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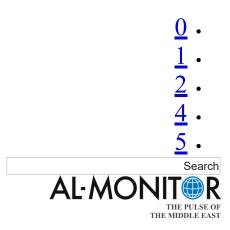






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نبض ایران <u>READ IN: English</u>

پنج سناریوی محتمل در مورد سرنوشت برجام



Article Summary در حالی که تنها چند هفته به زمان تصمیم پرزیدنت ترامپ برای تمدید یا عدم تمدید تعلیق تحریمهای هسته باقی مانده است، پنج سناریوی در مورد سرنوشت برجام محتمل است

انتخاب مایک پمپئو و جان بولتون از سوی پرزیدنت ترامپ، به ترتیب برای تصدی پستهای وزارت خارجه و مشاور امنیت ملی، میتواند پایانی بر تظاهر دولت آمریکا برای «ترمیم» برجام تلقی شود. در حالی که ترامپ مدتهاست تمایلش برای خروج از توافق اتمی با ایران رابرملا ساخته، پمپئو و بهویژه بولتون، مدافع دیرباز سیاست های تغییر رژیم در ایران ازجمله توسل به <u>جنگ</u> بوده اند.

در آستانهٔ نزدیک شدن به ۲۲ اردیبهشت، زمان تمدید تعلیق تحریمهای ذیل برجام، پنج سناریو برای رزمنامهٔ ترامپ در مورد «اصلاح پیا لغو» توافقنامه هسته ای، محتمل

نخست، اینکه اروپا تسلیم خواستههای ترامپ شود و با او در تحریمهای جدید علیه ایران به خاطر فعالیتهای منطقهای و برنامهٔ موشکی، همراه شود. در این صورت، منافع اقتصادی ایران از برجام حداقلی خواهد شد؛ بهویژه اینکه در شرایط کنونی که با تحریمهاو تهدیدات آمریکا، بهره مندی ایران از مزایای اقتصادی برجام، دچار مشکل شده ضمن اینکه هیچ تضمینی هم وجود ندار د که ترامپ از طرق دیگر، توافق اتمی را مختومه نکند. درصورت چنین سناریویی، ایران ممکن است در برجام بماند اما به عنوان تلافی، از همکاری با غرب در موضو عات منطقه ای خودداری کند. طی ماههای اخیر، دیپلماتهای ایرانی دیدار هایی با همتایان اروپاییشان، از جمله در لندن و مونیخ، داشته و در مورد مسائل منطقه ای گفت: «ایران و بریتانیا تصمیمات مهمی در خصوص پایان دادن به بحران [یمن] اتخاذ کردند». اگر اروپا با تحریمهای جدید غیر هستهای موافقت کند، مسیر دیپلماتیک بسیار مهمی که باز شده است، ممکن است به حال تعلیق در آید.

سناریوی دوم، میتواند این باشد که ترامپ به شعار هایش عمل کند و از برجام بیرون رود؛ اما مانع همکاریهای اقتصادی و بازرگانی اروپاییها با ایران نشود. در این سناریو، عکس العمل ایران، بستگی به عملکرد گروه ۴+۱ خواهد داشت. اقدامات عملی روسیه، چین و از همه مهمتر، اروپا، درحفظ برجام و همکاریهای فعال اقتصادی با ایران، مشوقی برای باقی ماندن تهران در توافق خواهد بود. با این حال، ترامپ با خروج از برجام،شانس هرگونه گفتوگو و همکاری احتمالی میان آمریکا و ایران بر سر مسائل منطقهای را از بین خواهد برد و ایران را بیش از پیش، در موضع رویارویی با منافع آمریکا در منطقه قرار خواهد داد. با توجه به این که ایالات متحده هماکنون در باتلاقهای متعددی، از جمله در افغانستان و یمن گرفتار است، ایران میتواند به جای تسهیل خروج آبرومندانهٔ آمریکاییها، به دنبال افزایش هزینهٔ حضور آنها باشد.

سومین حالت این است که ترامپ از برجام خارج شود و تمامی تحریمهای هستهای ایران ،از جمله تحریمهای ثانویه که بازرگانی بینالمللی با ایران را هدف میگیرد، را مجدا اعمال کند. در این صورت، تجارت اروپا با ایران مختل و ایران با برجام منهای جهان غرب مواجه خواهد شد زیرا ممکن است کشور های اروپایی قادر به ایستادگی در برابر ایالات متحده نبوده و اقداماتشان برای استمالت از ایران، نیزنمایشی و بی خاصیت باشد. در این حالت ممکن است ایران هم از برجام خارج شود اما در معاهده ان پی تی (معاهده منع گسترش سلاحهای هستهای) باقی بماند. این باعث پایان تدابیر داوطلبانه حداکثری خواهد شد که ایران ذیل برجام پذیرفته؛ مانند اجرای پروتکل الحاقی و محدودیتهای برنامهٔ غنی سازی اورانیوم - شامل نگهداشتن سطح غنی سازی زیر ۵ درصد. برای مثال، علیاکبر صالحی، رئیس سازمان انرژی اتمی ایران، گفته است که اگر کشورش چنین تصمیمی بگیرد، در تأسیسات هستهای مستحکم فردو «تنها چهار روز زمان لازم است تا به غنی سازی ۲۰ درصدی بازگردیم». چون در این سناریو چون ترامپ مقصر شکست برجام خواهد بود،قدر تهای بلوک شرق بویژه روسیه و چین با برنامهٔ هستهای ایران در چارچوب معاهده ان پی تی منعطف برخورد خواهند کرد. معالوصف، آمریکا چنین وضعیتی را ممکن است تحمل ننموده و به سیاستهای خصمانه تری حمالوصف، آمریکا چنین وضعیتی را ممکن است تحمل ننموده و به سیاستهای خصمانه تری حنهای جنگ دست بزند. در این صورت، ایران به ائتلافی بزرگ با چین و روسیه علیه اهداف غرب در خاورمیانه و مناطق دیگر، سوق داده خواهد شد.

چهار مین سناریوی محتمل این است که ترامپ از برجام خارج شده و فشار حداکثری بر ایران شامل پیمودن راههای جنگطلبانه را در دستور کار قرار دهد. این سناریو باعث شنیده شدن صداهای قدرتمند در ایران خواهد شدکه خواستار خروج از معاهده آن پی تی و پی گیری مدل کره شمالی باشند تا از این طریق ایالات متحده را به میز مذاکره بکشانند. درک عمومی از مسئلهٔ کره شمالی این است که آمریکا به این کشور حمله نمیکند زیرا پیونگیانگ دارای سلاح هستهای است؛ و به همین دلیل هم ترامپ میخواهد با کره شمالی مذاکره کند. در عین حال فشار بر ایران را افزایش میدهد، چون ایران فاقد سلاح هستهای است. قدرت چنین گزینه ای در تهران کم نخواهد بود زیرا مدافعان آن میتوانند استدلال کنند که ایران از حقوقش طبق معاهده آن پی تی برخور دار نیست و این معاهده تنها به وسیلهای برای تنبیه ایران تبدیل شده است. همچنین ممکن است چنین شرایطی موجب شود که برای مقابله با جنگطلبان در واشینگتن، تلآویو و ریاض، نظامیان ایران نقشی پررنگتر در سیاست کشور ایفاء کنند. این سناریو میتواند بدترین وضعیت در تاریخ روابط ایران و آمریکا را رقم بزند و منادی یک درگیری ویرانگر دیگر در خاورمیانه باشد؛ مناز عهای که هزینه های جنگ عراق برای آمریکا در برابر آن ناچیز خواهد بود.

پنجمین و عاقلانه ترین سناریو این است که اروپا، ترامپ را برای اجرای کامل برجام قانع کند و در عوض ایران با قدرتهای اروپایی در کنار سایر اعضاء شورای امنیت سازمان ملل، چین و روسیه و آمریکا، بر سر موضوعات منطقهای به طور جدی گفتگو کند. واقعیت این است که ایران کاملاً به تعهدات خود طبق برجام پایبند بوده و آژانس بینالمللی انرژی اتمی نیز این موضوع را بارها <u>تأیید کرده است</u>؛ ضمن اینکه برجام یک تعهد بینالمللی آمریکاست زیرا قطعنامهٔ شورای امنیت سازمان ملل متحد دار د

این سناریو، دورنمای یافتن راه حل سیاسی برای سایربحرانهای منطقهای را بهمراه خواهد داشت که میتواند اتهامات مکرر ترامپ در مورد نقش منفی ایران درمنطقه را نیز مرتفع کند. این سناریو همچنین امکان آن را میدهد که از سرمایه برجام برای ایجاد یک منطقهٔ عاری از سلاحهای هستهای درخاورمیانه، نیز استفاده شود.

Found in: <u>Iran deal</u>, <u>دونالد ترامپ</u>

سید حسین موسویان محقق داشکده ویلسون وودرو در دانشگاه پرینستون و سخنگوی سابق تیم مذاکره کننده هسته ای ایران است. عنوان کتاب جدید او ``ایران و آمریکا: نگرشی از درون به گذشته شکست خورده و راهی به سوی صلح'' است.



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### Amin San • یک روز پیش

There is a sixth option which may be difficult for Iran to swallow and that is to give up the right to enrich uranium. Something like the 123 nuclear agreement. If Khamenei's fatwa is not to make a nuclear weapon, what does this dancing around on enrichment from 3.5% to 20% get you? You can't be half pregnant. North Korea has developed nuclear weapons and therefore has leverage. Iran even at 20% will have no such leverage. It is a threat but not a leverage. Time to come to terms with reality. What has Iran's pursuit of the nuclear right brought Iran or its people in the last 25 years? Pride, may be, but a lot of misery. Iran's economy is not in the best shape. Time to think this through. There are many countries without nuclear weapons, they all survive and prosper.

2 🔨 🔻 • پاسخ • به اشتراک گذاری ›



ساعت پیش ۱۸ • Count Iblis 🖈 Amin San

Iran's pursuit of enrichment forced the Bush Administration to accept Iran's right to pursue a peaceful nuclear program without enrichment in 2006. Before 2006, the US didn't even accept that Iran could operate nuclear power plants fueled by Russia. In the 1990s, Bill Clinton signed legislation that imposed sanctions on companies that would deal with Iran on nuclear matters. This was way before Iran decided to pursue enrichment.

Before that, the US had successfully pressured Germany to get out of the Bushehr project, leaving Iran with a half finished reactor. Russia then stepped in and they were then pressured by the US to get out. The Iranians could therefore not be sure if Russia would be able to finish the reactor, let alone fuel the reactor. At that time before the Putin era, Russia was a lot more pro-Western than today, but companies like Rosatom were not yet dealing with the West all that much so they were insulated from US sanctions. But this would not last forever, so Iran needed to make sure that it could deal with Russia bowing out of the Bushehr project or not being able to fuel it due to US sanctions.

Since pursuing enrichment would be even more objectionable to the US than operating a nuclear program without any enrichment activities and the US was imposing sanctions on the latter activities, the only way Iran could get equipment for enrichment was by violating the IAEA transparency rules and buying whatever they needed n the black market. Any attempt to get the equipment via the normal channels would fail because the IAEA transparency rules would allow the US to see who is dealing (legally) with Iran and they would then be

2 🔻 🔻 • پاسخ • به اشتراک گذاری ›



یک روز پیش • **muhtia →** Amin San

Sorry I do not think this is about enrichment. It is all about Israel. If Iran gives up resistance against Israel and accepts the Israel as a lawful state, they would probably have no worries about enrichment. Look at Saudis.

They are being encouraged to build their reactor and their aggresive plans are being entertained.





عک روز پیش • **Justnfree →** Amin San

Iran already kept enrichment under 3%. The 20% enriched Uranium is need for Tehran research reactor that produces isotopes for medical and industrial use.



یک روز پیش • **Amin San →** Justnfree

As I said before, you can't be half pregnant. Either get a nuclear weapon or give up nuclear enrichment. This half step has not helped Iran. There may be a thousand uses at 20% but there are a number of countries that don't enrich and are able to survive and prosper. This half step has been a yoke around the neck and has brought nothing but misery!



یک روز پیش • **Jennifer K** 🖈 Amin San

Half pregnant analogy doesn't apply. You can enrich to low levels for other purposes but still not be in nuclear weapon business.



یک روز پیش • **Amin San →** Jennifer K

I am not talking theory. I am saying that given the situation that Iran is in now, what options does it have.



یک روز پیش • **Justnfree →** Amin San

Japan, Germany, Brazil and Argentina are half pregnant. Why are they not sanctioned or condemned, or vigorously under inspection?

If there is anything illegal about it let me know.



یک روز پیش • **Amin San →** Justnfree

You are right but we don't live in an ideal world. These countries can get away because politics plays a big part. One of the comments by Muhtia is that it is all because of Israel, that is correct.

The question is that given the situation, where do you go from here.



یک روز پیش • **Justnfree** → Amin San

So it's rule of jungle then, stop lecturing about what Iran should or shouldn't do. Iran didn't break any law. Those who accuse Iran are lying.

All are slaves of bunch of racist war criminals Zionists, while pretending to care for peace, democracy and freedom. How disgusting and pathetic is that? Thank you for admitting it.



Lost in america • یک روز پیش

The decisions are predicated on the view of Iran as a monolith. Making that assumption just reinforces the equally simplistic foreign policy of the regime.



Liberacion و یک ساعت پیش

There are mainly three realistic scenarios:

- 1. Trump decides to pull the United States out of the deal so that he can say he did the opposite of Obama, yet refrains from interfering yugely (not a typo) with the Europeans' handling of the deal. The deal's prospects of continuing in this scenario become uncertain.
- 2. Trump pulls the United States out of the deal and proceeds to try to push sanctions. Iran also leaves the deal and increases enrichment, eventually developing a breakout capacity. Asian countries do not return to sanctions. Europeans split over the matter, but some take trade and legal action to block the ability to sanction their companies.
- 3. Trump, perhaps restrained somewhat by Mattis, decides to keep the United States as a participant in the deal. U.S.-Iran relations remain icy in the near-term, Europeans slowly expand business.

Basically, it always boils down to end of deal = Iran increasing enrichment action. Whether the deal survives now largely depends on what Trump does.



**۲.K • ۱۶ س**اعت پیش

This is an oververbose list of threats, since the first three scenarios are essentially identical. If, for example, Trump repeals JCPOA and doesn't issue secondary sanctions, he will as soon as "Iran seeks to increase the cost of America's presence". All of the threats here are empty. Iran is already aligned with Russia and China, pulling out of the NPT is a suicide pact, trying to attack American troops will backfire since Iranian presence is just as vulnerable (we saw the wailing after the recent T4 attack by Israel), and having Iranian military commanders take a greater role in governance would be an \*improvement\*. That's almost a good case for arguing Iran can't do much more than it already does post-JCPOA.

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psage • یک روز پیش

Its obvious what is going to happen, iran's known nuclear sites will be destroyed in a covert strike



ساعت پیش ۱۹ • **alejandro casalegno 🖈** psage

Yes.....like the pathetic "Covert" yesterday attack in Syria ???



ساعت پیش ۱۸ • **psage →** alejandro casalegno

Don't know anything about that but i do know that rogue regimes have lost their nuke reactors before



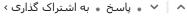
ساعت پیش ۱۲ • **Justnfree** 🖈 psage

When ever you're ready! The only rogue regime in region is going to lose a lot more than a



ساعت پیش ۱۰ • psage → Justnfree

Haha the iranians don't have the tech to fight america or israel face to face, they would lose easily





psage **→ Justnfree →** psage

Hezbullah didn't have that either.

What are you waiting for?



۸ • **psage** → Justnfree

Even you aren't so delusional to believe that the party of satan stands a chance in a real war





ه ساعت پیش ۶ • moosehorn → psage

The Satanic Zionist entity is counting on the US to fight its dirty wars.



ساعت پیش ۶ • psage → moosehorn

Not really the idf is one of the world's strongest militarys. I doubt if they were allowed to fight with no restrictions that Hezbollah would last a week or two



pbsdafsd mbewew • یک روز پیش

The Iranian nuclear program can be understood by grasping one fact. There were no scientific, logistical or security reasons for locating the Fordow enrichment plant where it was placed. None. Zero. Zilch. Nada.

Its location, however, is a theological stone's throw from Qom, and from the well at the Jamkaran Mosque. THAT is the reason Fordow was put there.

And THAT says, the theocracy will make toilet paper of whatever agreement it chooses to sign, if doing so advances the theological objective.



R. Arandas • یک روز پیش

Well, I guess North Korea already has nuclear weapons, and the West doesn't seem to have done much, but so possibly Iran might be thinking, why can't it have the same thing?



۲ • Free man روز پیش

A thorough and serious analysis.

In addition, Trump's behavior must also be taken into consideration. He keeps his election promises meticulously, he acts authoritatively, he is close to Saudi Arabia and Israel and he wants to please his base.

So my conclusion is that he appointed Mike Pompeo and John Bolton with the aim, among other things, to present a firm stance against Iran. A position that will be expressed in a number of levels and by a number of countries, evidence of which can be seen for a long time.

So a variation of the fourth scenario is the most logical.



۲ • **Justnfree** 🖈 Free man

From day one of negotiation, Khamanei said Americans can't be trusted. They are liars and deal breakers. He was right, now rest of the world know he was right.



• Free man → Justnfree ویک روز پیش

Do you know the concept of self-fulfilling prophecy?

The mullah regime does not understand "American English".

When Khamenei says that Iran's greatest enemy is the United States, when demonstrators at official rallies in Tehran shout "Death to America", when an Iranian ship "takes captive" American soldiers (All this during negotiations and after signing the agreement). Americans believe what they hear and see. And the American response is clear and predictable.



یک روز پیش • **Jennifer K →** Free man

Absolutely right. Also, People in power like Pompeo who is in his mid 50s experienced the hostage crisis as teenagers. It was a tense and humiliating experience and the feeling hasn't gone away. Every time you see the rallies in Tehran, all those feelings come rushing back.



یک روز پیش • **Justnfree** → Jennifer K

Imagine how Iranians feel every time they see missiles, air strikes, chemical attacks, lies of international community, wars, terror attacks, etc. Imagine how Iraqis and Afghan feel. Imagine how people in South East Asia feel.



۱۵ • roumeli → Justnfree

The Vietnamese, who have more reason to be angy than anyone since the Apache, can't get close enough to the US They want more trade, more defense cooperation, etc.

Iran is not a normal country, althrough the people are generally good people. Most Iranians don't dislike America. They know that anything that the government says is the opposite of truth, including all this death to America stuff. The Iranian government is extremely lucky that the US has not taken them out and changed the regime.

There is always time, however

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roumeli ♦ یک ساعت پیش

Too bad China and Russia don't agree





یک روز پیش • **IranMan →** Justnfree

and many people in Africa, South and Central America feel, too.



۱۵ • roumeli → IranMan

Not really. Those days are over.

But congratulations- Bolivia voted with you guys over the Syria Strike.



۲۱ • IranMan → Jennifer K

Only the simpletons. There are many smart Americans who are not stuck in the past as you are.



یک روز پیش • **Justnfree →** Free man

So what? Yankees don't understand Persian, Arabic, Russian or Chinese. As the matter of fact most of Iranians know some English because it's part of their official school program, but Americans don't speak language of countries they are invading or interfering in their business. They didn't know the language of native Americans whom they wiped out and took their land. They didn't understand their own language when Iranian foreign minister was speaking with it to them. They just understand one language.

American boat violates Iran's waters, they get captured, their intentions would be investigated, if they didn't do any harm or intend to do so, they get freed. Which is exactly what happened. It's basic international law. Problem is you think Americans are above that and everyone must bow down to them, but Iranians don't.

What Americans see or hear doesn't matter. Most of it are lies anyway. International law is the frame work of how countries should interact to one another.

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ساعت پیش ۱۴ • roumeli → Justnfree

"Yankees don't understand Persian, Arabic, Russian or Chinese. As the matter of fact most of Iranians know some English because it's part of their official school program, but Americans don't speak language of countries they are invading " Yes, but over 1,000,000.00 Iranian Americans live the US. They include many of the most talented and gifted Iranians Most of them do not like your regime at all. If America invades Iran, there will be whole lot of native Farsi speakers amoung the soldiers and administrators.

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پیش • **Free man →** Justnfree

By "does not understand American English" I meant the lack of understanding of mentality, and the inability to communicate with the Americans. Look at my answer to iranman above.

Iran intended to humiliate the American sailors. There is no need to make excuses.

In a democratic society, public opinion is all that counts. The leaders do what their voters want. A person who lives in a country ruled by a totalitarian religious regime will not understand that.

1 م ∨ • یاسخ • به اشتراک گذاری ›



۲۱ • IranMan → Free man

"Glib man", opinions can be manufactured. And indeed they are, especially in "democratic" societies.

Two words for you to chew on: Cambridge Analytica.

Get a clue!

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۲۱ • IranMan → Free man

If you have to explain yourself repeatedly, then you're the one who does not understand, capisce?!

ヘ ∨ • پاسخ • به اشتراک گذاری ›



۱۳ • Free man 🖈 IranMan

I use Western / American expressions on a Western website.

The American who read them understood and agreed completely, but you and your Iranian friend didn't.

ヘ ∨ • یاسخ • به اشتراک گذاری ›



IranMan → Free man • یک روز پیش

"The mullah regime does not understand American English."

-Ali Akbar Velayati, senior advisor to Khamenei, and former foreign minister. Graduate of John Hopkins University.

-Ali Akbar Salehi, Head of the Energy Organization of Iran. Graduate of MIT.

-Javad Zarif, Iran's FM. Graduate of San Francisco State University, University of Denver.

To name a few who "don't understand American English".

Do you?!

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Free man → IranMan • یک روز پیش

Did you really think I meant "American English" literally , or you are playing dumb . Interpretation of what I wrote : the mullah regime doesn't understand the American mentality . The mullah regime doesn't know how to communicate positively and constructively with the United

It seems that the mullah regime is doing all it can to alienate the Americans.

The people whose names you wrote speak the language but don't know how to communicate with the Americans.



The IRI high officials, and many influential Iranian people are keenly aware of the American people's powerlessness to influence the decisions made by the cabal that makes up the American establishment, including the character who claims to "drain the swamp."

Who can forget the huge multi-city demonstrations organized against the GW's, and his mainly neo-con handlers, decision to start the war in Iraq?! What did the American people managed to do in that case? Nothing!

By the way, that goes for the people's anti-war Iraq war demonstrations in the "democratic" Europe, too.

High time for you to get a clue!

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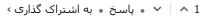


ساعت پیش ۱۲ • Free man 🖈 IranMan

1. My father had a clue so he left Iran, without looking back. So

my family and I have a good life in the West.

- 2. You seem to live in the West physically but mentally you are still living in Iran.
- 3. You and other supporters of the mullahs regime swim against the current (this is an expression). And the current is getting stronger (expression again).
  - 4. Did you notice what the coalition against Iran did on Friday?





Ali 🖈 Free man 🏕 بیش

Nothing at all. They did nothing at all. Iran has gotten stronger under Trump

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