

CHAPTER III

THE DEVELOPMENT OF IRANIAN NUCLEAR AND THE AGREEMENT OF JCPOA

The Iranian nuclear dispute has been going on for decades. Even after the agreement was achieved in 2015, the discussion is still on going until right now whether or not the existence of the agreement could be considered as the best solution to overcome the conflict, because the nuclear reactor was still there and there is still a possibility that they might develop it again secretly. The United States as the main actor which persistently tore down the curtains that –they assumed, for all this time was hiding Iran’s desire to develop its nuclear weapon secretly from public notice was utmost necessary for the world peace and stabilization.

Moreover, this chapter tells about the progress on making JCPOA agreement in order to solve the disputes. There are some actors who got involved in the decision making process in which also impacted to the relationship among those countries. How they manage the agreement’s work in the past, present and foreseeable future is quite interesting to discuss.

A. The Dynamics Behind Iranian Nuclear Disputes

Iran as a country broken its monarch regimes after the Islamic Revolution emerged in 1979 and turned in to an Islamic republic under Ayatulloh as a supreme leader and a symbol of Iran Islamic revolution itself. (Sandbrook, 2009) Iran under the Khomeni has been transformed into a very different country from the old Iran which was known

for being a pro-American and western friendly country when they were under Moh. Reza Shah Pahlavi. After Shah forced to flee outside of the country and his regimes fell down, Iran was mostly trapped into a conflict situation and clashed with America and its alliances or even with their neighbouring states such as Iraq and Israel. The harmonious and supportive relations between Iran and U.S. in the past before Khomeni ruled the country, successfully surprised everyone, especially if viewed from how Iran-United States react toward each other regarding some issues involving them today, especially the ones related to Iranian nuclear cases.

1. The Development of Iranian Nuclear

Iran under Shah's regimes was in very beautiful relationship with United States. Shah regimes was known in power since the 20th century. When the latest Shah regimes controlled the country, he also created a new level of friendly western relationship between the West. A rarely things happened that almost impossible to see in these days. During the World War and the last shah ruled the country, the West including Britain and the United States relied so much with the Iranian oil and got benefits from Iran biggest natural resources. They could have easily accessed and provided it in very cheap price. (Perloff, 2009)

When the latest Shah ruled the country from 1942 to 1979, he was having a distrust issue with Soviet, thus he sought military assistance to United States, which became the reason why they built up the relationship with. For the next, it obviously turned out

to be a mutual beneficial relationship as Shah could stand his leadership longer with a backup from America and in returned, Iran guarantee U.S. interest within the country. As their relationship grew stronger day by day, there were several controversial policies taken, for instance, Join United States on their nuclear for peace program in 1957 in the era of Eisenhower, the U.S. assistance to Iran in the gulf war by the 1960s and in the early 1970s, they succeeded on reaching the U.S. – Iran regional policies. (Delvisco)

As written on *Brookings.edu* on Dec 8, 1953, former U.S. president Eisenhower delivered his speech regarding “Atom for peace program”. It initiated before the UN general assembly started.

“...if a danger exists in the world, it is a danger shared by all, as equal as, if hope exists in the mind of one nation, that hope should be shared by all”.

Behind that reason, everyone believed that actually reason of the nuclear program realization is only conducted as a preventive action in response to Soviet expansion and influences in several regions in the world, especially in Middle East nations. Eisenhower perhaps thought that the program might be useful for them and would be a good step to prevent nuclear-arms races in the future. Meanwhile, unfortunately the program is possible to bring very dangerous threats for U.S. and its alliance, without exception, all Iranian neighbour states.

The atomic cooperation agreement was taken in 1957, thus in 1960 Iran had purchased the small

research reactor to the United States and installed it in Tehran Nuclear Research Centre. A couple of years later in 1967 the first ever Iran nuclear energy program started to run and a year later in 1968, Iran signed the NPT to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons and weapons technology, to promote cooperation in the peaceful uses for nuclear energy and to achieve nuclear disarmament. (ISISSteam)

As a pro-western leader, Shah was ambitious to create Iran new development by providing new technology and also reviving the army. The existence of nuclear development is also categorized as a symbol of progress and power. It is no wonder that Shah agreed to join the program. However, on his administration, he managed the royal control as a main power base and created his own special army.

In the process of Shah seizing his control in that country over all aspects. The U.S. has helped the regime to create a solid military base. Between 1950 – 1963, the U.S. provided \$829 million in military assistance, in addition, they also assisted for \$1.3 billion worth for a new weapon system given to Iranian government. All the assistance was equal to the amount of money United States gained from the free access to Iranian oil reserves. When the latest shah ruled the country, Mossadeq, a former parliament member, gained much supports from Iranian people for his work to oppose Soviet's granted regarding Iran oil concession in northern Iran. It was as similar as British concession in Southern Iran. (Shirazi, 2014)

America was fully aware if Mossadeq continued to gain support from Iranian and kept on power as prime

minister, he would disturb U.S. interest in Iran and would threaten U.S. position in Middle East at wider. It because since the beginning he took the position in 1951 as a pro-poor democratic reformist, he knowingly quite extremist on defending his value about “Iran should stand on its own feet” and how to secure Iran assets from foreign intervention, exactly like how the way he addressed the notion to nationalize Iran oil reserves.

At that time, there is no other way to protect their interest besides let Shah on their power again and overthrowing Mossadeq from his position. So, in 1953, CIA successfully cooperated with British intelligence to overthrow Mohammad Mossadeq and put back Shah on their regimes. America was being threatened again when they saw Iranian fought back through Ayatulloh command’s by using anti-western propaganda. America helped out Shah at all cost include, invited Shah Pahlavi to White House for discussing about the stability resolution in Iran. (Kamali & Taylor, 2013)

The policy was achieved by implementing “The White Revolution” but still earned the contra reaction from Iranian people. Iranian people said Shah was a U.S. puppet and to fight back Ayatulloh used “Westoxification” which made Shah exile outside Iran. These things obviously gave disadvantages for America and its alliances. It will threaten their position again in Middle East and also their interest on oil reserves. After the Islamic revolution popped out, United States felt more disturbed, especially when they know that Ayatulloh was much more extremist than Mossadeq , he was extremely anti-America which

Khomeini called the U.S. and its alliances as the great satan. (Swenson, updated 2015)

2. Disputes on Iranian Nuclear

The development of Iranian nuclear dispute started after the Revolution emerged. Starting from this era, America began to suspect Iran secret motives on its nuclear capability. In addition, the disagreement on how Ayatulloh would become the next Iran leader and also how Ayatulloh hatred America so much had influenced the dynamics of Iran-U.S. relations. Ayatulloh Khomeini is known as the influential figure of many extremist organizations emerged in and outside of Iran. For instances, Iran's Islamic revolutionary guard corps (IRGC), Lebanese- based terrorist organization, political party Hezbollah, Iraqi-based millitans and so on. These groups are accused for human right violations and major terrorist sponsor. (State, 2014)

Looking at how extremist Ayatulloh was, America suspected Iran for their nuclear activity. It acknowledged that after the revolution emerged, the United States was known for many times accusing Tehran for operating a secret nuclear weapon program within the country through its intelligence agency, CIA. (Reuters, 2016) The supports given by U.S. to Pahlavi was different from the ones given to Ayatulloh regarding Iran nuclear energy program. In this period America hardly suspected Iran for developing its mass nuclear destruction weapon as they assumed in the beginning. In responding to U.S. accused for Iran

several times also always showed the rejection for all the U.S. accusation.

A long way debate that restricted Iran and its nuclear development caused the dispute jump to the next level of crisis. Iranian nuclear which at first was only a dispute between U.S. – Iran, in fact, turned out to be broader by dragging several countries to take part in the negotiation processes. Meanwhile, Iran from the beginning was very persistent to their belief and continued to develop what they called as nuclear energy development.

The Iranian nuclear crisis itself definitely brought impact not only to U.S. – Iran political relationship but also to Iran economy sector. The United States acknowledged has imposed Iran on economy sanction since 1979 when the hostage crisis happened in Tehran. It led to Iran frozen assets in U.S. worth \$12 billion in total. It was broader to full trade embargo until 1981. (Kaussler & B, 2012)

Later according to CNN news, starting from 1987, the Iranian nuclear and terrorism issues became more complex. The U.S. kept imposing Iran on nuclear-related sanction as follows:

1. In 1987, a new embargo released on Iranian goods and services. It is an impact of Iranian supports for international terrorism and its aggressive action non-belligerent shipping in the Persian gulf.
2. In 1995, the U.S. banned any involvement with petroleum development in Iran. 2 years later, the U.S. has banned all trades and investments activities with Iran.

3. In 2010, the U.S. passed out the comprehensive Iran sanction, accountability and divestment act related to permission to import goods.
4. The U.S. citizens may not export good or services to Iran or, to a third country knowing has intentionation for Iran, excepts for human suffering donations.
5. The U.S. government also prohibited servicing the government of Iran, including the country's central bank.
6. In 2011, the U.S. also added further sanction including tightening restriction on companies that provide Iran with equipment and expertise to run its oil and chemical industry. It prohibited groups that do business with financial institution in Iran from holding accounts in the U.S.

Among the rejection from Iran's side regarding all the blamed pointed it out to them for its nuclear development, on August 2002, the new fact released after United States discovered Iran nuclear secret facilities. It was revealed by Muhajeddin of Iran that they sent to the United Nation. The information claimed that Russia was behind Iran nuclear power development and initiated to help them for a couple of years. (library, 2017 updated) In responding to the spreading rumour and the U.S. economy sanction to Iran, Russian government represented by Russia's atomic energy minister, Aleksandr Rummyantsev knowingly defends Iran by saying Iran had violated no International rules in building two nuclear sites.

The ongoing debate continued and were heating up when the United States revealed some data in the previous years when there was an indication from several countries involved to help Iran to develop its nuclear-arms capability. Meanwhile, Iran through its prime minister also showed the extreme reaction that produced the contra reaction from public. Rouhani said on tv that “Iran will continue to produce missile”. Due to the extreme concerns by many sides, any possibility deal attempted in aimed to find a good solution.

A sanction was also imposed by United Nation security council and Eurpoan Union regarding Iran nuclear possession. According to *CFR.Org* the United Nation had imposed sanction on Iran several times. One the first round, it was in 2006, when U.N. decided to embargo Iran related to materials and technology used in Uranium production and enrichment, all related to Iran proliferation and ballistic nuclear development. The second attempted was during 2007-2008, when U.N. blocked non-humanitarian financial assistance to Iran and began inspecting Iran’s cargo in which it was suspected that there were prohibited materials as related Iran proliferation and ballistic nuclear as mandated from U.S.

The European Union country’s member also agreed to put Iran on sanction. First in 2007, they agreed to freeze Iran assets of individual and entities related to Iran’s nuclear and ballistic program and also prohibit the transfer of dual-use items. They also blocked European institution from transacting with Iranian banks, including central bank and restricting trade and investment with the country’s energy and transport

sectors. In 2012, Brussel even isolated Iran and pressured them by banning the import of oil and petrochemical assets related to Iran central bank. It says that before the sanction was imposed, EU known for the largest importer of Iranian oil, approximately 600.000 barrels per day.

In fact, the contra reaction related to Iranian nuclear development also come from their neighbouring states in the same continentals. Saudi Arabia and its alliance in the region agreed to support United States to restrict Iran with the nuclear agreement. Saudia Arabia and its alliances considered Iran which brought much violence and threatened the continent too much through their controversial action, for instance, their deep support to Presiden Bashar al Assad in Syria, Hezbollah in Lebanon, Shiite militia in iraq and Houthi rebels in yemen.

Like similar Saudi Arabia and its alliances, Israel government also showed disagreement showed Iran nuclear development, especially after 1979, when Khomeini ruled the country. It is true that, prior the emergence of Iran Islamic Revolutions, U.S.- Iran relations and Israel – Iran relations were in friendly relation period. Even Iran recognized Israel as sovereign state after Turkey. However all the diplomatic ties broke down after Iran did not recognize the existence of Israel state when Pahlavi exhile the country.

The existence of Iran nuclear would definitely threaten Israel position in continental. The high tension rose significantly along with the provoke statement from Ahmadinejad who fought against Israel and

would like to destroy Israel off the map. The statement was enough to bring more contra reaction from Israel and America as its eternal ally. Bush even mentioned that “Iran together with Iraq and North Korea are the axis of evil” (Osnos, 2017)

Israel goal has changed to how to crush the Iranian nuclear program, which obviously will need a support from powerful enough countries. The restriction have to implement, looking at how contra behaviours were showed differently by Iranian leaders to Israel and the west in different times. Indeed we cannot conclude “the Iranian nuclear program” as the only one reason for American and its alliances should stop Iran nuclear-related, because the actual reason is more complex than that. We all know that besides Iran, Israel actually also has its nuclear capability. U.S. document in 1987 revealed that Israel’s nuclear weapon is capable to produce hydrogen bombs that a thousand more powerful than atomic bomb in Iran, if they succeed producing it. (Lewish, 2015)

So the real problem for Israel is, Iran’s competitiveness in regional status and Iran’s rising power which concerned Israel. The regional balanced power is such a matter, because actually the Iranian policies, behaviours are usually contradictive with Israel that Israel wants to eliminate. What his alliances concerned are their concerned too, so in here America also feeling the same threat as Israel has.

B. The JCPOA Agreement

The existence of Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action or shortly called as JCPOA is still in debate up to now.

Some people agree that, JCPOA is the right action to tackle Iranian nuclear energy development to develop more to nuclear weapon capabilities. Meanwhile, there are some actors who also believe that JCPOA will prevent nothing except giving Iran more chance to develop its nuclear weapon capability secretly within the country. AIPAC as one of the biggest America-Israel interest groups also write their disappointment regarding the achievement of JCPOA clearly on their official website.

Regardless of whether or not JCPOA will bring the good impact for the world stabilization, the agreement itself at least has been succeeded on restrict Iran at some points. The agreement was adopted on August 2015, after a long way debates. How the process of reaching the agreement and the development afterward will be going to discuss.

1. The Historical Background

JCPOA finally was achieved on July 14 2015, attended by six countries plus one, including the United States, China, Russia, France, Britain, Germany and Iran. The European Union also took part on the discussion meeting. In a couple of months later, on August 18 2015, the agreement fully adopted. The agreement presented as a solution to overcome the never ending disputes related to Iran nuclear energy that might turn to nuclear weapon capability by putting some restriction on it. In January 16 2016, the agreement was officially implemented and in the same day also IAEA has verified that Iran already implement the key nuclear restriction points as described on JCPOA guidelines. It also means that all nuclear-

related sanction to Iran will be wiped off by United State and EU. This event was also marked as the new beginning of Iran entering a global economy approaches. (Iranwatch, 2015)

As written on the official website of the U.S. department of State, The P5+1 country met to ensure that Iran's nuclear program will only be intended for peaceful uses. (BBC, BBC news, 2015) It resulted Iran obligation to the JCPOA agreement as follow:

- a. Reduce the uranium stockpiles by 98%
- b. Maintain a level of uranium enrichment at 3,67 % (the standard is below the requisite level to create a nuclear bomb) for 15 years
- c. Reduce the number of centrifuges at the Natanz and Fordow facilities to 6,104 (from almost 20.000) for the next 10 years, including only the oldest and least efficient models
- d. Redesign the Arak-heavy-water nuclear reactor so it cannot produce any weapons grade plutonium and send all spent full rods out of the country so long as the reactor exists.
- e. Refrain from building any new heavy water reactors for at least 15 years. (Iran Watch, 2016)

Behind the successful of reaching the agreement after almost waited 2 years, There were many clashes and high tension occurred in the decision making processes even long way before JCPOA has been mentioned. The idea to prevent Iran to obtain their nuclear weapon power has been started when America found several anomalies within the Iran nuclear energy development. Thus America believed that the official investigation from IAEA is needed to be conducted.

Meanwhile, Iranian government at first assumed that there was no need to review and investigate their nuclear because all the accusation was not legit eventhough CIA revealed several data proving that Iran has been doing uncommon activities inside of their reactor centre.

In 2003, The International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) finally launched their very first investigation to verify whether or not there was a strange activities carried out by Iran as CIA has been reported many times. This situation also forced Iran to sign the permission to allow IAEA for doing inspection and investigation to discover the truth. A surprising situation came out after the investigation being held. The chief director of IAEA, Mohammad El-Baradei, stated there is no broken rule or violation by Iran regarding their obligation to follow NPT rules. (IAEA, 2005)

In 2005, again United States found out the leak information that there were several countries had involved to help Iran developing their nuclear weapon capability. Since then, United State has been more intense to put them in the negotiation processes to prevent Iran for developing its nuclear weapon. Also in the same year, it revealed back then in 1987, Abdul Qadeer Khan, a Pakistani metallurgist and the father of Pakistan's nuclear weapon program shared his research secretly with Iran. The cooperation worked until passed to 1995. (Shah, 2009)

The situation was heating up when United States found out that in 1995, Iran signed the nuclear contract with Russia, which they argued only to complete a

nuclear power plant on the Persian Gulf. Meanwhile, they agreed to develop its nuclear contract was at Bushehr, Iran, which according to *New York Times*, this place the most active centre for nuclear weapons research and production.

All the data exposed in public regarding Iranian nuclear weapon activities, in fact, succeeded to give a great effect to Iran position in public eyes. Iran got a lot of pressure from all around the world for their nuclear activities. Besides, several interest groups also concerned the dangerous effect that might emerge as they put on their website as part of propaganda and public influences.

The JCPOA outline actually has been achieved since Nov 24, 2013, when Obama called Rouhani who at the same time has become the first contact between U.S. – Iran since 1979. While the two leaders were on the phone-call discussion, the 2 government representative of both countries were having meeting, John Kerry, the U.S. secretary and Moh. Javad, Iranian prime minister. (Mason & Charbonneau, 2013)

At that time Iran agreed to freeze elements of their nuclear program and allowed the inspection held to examine their nuclear activities. In return, all the participants agreed to give some sanction to Iran. The first negotiation deadline was on July, 2014 but in the end pass to Nov, 2014. When the process was still not fixed yet, they could discuss any possibility including any addition or subtraction needed.

However, the thing that influence the negotiation is the fact that brought by the U.S. has evoked criticism from Iran side. As Iranian foreign minister said

America always broke the promises by offering a fact sheets which was different from what had been negotiated before. In addition, Iran supreme leader, Ali Khamenei, also reacted a fact sheet proposed by the U.S. by saying “no conventional inspections to that would place Iran under special monitoring is acceptable. Foreign monitoring on Iran’s security is not allowed”. (Sanger, 2015)

In another opportunity, unlike Iranian official, Obama and a secretary of state, Kerry showed their friendly approaches to engage the deadline on June 2015. On March 19, 2015, Obama released a speeches that saying Iran nuclear deal is obviously a great way to open the door for Iranian bright future ahead. When Iranian president, Hassan Rouhani’s mother passed away, Kerry sent his deep condolences and said that they kept his family in thought.

Unfortunately, all the friendly approaches were not reciprocated by Iranian government. During his speech on March 21 in Tehran, in replied to one of his participants whose saying “death of America” , Khomeini responded by saying the same words “Death to America of course”. In addition he said the U.S. is tirelessly intervened and focused on Iranian economy. He also said no one should believe America when they said they were supporting Iranian nation. (MEMRI TV, 2015)

The negotiation was going on-off as Iran always showed the disagreement with the framework deal. There was no deal made until June 30, 2015. Obama even said that U.S. would walk away if Tehran was still against the outline. In July, 2015, all foreign minister

from involving countries (P5+1) met again in Vienna. The result was supposed to be reached in 3 days but it extended to several days later. Finally after 17 days of fluctuating and high tension negotiation, on 14 July 2015 the JCPOA agreement was finally enacted.

However, after the agreement has been achieved and enforced, there was another concern regarding the long term-sustainability of the deal itself. Whether or not the deal could perform well to secure the security stabilization in the foreseeable future including the challenge faces by every involving country, especially the United States and Iran.

2. The Progress of JCPOA

Picture 3.1 Iranian nuclear reactor sites

Source : www.celp.org



Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, *Deadly Arsenals* (2002), www.celp.org

After the adoption day, the agreement was officially enacted and implemented in January 2016. IAEA has full authority to monitorize Iran nuclear activities as written on JCPOA framework. When the commitment achieved, Iran committed to be transparent and was more assimilated regarding its nuclear development. The hard long negotiation ended and left the pros and cons behind, such as what happen with Iran after the negotiation ended in the first decade?

All the questions remains from International community are more likely as a challenge for all the participants that involved in the negotiation processes to be more thoughtful and determined. Iran as we known, will never agree to surrender their rights to enrich the Uranium, so Obama saw JCPOA existed as a win-win solution.

Due to JCPOA restriction, the agreement ensure to prevent at least 10 years for Iran acquiring their nuclear-armed and need 1 year more to have a nuclear bomb, with a note if they decided to break the agreement. Then, after 10 years, they will enter the break out time and it could be serious danger, because after 10 years they can increase the number of centrifuges and in 15 years more they are possible to increase the enrichment level and stocks of enriched uranium. When it comes, they are will be in the Threshold of nuclear-armed capability. So this is why some people argue that the agreement only to postponed, but not to prevent at whole.

A former Kansas governor Mike Huckabee said “shame on the Obama administration for agreeing to a deal that will giving opportunity to an evil Iran regime to carry out its threat to “wipe Israel off the map”-referring to Ahmadinejad speeches, and “bring death to America”, refers to Khamenei speeches. (Greenfield, 2017) But then, not all the disagreement fill out public opinion. Meanwhile, the U.K. foreign secretary, Phillip Hammond who was also in Vienna when the negotiation in proceed said,

“there is an opportunity for an opening that will allow us to understand each other

better, get behind some of the mythology and hopefully it can create a new dynamics in the region, where Iran can play a more constructive and transparent role in regional affairs” (Kahl, 2017)

Right now 2 years JCPOA agreement taken there are still various controversies about whether or not the realization of JCPOA is considered as failed action to prevent Iran from nuclear-arms. The disputes over U.S. decision began in Obama administration until passed to Trump. Prior to Trump coronation as a new U.S. president, in one of his speeches, he mentioned about how JCPOA became the worst deal that U.S. ever been negotiated with. From this point we can see that, there is a possibility to re-negotiate in the future. Only, the problem is, it took very long way to finally achieve the agreement. When the agreement is about to re-negotiate, it definitely will take more times and challenge.

However, in 2 years there are several progresses that has been made and also the future step that will take. According to nuclear threat initiate the progresses are: first, for the IAEA itself, the status progress has been reached to 100% accomplished. It consists of Provisionally apply IAEA additional protocol that allowing inspection of undeclared activities and the Implementation of IAEA modified code 3.1 committing Iran to declare any new facilities planning stage.

In term of Iranian reactor site, Iran has four reactor sites within the country. Each reactor has showed different progress, including how many percent the

progress accomplished. In Parchin reactor, they successfully achieve 100% progress by submitting an explanation of their past military dimensions to IAEA and allowed onsite IAEA inspections.

In Natanz reactor site, the progress achieved is only 90% success. They succeeded to reduce centrifuges from 15.420 to 5.060 IR-1 models and place excess IR-1 centrifuges in storage, place supporting infrastructure in storage and fill piping with epoxy, permit IAEA placement of online measurement and electronic seals, send enriched uranium in excess 300 kilograms out of the country or down blend, place all IR-2m and IR-4 machines in monitored storage, provide inventory of centrifuge rotors and belows to IAEA, declare flow-forming machines to IAEA and permit ongoing monitoring, Input/output stream on R&D machines pipes welded together, place centrifuges manufacturing facilities under IAEA monitoring, except contact with entity outside Iran for LEU removal.

The 2 last Iranian reactors going to be the two lowest reactor site that achieve the progress. First is Fordow reactor site that only made progress to 70% accomplished. This site has not yet converted Fordow into research facilities and begin stable isotope production and disable 2 additional cascades. From 2 out of 7 targeted progresses, they succeeded in removing nuclear material and shipping out of the country, reducing centrifuges from 3000 to 1044 in six cascades and placing excess machines in storage, removing electrical wiring, controlling cabinets and vacuum pumps, converting 2 centrifuges cascades to

stable isotope production, remove piping for introducing Uranium into centrifuges cascades.

The Arak reactor site is the lowest one out of the 3 other reactors site. This site only has 57% progress in 2 years. So far, there are 4 points achieved out of seven. Those that are successfully achieved including, IAEA verified Arak heavy water inventory in compliance with 130 metric ton limit, succeed in removing reactor Calandria and fill with cements, has place reactor fuel pallets under IAEA monitoring. They agreed with P5+1 and IAEA on joint venture to modernize reactor. The last 3 points are not successful yet, such as, submitting new reactor design to joint commission, converting fuel pellets to fuel appropriate for new reactor and commissioning new reactor as a low power research reactor.

Those progresses which had not been achieved, will be proceeded in the future. Thus, IAEA also had announced their next step and plan in 8, 10, 15, 20 and 25 years ahead. In 8 years ahead, it is going to be a transition day that remaining sanction terminated by the year of 2023. In 2025, 2 years after, they plan on limiting Iranian centrifuges program provisionally. After that, 5 years later, they are going to limit on LEU stockpile that expire in 2030. 20 years from now, IAEA will provision for continuous surveillance of centrifuge production facilities that expire in 2035, the last one, 25 years from now, IAEA also will conduct provision for continuous monitoring of mining and milling facilities that going to be expire in 2040. (NTI, 2017)

Inspite of all the progressing achieved after 2 years of JCPOA agreement taken, still most of people argued

that the JCPOA itself only delay and it would not change anything. The enacted of JCPOA agreement itself actually brought so many controversies since the agreement making until it ratified, especially for the American citizens either American-Jews heritage or non American-Jews.

C. The American Perspectives Toward JCPOA

America as the main player who played an important role for taking the decision to impose Iran on sanction and dragged them to an agreement, in fact, had given the biggest pros and cons within the country. The controversies emerged prior and afterward of the decision taken. America thought Iran's nuclear program as top global threat is supposed to have full restriction and the America should close Iran pathway in acquiring its nuclear. Meanwhile, the result of the agreement assumed as only a delay time from the real Iran acquiring nuclear bombs in the future. As we known, America is really concerned with the terrorism issues and cyber-attacks. The nuclear deterrence even combated since Eisenhower administration which later on, several nuclear agreement taken to prevent nuclear-armed races in the future. Meanwhile what has been done by Obama related to the achievement of JCPOA can categorized as failed negotiation action.

When the agreement was still in process, Obama and the congressional members had different point of view regarding how Iranian nuclear was supposed to be and the results too. Obama thought Iranian government would never surrender for its nuclear development so the most

potential option that might be achieved as a win-win solution was letting them developing its nuclear program, but still in the most secure, transparent and controllable way.

On July 14, 2015, the JCPOA agreement was finalized, but the agreement processes did not stop there, it was still taking several steps forwards. On July 19, 2015 after all the requirements collected, Obama still had one big mission to do, in order to surpass the agreement until the implementation day come. Obama as the U.S. president at that time, needed to submit all the files regarding to JCPOA result to U.S. congress. Thus, the congress would review it for 60 days in total maximum and this behaviour known as congressional review period. The deadline set up from July 20 to Sep 17, 2015. (Davenport, 2017 updated)

During this period, both houses of the U.S. congress would have 60 days discussion to vote, to approve, or to disapprove on the deal. It was sponsored by Senator Bob Corker. While the processes were ongoing, Obama is prohibited to lift sanction related to Iran. People wondered how congress's succeed to give vote to Iran deal, meanwhile, most of American pessimistic that the agreement could give benefits to U.S. interest and International community.

The interesting debate occurred in Capitol Hill when the reviewing processes of JCPOA was being held. There is a basic law in the United States of America when the congress has an authority to create a step of reviewing processes, aimed to vote on resolution to approve or disapprove on the agreement. President has a right also to use his veto when the result is out of expectation. On

certain condition when they can get the support of minimum 34 senators to sustain the right to veto. (Herszenhorn, New York Times, 2015)

The same situation happened in JCPOA case. Obama realized that most of Republicans were on the opposition of his decision and many disagreements emerged. It acknowledged while the congress was still reviewing the proposal handed, the republican party actively had invited several figures to speak up their concern about JCPOA resolution which was still being on discussed. The party invited the former Israel Prime Minister Netanyahu to speak against the deal. Several American-Jews organization such as AIPAC, Bill Kristo's Emergency Committee for Israel and Zionist Organization also contributed in making speech. (Ho, 2015)

Even AIPAC according to Washington post, has spent approximately \$1,67 million, aimed to lobby the congress to strongly opposed the review of Iran deal. The amount of money that AIPAC has spent is considered as the biggest spending for the last 16 years since 1999, according to the Senate office of public records database.

After long way debating and reviewing about the resolution, the senate moved to procedural votes on Sep 10. It was known that there were 58 votes for disapproval and 42 in favour. By looking at this fact, Obama definitely could sustain his veto. Among those who agree, there are several names such as Senator Harry Reid, Senator Dick Durban, Bernie sanders, Gary peter and so on. In the other side, most of all republican disapproved the resolution and only 3 democratic senators who also disagree, such as, Benjamin L. Cardin, Robert Menendez of New Jersey, Charles E. Schumer of New York. (USIP, 2017)

When all the negotiations with congressman in the Capitol Hill ended up, it does not mean that all American approved and agreed with the agreement result. The ongoing debate was still spreading out within the country. It made several research agencies held the research after

From what you know [about the recent agreement on Iran's nuclear program between Iran, the United States and other nations], do you approve or disapprove of this agreement?				
Poll	approve	disapprove	refused	Margin's error
Sept 3-7 2015	21%	49%	30%	+/-3.6 1,004
July 14-20 July	33%	45%	22%	+/-2.5 2,002

the JCPOA implementation day or when the process of reviewing was still managed.

According to Pew Research, a research had been conducted on July-Sept 2015 not so long after Obama and the rest announced the agreement. It resulted, a majority of American was unsatisfied and disapproved with the agreement. As we can see on the table that 49 percent of American are disapproved compare to 21 percent who approved.

Figure 3.2 : Table of American nuclear disagreement by Pews Research Centre

Sources : (Smith, 2015)

In conclusion, the controversies will always be there because the interest of both countries are also different between one another. Despite of the contra that emerged in following the JCPOA decision, up to now the

agreement had reached a number of progress which means Iran also put their effort to build up the new phase of relationship both in political approaches and global economy. All the sanctions is also lifted so everyone can enter a new stage of good relationship. The problem that might arise and need to be resolved is what happen with Iranian nuclear agreement after a decade. JCPOA so far has succeeded in making a new plan to optimize the performances of the agreement through IAEA. However , in more than 10 years, it is still questionable whether it will work or not.. Further discussion must be attempted to discuss what step that must be conducted for all goodness sake.