg of low-enriched uranium (LEU) to 300 kg of 3.67 percent LEU and not to build new facilities for the purpose of enriching uranium.

Fordow facility: No enrichment at Fordow, converting the current facility into a R&D center and no fissile material at Fordow.

Natanz facility: The only site where Iran will continue enrichment with only 5,060 IR-1 first-generation centrifuges and 1,000

IR-2M centrifuges currently installed will be placed in a International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) monitored storage.

Arak reactor: Iran will not produce weapons grade plutonium, will ship all of its spent fuel from the reactor out of the country for the reactor's lifetime, will not build any additional heavy water reactors and will not have reprocessing facility.

Monitoring and Inspections: Iran will implement the highest level of international inspection measures (Subsidiary Arrangement, Modified Code 3.1 and Additional Protocol) and will address the IAEA's concerns regarding the Possible Military Dimensions (PMD) issues.

Following the implementation of the comprehensive nuclear deal, the Iranian nuclear file will be removed from the United Nations Security Council and return to the IAEA. Iran's nuclear facilities following the ten to 25 year limitations will expand in accordance to the domestic needs



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of the country and in close coordination with the IAEA.

The implications of the nuclear deal for confidence building and nuclear non-proliferation:

1. **Diplomacy:** Negotiations have succeeded where coercive



The only site where Iran will continue enrichment: Members of the IAEA inspection team inside the Natanz uranium enrichment plant on Jan. 20, 2014.

policy and military threat by a nuclear weapon state against a non-nuclear weapon state have failed in resolving a major international concern over Iran's nuclear file.

2. **Strengthening the foundations of the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT):** the inalienable right of signatory states to peaceful nuclear energy and technology while adhering to robust verification and monitoring

measures to ensure their respective program is peaceful.

The April 2 agreement put into place the most intrusive monitoring mechanisms in the history of non-proliferation and these measures will set the stage for the

evolution of IAEA safeguards in the future.

3. **Confidence building:** Resolving the Iranian nuclear file, while alleviating the concerns of world powers and regional countries regarding its nature, scope and aim, will inevitably help confidence and trust regionally and internationally.

4. **Non-proliferation model:** The comprehensive nuclear deal could become a model the Middle East and beyond enabling the same level of transparency, monitoring and verification to be applied to emerging nuclear programs.

5. **Movement toward the Nuclear Free zone:** Tailoring the nuclear deal to reflect the domestic enrichment needs of individual countries and enhanced monitoring from raw material pro-

cessment to enrichment will also cement safeguards to ensure no fissile material is diverted toward clandestine weapons programs. Once again – the measures agreed upon in the final comprehensive deal will be a building block for the nuclear weapons-free zone (NWFZ) and bring the notion of a WMD Free Zone in the Middle East one step closer.

Implications for Iran's relations with the West and the region:

Iran and the US: The nuclear negotiations between Iran and the world powers has enabled a forum for Iran and the United States to engage on a bilateral basis at foreign minister level for the first time in over 35 years. This development has brought about a sea change in having a direct line of communication between

the two capitals. This track could open up the possibility of direct negotiations and cooperation between Tehran and Washington over multiple theaters of conflict raging in Afghanistan, Syria, Yemen, Iraq and instability in the Levant with increasing efforts to counter extremism and terrorism.

Iran and the West: relations between Iran and the West deteriorated during the 8-year presidency of Ahmadinejad and following the election of the moderate Iranian president Rouhani we are finally witnessing both sides coming out of their coma. The European powers involved in the nuclear talks have made major strides in a short time to rectify their relations with Iran. The key to more stable and secure Middle East will have to include the Iranians at every juncture. To this end, Iran and Europe should take constructive steps combating rising trend of new terrorist groups such as IS and Al Qaeda and crisis management in the Middle East.

Iran and the region: The resolution of Iran's nuclear dossier could open the door for a collective forum for dialogue in the Persian Gulf region. The most pressing issues include cooperation on resolving the humanitarian crisis raging on in Syria, fight against the spread of extremists (IS), stability of Iraq, energy security in the Persian Gulf and bringing an end to hostilities in Yemen. These initial steps could develop to eventually include a list of initiatives to address regional challenges through regional solutions and pave the way toward formal security cooperation. ■

Here to stay

Jihadist organizations continue to spread in Africa – often because of local conflicts

By Annette Weber

Images from Iraq and Syria and the reports of young Islamic State (IS) fighters from Europe shape our view of Islamist terror groups. However, jihadist movements are developing just as strongly in Africa, a continent that was once a model for the peaceful coexistence of religions. Groups like Boko Haram in Nigeria, al-Shabaab in Somalia and Kenya, MUJAO, Ansar al-Din and AQIM in the Sahel, Tunisia and Algeria and Islamic State in Libya have tens of thousands of fighters and supporters. They all exploit local grievances in order to primarily recruit young men to their ranks.

Frustration, hopelessness and anger are catalysts that back up the jihadist claims of paradise in the afterlife and total power in this one. The root cause of the upheaval in Tunisia was the failure to fulfill promises regarding modernization. Economic marginalization is the issue in northeastern Nigeria; ongoing conflicts and the resulting hopelessness stimulate the violence in Somalia. Political power struggles are additional factors in Northern Mali and Libya involving control over territory and resources. Conflicts between political elites, jihadist groups and organized crime ensure that there will be no easy solution in the short term.

Radical Islamists are spreading anywhere where there is a lack of state order, because no state existed for decades, as in Somalia; or because the state only holds sway in the capital, but not in the rest of the country. Social bodies

usually fill the vacuum created in the areas of security, jurisdiction and social welfare – whether it is the village community, clans, families, tribes or ethnic groups. But jihadist groups are increasingly succeeding in this sphere too.

This brings to light two fundamental problems in handling and combating these groups. Firstly, the state is not in a position or is unwilling to care for the population in outlying areas; it therefore surrenders this territory to the terrorists. Secondly, there is a very close link between the jihadists and local social structures, as they recruit their members precisely from these.

When combating jihadist groups, it is therefore essential to create trust between the state and the population. The opposite usually takes place in any purely military action when civilians often suffer, too. The state, which had been absent or had not been viewed as trustworthy, then becomes a direct threat.

However, jihadist groups are not only on the rise in weak states – Nigeria is a regional power, Tunisia is the pattern for a successful Arab Spring movement and Kenya is the economic powerhouse in East Africa. In all these countries, regions or groups of the population have suffered discrimination or been marginalized, so enabling the jihadists to successfully mobilize them.

This is particularly effective among young people. Two thirds of the population in Africa are



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aged below 35. Their prospects of finding a job after completing their training are slim.

The rapid advance of urbanization in Africa is also an indicator that work in the agricultural sector is unattractive to young people. The millions of young people who grow up in camps for refugees or displaced persons have even fewer opportunities to carve out a future for themselves.

African jihadists successfully draw attention to the ostensible ineffectiveness of education. Boko Haram's name embodies this principle; it means "Western Education is forbidden."



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The abduction of the schoolgirls from Chibok in 2014 and attacks on schools and universities by Boko Haram and al Shabaab are designed to demonstrate that Western promises related to education are pointless.

Spectacular attacks on the elite and on tourists in Tunisia (Bardo 2015; 2004) and in Kenya (Westgate Mall 2013, Mombasa 2002), on markets (Potiskum, Nigeria 2015) and travelers are also designed to instill a state of permanent terror in people, restrict their mobility and finally destroy revenues for the state, which is viewed as a puppet of the unbelieving "crusaders".

The prospect of controlling resources and exercising power over countries and groups of the population is coupled with the perception of the threat posed by Islam. The defense of Islam against the morally corrupt West, a country's own political elite and all those in theological error legitimizes any kind of violence. The opportunity presented to the members of any terrorist group to do the right thing for their faith and be part of a global movement is an explosive and highly successful mobilization strategy.

Protracted conflicts, homelessness in exile or the lack of any prospects in refugee camps are an extreme burden on traditional structures and family groups. Traditional authority structures lose their significance if they cannot

African future? Jihadist movements are spreading in Africa, where there is a lack of state order. In Nigeria, Boko Haram terrorists have been gaining territory.

defend themselves against armed groups or do not have any negotiating powers with the state. Jihadist organizations offer the vision of a life in fraternal communities to oppose the state and even traditional authorities – together with the noble goal of spreading the pure and absolute truth.

It is therefore necessary to understand why jihadist movements are so successful in order to take the wind out of their sails. They replace the corrupt or absent state with an "Islamic community", where there are opportunities for fame and heroism for all the fighters (mujahideen) and power is redistributed.

Two things are necessary in addition to conducting military campaigns against jihadist groups: economic, political and social justice in distribution processes and offering people real opportunities for the future. They should be the major focus, particularly for those involved from outside. ■

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Al Qaeda hasn't gone away

mies at the same time – which explains its opposition to IS anti-Shiite violence.

IS on the other hand perceives itself as being in a world full of enemies, who must either toe the line or be destroyed as "infidels". This applies to the US, the West as a whole, the governments of the Arab world, the Jews, Christians, Shiites and even Sunnis who do not share their jihadist interpretation of Islam without reservation. IS supporters want to live in an "Islamic state" and have no concerns about deploying any kind of violence to stabilize this state.

IS could enjoy lasting success first and foremost because its jihadist approach is more appealing than that of Al Qaeda, as evidenced by the influx of foreign recruits and the support of many small groups in the Arab world and South Asia. But Al Qaeda's strategy is by far the more promising, as it pays heed to its own weaknesses. A terrorist organization cannot take on half the world alone and hope for success in such an undertaking.

The differing strategies also impact upon the threat to Europe presented by both groups. Because IS is concentrated on the establishment of its "state," it is first and foremost a danger to Iraq, Syria and its neighbors. Al Qaeda on the other hand continues to focus on major attacks in the Western world and has shown in Paris that it can succeed in carrying these out. It can be assumed that its Yemeni subsidiary is still planning attacks on transatlantic flights. This means that in the near future at least, it represents the most dangerous terrorist threat to Europe. ■

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