

October 31, 2013

The Honorable Barack Obama  
President of the United States  
The White House  
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue NW  
Washington, D.C. 20500

The Honorable Ed Royce  
Chairman  
House Foreign Affairs Committee  
2185 Rayburn House Office Building  
Washington, D.C. 20515

The Honorable Eliot Engel  
Ranking Member  
House Foreign Affairs Committee  
2161 Rayburn House Office Building  
Washington, D.C. 20515

The Honorable Robert Menendez  
Chairman  
Senate Foreign Relations Committee  
528 Senate Hart Office Building  
Washington, D.C. 20510

The Honorable Bob Corker  
Ranking Member  
House Foreign Relations Committee  
Dirksen Senate Office Building, SD-425  
Washington, D.C. 20510

**Re: Congressional Authority in Support of Iran Nuclear Negotiations**

Dear President Obama, Chairmen Royce and Menendez and Ranking Members Engel and Corker:

Since the election of President Rouhani, there has been much public discussion and renewed activity related to a potential negotiated agreement regarding Iran's nuclear program. That discussion and activity has launched debate, speculation and concern over what should be the appropriate terms of such an agreement.

Central to that discussion have been two issues: 1) Whether or not Iran should be permitted to enrich nuclear material or possess a heavy water research reactor as part of any agreement; and 2) Whether sanctions should be eased in the interim - short of a comprehensive nuclear agreement.

By any measure, these questions are some of the most consequential foreign policy issues of our time. Just recently, when confronted with the use of chemical weapons in Syria, the Congress and White House agreed to engage in a vigorous public debate to ensure that the United States spoke with a united voice. Given the historic consequence of a potential rapprochement with Iran and the terms of a potential nuclear agreement, it is vitally important that the U.S. once again speaks with a united voice. Moreover, Congress plays an active and vital role in imposing sanctions on Iran and Congress would be central to any sanctions relief.

We therefore respectfully request that Congress takes up debate on the essential principles that must underpin any nuclear agreement with Iran and closely consult with the President.

A determination on what the U.S. stands for in relation to nuclear negotiations with Iran is essential to provide clarity on the U.S. position to our negotiators, our P5+1 colleagues, our allies and other nations and importantly, to Iran. Iran should clearly understand what the essential requirements of the U.S. are in a comprehensive nuclear agreement. If the U.S. is to successfully enter into a comprehensive agreement with Iran after thirty four years of hostile relations, it will be one of the most consequential agreements of our lifetime. It is incumbent upon us to separate from the partisanship that often plagues Washington and to agree on the principal points that fundamentally matter to the U.S. as they relate to a potential agreement with Iran.

As a starting point of such debate, we respectfully propose five principles to guide the U.S. position in the P5+1 nuclear negotiation. They are as follows:

1. The objective of a nuclear agreement is to prevent Iran from producing nuclear weapons by limiting Iran's ability to produce fissile material under strong international inspections. A comprehensive agreement should require Iran to comply with UN Security Council Resolutions 1696 and 1737, requiring Iran to suspend enrichment and reprocessing-related activities until "confidence is restored in the exclusively peaceful nature of Iran's nuclear program..." The period of confidence-building is one that we believe must last several years. Iran must also fully cooperate with the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) to resolve questions about its nuclear activities.
2. The sanctions framework has been carefully assembled over many years, and no sanctions rollback should result until Iran agrees to a comprehensive nuclear agreement with measurable milestones.
3. A comprehensive nuclear agreement is by far the preferred outcome. If prior to a final agreement on a comprehensive nuclear accord the U.S., its allies and Iran agree to an interim agreement that *substantially* limits Iran's current nuclear program, the U.S. and its allies may consider specific and individual transactional waivers of sanctioned/prohibited activity. Any such interim agreement should include a time limit on the final negotiation of a comprehensive agreement and automatic re-imposition of sanctions on such transactions if one is not reached within that time.
4. Iran's new President should have one hundred days from his election to take substantial and concrete actions to resolve concerns about Iran's nuclear program. In the absence of such action, following November 11, 2013, the U.S. and its allies should move to impose new sanctions, to be implemented after January 1, 2014. Subsequently, Iran should face ever increasing and new sanctions as diplomacy continues.
5. If Iran complies with its international obligations and restores confidence in the exclusively peaceful nature of its nuclear program, including the suspension of its enrichment and reprocessing-related activities for a substantial period (i.e. several years), the U.S. and its

allies can consider the scale and scope of its nuclear program, including whether Iran is allowed to resume limited enrichment for peaceful purposes.

The sanctions framework, while working, is fragile and interdependent. If current sanctions law is even partially unwound on an interim basis, it will have a far-reaching and undesirable backwardation effect on the overall sanctions regime. Given the historic practice of Iran extending negotiations to buy time and allow further nuclear development, Iran should have a “time-limited” opportunity to reach a nuclear accord without facing additional sanctions, even as diplomatic efforts continue.

Sanctions have had the desired effect and Iran must understand that absent a comprehensive nuclear agreement, it will face new and more robust sanctions. As to interim progress in the negotiations - and similar to the Presidential waiver program on Iran oil sales to certain countries - the U.S. may consider specific and individual transaction waivers of prohibited activity. As with the Presidential oil sales waivers, the transactional waivers should be: limited in nature; not continue indefinitely; require specific renewal; and serve to definitively advance negotiations that culminate in a comprehensive agreement. Any such waivers must be contingent on a substantial and measurable pullback from Iran’s current nuclear enrichment programs.

Regarding enrichment, while there may be debate as to whether to ultimately allow Iran to enrich and the limited scope of such allowable enrichment, Iran must demonstrate responsible cooperation with UN inspections over a period of several years before any final decision on allowing Iranian nuclear enrichment is agreed. While some of us believe that Iran should never be permitted to enrich, others are open to Iran’s rigorously limited enrichment on a scale and scope that would prohibit Iran’s breakout capacity.

Thank you for your kind attention and please know that United Against Nuclear Iran stands ready to assist in this critical matter.

Very truly yours,

Dr. Gary Samore



President, UANI

Ambassador Mark D. Wallace



CEO, UANI

Senator Joseph Lieberman



Frances Townsend



Former U.S. Homeland Security Advisor

cc: The Honorable Tim Johnson  
Chairman, U.S. Senate Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs

The Honorable Michael Crapo  
Ranking Member, U.S. Senate Committee on Banking, Housing, and  
Urban Affairs

The Honorable John Kerry  
Secretary of State, United States Department of State

The Honorable Chuck Hagel  
Secretary of Defence, United States Department of Defense

The Honorable David Cohen  
Under Secretary for Terrorism and Financial Intelligence, United States  
Department of Treasury

The Honorable Adam Szubin  
Director, Office of Foreign Assets Control

H.E. Mohammad Javad Zarif  
Minister of Foreign Affairs, Islamic Republic of Iran