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U.S. Torpedoing the Nuclear Deal Will Reaffirm Iran's Distrust

🕒 04/29/2016 04:09 pm ET

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Seyed Hossein Mousavian

Head of Foreign Relations Committee of
Iran's National Security Council (1997-2005)

Sina Toossi

International Relations Researcher & Analyst



ASSOCIATED PRESS

The nuclear deal reached between Iran and the P5+1 world powers last summer, formally known as the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action, was predicated on a basic give-and-take. In exchange for Iran agreeing to intrusive international inspections and monitoring and limits on its enrichment and heavy water capacity for a confidence-building period, the P5+1 would respect Iran's right to nuclear enrichment and remove all nuclear-related sanctions. Today, the future of this quid pro quo is under threat — and not from the Iranian side.

The consequences of the JCPOA falling through would not only be on the size and scope of the Iranian nuclear program. For Iran, the JCPOA was a criterion for judging whether it could trust the West to cooperate on other issues. If the United States faithfully abides by its commitments under the deal, then the view of Iranian leaders towards broader negotiations would be positively affected. However, if the United States acts with ill intent and makes it difficult for Iran to receive the benefits it is due under the deal, then the belief of Iranian leaders that the United States is

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insincere and cannot be trusted will be reaffirmed. Years of diplomacy will be undone and a zero-sum mentality will once again take hold between the two countries — with disastrous consequences for the region.

By the JCPOA's "[implementation day](#)" on Jan. 16, Iran had followed through on all of its commitments; [reducing](#) its enriched uranium stockpile by 98 percent, [capping](#) its number of centrifuges enriching uranium to 6,000, [modifying](#) its heavy water reactor and [implementing](#) strict surveillance measures, among other obligations the International Atomic Energy Agency has [verified](#) and Iran has abided by.

However, now that the JCPOA has been implemented, Iran has yet to derive the expected benefits from sanctions relief. As Iran's Supreme Leader Ayatollah Ali Khamenei has [said](#): "They [the United States] write on paper that banks can cooperate with Iran, but in practice they promote Iranophobia so that no one trades with Iran. American officials say that sanctions are still in place so that foreign investors get scared and do not come."

“

If the U.S. acts with ill intent and makes it difficult for Iran to receive the benefits it is due under the deal, then the belief that America is insincere and cannot be trusted will be reaffirmed.

Indeed, fearful of existing non-nuclear sanctions and the prospect of new sanctions, international banks and corporations with U.S.-based operations have been [fearful](#) of trading with or investing in Iran. Major European banks have in the past [paid billions](#) in fines due to supposed Iran sanctions violations. As a consequence, Iran has not been able to receive expected foreign investment or have international banks facilitate the business agreements it has signed since the JCPOA's implementation.

"The most important problem is that the United States is taking a back seat after eight years of scaring everybody off, imposing heavy penalties on people who wanted to do business with Iran," Iranian Foreign Minister Javad Zarif [said](#) in a recent interview with *The New Yorker*'s Robin Wright. "The United States needs to do way more. They have to send a message that doing business with Iran will not cost them."

U.S. sanctions have also prevented Iran from repatriating its much-hyped [frozen oil revenues](#), which have been held at banks abroad. For Iran to retrieve this money, much of which was denominated in U.S. dollars, requires the foreign banks to conduct [dollar-clearing](#) sanctions for Iran, which they are [hesitant](#) to do for fear of running afoul of U.S. sanctions. [According to U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry](#), Iran has so far been able to repatriate only \$3 billion of its \$55 billion to \$100 billion in frozen funds abroad.

Watch Obama's Remarks From The 2016 White House Correspondents' Dinner



Malia Obama To Attend Harvard University



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Adding insult to injury, the U.S. Supreme Court also recently broke all precedent by ruling that families of American victims of a 1983 Beirut bombing can sue Iran for \$2 billion worth of frozen Iranian assets. Iran's centrist and pragmatic president, Hassan Rouhani, called the decision a "continuation of hostilities against Iran" and a "flagrant theft and a legal disgrace." Iran's Central Bank Chief Valiollah Seif also placed blame on the Mahmoud Ahmadinejad administration for making investments in dollars, which were among the frozen assets the Supreme Court ruled on.



Secretary Kerry heads to Vienna for "implementation day" of the nuclear deal. (KEVIN LAMARQUE/AFP/Getty Images)

In January, the United States also adopted new visa regulations requiring Europeans who visit Iran to attain a visa before entering the United States, creating another barrier to European trade with Iran. All of these measures have not just spurred frustration in Iran, but also in Europe.

"Europe is being taken hostage by American policy," declared Marietje Schaake, the vice president of the European Parliament's Delegation for Relations with the United States. "We negotiated the nuclear deal together, but now the U.S. is obstructing its execution."

With all of this said, there is still reason to hope that these hurdles will be overcome and Iran will reap the benefits it is due from sanctions relief. Secretary Kerry and Foreign Minister Zarif met twice last week to discuss how to resolve the problems with Iran receiving sanctions relief. Kerry said after his meeting with Zarif: "The United States is not standing in the way and will not stand in the way of business that is permitted with Iran since the (nuclear deal) took effect."

He added: "We've lifted our nuclear-related sanctions as we committed to do and there are now opportunities for foreign banks to do business with Iran. Unfortunately, there seems to be some confusion among foreign banks and we want to try to clarify that as much as we can."

This 28-Year-Old Is Running For Congress To Try To Destroy U.S.-Saudi Relations



Don Lemon Flips The Bird At Larry Wilmore



Carrie Fisher's Dog Gary Steals The Show At White House Correspondents' Dinner



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If the deal collapses, not only would there be no chance for any compromise between Iran and the U.S on any other issue, but Iran would also lose its faith in the Security Council.

The Obama administration recognizing these problems and declaring it is willing to clarify what transactions foreign financial institutions can conduct with Iran is a hopeful sign. The JCPOA was the first major agreement between Iran and the United States, and also involved the rest of the five permanent members of the U.N. Security Council plus Germany. For it to be a step towards a more constructive relationship between Iran and the West, it is imperative that all sides faithfully implement their commitments.

Foreign Minister Zarif said in this regard recently: "As the Leader [Ayatollah Ali Khamenei] said last year, if the experience of the nuclear negotiations proves that the United States is changing its approach toward Iran — is basing its approach to Iran on mutual respect and interests — then there is a chance of change."

If the JCPOA collapses, not only would there be no chance for any compromise between Iran and the United States on any other issue, but Iran would also lose its faith in the U.N. Security Council. Unfortunately, there are powerful forces in U.S. politics that seek to increase U.S.-Iran enmity and revert Iran and the United States back onto the path to war. These special interest groups are doing everything in their power to destroy the landmark diplomatic agreement and have strong sway over Congress, which is pushing for over a dozen new sanctions against Iran. The efforts of these groups, sadly, are done more at the behest of the Israeli and Saudi governments and done more for the purpose of obstructing President Obama's foreign policy goals than enhancing global peace and security.

Ambassador Seyed Hossein Mousavian is a research scholar at Princeton University and a former spokesman for Iran's nuclear negotiators. His nuclear book, "The Iranian Nuclear Crisis: A Memoir," was published by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. His latest book, "Iran and the United States: An Insider's View on the Failed Past and the Road to Peace" was released in May 2014. Sina Toossi is an analyst focusing on the Middle East and Iran. He tweets @SinaToossi.

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Brendon Rogers

What a crock. Since the "deal" was signed, Iran launched several nuclear capable ballistic missiles, some of which were so nicely painted with anti-Israel threats. Iran sent Qassem Soleimani to Moscow (against UN sanctions). Iran took 10 US sailors HOSTAGE AT GUNPOINT, the day of Obama's State of the Union. Iran has been caught shipping arms, troops, and financial support to Hezbollah and various other Shiite terror groups. Iran has continued its anti-America & anti-Israel rhetoric, instead of showing the world it truly wants to become a part of the free world. Obama has rewarded Iran enough. Americans OVERWHELMINGLY did NOT want the JCPOA to begin with. Why? Because we knew Iran would NOT change its ways. We knew Iran had ZERO intention of being a peaceful influence in the world. We knew WF COULD NOT TRUST IRAN. So save your

5/2/2016

U.S. Torpedoing the Nuclear Deal Will Reaffirm Iran's Distrust

the world. We know we could not... just... we... do... say... you...
preaching for people who care. Thanks.

Like · Reply ·  44 · Apr 29, 2016 8:53pm



Don Ziolkowski · Fulton, Missouri

Ohhh, hostage at gunpoint... by which you mean they picked them up and held them securely. Which is I assure you exactly what would have happened to Iranian soldiers picked up by US military soldiers but let's ignore that. They shipped arms, so again, they do what we do, cause we ship lots of arms and yes even to groups like the Free Syrian Army. That it is against America and Isreal doesn't mean it isn't interested in being apart of the free world, those aren't mutually exclusive. He hasn't rewarded the iranians, he's stopped punishing them as much. I mean if I told you i'd not take your money for stuff and then said ok i'll start letting you pay me again are you really going to go "OMG YAY i'm so rewarded!"

yes they launcehd teh missiles, just like we gave stuff to isrealis, both sides have to placate other parties.

Like · Reply ·  15 · Apr 30, 2016 12:58am



Erik Christiansen · San Francisco State University

Don Ziolkowski And paraded them before the press? A crime.

Like · Reply ·  9 · Apr 30, 2016 3:28am



Kevin Quinn

Erik Christiansen Patted them on the head, fed them, gave them back their equipment and escorted their boats out to international waters. That's pretty decent treatment, press presence be damned - not a head bag or a leg shackle to be seen.

Like · Reply ·  9 · Apr 30, 2016 11:10am · Edited

Show 10 more replies in this thread



Robert Osorio · State University of New York

Actually the best scenario is that Trump cancels this deal on his first day in office and reimposes sanctions, but this time involving the financial system, any country that does business with Iran can not do business through the US financial system. You will see how quickly the Iranians will capitulate, and in the rare event they get militarily belligerent we can bomb them to kingdom come. The US is not in the World to be liked but to be respected and with Obama we have become the laughing stock of the World. And if your readers disagree well that is too bad !!!

Like · Reply ·  19 · Apr 29, 2016 11:05pm



Betsy J. Miller · Univ. of Tennessee

Hardly.

Like · Reply ·  1 · Apr 29, 2016 11:12pm



Bazar Duzu

I am an Iranian-american and I agree with you 100%, IT IS WAY PAST DUE(like 30 some odd years since the illegal US embassy takeover) for these mullah loving dogs to be put in their place

Like · Reply ·  9 · Apr 30, 2016 12:11am · Edited



Mark Titus · Substitute Teacher at Tulsa Technology Center

So, you think Obama, who by all accounts is respected by other world leaders, has made a fool out of us and you think Trump hasn't? And he's not even in office yet! You aren't very educated when it comes to Iran. They won't "capitulate" And as far as bombing them to "kingdom come" That's the stupidest thing we could possibly do. But if Trump gets the oval office then I think doing the stupid thing will become the norm.

Like · Reply ·  8 · Apr 30, 2016 12:37am

Show 9 more replies in this thread



Joseph Owens · Charles University in Prague

I've worked with investment banks. They would be happy to lend/invest in Iran except for one problem: risk. Prior history of poor behaviour and insisting missile tests that violate the latest treaty don't will not reduce the perception that their investment is likely to fall foul of sanctions because of Iran's behaviour. It is not the place of the US to boost irans credit score by lulling banks with a statement of in their new willingness to abide by international norms. Like anyone who has ruined their credit by poor choices in the past, Iran will need to build its international credibility by paying its debt of truth and cooperation defined in the accords on time and over time. If they do so investment will certainly follow. Banks like boring. Quit whining, stay out of international headlines for skirting or violating agreements and get on with rebuilding your credit both with banks and the international community.

Like · Reply · 14 · Apr 29, 2016 10:39pm



Sean Beam · London, United Kingdom

There is a very easy solution to the western banks blackmail...
BRICS..is already formulated..awaiting finalization (one reason why the US came off the negotiating table), secondly the threat that Iran was ready to refuse payments in greenbacks... but would accept gold, ECU or the Yuan in all future transactions, rendering the greenback worthless...toilet paper and thirdly as we have seen ..Russia isn't going to back any further sanctions nor is Europe except maybe the UK..which itself is a toothless paper tiger !!
So yes let the sanctions be reinstated...but be prepared to see the rise of the oriental tiger..or WWIII

Like · Reply · 3 · May 1, 2016 12:10am



Steven Haber · U of Miami

Sean Beam Point taken and again proves the sanctions never should have been lifted all it did was let Iran know they can do whatever they want as long as Obama is in WH and nothing will be done to set them more red lines in the sand- and Iran did not stay in breaking it's agreement as soon as it got the money and sanctions gone giving US nothing in return but empty words

Like · Reply · 1 · May 1, 2016 8:29am



Richard Kirchner

Steven Haber --- Iran increased nuclear capability ten fold when G W FAILURE was in our WH

Like · Reply · 2 · May 1, 2016 8:48am

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Reza Shaibani · Owner at A&R Development Corp.

It's time that the Republicans in congress stop trying to sabotage the deal to satisfy their bosses in Israel. All the major powers have reviewed the deal and have approved it. Luckily the republicans will lose the senate and obviously the white house & then we can send them to Israel to serve their masters

Like · Reply · 9 · 17 hrs · Edited



Steven Haber · U of Miami

All the major powers reviewed and agreed to appeasing Germany before WW2 and look how well that worked

Like · Reply · 3 · May 1, 2016 8:34am



Stephen Michel · McGill University

Steven Haber please learn more. start with this.<http://forward.com/.../a-jewish-journalists-exclusive.../>

Like · Reply · 10 hrs



Ronald Calvin Sexton · Sr. Database Administrator at Pacific Life

True that once agreed to then the word should be honored. As for our

 This means that once they go to them the world should be honored, as it is for our sailors, in the past they would not have been free the next day with still having their weapons. They were unharmed and quickly released which is definitely an improvement and were treated well.

Like · Reply ·  8 · Apr 29, 2016 11:48pm

 **Erik Christiansen** · San Francisco State University
Their detention was perfectly legal. There treatment was not.

Like · Reply ·  3 · Apr 30, 2016 3:31am

 **Kevin Quinn**
Erik Christiansen Enlighten us. How are foreign military personnel appearing, armed, somewhere they have no permission to be, supposed to have been treated "legally"?

Better than somebody entering the US illegally? They get cuffed and shackled - for their own protection - they are detained, questioned, charged, fingerprinted, swabbed, photographed, driven back to the border and released. Sometimes weeks later.

They are automatically forbidden future entry into the USA.

Like · Reply ·  5 · Apr 30, 2016 11:16am · Edited

 **Roy Graboff** · Pepperdine University
Kevin Quinn You are confusing the Geneva Convention regarding military rules in detaining prisoners and common civilians breaking the law by entering the U.S. illegally.

Like · Reply · Apr 30, 2016 1:07pm

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 **Will Day** · CSUC Chico
Mr Kerry and President Obama you both knew that you were acting beyond you the powers you office is allowed. You kept provisions of the deal to your self as secret. You did not answer to the congress or the People of the United States. You did not bother to have the Supreme Leader to sign the document, and Mr. Kerry and President Obama did not sign the deal. You took the document to the United States to have the document accepted. The only problem that the deal was not ratified by the congress of the United States. Still not have a valid deal the Iranian government who states they have stop... See More

Like · Reply ·  3 · May 1, 2016 4:07am

 **Michael Davison** · Technical Writer and Editor at Self-Employed
How can distrust be reaffirmed if it was never removed in the first place.

Whoever thinks the Iranians were negotiating in good faith should slit their own wrists now instead of waiting for Iran to do it for them.

Like · Reply ·  5 · Apr 30, 2016 3:37am

 **Kevin Quinn**
If negotiating your rights way in order not to be attacked, or even in return for having the ability to trade, is considered by the other side to be 'good faith', what would you do?

Don't get Iran confused with ISIS slitting things. We started that, Iran didn't.

Like · Reply ·  7 · Apr 30, 2016 11:19am · Edited

 **Michael Davison** · Technical Writer and Editor at Self-Employed
Kevin Quinn Really?

How long has Iran been supporting Hizballah, Hamas and half a dozen other Shi'ite Muslim terrorist organizations? By my count, Iran has been supporting Hizballah for more than 30 years and Hamas for almost that long.

Again by my count, Iran has broken their part of the agreement at least three times since signing.

Are you for real?

Like · Reply ·  6 · Apr 30, 2016 3:48pm

 **Ferris Zerafat** · San Diego, California
you are nothing

Like · Reply · 17 hrs

 **Steven Arnold** · Mountain View, California

This country builds covert nuclear weapons, ballistic missiles, threatens repeatedly to wipe Israel off the map, and now they're complaining the U.S. isn't doing enough to boost their economy? They're lucky McCain wasn't elected president.

Like · Reply ·  5 · Apr 30, 2016 1:00am

 **Gen Eric**
They didn't build cover nuclear weapons... thats a lie. They have a right to build missiles, none of your business. They're not threatening to wipe Israel off the map, that's propaganda.

Like · Reply ·  9 · Apr 30, 2016 1:14am

 **Roy Graboff** · Pepperdine University
Gen Eric We all heard Iran's previous president say numerous times in his speeches that Iran will "wipe Israel off the map".

Like · Reply ·  6 · Apr 30, 2016 1:18pm

 **Debrah McCabe**
Roy Graboff And that country got rid of that president didn't they? So you're point really is that America holds grudges and can't be trusted to keep their word. Yep, big surprise there.

Like · Reply · 11 hrs

Show 1 more reply in this thread

 **Jeannie Presler** · Vancouver, Washington

Why worry about buying and selling heavy water from Iran, when the US DOE already resells uranium?

Maybe time for the DOE to get out of the uranium sales, it's bad for business. US nuclear and toxic cleanup projects are important, but they should be funded by members of Congress, and the Senate Appropriations Committee.

According to the Uranium Producers of America, the DOE is selling more than 5 million pounds of uranium per year. Proceeds from the sale of federal inventory are to be used to fund the cleanup of legacy federal government nuclear facilities, yet the country currently imports almost 95% of the uranium it needs to fuel its reactors.

<http://www.world-nuclear-news.org/UF-US-producers-call...>

Like · Reply · Apr 29, 2016 11:22pm

 **Mark Titus** · Substitute Teacher at Tulsa Technology Center
Your link suggest there is a glut in the market for uranium Really?
A glut of uranium? Try reading this
<http://www.virginiauranium.com/.../uranium-market-u-s.../>

Like · Reply · Apr 30, 2016 12:30am

 **James Swanstrom**

Keep every penny of Iran's funds frozen as long as possible...they will just

