

**IRANIAN NUCLEAR ENERGY CRISIS:
A HISTORICAL REVIEW and AFTER
2000**

Thesis submitted to the
Institute of Social Sciences
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

Master of Arts
in
International Relations

by
Kadir ZORA

Fatih University

April 2009

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"To my wife Ayşegül ZORA"

APPROVAL PAGE

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1. The material included in this thesis has not been submitted wholly or in part for any academic award or qualification other than that for which it is now submitted.

Kadir ZORA

April, 2009

ABSTRACT

Kadir ZORA

April 2009

IRANIAN NUCLEAR ENERGY CRISIS: A HISTORICAL REVIEW and AFTER 2000

The purpose of this thesis is to examine Iran nuclear crisis process and historical review of Iran's nuclear effort. This thesis consists of four main chapters. In chapter one, I have firstly handled general information about spreading of nuclear energy whole of the world and agreements that is related with nuclear energy. In chapter two, history of nuclear energy of Iran, Iran's nuclear requirement, and IAEA and Iran relationship were examined. In chapter three, I have handled Iran and USA, Russia and Israel relations which based on Nuclear energy. In chapter four, some solutions were given and debated about Iran nuclear energy crisis.

Key words:

Nuclear Energy, Nuclear Weapons, Iran, Middle East, IAEA, USA, Russia, Israel.

KISA ÖZET

Kadir ZORA

Nisan 2009

İRAN NÜKLEER ENERJİ KRİZİ: TARİHSEL BİR YAKLAŞIM ve 2000 SONRASI DURUM

Bu tezin amacı İran nükleer enerji krizini derinlemesine incelemek ve konu hakkında bilgi ve öneriler vermektir. Dört bölümden oluşan tezin birinci bölümünde nükleer enerji ve dünyada ki yayılımı ile ilgili bilgiler verilmiş ve uluslar arası hukuk altında yapılmış olan konuyla alakalı anlaşmalar kısaca belirtilmiştir. Böylece İran'la alakalı sunulan tezlere bir karşılaştırma yeteneği kazandırılmıştır. İkinci bölümde İran'ın nükleer enerji ile ilgili yaşadığı sürece tarihsel bir anlatım getirilmiş, İranın nükleer bir güce gereksinimi ve bu isteğinin nedenleri sorgulanmış, Uluslararası Atom Enerjisi Kurum'u ile yaşadığı ilişkiler ve kriz süreci hakkında bilgiler verilmiştir. Dördüncü bölümde konuyla alakalı çözüm modelleri önerilmiş, bununla beraber otoritelerce ortaya konmuş olan diğer çözüm modelleri de tartışılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler

Nükleer enerji, nükleer silahlar, İran, Ortadoğu, UAEA, A.B.D, Rusya, İsrail.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BWC : Biological Weapon Convention

CIA : Central Intelligence Agency

CTBT : Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty

CWC : Chemical Weapons Convention

EU : European Union

IAEA : International Atomic Energy Agency

MW : Mega Watt

NATO : North Atlantic Treaty Organization

NPT : Non-Proliferation Treaty

OPEC : Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries

WTO : World Trade Organization

USA : United States of America

UN : United Nations

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I gratefully acknowledge all those who has contributed to the preparation of my thesis. I owe my special thanks to Gökhan BACIK, Berdal ARAL, Savaş GENÇ, A.Kadir CİVAN and my other lecturers for their patience and contribution.

I also mention my wife and my family without whose encouragements maybe I would not find any motivations to begin with writing thesis.

Thanks to my friends for their friendships and important helps.

INTRODUCTION

One of the highly disputed issues on world politics recently is Iran's accentuation and speed up to the nuclear studies. Appearing this situation in a period that the USA and some of the European countries becoming aggressive or in other saying asking to control and affect the world politics has made this circumstance more important and sensitive. In fact Iran became more popular country position for last 30 years. Iran of which System of government has been changed after 1979 by the Islam Revolution affect, politic aims became distinct and watching the world from a different perspective will be in the limelight by a challenger attitude of course. In that case, factors like American and Jew antagonism and connections or alleged connections with the terrorist groups makes Iran's nuclear studies more important or dangerous. Iran discommodes around countries due to being closer to the geopolitically resourceful lands and politics to spread and dominance the regional affects of 1979 revolution to around countries. In our world where apart poles are changing after cold war and going towards to the clash of civilizations according to many thinker, To antagonize the states holding the world politics and almighty armament with the Islamic identity and trying to motivate the other Islam countries with this representation, is not an action to be distained or a challenge or scream resemble to whistle of a man afraid from the dark.

Because of these reasons, Iran which is trying to be isolated and politic pressured has accelerated the arming and nuclear energy facilities. In this section, especially the studies of Iran oriented to the nuclear energy to be discussed and the reason of current nuclear studies will be questioned. As a different from other thesis, Iran's nuclear requirements and solutions has discussed in this thesis. During this questioning firstly information about nuclear energy will be given then regional equilibriums, world politics, treats for present day and future will be considered and the issue will be discussed around the Iran and nuclear energy.

This thesis is important because it includes comprehensive review that is related with nuclear program of Iran and IAEA inspection authority. The vast majority of Iranian research is about Iran Revolution, Iran and minorities or Iran regime. On the contrary, this research relieves affects of nuclear program to Iranian politics, Iran's nuclear requirements and solution models that are offered different point of views for solving the issue.

We will review the issue based on following assumptions.

- When Iran natural gas and oil resources have taken into consideration, Iran is one of the most recent countries that should have a nuclear program in the region.
- Before the revolution, most important country that supported Iran's

nuclear efforts is U.S.A. However, Current situation is opposite right now.

- The country's foreign policy is significantly affected by Iran's current regime.
- Existing international arrangements will not be able to prevent to reach Iran's nuclear energy and weapons.
- UAEA's controls in Iran are not enough and or directed politically.
- Iran must be tending to alternative energy sources to be strong in the international arena.
- Uranium enrichment program is threat for the countries of the region as ecological and political.
- European Union, America and Russia have differences of opinions about Iranian nuclear energy issue.

Some countries utilized that Iran want to use this power as a Mass Destruction Weapons and this will create new threats for the region. Especially fundamental Iran's government and regime are basic of doubt international organizations and western countries. For that international control is very important. Especially IAEA's controls in the Iran are very important right now. This topic was discussed detailing in this thesis. Result of IAEA controls have been informed step by step and, actually, UN Security Council's resolution about Iran has been observed in this thesis. On the other hand this problem can not be handled as an international law problem.

Because of this, Iran's nuclear requirements, relationship of Iran and other states, like U.S.A, Israel, Russia, and the solutions have been examined in this thesis.

CHAPTER I

1. THE ISSUE of NUCLEAR WEAPON: A HISTORICAL ANALYSIS

To understand aim of this thesis, we should examine spreading and using nuclear weapons whole of the world. Although Iran do not accept claim of producing nuclear weapons, Most of opposite country defend possibility of producing nuclear weapons by Iran.

1.1 A Historical Overview of Nuclear Weapons

To have an almighty nuclear weapon such as weapons of mass destruction has been the desire of strong countries from Second World War. The first manufacturer and user country of this weapon have been USA. America has brought to heel the Japanese by Bombing the Nagasaki and Hiroshima with atom bomb.

USA did not only eliminate the Japanese with its attack ability have also menaced its confederate Soviet Unions which signals to object. To have this sort of weapon provides very serious cogency and threat in international relations and world politics. But these progresses have increased the works of Soviet Unions having Nuclear Weapons contrarily to intimidate them.

This situation cause to speed up the studies of Soviet Unions. Whereupon, Soviet Unions got a successful result on the nuclear test done in 1949. But this case, caused to have demands this weapon for some countries.

England, France, China whom has the power and economical adequateness and politic power resorted to have these weapons after Soviet

Unions and America. These states have entered the lists not only for manufacturing nuclear weapons also to develop long-range ballistic missiles which could be sent by these weapons.

Earlier 1960's Kennedy management ascertained that 40 or 45 countries will have Nuclear weapons if International Precautions are not taken, within 20 years coming to 1980's especially after the studies of USA Defense Minister Robert McNamara.

Except the other countries, to reach unbelievable nuclear power of two important country of cold war period has come to a point to terminate all the humankind. Usage of current Nuclear weapons reciprocally is equivalent to terminate the entire planet. This situation which is called Balance Terror in Cold War Period, brought along the pursuit of how to hinder to use these weapons.

In conclusion, that five great state which are member of United Nations Security Council agreed about nuclear auditing and signed Non – Proliferation Treaty (NPT) agreement in 1967. The reason of signing this agreement was including the danger of new countries that are willing to have these weapons are restricted, not only increase of the warheads of these five countries.

Albeit to done that sort of adjustments, neither the desire of manufacturing these weapons is precluded nor did the countries such as USA and Russia stay with the 1970's technology.

Nuclear weapons are the most effective and expensive weapons within the mass destruction weapons. Nuclear weapon is a gun has a high terminate capacity, which is obtained by using Nuclear reaction and Nuclear

Fusion together or usage of a stronger fusion. Differently from the general explosives, it is used to more damaging purposes. Only used one weapon has the power of terminating a country or a city including all the livings and non-livings.

Nuclear Weapons are not applicative for militarily. Provoking the other nuclear weapons and bring forward to use force in order to keep the interests. Are not flexible and multifunctional; can not substitute for Conventional guns. They are not reliable for lowest level dangers. There is no advantage of nuclear weapons except deterrence.¹

President of a country which dropped to Japanese two Nuclear bombs and has been on the verge of a Nuclear War with Soviet Unions, Ronald Reagan says: "a nuclear war cannot be won never, and this kind of war shouldn't be done never." In addition, explains his attitude in his memories against nuclear weapons.²

There are two basic Types of Nuclear weapons: fission bombs or atomic bombs (A-bombs) and Fusion bombs, or hydrogen bombs (H-bombs).

Nuclear weapons are the most costliness and dangerous mass destruction weapons. Especially the place the nuclear warhead to the nuclear gun is very risky process. Because of this reason, to have these weapons is easier by the states which are strong by the means of technology and economy.

The effect of nuclear weapons is measured by TNT which is an explosive material. For example, the Atom Bomb dropped to Japanese in 1945 has exposed an energy equivalent to 20.000 tons TNT. It is accepted by the

¹ Mustafa Kibaroglu "*Is Iran Going Nuclear?*" Foreign Policy, December 1996, Vol. 20, No. 3 - 4, Foreign. Policy Institute, Ankara, p. 56.

² Henry Kissinger, *Diplomasi*, (trans.) İbrahim H. Kurt, Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, İstanbul, Januay 2002, p 758.

scientists that nuclear weapons have megatons of energy expose are possible to manufacture nowadays.

For whatever reason, usage of nuclear weapons causes long termed inevitable problems. Especially the radioactivity spread to sky due to nuclear explosion, drops to the world by months even years in the form of rain. Besides it causes climate changes and thinning in ozone layer.³

It is developed a new type of radiological materials nowadays. On this method called “depleted uranium” a piece of radioactive material is spread to target point with classic weapons without nuclear explosion. By this way, “radioactive fallout” which is the scariest of nuclear weapons has been provided. It is claimed that kind of weapons were used in the Gulf war 1991 and Bosnia by USA. We haven’t got efficient information about the lasting impact and how to assilate them.

The main problem of near future will be, a struggle called non-state actor between the groups and states along with international problems. Today at the international area, countries may have nuclear weapons such as Germany, Japanese after taking a politic decision. They have got all necessary substructure and material. Plutonium stock of Japanese to generate energy on the reactors is enough to manufacture 2.000 or 3.000 nuclear warhead. Also the substructure of Germany has the ability of decomposing and providing from the required places of plutonium. But the politic authorities of these two countries are against nuclear weapons. But the reason of being against to nuclear weapons is not, to not to love these weapons also feel their selves in confidence and hindering some of the organizations' the spread of nuclear weapons.⁴

³ John Seitz, *Global Issues: An Introduction*, Blackwell Publishers, 1998, p. 198

⁴ *ibid.*

1.2. Non – Proliferation Treaty (NPT)

One of the blazing examples of disarmament and inspection of armaments and signed agreements resulting of these strives; use these agreements by a mean realizing some determined foreign politics, States depending to different categories according to case to have nuclear power is preventing Non – proliferation Treaty (NPT).⁵

The experiments encountered in Second World War showed that; mass destruction weapons and studies makes possible to manufacture these weapons should be limited. To popularize these technologies insensibly which are a clear threat for world, and the worst of it, transforming it to a competition between the world states, will not only cause deaths will also cause a huge damage and instability on world politics. An attempt started by Ireland in 1958 for this purpose, has been resulted by NPT which put to vote in 1968 and came in force in 1970, by participation of increasingly states, within the scope of UN. According to commands of agreement, (article 9 paragraph 3) the states which have nuclear explosives before 1 January 1967 have described “Nuclear Weapon Holder State” by international Laws legally.⁶

But, even the agreements conditions also the applications after have caused that agreement stayed polemical. Especially Non Proliferation Treaty by the leadership of USA and Soviet Unions, which both countries are leading nuclear weapons manufacturer and holders, were enough to put a suspicion on the minds.

On the cold war period encountered within these two countries, lots of figurant state had nuclear weapon. Even the America and Russia have

⁵ Faruk Sönmezoğlu, “*Uluslararası Politika ve Dış Politika analizi*”, Filiz, İstanbul, 1995, p 354.

⁶ Mustafa Kibaroğlu, “*Is Iran Going Nuclear ?*” Foreign Policy, Aralık 1996, Vol:20, No. 3/4 , p. 52.

deployed these weapons to their supporter countries and used this as a pressure and competition means in cold war period.

After ending cold war many European Countries which are member of NATO wanted to get back the nuclear weapons existing at their countries. But, for example in Turkey, at İncirlik installation there is still existing nuclear weapons which could be dropped from a heavy bomber and explode in a certain altitude.⁷

At the present day the countries USA, Russia, France, People Republic China, Pakistan, India, Brazil, Argentine, South Africa Republic, Israel, Kazakhstan, Ukraine, and Belarus have the nuclear weapon.⁸

Five countries have a private position within the countries have nuclear weapons. These countries which have Mass Destruction Weapons are; America, Russia, England, France and China. Besides, India, Pakistan and Israel could be counted one of the countries have nuclear weapon. These countries insist to separate the policy of separate of nuclear weapons from the disarmament policy. When the mentioned countries cut off nuclear Mass Destruction Weapons production, as a natural consequence, caught of nuclear weapons will have been hindered. Otherwise to continue manufacturing Mass Destruction Weapons in one hand, the trying to hedge off the other countries on the other hand means to apply double standards. In this respect, it is necessary to terminate nuclear weapons manufacturing absolutely beyond termination of nuclear tests. Advocate of world peace' imperiled of nuclear weapons manufacturer countries is not persuasive due to continuing to manufacture nuclear weapons.

⁷ http://www.cnnturk.com.tr/TURKIYE/haber_detay.asp?PID=318&HID=1&haberID=96190, 18.04.2006.

⁸ "Countries With Nuclear Weapons", <http://www.planetwide-exodus.com/NuclearCountries.html>, 20.04.2006

The main problem of NPT is existence of five countries USA, Russia, China, France and England, which have the manufacturing rights of nuclear weapons due to performing nuclear tests before 1 January 1967. Other countries have restricted their selves by signing the agreement but the existence of these five “nuclear” countries has caused the problem of objecting to the agreement. One of the first objectors have been India, determined “never will be a side of that agreement” by claiming that “the content of agreement discriminates between the countries”.⁹

As a matter of fact, India have performed a nuclear test which was described amicable in 1974, then enounced that it has been nuclear weapon holder country by realizing a range of nuclear tests in 1998 May. Pakistan has followed India along the same line. Pakistan and India are newest countries declaring to have nuclear warheads, and most of these weapons are deployed ready for a war. According to the approximations, India has manufactured nuclear materials which will be enough for 45-95 nuclear warheads and had been able to assemble only 30-35 of them. Pakistan has manufactured nuclear materials which will be enough for 30-52 nuclear warheads and had been able to assemble only 24-48 of them.¹⁰

In 2000, 30th year of NPT at the conference of revising the contract, USA and the other countries have signature on the contract arrived at an agreement to terminate the nuclear weapon tests by means of promulgating the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) which was the first commitment of 13 disarmament agreement. After a while, USA senate has taken a vote for declining of CTBT confirmation. USA government has announced to decline the global ban of nuclear tests in 2002 which was before accepted in 2000 so the future of NPT has been imperiled.

⁹ Raja Mohan, “India Joins The NPT Debate”, <http://www.hinduonnet.com/thehindu/2000/05/11/stories/05112523.htm>, 22.04.2006. 102

¹⁰ “Pakistan Nuclear Weapons; A Brief History of Pakistan's Nuclear Program”, <http://www.fas.org/nuke/guide/pakistan/nuke>, 22.04.2006.

Even though, the agreement has been signed by many countries by willingly or unwillingly, some of the countries hadn't been a side of this contract. Israel and India could be shown as an example which hasn't signed the agreement.

But Israel which has security anxieties because of its geographical and geopolitical position and thought that has got nuclear weapons absolutely has seen its survival values to hold these kinds of demolition bombs. As from 1960's expend energy on manufacturing these weapons and have been successful. Israel has got a considerable amount of nuclear weapons. But it is find voice in that considers the nuclear weapon as "last resort weapon".

The most important weakness of NPT, stipulating some restricts directed to the dominant states in international area. Even though, the states which don't obey the agreement comments could be liable to enforcements of UN's force entry which is expressed on UN condition VII. Section, this is not perceived as disincentive by all the countries. Some structural and technical origin weakness of NPT also exists. On the process of preparing documents consists the validation mechanism of agreement, caused the inspections have really been done limited because of some countries' featuring their commercial anxiety more than the anxiety of nuclear weapons' spread.¹¹

Considering the present day political events, the relax and declining no sanction attitude of Israel which makes the Iran, North Korea and Pakistan more aggressive, also threatens the regional peace. As a conclusion, even we explain the will of having nuclear weapons of Israel depends on its security anxiety, the same problems are existing between Iran-Iraq, Syria-Turkey and Armenia-Azerbaijan. This attitude of Israel entitles the other countries to have

¹¹ Mustafa Kibaroglu, "Is Iran Going Nuclear?" Foreign Policy, Aralık 1996, Vol: 20, No. 3/4, p. 52.

nuclear weapons. The support of America to Israel is an amazing handicap also. This kind of situations calls in question of NPT's existence and sanction.

1.3. Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty – CTBT

This agreement has submitted for signature in 1996 at Disarmament conference under the leadership of UN. 41 of 44 participant countries signed the agreement but 31 of them confirmed the agreement till today. USA and China did not confirmed despite they signed the agreement. Purpose of this agreement was to constraint to nuclear tests even for peaceful reasons.

NDYA or CTBT prohibits all sorts of martial or civil nuclear tests. This agreement has been accepted during UN general conference in 10 September 1996 and submitted for signature to the countries in 24 September 1996. CTBTO organization has been founded in order to follow this agreement and provide international communication in 19 November 1996 at Vienna. To provide this agreement to be signed as much as possible countries, and application is within its assignments.

CHAPTER II:

2. A HISTORICAL OVERVIEW of IRANIAN NUCLEAR CASE

2.1. A Historical Perspective

One of the highly disputed issues on world politics recently is Iran's accentuation and speed up to the nuclear studies. Ensuing (appearing) this situation in a period that the USA and some of the European countries becoming aggressive or in other saying asking to control and affect the world politics has made this circumstance more important and sensitive. In fact Iran became more popular country position for last 30 years. Iran of which System of government has been changed after 1979 by the Islam Revolution affect, politic aims became distinct and watching the world from a different perspective will be in the limelight by a challenger attitude of course.

In that case, factors like American and Jew antagonism and connections or alleged connections with the terrorist groups makes Iran's nuclear studies more important or dangerous. Iran discommodes around countries due to being closer to the geopolitically resourceful lands and politics to spread and dominance the regional affects of 1979 revolution to around countries. In our world where apart poles are changing after cold war and going towards to the clash of civilizations according to many thinker, To antagonize the states holding the world politics and almighty armament with the Islamic identity and trying to motivate the other Islam countries with this representation, is not an action to be distained or a challenge or scream resemble to whistle of a man afraid from the dark.

Because of these reasons, Iran which is trying to be isolated and politic pressured has accelerated the arming and nuclear energy facilities. In this

section, especially the studies of Iran oriented to the conventional and weapons of mass destruction to be discussed and the reason of current nuclear studies will be questioned. During this questioning firstly information about mass destruction weapons will be given then regional equilibriums, world politics, trends for present day and future will be considered and the issue will be discussed around the Iran and nuclear energy.

Initiation of nuclear activities of Iran after Second World War in other words during the Cold War is interesting. USA which accomplished to take out Union of Soviet Socialist Republics from Azerbaijan (south Azerbaijan) which was existing inside of the boundaries of Iran in 1945 has banished Mohammed Mosaddik from the government in 1952. Here with affiliated the regime of Mohammed Reza Pahlavi. This situation caused Iran to begin Nuclear Activities. To ignore the existence of USA in these studies which are being performed to realize that dream will be a missing and partial judgment.

Peaceful Purposeful Nuclear studies which were done in secret before of America have been declared to the world after the speech of topical "atom for peace" USA president Dwight D. Eisenhower in 1953 at UN General Assembly. After that date, America has been established small scaled research reactors at the countries which are considered ally and supported the technological, scientific infrastructure to be operated these reactors. Within the scope of these attempts, 1 piece 5 MW research Reactor has been established in Iran, Turkey and Pakistan in 1967 by America.

First nuclear studies have been begun with the demand of first nuclear reactor of Shah from America for the Amir Abad Nuclear Research Plant in Tehran in 1967. 5 Mega watts reactor started to operate in 1967 and still continue to operate since that day.¹²

¹²Chris Quillen, "Iranian Nuclear Weapons Policy: Past, Present, and Possible Future", MERIA (Middle East Review of International Affairs), Vol. 6, No.2, June 2002, p. 17.

Iran signed Non-proliferation Treaty (NPT) in 1968 and deserved to perform nuclear tests for peaceful purposes. USA support and Stanford Research Institution's report triggered the nuclear studies in Iran. According to this report, Iran would need 20.000 MW electricity capacities till 1990. Therefore Shah had declared 23.000 MW electricity target within 20 years.

Following these developments, European And American Companies began to support each other in order to associate to this program.¹³

America resorted to increase the marital capacity of Iran concerning the spread of Communism and Soviet Union's Iran occupation. First nuclear study has been started in Iran by the support of America in 1957. The main reason of support of America in those days was the Cold War conditions. But America declared this support was for peaceful purposes of Iran. Anyway, Iran subscribed to International Atomic Energy Agency after 1 year of that support. 5 MW Research Reactor (Atomic Research Center affiliated to Tehran University) has been established to Tehran University By USA in 1968.¹⁴

Iran signed NPT in 1970 and International Atomic Energy Agency has been founded in 1973. (Sazeman-e Enerji-e Atomi-e Iran)¹⁵

The promotion of "nuclear energy for peace" which applied by USA was very interesting. According to some parties, America was a nuclear technology Chapman. But we may consider that is a simple comment if the Cold War period Conditions thought. In addition, it will be a right comment to add the search of supporter states to America and Russia. Because Hiroshima and Nagasaki showed that nuclear power is not only a phobia is

¹³Arzu celalifer, <http://www.usakgundem.com/makale.php?id=121>,

¹⁴ Mensur Tarcai, "*Şah ve Etom*", Gozaraş, Vol: 155, 1383, p.36-37.

¹⁵ M. Ghannadi-Maragheh, "Atomic Energy Organization of Iran"
<http://www.world-nuclear.org/sym/2002/ghannadi.htm>

also a reality. Therefore it was necessary for Russia which symbolizes the other polar to use an iron hand in a velvet glove.

USA started to lobby activities in Iran for encouraging the usage of nuclear energy in Iran although Iran has lots of Petroleum and Natural Gas reserves the period of after Mosaddik.

Shah Reza Pahlavi Leader of that period declared to want to be the dominant country in that region. Iran started to perform nuclear studies in this period clearly. Shah Pahlavi declared to establish 20 pieces nuclear reactor which have 20.000 MW capacities in 1974.¹⁶ Courageous spurts of Iran in that period did not get the efficient reaction from the America and Europe somehow, quite the contrary some plants which will be established in Iran have been undertaken by European companies. Besides, the Petroleum Sources of Iran provided the requested economical sources in 1973 Petrol Crisis. But contrary to these targets only 6 reactors could have been established. Iran Signed an agreement which stipulates to purchase two hydraulic 1200 MW reactor (PWR-Pressurized Water Reactors) to be established in Busehr with German company Kraftwe Union. Also, signed an agreement which stipulates to purchase two reactors to be established in Bandar with French company Framatome.¹⁷ Nuclear medicine central has been established by the Belgians at the same period.¹⁸

It will be insufficient to explain the reason of not to draw reaction from world is America support. To add the new reasons like Petrol and to be a dangerous country will be truer. But the armament expenditures of Iran at that period could help us to understand the situation. Armament expenditures

¹⁶ Mustafa KIBAROGLU, “*İran Nükleer Bir Güç mü Olmak İstiyor?*” *Avrasya Dosyası*, Vol: 5, is. 3, Fall 1999, p. 273.

¹⁷ Anthony H. Cordesman, “*İran’s Military Forces 1988–1993*” CSIS, September 1994, p. 97.

¹⁸ Arif KESKİN, “*İran’ın Nükleer Çabaları: Hedefler, Tartışmalar ve Sonuçlar Nükleer Enerji*” *Turksam* - January 2005

of Iran between 1973-1978 was 3,2 billion dollars per year.¹⁹ That amount corresponds one third of total petrol incomes of Iran.

First nuclear studies began when shah wanted the nuclear reactor for the Omarabad Nuclear Research Plant (current name Amirabad Technical College) in Tehran in 1967. Five MW reactors started to operate in 1967 and still keep operating from that day.²⁰

By the way, America supplied to Iran 5545 Kg enriched Uranium. 5165 kg of that was including fissile isotopic and Iran used that as a fuel in research reactor. Also supplied 112 kg plutonium 104 kg of that was used fissile isotopic and it was used as a fuel in research reactor.

Within the period of shah nuclear activities of Iran was not restricted with only establishing nuclear reactors, also Iran succeeded to be a partner of the Uranium Enrichment companies. Iran has been the 10 % partner of the biggest French Uranium Enrichment company Eurodiff.²¹

Shah have founded the Atomic Energy Organization of Iran in 1974 then suddenly started to negotiate with the power factories. Signed nuclear fuel agreement with USA in 1976, with Germany in 1976 with France in 1977.²²

Acquired 10 % share from Eurodif Uranium enrichment factory which was a part the consortium of France, Belgium, Spain and Italy. Iran has agreed with Eurodif about benefiting from technology of factory and getting enriched uranium.²³

¹⁹ Michael T. KLARE, “*Hoist With Our Own Pahlavi*”, New York Times, February 23, 1975, p. 112.

²⁰ Chris QUILLIEN, “*Iranian Nuclear Weapons Policy: Past, Present, and Possible Future*”, MERIA (Middle East Review of International Affairs), Vol. 6, No.2, June 2002, p. 17.

²¹ Taraci, Şah ve Atom, p. 38.

²² <http://www.mehrnews.com/fa/NewsDetail.aspx?NewsID=147047;>

²² Ann MACLACHLAN, “*Iran Seeking Way To Finish Bushehr Plant But Bonn Denies Exports*”, Nucleonics Week, 30 October 1986, Vol. 27, No. 44, p. 4–5

²³ Anthony H. CORDESMAN, “*Iran and Nuclear Weapons*”, CSIS, 24 Mart 2000, p.5.

Iran signed an agreement to get 700 million dollars value of “yellowcake” from South Africa in 1976. It seems they have agreed to get 1000 meter tons per year (According to some sources south Africa was delivering big parties in 1988-1989) Iran was also trying to purchase 26,2 kg high range enriched uranium, this application to USA has been fall into abeyance when shah was overthrown.²⁴

Islam Revolution which was done under the leadership of Khomeini rummaged the equilibriums on the region. This revolution also affected the Iran's nuclear program seriously. Nuclear studies have been stopped just after the revolution. These studies have been fall into abeyance by Iran and the European Countries. New Khomeini Government allowed being terminated most of Shah's nuclear programs during 1978-1980, and cancelled the supporter agreements of France and Germany. KWU assigned the reactor places to Iran toward the end of 1979 August. Iran terminated all the agreements in November done between KWU and Iran in the past. According to a report, the scientific staff was decreased to 13 persons.²⁵

New management did not lean to nuclear studies because of Anti-American structure and Religious reasons. Also nuclear energy investments have been considered as waste for the Iran which is Petrol and natural Gas rich country.

Anyway, the rebellious structure of Iran to the west has been caused Iran economical troubles, and caused to exposure an isolation policy. Therefore following years to 1979 was not bright by economical means for Iran, following Iran-Iraq war has inflict a heavy blow to Iran. Because of those reasons Iran will not face to nuclear studies again but this war will develop a new point of view to the nuclear studies. Anyway Iran started new attempts

²⁴ Arif KESKİN, "İran'ın Nükleer Çabaları: Hedefler, Tartışmalar ve Sonuçlar Nükleer Enerji"

Turksam - January 2005

²⁵ *İbid.*

for nuclear studies in the war years. Iraq war has showed Iran to increase marital power and the new allies of Iran which were changed after war.

Because of these reasons Iran tried to increase the marital power after the Iraq war. Therefore new nuclear studies and armament facilities of Iran draw attraction by the world countries.

Iran firstly offered to German companies to finish the plant in Busehr. 85 % of that plant had been completed before the revolution but the studies have been stopped then. Busehr plant which was bombed many times by the Iraq war planes have heavy damaged. Iran Invited German Siemens company to finish these plants. But Germans couldn't finish that project. Firstly a heavy pressure of America caused German company to not to approach this project. Also the technical problems and heavy damaged position of plant hindered to finish that project. Then Iranians offered the same project to Poland, Czech Republic but faced the same problems. Iran which despairs of Europe obliged to turn to east.²⁶

Iran formed an Anti-American policy after revolution. Eventhough, Khomeini doesn't lean to collaborate with Russia in the first periods of revolution, obliged to approach one of these parties when the matter was nuclear energy. On the other hand America tried to hinder to be found a company which can repair the nuclear plant in Busehr. Convergence of Iran and Russia has been clinched after Iran-Iraq war. As known, Russia Sold weapons to Iran during this war.

Even the effects of Iran-Iraq war have not been removed; Iran has signed technologic, commercial, economic and scientific collaboration agreement with Soviet unions in 22 January of 1989. The agreement which was signed with Gorbachev management has postponed when soviet unions entered in a

²⁶ Mustafa Kibaroglu, "İran Nükleer Bir Güç mü Olmak İstiyor?" Avrasya Dosyası, Vol: 5, is. 3, Fall 1999, p. 273.

process of break up. After that contract, nuclear collaboration agreement has been signed between Russia and Iran. That agreement could be count as a milestone for Iran.

After 10 years search, completion project of Busehr plant has been given to Russia Atomic Energy Ministry Chief Viktor Mikailov against 800 billion dollars agreement.²⁷

Because that, agreement was including more than completion of that plant or purchasing technology from Russia. Agreement was also including the acceptation of 20 students to Moscow University for Physic, Nuclear engineering each year In addition more student acceptation to Russian Technology institutions for post graduate and doctorate. Besides that agreement stipulates to develop nuclear research centrals and provide the requested scientific and technological materials in Iran by Russian Federation.²⁸ Anyway Russia has been the most important nuclear supplier of Iran after war.

Russia campaigned seriously to continue the project and obliged to resist American pressure. Economical conditions compelled Russia to be insister on that project. That kind of project's providing 20.000 Russian employees is claimed by Minatom authorities. Besides Russia considered that insist as an international prestige matter. But Russia couldn't hold its head high for subsequent matters as much as this project.

Continue of these projects, Iran spread its relations and collaborated with Germany, Argentine, Spain, China, North Korea, Pakistan and Belgium. As a result of this collaboration Iran had more than 20 nuclear plants.²⁹ Nuclear

²⁷ Mark Gaffney , "Will Iran be next" War in the gardens of Babylon, Tasam, publ. 2005, p.132

²⁸ For widely examination look at, Mustafa Kibaroglu, "Is Iran Going Nuclear ?" Foreign Policy, December 1996, Vol. 20, No. 3 / 4, Foreign Policy Institute, Ankara, p: 35 - 55.

²⁹ http://www2.dw-world.de/persian/iran/internat_presse/1.112170.1.html

plants settled in Esfahan, Natanz, Arak and Busehr are known the most important nuclear plants of Iran.

Mohammad Khatami Ex- president of Iran, declared to hope the European countries allows uranium enrichment activities but anyway Iran would start those studies even if they do not allow.

Khatami Declared that decision has been taken by the senior leaders of regime. New president of Iran Mahmud Ahmadinejat also declared to continue nuclear activities.³⁰

When we examine these developments and compare the start and end of 50 years process, it is very interesting to see the same president's declarations about "nuclear energy for peace" and "evil triangle and evil states".

2.2. Iran's Nuclear Requirement

Because of Iran is an oil country, most of the countries and governments that oppose to Iranian nuclear energy case defense that, Iran does not need any nuclear energy and nuclear reactors. In this part of this thesis, economical, governmental, international, geostrategic reasons will be examined. While this examination will be done, International law, rights and some agreements will be pointed in this part. Some nuclear stations and reactors have built instead of oil. Although first Iran's nuclear efforts did not meet any reaction from great states like America, Russia and others, especially after Iranian Revolution, This effort has been becoming important. In this point, question of "are these peaceful or not" is debated in international arena.

³⁰ http://www.bbc.co.uk/cgi-bin/worldservice/ws_mailto.pl?GO=1&site=turkish&enc=windows-1254

Iran's state identity, regional policies and global position in the system makes the problem more complicated. Because of Iran's Shiite identity, the tendency for dissemination its religious identity in the region, Israel-US tensions and the close relationship with groups that the U.S. referred to as terrorists, Iran's nuclear efforts raises concerns the entire world.

Iran, throughout history, has always wanted to become a world or at least regional power, and has followed a comprehensive and aggressive foreign policy. This permanent traditional government policy has caused to growing Iran's military and political power. Because of this government reflex, Iran has always given importance to military to be powerful.

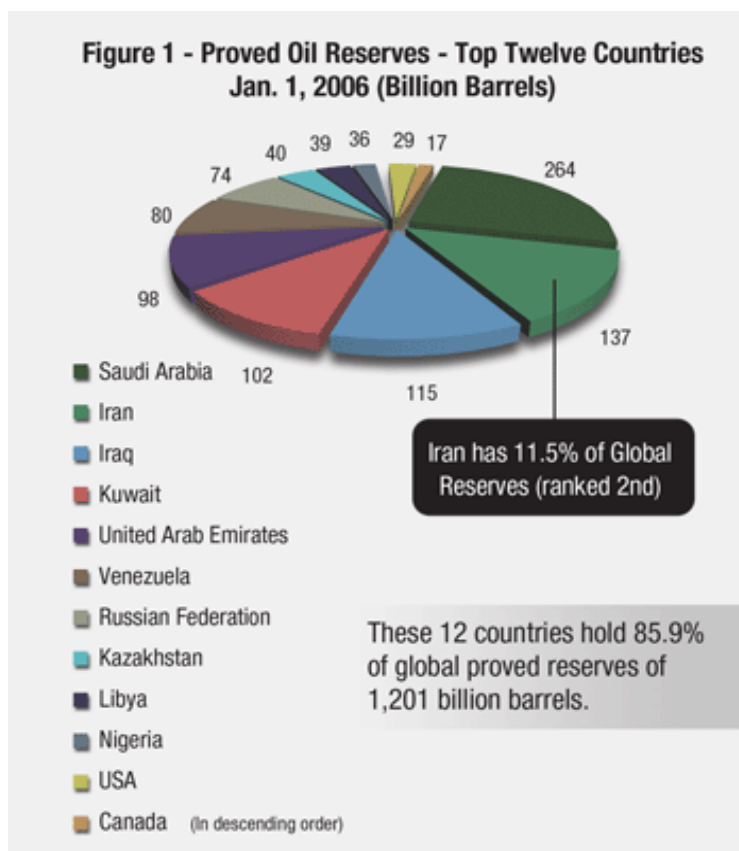
United States has different point of view about this issue. She defense that, Iran has huge fossil energy power. Because of this, U.S. believes that , today, Iran does not need nuclear energy, may be in future, she does not need, too. This view is usually accepted by some states, although this, it is not completely valid because of a lot of reasons. Many countries that are rich in fossil energy resources, like Russia, nuclear energy is important part of total energy consumption.

“There are currently 1118 nuclear reactors in the world of which 280 are for nuclear research, while another 400 are used in ships and submarines for producing power. The remaining 438 nuclear reactors are used for generating electricity, of which 104 are in the US, 59 in France, 53 in Japan, 29 in Russia, and 19 are in Germany. Between 1974, when Iran signed her first agreement for building nuclear reactors, and 2000, use of nuclear reactors for generating electricity has increased by a factor of 12.”³¹

Information and statistics that are given up, show us that, the US and Israel thesis does not completely depend on logical and acceptable reasons.

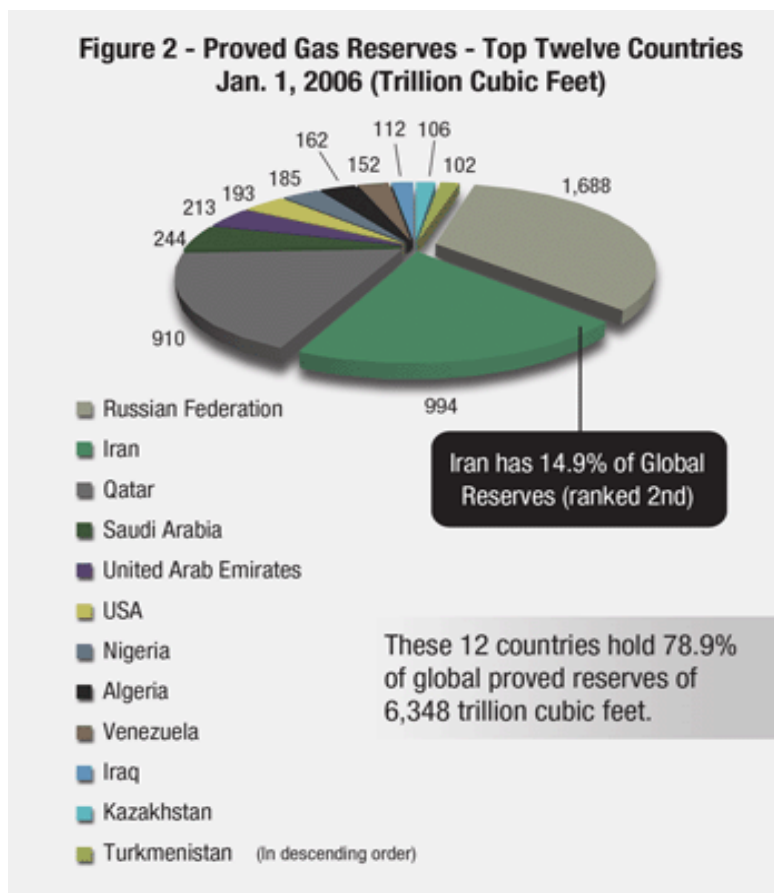
³¹ Muhammad Sahimi, “*Iran's Nuclear Energy Program. Part V: From the United States Offering Iran Uranium Enrichment Technology to Suggestions for Creating Catastrophic Industrial Failure*”, Pavyand Iran News, 22 Aralık 2004.

Even if this argument is logical and defensible that Iran has vast oil and gas reserves, she also needs alternative energy sources to be able to use her current resources as a leverage in International arena such as in OPEC and for setting of oil prices. Some Iranian scholars and politicians argue that Iran's needs for such alternatives are glaring and indisputable, and they base their arguments on economical, social, and environmental considerations.



Iran's nuclear history had been started before the current Islamic government. Iran's nuclear efforts grew in the mid-1970, when the Shah decided to establish several nuclear reactors helping with some countries like Germany, France and the United States. The Shah's government contracted to a subsidiary of the German company Siemens to construct two 1,200-megawatt reactors at Bushehr.

“Most of the world's major oil exporters, such as Iran, are developing nations. Thus, these countries must confront the challenge of their demographic explosion without possessing many of the necessary tools, which are strong state structures, rapidly-growing economies, large amounts of investment capitals, numerous entrepreneurs, engineers and inventors, and infrastructures that are reasonably advanced. In fact, people live in a world in which technology and capital are in the countries that are energy-hungry - those that have no major oil reserves of their own (for example, Germany, France, and Japan) or have at best inadequate sources (for example, the US) - whereas the population growth and social and political turbulence are in the developing countries that are major oil producers (such as Iran, Saudi Arabia, Mexico, Iraq, etc.)”³².



³² Muhammad Sahimi, “Iran's Nuclear Energy Program. Part V: From the United States Offering Iran Uranium Enrichment Technology to Suggestions for Creating Catastrophic Industrial Failure”, Pavyand Iran News, 22 Aralık 2004.

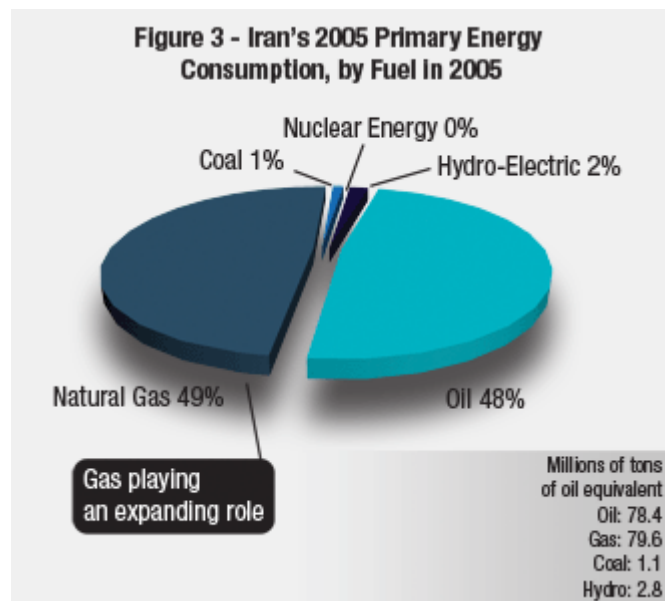
According to some governments that are against to Iran which will become a nuclear power, argument against Iran's development of nuclear energy is that; Nuclear energy options is not logical and economical way for producing nuclear energy because Iran has huge fossil energy reserve. Electricity production from nuclear reactors is %20-40 less economic than electricity production from fossil fuel. Although this reality, some of Iranian side defense that, If Iran can establish and use nuclear reactors, she will not depend on oil and other fossil fuel and protect own reserves. Thus, Iran will have greatest energy reserve in mid-21st century.

Some opposite sides of Iranian nuclear program believe that Iran should use natural gas and oil to produce electricity. According to some Iranian scholars these arguments are also not correct. Because of cost of producing electricity from gas (and oil) may be cheap, but we have to think comprehensively. If we think about effects of carbon emissions or protection of Iran's gas reserves, we can see Iran's advantages. If Iran protect own fossil fuel reserves and use nuclear energy, she can be one of the main suppliers of gas to Europe and Asia within 20 or 30 years.

Iranian case includes a lot of debates in its confused structure. When both David Wood and Michael J.'s point of view and Mohammad Sahimi, Pirouz Mojtahed-Zadeh and Kaveh L. Afrasiabi's point of view are examined, it could be understood that, Iranian case is not only security problem. Even if Iran does not produce nuclear weapon, this issue will cause to energy problem in future between Iran and countries that do not want nuclear Iran which does not completely depend oil.

According to these theses, we can interpret Iranian case as a legal right that depends on, economic, strategic, and international arena, to produce alternative energy.

“Iran's present electrical requirements are far larger than had been predicted. With an annual growth of 6 percent to 8 percent in demand for electricity and a population estimated to reach 100 million by 2025, Iran cannot possibly rely exclusively on oil and gas. The aging oil industry, denied substantial foreign investment largely because of American sanctions, has not been able even to reach the pre-revolution production level of 5.5 million barrels per day. Of Iran's 60 major oil fields, 57 need major repairs, upgrading and depressurizing, which would require \$40 billion over 15 years. Iran's current production level of 3.5 million barrels per day is increasingly geared toward domestic consumption, which has grown by more than 280 percent since 1979. If this trend continues, Iran will become a net oil importer by 2010, a catastrophe for a country that relies on oil for 80 percent of its foreign currency and 45 percent of its annual budget.”³³



Oil is a non-renewable resource. Once it is produced and exported, it can never be regenerated. Most of the major oil exporter's (including Russia) income depend on oil, so, if the oil price is lower than the usual for a long time, this situation may cause to social instability and even revolution in these countries.

³³ Iran needs nuclear energy for its economic survival by Pirouz Mojtahed-Zadeh, <http://www.payvand.com/news/07/jul/1078.html>

“Iran's 60 major oil fields are mostly old, with some being depleted altogether. From 1979 until 1997 no major investment was made in Iran's oil industry. A study in 1998 concluded that, out of the 60 oil fields, 57 of them need major technical studies, repairs, upgrading, and depressurizing which would require, over a 15 year period, \$40 billion. Although, since 1997, Iran has had considerable success in attracting foreign capital for its offshore oil and gas reserves, it is still far behind other oil exporting countries of the Middle East in terms of developing her fossil energy resources. Iran has not even been able to increase her oil production to the pre-Revolution level of 5.5 million barrels/day. If Iran cannot upgrade her oil facilities and industry on a timely manner, it will lose her market share. While there is no doubt that the solution to the urgent problem of upgrading Iran's oil industry is partly political, lack of any solution will have deep implications for Iran's future, which are discussed shortly.”³⁴

Looking at Iran nuclear problem from another view, Iran's uranium reserves is equal to 45 Billion barrels to produce electricity. This is a huge amount when we think about Iranian oil reserves is 96 billion barrels. Iran will want to use this uranium reserves to keep her oil reserves for future.

Another problem is that, Iran needs approximately %8 more electricity than every previous year. Iran's electrical capacity was about 20,000 megawatt in 1990. So, Iran will need more electricity or have to find new resources or use her uranium reserves.

One of the main arguments that are defended by some experts who are against having nuclear energy of Iran is that, it is not valid and economical way for Iran to generate electricity using nuclear reactors, because she has a lot of gas reserves which can be used for producing electricity. These experts usually show cost of Bushehr nuclear reactors (\$1,000 per installed

³⁴ Muhammad Sahimi, “Iran's Nuclear Energy Program. Part V: From the United States Offering Iran Uranium Enrichment Technology to Suggestions for Creating Catastrophic Industrial Failure”, Pavyand Iran News, 22 Aralık 2004.

kilowatt, if natural gas-fired power plants are used, costs of electricity approximately \$600-800 per kilowatt.)

If we examined this point from Sahimi's angle, we can find different answer and informatins about this argue. According to Sahimi: "If we take into account such costs, then the cost of producing electricity from gas (and oil) will be much larger than the commercial estimates usually quoted, and very much comparable with what it costs to generate it using nuclear reactors. A recent study by Professors John Deutch and Ernest Moniz of, respectively, the chemistry and physics departments of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology reached a similar conclusion."³⁵

Iran's population growth and her social dynamics must be examined while Iranian nuclear energy case is debated.

Other point is related to Iranian case is some environmental problems like air pollution. Oil and some fossil fuels cause to pollution. In this point, nuclear energy is cleaner than fossil fuel. Although this angle, nuclear reactors have high risk like Three-Mile Island in the US (in 1979) and in Chernobyl in Russia (in 1986). Environmental problem may be last point if Iran depends on this truth to produce nuclear energy or establish new reactors.

³⁵ The New York Times, the Op-Ed page, Thursday August 14, 2003

2.3. IAEA and Iran

Structure of the IAEA and relationships of the IAEA and Iran are important to examine and understand this issue.

2.3.1 International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA)

IAEA has established a dense relation with Iran especially with break out of Iran Nuclear Crisis since 2002. In the progressive sections of thesis, information about these relations, Iran reports of IAEA and reaction of Iran for these reports will be allowed. Therefore, to state the historical, ex officio and juridical sides of IAEA and submission of required information is very important either understanding the project or present the holistic aspect. Because Iran tried to respond trenchant politics of America via IAEA.

Even though some disagreements happen, Iran tried to not limit the studies of IAEA except some instant reactions. Also tried to demonstrate its “peaceful nuclear energy manufacturing” vision to world. Anyway according to IAEA reports there is no net article about manufacturing of weapons by Iran. On the other hand the inadequacies and shortcomings about procedures and rules have been stated on these reports. As we will see on the progressive sections of the thesis, there are some criticisms and reactions that Iran directed to IAEA.

Bernard Baruch has been chosen to UN commission as USA representative in 1946. Bernard Baruch notified American Project to UN Atomic Energy Commission in 14 June 1946.

Baruch Plan accepts to give up America from the Atomic monopoly as a main target under one of an International Security System. Baruch plan was including the following items:³⁶

1. Foundation of an Atomic Development Institution audits all phases of Atomic energy development and usage;
2. To give un-limited audit authorization to this institution In case of breach;
3. Punishment of Atomic Weapon manufacturing breach heavily;
4. After establishing whole inspection, prohibiting atomic Weapon manufacturing and terminating the current Atomic stocks.
5. Changing the veto system in Security Council in order to hinder the punishment of violators of agreement.

Role of UAEA in this process, even seemed in foreground, shouldn't be created wrong expectations because of liable to some constrains. An academic settlement requirement on technology transfer has come in sight, after President Eisenhower's "atom for peace" topical speech.³⁷

UAEA has been founded as a sub institution of UN with the slogan of Atom for Peace in 1957. By foundation of that organization two goals has purposed. Firstly, benefit from the nuclear energy for peaceful usage and to provide nuclear energy in usage of peace, health, development, and prosperity. Secondly, to make sure the usage of nuclear energy for marital purposes.³⁸

³⁶ Oral Sander; Siyasi Tarih 1918–1994, İmge Kitabevi, pr. 11, 2003, p.218–219.

³⁷ Deniz Güman, "Nükleer Silah, Nükleer Enerji ve İnsan"
<http://www.nukleeryasayakarsiyuruyorum.blogspot.com/>
[http://uk.geocities.com/anarsistbakis/others/nisyan2_nukleer.html,19.04.2006.](http://uk.geocities.com/anarsistbakis/others/nisyan2_nukleer.html,19.04.2006)

³⁸ Mustafa Kibaroğlu, "The Nuclear Non-Proliferation Regime at The Crossroads: Strengthening or Uncertainty" ,P.h.d. thesis, Bilkent Üniversitesi, 1996,p. 49.

UAEA has started to its studies as a small organization at Vienna in 1956, but transformed to a big organization where more than 2500 staff is working and operating all over the world. First relations with the world countries are to hinder nuclear weapon manufacture and audit with these purposes. Expert staff number whom undertakes audition is about 300.

Non Proliferation Treaty agreement, organizing agent's operations has submitted to signature in 1 July 1968, and 190 countries stated to obey this agreement in due course. Except the auditing and inspection duty of agent, it has got an assignment to spread peaceful purposes nuclear technology. In this respect, to be a mediator of UAEA in order to transfer technology for manufacturing nuclear reactors for electricity is one of the assignments of UAEA.³⁹

UAEA ascertains in the countries where audits for preventing mass destruction weapons by:

1. Nuclear material movements and inventories,
2. If the plants are being used relevant or not,
3. Are the statements of nuclear material in requested quality or not,
4. The measurement of nuclear material on plans are healthy or not,
5. The differences between the informed and measured materials are acceptable or non – acceptable.

UAEA, Contributes the world peace by performing the mentioned above facilities.⁴⁰

The projects where UAEA is authorized:

- Supporting the studies all over the world handled for usage of atomic energy;

³⁹ Haluk Berkmen, "Kitle imha silahları ve sorumluluk", Düşünce gündem, January 2008, vol.38

⁴⁰ Haluk Berkmen, "Kitle imha silahları ve sorumluluk", Düşünce gündem, January 2008, vol.38

- To perform mediator assignment, providing the materials, services, equipment and plants;
- To encourage the change of technical and scientific knowledge;
- To encourage the change of scientists and experts and their education;
- To take the precautions for usage of assistance of agent for awful purposes;
- To determine the security standards.⁴¹

2.3.2. The Anatomy of Crisis: IAEA and IRAN

We have to examine the process which began after founding the Natanz and Buşehr plants and past of that process to question the innocence of Iran's nuclear studies. To examine the favorable and against assertions will be our benefit. Our reference should be UAEA during this examination. Therefore we will allow the explanations and reports of UAEA after the Crisis.

UAEA visited 6 of 10 suspicious plants without groundwork but, never seen weapon activities. Plant in Saghand is 5 years behind of manufacturing and hasn't got uranium enrichment plant. Also the plant claimed to be a nuclear weapon research in Maalem Kaleyah is a conference central which is not bigger than a hotel. Moreover the China supported Calutron is as small as manufacture isotopes for medicinal researches.⁴²

Iran allowed a new visiting of UAEA team in October-November 1993. That team has been informed with details to enter the suspicious plants settled in Tehran, Esfahan and Karaj by the American and other western

⁴¹ Mustafa Kibaroglu, "The Nuclear Non-Proliferation Regime at The Crossroads: Strengthening or Uncertainty", P.h.d. thesis, Bilkent Universty, 1996, p. 49.

⁴² "Nuclear Facilities", <http://www.globalsecurity.org/wmd/world/iran/nuke-fac.htm> 26.04.2006.

countries. But it wasn't a whole inspection duty as the previous visits of UAEA. Also UAEA hasn't got the equipments to research all the secret nuclear facilities of Iran.

Iran is the side of Geneva Protocol (1925), NPT (1970), Biological weapon convention BWC (1975), Chemical weapons Convention, CWC (1993), even it has not been confirmed signed the Comprehensive Test ban Treaty, CTBT,(1996)⁴³

Dating from the end of 2002, Iran nuclear program has been a project where International Atomic Energy Agency resorted. Because some information have arose which Tehran did not inform IAEA.⁴⁴

The thesis of Iran has got secret nuclear studies disclosed by Alireza Jafarzadeh in 2002 then satellite photographs have been published in all agents.⁴⁵ Accusation of America about nuclear program of Iran has been more interesting after appearing the plants in Natanz and Arak. America speak up after that date and got a break to transform the assertions to a nuclear crisis. America asked to terminate all nuclear facilities of Iran. Still continue to insist on that demand.

USA who believes to stop the Iran before obtaining nuclear weapons, adopted a policy to deter the governments and companies whom trying to collaborate with Iran for nuclear studies. Washington asked Iran to sign additional protocol of NPT. Also to increase the UAEA inspectors.⁴⁶

⁴³ Michael Eisenstadt, "Can the United States Influence the WMD Policies of Iraq and Iran?", The Nonproliferation Review, Vol. 7, No. 2., Yaz 2000, p. 68 – 69.

⁴⁴ Miriam Rajkumar, "Understanding The IAEA Report on Iran", 19 Haziran 2003, <http://www.ceip.org/files/nonprolif/templates/article.asp?NewsID=4958> 22.04.2006.

⁴⁵ He is very famous reviewer and candidate of the National Opposition

⁴⁶ Martin Schwarz, "U.S. Pre-emptive Strike Doctrine Bane of Nuclear Non-Proliferation Watchdogs", Foreign Policy in Focus, 13 July 2003, p. 4.

Some Iranian authorities advocate the secrecy of Busehr and Natanz plants, then didn't conceal the truth of hiding these plants intentionally. As a reason of that, it is argued to continue the construction explicitly could discomfort some environmental and deviate the peaceful Iran nuclear studies. To support those assertions, they concluded the thesis of America would approach this matter aggressive and speculative.

After these developments, Mohammad Khatami declared to develop natural Uranium plants manufacturing fuel in Esfahan and Kashan only for Iran's civil nuclear power program in 9 February. UAEK chairman Mohammed El Baraed has been invited to Iran in order to see the Natanz plants in 21-22 February. Khatami committed the plant would be inspected and UAEA should be informed early for new nuclear plants. Also accepted to consider the guarantee which authorizes UAEK as an auditor.⁴⁷

Hatemi tried to declare the nuclear studies of Iran is acceptable for International laws and they perform nuclear activities for peaceful purposes.

Because one of the duties of UAEA is to declare the nuclear studies for weapon and apply sanction on the other hand to declare the nuclear studies for peaceful purposes and guarantee them within the international laws is one of its other duties. Because of that reason Iran opened its doors to UAEA and tried to respond the America as a manner which is valid for international environment.

According to written report of UAEK, uranium manufacturing ability of Iran by help of gas centrifuge developed pretty well. Natural uranium extracted from the mines in Saghand, is processed in Esfahan and transformed to Uranium hexafluoride (UF₆). UF₆ is a gas resembles material that supplies materials in gas centrifuge, and then UF₆ is turned in high speed and

⁴⁷ IISS Strategic Comments, "Iran'ın Nükleer Hırsları", Vol 9 Issue 2, March 2003

resolved to heavy and light isotopes. In Natanz gas centrifuge plant, 160 ready centrifuge machines which were made of Pakistan technology established as a beginning.⁴⁸

NPT and UAEA provide a range of control and auditing possibilities. But evaluates legal the importation of peaceful nuclear content. Iran should allow the audit of UAEA as a signer of NPT. The audit possibilities have been restricted in the first audit management. Accordingly to 5th article of NPT during the allowance of audit of UAEA Iran can import and have nuclear reactors.⁴⁹ This “peaceful” nuclear technology transfer gives Iran the possibility of developing their nuclear technology plants.⁵⁰

Reawaken of assertion of mass destruction weapons existence in Iran as like the main reason of Iraq war, caused the world worry. For that reason, some states (France, England, and Germany) overexerted to solve the nuclear studies problem of Iran by negotiations. But America announced Iran as a bandit state and resorted to behave with an adamant mode.

Iran did not sign the additional protocol which is known 93+2 in order to guarantee with the top level to not to convert the nuclear materials generated after gulf war. Although UAEA controls the plants where Iran specified regularly after approving the articles of NPT, It doesn't guarantee that Iran don't use these plants for nuclear armament. Before the revision of 93+2 of NPT, UAEA just examined the plants where declared as a nuclear materials or have reactors. Other Iran visits were limited, innately the uninformed visits which discriminates the plants where nuclear weapons are being manufactured secretly and legal manufacturing plants are beside the point. For instance, UAEA declared many times that the reactors Iraq informed are

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ Aaron Karp, “Lessons of The Iranian Missile Programs for US Nonproliferation Policy”, *The Nonproliferation Review*, Vol. 5, No. 3, Spring 1998, p. 18.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

available to NPT. But has been failed to inspect the other plants under NPT regime.⁵¹

UAEA president El Baradei, announced that Iran did not give some reports of nuclear activities in 2003 and call on Iran to collaborate. But never declared breach of liabilities of Iran resultant from NPT. UAEA announced that had a detailed explanation for Iran's nuclear program in October of the same year. Iran announced to terminate the whole uranium enrichment facilities, at the same time.

UAEA examined the nuclear studies of Iran in November 2003. It has been declared that no evidence founded about nuclear weapon manufacturing of Iran. After that declaration, asserts claimed by USA have been un-confirmed. Even it was a victory for Iran, It will not be possible to eliminate asserts of USA.

No have or not to have the nuclear weapon is not the unique problem Iran lives on inspections. Because of the nuclear energy issue is an important matter, UAEA emphasizes on the matter of the safety for nuclear study fields.

UAEA has taken a decision by making a meeting about the nuclear activities of Iran in 12 March 2004. On that decision, inconvenience about ascertain of new uranium enrichment devices in Iran depicted.⁵² it is claimed that Iran conceals some nuclear programs from the international opinion, at the same time, Tehran government has been accused to not to make efficient collaboration about explaining the nuclear program.⁵³

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² Briefing; "Iran and The Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty" June 2003,
[http://www.cnduk.org/pages/binfo/iran.pdf,17.04.2006.](http://www.cnduk.org/pages/binfo/iran.pdf,17.04.2006)

⁵³ <http://www.ntvmsnbc.com/news/261329.asp>, 24.04.2006.

To forward or not to forward the issue to UN Security Council would be envisioned till the meeting of UAEA in June. Nuclear activities in Libya have been also negotiated in meeting except Iran. But contrary to Iran, Libya signed the agreement of NPT which provides the UAEA auditors' uninformed visits. Harrazi, Foreign affairs minister of Iran accused Washington to pressure on UAEA in order to take a decision against Iran.⁵⁴

Harrazi also recommended to European Countries to respect their liabilities, and resist to American pressure otherwise there wouldn't be a reason to keep the collaboration. Harrazi mentioned that uranium enrichment activities were their legal right and postponed the uranium enrichment activities by willingly but again begin to enrichment activities.⁵⁵

Iran Security Council chairman Hasan Ruhani explained the taken decision was not equitable about the issue that Iran defense minister Ali told Iran army manufactures low-level nuclear centrifuge for usage of civil. In addition Iran government announced to prohibit the inspection of agent auditors for 6 weeks before the decision done.⁵⁶

UAEA continued to its inspections and declared the reports obtained from these inspections. UAEA warned that nuclear plants in Iraq were defenseless and nuclear materials were lost.⁵⁷

Baradei accused Iran to collaborate less than expected in June 2004 and call on Iran to start a accelerated collaboration immediately. However even 1 year did not pass over the declaration of affirmative reports about Iran. After that declaration, Iran broke the seals fixed by UAEA and started the

⁵⁴ <http://www2.dw-world.de/turkish/nachrichten/print/3.30117.1.html>, 24.04.2006.

⁵⁵ *ibid*

⁵⁶ Clan Traynor, "UN Atomic Energy Agency Puts Heat On Iran", www.guardian.co.uk/iran/story/0,12858,1166717,00.html, 26.04.2006.

⁵⁷ <http://www.zaman.com.tr/haber.do?haberno=37573&keyfield=6EC3BC6B6C656572>

constructions of centrifuges in Natanz. Besides announced to start the uranium enrichment activities which before was declared to stopped willingly.

Then America iterated the aim of that was to manufacture nuclear weapons. This situation militates in favor of America but, caused distemper between UAEA and Iran. The next days will be more difficult for Iran for the peaceful nuclear energy studies.

Distemper has increased upon finding new enriched uranium granules during the inspections in Iran, Iran government stated that granules were infected before and would make the requested examination about that matter. The entrance of high-level nuclear granules by the imported centrifuge spare parts from Pakistan and Russia has been confirmed by UAEA. The outstanding issues about Iran nuclear program were clarified with the last report of UAEA.

UAEA has call for Iran to terminate the uranium enrichment activities in principle decision in 18 September 2004 but Iran declared to be ambitious to negotiate with Germany, France and England but never give up to this right.

On 29 November 2004, the IAEA Board of Governors adopted a resolution welcoming “the fact that Iran has decided to continue and extend its suspension of all enrichment related and reprocessing activities”⁵⁸. The resolution, contrary to the US’s insistence, did not contain the threat of referring Iran to the Security Council.

EU offered to transfer civil nuclear technology against to terminate uranium enrichment activities forever in 24 October 2004. But Iran which considered the given concessions are in sufficient and iterated to not to give

⁵⁸ IAEA Board of Governors resolution GOV/2004/90, Implementation of the NPT Safeguards Agreement in the Islamic Republic of Iran, para. 1, 29 November 2004.

up from its rights. After that period the relations have tensed fairly and the Security Council statements increased.

In 15 November 2004 a consensus have obtained about termination of uranium enrichment activities in Iran and restart the second phase negotiations between Iran and EU trio. A secret document of UN has been infiltrated to press at the same time. According to this report, no evidence found about manufacturing marital nuclear program in Iran. But the clause “the possibility to be such a program shouldn’t be ignored” was used. Iran announced to terminate the enrichment activities in order to start the negotiations in 22 November 2004.

On 9 August 2005 Ayatollah Khamanei gave a fatwa about prohibition of manufacturing and stocking of Nuclear Weapons. And whole text of this fatwa has been submitted as a legal statement. Next day, Iran announced to start uranium enrichment activities again.

In August 2005, new president of Iran Mahmud Ahmadinejat take office and generated a new cabinet. Ali Larijani appointed instead of Hassan Rowhani as the chairman of High national Security Council. And taken over to perform nuclear program and negotiations.

Ahmadinejat announced to establish a joint-venture including the American firms by stating Iran has the rights of Uranium enrichment activities for peaceful purposed and in order to guarantee no not to manufacture nuclear weapons.

Iran Government confirmed the plan allowing foreign investors to participate Natanz uranium enrichment plants. In addition, Iran authorized Atomic Energy Institution to encourage local and foreign investors.

UAEA specifies that Iran did not allow UN auditors some determined Marital fields on the report published in 19 November 2005 before Iran confirmed to maintain uranium enrichment activities against UAEA decision.

James Risen the author of New York Times, talked about an operation called Merlin operation of CIA on his book titled "war state" and ranked some assertions about the possibility of a help about nuclear program of Iran. The purpose of that help was to misguide Iran and postpone its nuclear studies. But also specified that operation was failed and some missing points of the plan has been handled by Iranian authorities.

Even though, UAEA says that no evidence found in Iran about nuclear weapon manufacturing attempt, invited Iran to collaborate more. Iran assisted the authorities of UAEA on their examination in plants. But did not allow some army zones because of security reasons.

Iran management declared to restart Nuclear Fuel researches after no development has been increased with the negotiations between EU trio in 10 January 2006 officially. Although Iran specified that the nuclear fuel researches and nuclear fuel manufacturing are different matters, It has been draw rebuff notably USA and the other European countries.

Russia and China objected to send the file to Security Council because of having serious commercial connections between Iran, in response to insists of America to send the file to the Security Council otherwise military intervention could be considered.

5 permanent members of UN Security Council and Germany confirmed a decision in 29 March 2006. Iran has been call for to terminate uranium enrichment activities within 30 days within the scope of this decision. The apparent side of this decision; there was no clause about which kind of

sanction would be applied in case of objection of Iran to this decision. On the other hand Russia and china keep their certain attitudes about no army intervention could be applicable.⁵⁹

Although Iran reacted to this decision, Ali Asghar Soltaniyeh specified that, Iran would keep collaborating with UAEA, and held to NPT but never give up the research and development facilities. Instead of Iran Explained that Iran is ready all international negotiations although the matter has gone to Security Council, the most available attitude to solve the problem is to talk under the agent.⁶⁰

Russia offered a new proposal for the negotiations get in bind. According to this suggestion, Iran would realize the uranium enrichment activities in Russia with Russian partnership. USA and EU react positively to this formula but did not think that Iran would lean to this formula.

The response of Iran was; they did not get an official offer yet.

Two plants have been given to audit of UAEA where the seals broken in 29 January 2006.

Within that period where the negotiations were chocked up and explanations of Ahmadinejat about holocaust, EU decided to transfer the file to Security Council. And then tours to persuade two countries which have veto right in Security Council started. Russia and China have been persuaded about sending the file to Security Council on the meeting realized in London in 31 January.

⁵⁹ “Security Council, In Presidential Statement, Underlines Importance of Iran’s Re- Establishing Full, Sustained Suspension of Uranium – Enrichment Activities; Calls on Iran to Take Steps Required by IAEA Board Of Governors; Requests Report from IAEA Director General in 30 Days”, 29 March 2006, <http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2006/sc8679.doc.htm>, 27. 09. 2006.

⁶⁰ Arzu Celalifer, “Son BM Güvenlik Konseyi Kararı’nın İran Nükleer Kriz Sürecindeki Yankıları”, <http://www.turkishweekly.net/turkce/yorum.php?id=237> , 05.05.2006.

A draft principle decision generated by France, England and Germany and submitted to be negotiated on the meeting dated 2 February 2006. On this principle decision, it is enounced that Iran did not fulfill the liabilities coming from NPT and a security problem have been generated because of peaceful nuclear studies, So the files should be sent to security council by UAEA. Even the file has been sent to Council, Iran would be enfranchised to terminate uranium enrichment activities.

By the way, Iran committee has submitted 6 new offers in 31 January after the meeting in Brussels. These are:

1. To realize the nuclear program including the offer of Russia only to manufacture electricity manufacturing for peaceful purposes.
2. To send the additional protocol allowing all the plants for audit to parliament.
3. To fulfill all the requirements of NPT agreement which subscribed by Iran.
4. To terminate all uranium enrichment activities till the date 2 January when the UAEA board of directors meeting will be performed.
5. To estipulate UAEA to audit all uranium enrichment activities.
6. Iran will continue to negotiate with three European countries France, England and Germany, in case of not to reach a result, will start the uranium enrichment activities.⁶¹

But European Union did not lean to these offers. But the offers about Russian proposal clause and submitting the additional protocol which provides un-limited auditing shouldn't be missed out. On the other hand, either Ahmedinejad or Foreign affairs minister Mottaki announced to terminate the collaborations when the file sent to Security Council.

⁶¹ Arzu Celalifer, "*Son BM Güvenlik Konseyi Kararı'nın İran Nükleer Kriz Sürecindeki Yankıları*", <http://www.turkishweekly.net/turkce/yorum.php?id=237> , 05.05.2006.

Draft principle decision which submitted by England, France and Germany has been voted on the meeting of UAEA dated 2 February 2006. And It has been decided to sent the issue to Security council with 35/27 affirmative votes in 3 February 2006. Against that situation, sharp reactions of Ahmedinejad were occupying a place on the press. But then, foreign affairs minister Hamid Reza stated that, the decision of UAEA was not the end of the line, and Iran was ready to collaborate. But the additional protocol applied by Iran willingly has been stopped.

Ali Larijani who is the chief negotiator of nuclear committee has participated an interview on French Radio. Larijani told that the purposes of Iran were to perform peaceful nuclear studies within the scope of UAEA. Larijani also added three guarantee precautions in order to provide peaceful feature of nuclear studies of Iran:

1. To accept current audit and examination of UAEA
2. To use the new technology centrifuges which were offered by American and English scientists and enables limited uranium enrichment.
3. Participate of foreign countries to Iran's peaceful nuclear studies within the scope of consortium.

Apart from this, there were many ways to audit the studies were not for army purposes said Larijani. In case of acceptation of these offers, the additional Protocol would be sent to Iran parliament. Larijani who says Iran prefers to negotiate instead of threat and duress, invited EU to negotiations within the scope of NPT. Also stated that Iran would perform its best for collaboration.

Larijani who said, EU had the efficient capacity to solve these problems

and Iran was willing to collaborate with EU but they did not get the results from European parties. And draw attention to the events that cancellation of Busehr central construction by German company Siemens, Decline of French company EURODIEF to transfer uranium and not to sent the nuclear fuel of nuclear reactor by America instead of the amount paid in advance. And told, those samples caused disbelief to west and referred Iran to maintain its own nuclear studies.

UAEA president El Baradei explained in 16 February 2006 that it was necessary to give small concessions to Iran in order to get a diplomatic solution. If Iran allowed having micro scale uranium enrichment activities within the scope of NPT, Iran approves the whole enrichment activities in Russia and have the civil research possibility in its fields. Iran Foreign Affairs minister Manucehr Mottaki welcomed that suggestion.

About the negotiation of Russian offer, discussions between Russia and Iran started at Moscow in 20 February 2006. at the same time Iran Foreign Affairs minister Mottaki declared that “ the period is not war and threat period, it is time to negotiate” after that meeting Israel reacted to EU because of continuing the negotiations with Iran. Mottaki Stated during the meeting that they hadn’t got intent to wipe off Israel from the map and the purpose of nuclear studies were just for civil aims. Also said about the holocaust “why did Muslims face the music if that suffer had been.”

Iran President Ahmadinejat explained that Iran had reached 3.5% uranium enrichment technology as the date of 9 April 2006.⁶² On the news appear in the Shargh newspaper which is pro reform the words of Ahmadinejat about Iran would forward on the line of peace have been placed.

⁶² “İran meydan okuyor”
http://www.bbc.co.uk/turkish/pressreview/story/2006/03/060331_pressreview.shtml 05.05.2006.

In accordance with the decision taken in 29 March, Iran was obliged to stop the uranium enrichment activities till 28 April. In a period when everybody awaits for the decision of Security Council, Iran was announcing to reach the nuclear fuel technology proudly. The confusing matter in this point was why Iran attempts such like this? There could be two reasons. First reason, encouragement of Iran and make an appearance. Second reason is to send a message concerning held to international agreements and collaborate with UAEA instead of reaching mentioned technology.

Hussein who is the technical manager of Nuclear Research Central allied to Iran Atomic Energy Institution declared that Iran nuclear scientists could compete with developed world in the field of nuclear energy manufacturing by fusion on the state television in 29 May 2006. Besides, Hussein told that the first research had done about fusion field before 5 years ago.⁶³

Permanent members of UN Security council and foreign affairs ministers of Germany whom come together at England Embassy in Vienna in order to discuss Iran's nuclear program in 2 June, arrived at a decision which would be submitted to Iran.⁶⁴

England Foreign Affairs minister Margaret Beckett stated "to stop Iran all the uranium enrichment facilities, to confirm additional protocol of NPT which stipulates sudden audits, to inform UAEA about existence of nuclear pollution found on 3.000 centrifuges and collaborate with institution transparently".

In case of fulfill of Iran management these demands, the file awaiting on Security Council would be draw back and no transaction would be applied. It will be provided Iran to subscribe to World Trade Organization, technology transfer to Iran from EU countries will be allowed. By the way, Russia Foreign

⁶³"İran, nükleer füzyon araştırması yaptığını açıkladı"
<http://www.zaman.com.tr/haber.do?haberno=289430&keyfield=6EC3BC6B6C656572>, May 2006

⁶⁴"2 Haziran 2006 Basın Özeti"
http://www.bbc.co.uk/turkish/pressreview/story/2006/06/060602_pressreview.shtml 04.06.2006.

Affairs Minister Sergey Lavrov explained that the precautions for Iran did not include the mailed first.⁶⁵ Iran President Ahmadinejat told that they would evaluate the precaution packet which would be submitted by 5 permanent members of Security Council and Germany. Ahmadinejat told that they wouldn't response hurry about suggestion but to use nuclear technology for peaceful purposes were their legal and indispensable rights.⁶⁶

EU high commissioner Javier Solana, transmitted the encouragement packet which is hoped to be a solution for crisis to Ali Larijani general secretary of Iran National High Security Council in 6 June at Tehran. Iranian authority founded the packet affirmative added that packet has some uncertainty. Solana who interviewed with Iran Foreign Trade minister Manucehr told "Offer is on the table. I hope we will get affirmative respond which will be beneficial for both sides" "very well negotiations" Declaration of Solana for both of the sides, gave a hope to world that Iran would give an affirmative respond.⁶⁷

UN Security Council demanded Iran to terminate all nuclear activities by the decision numbered 1696. That decision which accused Iran to not to collaborate with UN Atomic Energy Agent approved with 14 aye 1 nay vote. Qatar gave nay vote to the decision of Security Council numbered 1696.⁶⁸

⁶⁵ Iran's Nuclear Program Heading Back to Security Council for Action, 12 July
<http://www.un.org/radio/news/RS/nnF/nnFItemDesc.asp?id=2524>, 29. 09. 2006.

⁶⁶ "Tahran'dan öneriye yeşil ışık" <http://www.haberx.com/n/259596/tahrandan-oneriye-yesilisik.htm> 05.06.2006.

⁶⁷ "Solana Temaslarına Başladı";
http://www.aa.com.tr/index.php?option=com_haber&Itemid=46 06.06.2006.

⁶⁸ "BM'den İran aleyhine 1696 sayılı karar",
http://www.saafonline.com/haber_detay.php?haber_id=871, 02.08.2006; For full text...
United Nations, Doc. Security Council, S/RES/1696 (2006), 31 July 2006.

Iran specified that, there wasn't a problem about the inspections of UN auditors within the scope of NPT. Ali Asgar Sultaniye who is the agent of Iran in UAEA, mentioned that "nominated auditors performing their duties normally, there is no restriction to hinder them". Duration given by UN Security Council to Iran for terminating the Uranium Enrichment Activities has expired in 31 August.⁶⁹ Tehran management emphasized to maintain nuclear program. Nuclear distemper has been increased by this way. Following that period world public attraction faced to UN Security Council.⁷⁰

Foreign trade ministers of EU determined to give an extra duration to Iran, in the informal meetings at Finland Lappaeenranta city. EU Foreign Policy High Commitment Javier Solana told, they needed some more meetings to clarify the positions of Iranians.⁷¹

UAEA Iran agent Ali Asgar Sultaniye, contradicted the news about Iran would terminate uranium enrichment activities. Ali Asgar Sultaniye explained that, a kind of issue about terminating the uranium enrichment activities did not come up on the meetings done with Javier Solana.⁷² Javier Solana also told while a resolution was getting prepared to be submitted to UN Security Council " I can say that, there will be no act about embargo to Iran, as the negotiations continues."⁷³

⁶⁹ United Nations Doc. Security Council, SC/8792, 31 July 2006; bkz... Security Council Demands Iran Suspend Uranium Enrichment by 31 August, <http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2006/sc8792.doc.htm>, 28. 09. 2006.

⁷⁰ "İran – BM hattında geri sayım bitti", http://www.kanala.com.tr/haber_detay.asp?id=2980, 01.09.2006 .

⁷¹ "İran'a 'biraz daha' süre", http://www.bbc.co.uk/turkish/news/story/2006/09/060902_irannuclear.shtml 02.09.2006

⁷² Uranyum zenginleştirmeyi durdurmayaçız" http://www.saafonline.com/haber_detay.php?haber_id=1250, 12.09.2006.

⁷³ "Solana: Müzakere sürdükçe ambargo yok", http://www.saafonline.com/haber_detay.php?haber_id=1229, 12.09.2006.

Chapter III

3. THE IRANIAN CASE and WORLD POLITICS

World public opinion witnesses to USA-Iran stakes, UN and IAEA declarations, EU suggestions and mutual accusations frequently. When we consider within the norms of politics it is impossible not to interest the world super forces to Middle East. Because that, region has a big importance for underground energy sources and geopolitical.

3.1. Nuclear Efforts of Iran and General Debates

One of the highly disputed issues on world politics recently is Iran's accentuation and speed up to the nuclear studies. Appearing this situation in a period that the USA and some of the European countries becoming aggressive or in other saying asking to control and affect the world politics has made this circumstance more important and sensitive. In fact Iran became more popular country position for last 30 years. Iran of which System of government has been changed after 1979 by the Islam Revolution affect, politic aims became distinct and watching the world from a different perspective will be in the limelight by a challenger attitude of course.

In that case, factors like American and Jew antagonism and connections or alleged connections with the terrorist groups makes Iran's nuclear studies more important or dangerous. Iran discommodes around countries due to being closer to the geopolitically resourceful lands and politics to spread and dominance the regional affects of 1979 revolution to around countries.

In our world where apart poles are changing after cold war and going towards to the clash of civilizations according to many thinker, To antagonize

the states holding the world politics and almighty armament with the Islamic identity and trying to motivate the other Islam countries with this representation, is not an action to be distained or a challenge or scream resemble to whistle of a man afraid from the dark.

Because of these reasons, Iran which is trying to be isolated and politic pressured has accelerated the arming and nuclear energy facilities. In this section, especially the studies of Iran oriented to the conventional and weapons off mass destruction to be discussed and the reason of current nuclear studies will be questioned. During this questioning firstly information about mass destructions weapons will be given then regional equilibriums, world politics, treats for present day and future will be considered and the issue will be discussed around the Iran and nuclear energy.

Approach of Famous strategist Zbigniew Brezezinski Thinking like this and Robert M. gates from USA defense ministers can be concluded like this.

At the core of the Task Force's conclusions is the recognition that it is in the interests of the United States to engage selectively with Iran to promote regional stability, dissuade Iran from pursuing nuclear weapons, preserve reliable energy supplies, reduce the threat of terror, and address the "democracy deficit" that pervades the Middle East as a whole. For these reasons, the members advocate a revised strategic approach to Iran.⁷⁴

According to other opinion belonging to Marc Agmon, Iran have experienced about nuclear activities with the help of America, Russia and China at the beginning in spite of not establishing planned nuclear facilities. Although approving the NPT, Iran seems to have nuclear

⁷⁴ Zbigniew Brezezinski, Robert M. Gates, *Time for a new approach*, Profil yayıncılık, 2006, p.17

weapons with the determined activities continuing. Additional to nuclear information gathering, Iran has started to ballistic missile development program.⁷⁵

Explanation of Geoffrey Kemp is like this: An analysis is being done Possibility of development of Iran nuclear weapons. On this analysis, It is accepted that, Iraq had a moderate Regime, and that moderate management like President Hatemi period, assumed controlled against the conservatives. it is assumed also, that regime has developed the relationships between the America and the remaining of the world. That kind of regime is an expected Regime by America especially to develop the economical relationships.⁷⁶

Iran has obtained the capability of manufacturing its own ballistic missiles by the help of Russia and China. If Iran has the nuclear power with the medium and long range missiles, it is certain that Iran can change the balance of power. And will effect negatively the Middle East, Caucasians, Mediterranean countries (especially Turkey) small Asia, USA and England.

When we handled the Middle East regional, It is possible to define as a region have infightings generally. Underground treasures, life sources can not be shared by Middle East countries, religious and ethical factors and politic interest of dominant forces complicated this area. This kind of safety problems directed regional countries to armament activities. It is not a security that Iran and some of the Middle East countries have mass destructions weapons. Any way Iran & Iraq war and some applications of Saddam regime is enough to prove correctness of these dissertations.

⁷⁵ Marcy Agmon, "Post Cold War U.S. Security Strategies for the Persian Gulf", RAND (stratejik araştırma kurumu RAND Corporation), 1993, s 78.

⁷⁶ Geoffrey Kemp "Iran's Nuclear Options", Issues and Analysis, Washington: The Nixon Center, 2001, s 64.

Marital interventions done by USA and its allies periodically, provided region countries to be ready in marital aspects. Therefore, it is estimated that Iran have chemical and biological weapons studies.

To manufacture and stock chemical and biological weapons is easier in terms of technological, economic and marital. Therefore western countries think that Iran concentrate on mass destruction weapons. But Iran is side of NPT which prohibits manufacturing, stocking and keeping chemical, biological weapons. Accordingly Iran must terminate the weapons in this category. Iran has been side of Chemical Weapons Convention in 3 November 1997. Iran did not make a notice which should be done first by the articles of convention. Accordingly the plants of Iran are not auditable for international inspections. Iran also is side of Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention by 22 August 1973. But, because of the convention hasn't got an inspection mechanism there is no certain information about these weapon in Iran.⁷⁷

One of the fears Iran generated to the other countries is possible usage of these weapons by the terrorists. The close relationships of Iran with the terrorist groups and sharp reactions about America enforce that assertion. 11 September attacks showed us terrorists never hesitate to push the limits of mind and conscience. This kind of attacks could provide the new wars like Afghanistan and Iraq.

Efforts of Iran to be a nuclear power are the most important problem of the region. Nuclear studies of Iran can harm the relationships between Iran and America. In other saying nuclear study has been the most important factor designates the relationships between Iran and America. Therefore world public opinion follows the efforts of Iran for nuclear studies and the attitude of the other countries.

⁷⁷ Mustafa Kibaroglu, "Is Iran Going Nuclear?" Foreign Policy, Aralık 1996, Vol. 20, No. 3/4 p. 62.

It is in power of Victorians in Iran to determine the nuclear politics. Reformer president of Iran Khatami is not too effective for determining the nuclear diplomacy. Nuclear diplomacy of Iran is performed by Iran Atomic Energy Institution. Khatami and the reformers advocate Iran to be a nuclear power. Nuclear studies are managed by religious leader Khamanei. Performing the nuclear diplomacy by Victorians in Iran show the importance of that issue. Victorians have different opinions about nuclear diplomacy. Radical Victorians have the majority in 7 assemblage doesn't approve the attitude of Iran against EU. This group suggests Iran to behave more radical and to leave NPT if required.⁷⁸

Second debatable problem about nuclear studies is transparency for Iran. Because Iran faced reliability problem due to not being transparent for nuclear policy. Thusly it is well known that Iran performs some nuclear studies secretly. Because it has been appeared that Iran informed UAEA missing information since 1992.

The other debatable issue is demand of Iran to terminate uranium enrichment activities. The mentioned material provides to manufacture nuclear weapons. In other saying, a county can easily manufacture nuclear weapons If has the uranium converting technology. Iran declared that they have the mentioned technology and will not give up from that power.

3.2. History, Today and Future of Iran USA Relationships

Iran USA relationship is the most important and interesting issue of nuclear crisis process. The most important reason of this situation is the internal dynamics of that states and changing. Speech of Dwight D.

⁷⁸ Sadeg Seba, "*Buruzi Nigeraliha der Iran ve der Bari Muzekeerati Hesteyi Ba urupa*," 17 January 2005, http://www.bbc.co.uk/persian/iran/story/2005/01/050116_ss-irannuclear.shtml

Eisenhower at UN general directorate topical “Atom for peace” in 1953 could be given as an example. After that date America supported Iran clearly in order to establish nuclear studies.

American lawyers described the transfer of 20 billion dollars weapons to Iran as “to generate the most accelerated marital force of a country in the world history”.⁷⁹ In spite of the authorities of pentagon objects the sale of F-14 Tomcat Aircrafts, USA president Nixon and Henry Kissenger visited Iran in 1972, shah confirmed the sale of 80 pieces F-14 aircraft by 2 billion dollars and additional some requirements.⁸⁰

Subsidy of Iran by some countries did not reacted usual by USA. Concordantly appearing new nuclear forces like China additional to Russia disturbs America. When the geopolitical position of Iran considered with the petrol reserves, America wants to have a voice in that country like Iraq. There for to evaluate the nuclear studies of Iran by armament activities is not reasonable. We have to have a broad scanning in order to handle that issue by army, politic, strategic, etc. means.

There are other problems between America and Iran like subsidy of Iran the terrorist organizations as Hamas and Islamic Jihad.⁸¹ In addition, to be ready of Iran for a nuclear fight is not acceptable by America by the means of its advantages in Middle East. The declared information of Iran and reality of UAEA inspections are different.⁸² Therefore America propounds that Iran has the nuclear weapons manufacturing but UAEA couldn't find evidence.

⁷⁹ Emile Nakhleh, *Persian Gulf and American Policy*, Praeger, New York, 1982, p. 31.

⁸⁰ Martin Kramer, *Shi'ism, Resistance and Revolution*, Wesview, Boulder, 1987, p. 45.

⁸¹ Clan Traynor, “UN Atomic Energy Agency Puts Heat On Iran”, www.guardian.co.uk/iran/story/0,12858,1166717,00.html , 26.04.2006.

⁸² Clan Traynor, “UN Atomic Energy Agency Puts Heat On Iran”, www.guardian.co.uk/iran/story/0,12858,1166717,00.html , 26.04.2006.

When the previous development considered, nothing changed about Iran. America will criticize Iran with a strong language. Itinerary of new president Obama will be same as far as we understand from his expressions.

According to the news of American press, Obama declared that he would get together with the Iranian leaders and support Iran by economic in case of stopping terrorist groups and collaborate for nuclear activities. As it is seen USA is very important for internal affairs of Iran.

Obama referred to Iran regime and politics of Iran regime in other explanations. Obama told they would draw away the American soldiers from Iraq and establish personnel diplomacy with the regional powers. Obama also specified that they were expecting Iran to terminate nuclear activities. Hereby behavior modification of Iran needs some concessions from America, to join Iran To World Trade Organization could be a beginning” told Obama.⁸³

One of the other interesting points is the support of America to Israel. Subsidy of America makes Iran more sensitive with the relationships of USA. Insist of new president of USA about this situation appeared in election campaign. Obama:

Israel which is the most allied of America is disturbed molestation of Ahmadinejat president of Iran. And emphasized that “he would increase the pressure on Iran after being president and apply sanction in order to change the plans of Tehran.

⁸³ http://arsiv.sabah.com.tr/2007/11/02//haber_C82F6A4F0C394EADBEF932287E129B54.html

President candidate Obama showed not to change the American policy which stipulates absolute subsidy to Israel even the color of new president changes by saying “We have to do that before Israel stalemated.”⁸⁴

Iran also seriously claimed about America. Previous president of Iran Ali Ekber Rafsanjani claimed that America used nuclear bomb at Gulf war in 1991 but this event has been covered up. Rafsanjani who claimed that many people have been died in events and most of them bounded explained that America should be questioned for these issues. But Rafsanjani argued press have taken a boycott decision about that news.

Iran followed a specific way during the crisis. There are two methods which enables Iran resist to retreat, these are diplomatic and martial. Diplomacy expresses that nuclear studies of Iran doesn't disturb the neighbors and region. According to Ahmadinejat there is no distemper between Iran and the neighbor countries. But according to some countries there is distemper and crisis at region. But this is insignificant. Because the relationship of Iran with its neighbors friendly. According to Ahmadinejat there will not remain a problem when Americans return back to their homes.⁸⁵

USA wants Iran to behave according to its decisions and demands. Therefore to subscribe Iran nuclear club seems very difficult. Because of that reason America wants Iran to terminate all nuclear activities like Libya. As it is seen, the possibility of attack of America to Iran generates a serious psychological pressure.

World and region states await the solution of problem between America and Iran. Because, geopolitical identity of region depends on relation

⁸⁴http://www.cnnturk.com/HaberDetay/Dunya/3/Barack_Obama_Irana_yaptirim_istedi/491471/0

⁸⁵ S. Gulden Ayman, “*İran Nükleer Krizi ve Türkiye*” **Avrasya Dosyası** 2006, vol: 12, no: 2

between America and Iran. Geopolitical importance of Iran makes Iran more important than Iraq and Afghanistan.

If to express with words of Bush and Rice; if international diplomatic strives would be insufficient, USA will use force to persuade Iran. But to perceive that as a threat will not be wrong.

USA wants to solve Iran problem in order to realize the Eurasia politics. Because of that reason the relationships between America and Iran interests the entire world. Especially the reactions taken from all the world opinion about Iraq and Afghanistan War are very important in order to understand the situation of Iran. EU, Russia and China wants Iran to not to share the same faith of Iran like Iraq and Afghanistan. Therefore a consensus has been provided by world states to solve the Iran – America problem.

USA incline to maintain the war strategy which is currently being applied some fields of world. Even though Obama explained to retreat from Iraq as an election commitment, that process doesn't seem to be applied instantly. Military intervention to Iran may cause the relationships more complicated between America and EU. So we can say that conditions are not available to apply a military intervention to Iran.

3.3. Iran and Israel

Israel and the Muslim countries around bear enmity to each other certainly. The situation between Iran and Israel is also the same. Because of that reason, obtaining Iran nuclear weapons is a seriously threat for Israel. But it is a well known truth that Israel has 400 pieces nuclear weapons.

The attitude of Israel about nuclear politics of Iran is more important than EU and America. There are some reasons:

Iran is the first enemy state for Israel. Some Israeli authorities declares that they never met a threat like Iran since Israel has been established. The hostility rate of Iran – America is not as the hostility between Iran – Israel. Besides the most important reason of distemper between America and Iran is the relation of Iran-Israel.⁸⁶

In the mentioned condition, Israel is more under threat comparing to other countries. Especially the agreements between Iran and neighbor countries make Israel more anxious. In this process it is possible to hear affirmative declarations of Iran about its previous enemy Iraq but maintain to accuse Israel with a strong language. Iran which is described the first enemy of Israel, has good relationships between EU. It is well known that Iran is the first commercial partner of France which is one of the most important states of EU.

Eftaim Sneli, minister of transportation of Iran, call for a sanction to Iran. According to Sneli the most important thing is to stop the technological assistance of Russia to Iran⁸⁷ suggestion of Europeans to start the negotiations again is a true decision. But it is very important what to be told Iran in these negotiations. It is the first question which must be responded firstly that what Europe is trying to avert.⁸⁸

The possibilities valid for Israel are also acceptable for Iran. Iran also describes Israel as an “evil state” and considers Israel as a peace threat for world. Iran assumes that there is always a possibility of attack of Israel. And against that situation Iran specified to terminate the Dimona nuclear

⁸⁶ Ali Nihat Özcan ve Emre Bayır “*Orta Doğu Barış Süreci, Oyuncuları ve İran*” Stratejik Analiz, vol 3, No: 22, February 2002, p.44.

⁸⁷ “Iran’s Bomb”, Washington Post, 22 September 2003 p. A-22.

⁸⁸ <http://www.zaman.com.tr/haber.do?haberno=82030&keyfield=6EC3BC6B6C656572>

plant of Israel in case Israel attacks Iran. Muhammed Bekir Zulkadir who is the Brigadier General of Iran told "If Israel missiles to Busehr nuclear plant should say goodbye forever to its Dimona nuclear plants".⁸⁹

That kind of explanations makes more complicated demand of Iran nuclear weapons. Even there is not a subsidy of EU; to not to attitudinize like USA and Israel could be understood as a support by Iran. But to wait give up of hard-line of Israel and America will be meliorism.

3.4. Iran and Russia

Attitude of Russia about nuclear politics of Iran is very important for world and Iran. Approach of Russia on that issue seems complicated and anomalous. Russia who supports the ultimatum to Iran has a big share of nuclear plants of Iran.⁹⁰

Russia Supported Iran for nuclear studies as specified many fields of thesis. Eventhough these nuclear supports have been bought by atoning, Russia collaborated with Iran by using its opposition capabilities towards America. Russian Atomic energy institution insist to assist to provide plutonium source Iran Busehr nuclear plants. European managements are maintaining the policy which they named "critical dialogue".⁹¹

Helper to Iran to construct 800 million dollars investment to busşehr is Russia and doesn't respond the calls of EU to terminate this construction is also Russia. Russian Atomic Energy Institution chairman Sergey Kriyenko advocates obeying the NPT rules exactly in the Busehr nuclear plants. Anyway Russia is the most important supplier behind of the armament

⁸⁹ Fareed Zakaria, "Iran; The Next Crises", Washington Post, 10 Ağustos 2004, p. A-19.

⁹⁰ "Rusiye ve İran, Hemkariye Zir Feşar ve Ayendeyi Ne Çendan Roşen", 10 Ocak 2005, <http://www.mehrnews.com/fa/NewsDetail.aspx?NewsID=138383>

⁹¹ Michael Eisenstadt, "Can the United States Influence the WMD Policies of Iraq and Iran?", The Nonproliferation Review, Vol. 7, No. 2., Spring 2000, p. 67.

politics of Iran and sale Iran short – range missiles valued about 1 billion dollars.

Reasons of Russia behaving anomalous about nuclear program of Iran depend to its internal dynamics and economical conditions. This situation has been an insufficient condition with a bad economy after breakdown. Because, economic development of Russia didn't progress to increase the welfare level of folks.

Russia also had difficulties on foreign affairs. Russia is trying to find a place in global system also striving to increase its effectiveness around after collapsing process. So that situation affected Russian politics about Iran to react differently from the world.

Iran – Russia nuclear agreement caused alarm status for western environments. Further more, being a side of Iran and Russia to NPT, that kind of collaboration hasn't been reacted naturally. The answer of that question is the truth of nuclear technology is hypocrite.⁹²

Resistance of Iran against America, make difficult of works of USA in Middle East but simplifies work of Russia. Accordingly Russia supports Iran. When viewed from this aspect, Iran couldn't be occupied by America and It suits Russia' book.

The suggestion of Russia about solution of crisis is to develop nuclear activities of Iran in Russian fields. In this case, Iran will become addicted to Russia and Russia will become a country which has rights to bargain with western countries then empower itself by this way. Iran did not lean to this offer. But it is approved by Israel.

⁹² Mustafa kibaroglu “*Iran bir nükleer güç mü olmak istiyor ?*”, Avrasya dosyası – “Iran özel sayısı, fall 1999, vol. 5, No.: 3,p. 271 – 282

In addition, Russia is the unique state for Iran which needs to import nuclear technology channeled Russia to react moderately. But object of Iran to Russia about establishing the nuclear plants in Russian fields, and American pressures caused Russia to oppose Iran.⁹³

On the other hand, that politic change of Russia and economical expectations from Iran are in contradiction. Because, Russia obtained serious economic source from the nuclear projects of Iran. Therefore to opposing of Russia to Iran is a handicap.

Otherwise, Russia doesn't want clearly to support Iran against America and Israel, because mentioned attitude may cause an un-solicited status about the relationships between western.

Nuclear studies of Iran can be a bargaining issue between Russia and western. Russia can support USA in that matter and may ask the help of America in solving its own ethnical problem. But disbelief of Russians to America politics can affect this situation negatively.⁹⁴

But in case of continuing this politics, it is clear to get reaction from Iran or America. Because that politic cause a disbelief to Russia. Especially to be a nuclear power opinion in future of Iran will be problematic in international arena without the support of Russia. Because Russia is one of the countries which has veto right in UN Security Council. It is impossible to be taken a decision with veto of Russia. This situation is also a problematic for America.

Attitude of Russia about nuclear distemper between America and Iran can be arbiter in case of that matter transferred to UN security Council.

⁹³ Mehmet Emin ÇAĞIRAN, "İran'ın Nükleer Programına Münferit ve Kolektif Tepkilerin Meşruluğu"
"Avrasya Dosyası", 2006, vol12, No: 2

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

When viewed from this aspect, nuclear studies of Iran may be a new bargaining issue between Russia and western. That collaboration could be realized when western gains trust about Russia. But it seems to be impossible to gain trust of western for Russia when the developments considered. On the other hand nuclear issue of Iran may be a problem and distemper between USA-Russia. Because Iran is an important country for Russia. This importance is related with vital benefits of Russia. Besides Russia may lost Iran If don't generate reasonable and rational politics. this situation will be disadvantage to Russia.

CHAPTER IV.

4. SOLUTIONS

There are many ways to solve Iran nuclear crisis. All related states specified their opinions. But all the suggested plans couldn't be applied and did not satisfy the parties. Because a solution which can satisfy America, Israel, Iran and EU couldn't be found.

According to political circles of America, America should apply more focused strategy to cope with Iran by facilitating coordination with allies at Europe and Russia. Because ally of Russia should be interrupted certainly in order to control the nuclear studies of Iran. According to American philosophers Iran should be obliged to sign an agreement which restricts the nuclear activities. That kind of agreement must include the guarantee of signing additional protocol of UAEA. On the contrary, UN should remove the object about civil nuclear program of Iran. As it is seen from the mentioned suggestions of USA, Iran is a threat even doesn't manufacture nuclear weapons according to American authorities.

Philosophers such as Zbigniew Brezezinski, Peter Ackerman, Robert M. Gates, Suzanne Maloney, continue to their agreement suggestions. America should pressure to IAEA to use the rights of inspection of Additional protocol in short term. Tehran must understand that, they can face the international sanction of UN Security Council if don't collaborate with IAEA. UN must target to convoke for dialogue about including Iran and its neighboring countries.⁹⁵

⁹⁵ Zbigniew Brezezinski, Peter Ackerman, Suzanne Maloney, David Albright and some scholars and writers prepared and declared a common report that includes these ideas.

Mentioned offers are far from reality and applicability. To object the peaceful nuclear energy studies of Iran between the countries have nuclear power like India, Russia, Pakistan and Israel is not reasonable. Especially the positive discrimination applied to Israel draws the reaction of Iran and endangers the safety of Iran. Hence it is clear to see the end of dialogue action which is performed by America due to its supports to Israel.

A disadvantage of Iran is to not to declare the nuclear weapon manufacturing demand as frankly as North Korea. Eventhough Iran says that the nuclear weapon manufacturing is not on their agenda, can not stand idle to international pressures. Eventhough Russia seems to support Iran, thinks as same as USA, EU and Israel. Therefore Iran hasn't got the power and capacity to behave like North Korea. In case Iran applied North Korea model, face the sanction of UN, then may face the military intervention. Hence it is certain to not to behave like North Korea, because knows what it will face.⁹⁶ Possible nuclear weapon having demand will take serious reactions from all parties.

Politics of EU have been different from USA and Israel. Therefore resolution advisories are different from USA and Israel. Iran politics of EU have been reform demand instead of regime change. Hence chose to communicate instead of closing the doors. Chose the way of communicating with Iran and integrating Iran to global system. Politics of EU has been the same about nuclear study of Iran. EU chose diplomatic relationship and dialog method.

EU thinks as same as USA about Iran which wants to have nuclear weapons and wants to hinder this situation. If Iran can not establish a

⁹⁶ Arif KESKİN, "İran'ın Nükleer Çabaları: Hedefler, Tartışmalar ve Sonuçlar Nükleer Enerji"
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confidence environment, the issue may transfer to UN Security Council. That is a situation which USA wants but Iran doesn't want.⁹⁷

In response to demand of EU, USA and Israel depicted suggestions such as embargo, overthrow of regime, isolation, military intervention.

Another model for Iran is Libya model. Libya interrupted all nuclear activities and opened its doors to whole inspections.⁹⁸ Iran can behave like that and can give a social message to world. After that declination, the pressure of USA and Israel will decrease, and moderate politics of Russia and EU could be provided to continue. But to expect a kind of model will be optimism. Because a kind that kind of model can be perceived as a resignation for Iran. Moreover to apply this model can cause some safety problems for Iran. This can be understood as abidance to USA and increase the internal contrariety. So application possibility is slight. Iran also has more prestige comparing to Libya. Those advantages forestall Iran to behave in resignation.

One of the models for Iran is opinion of John Kerry during USA president elections. According to Kerry Iran may continue to its nuclear activities on condition that giving up the uranium enrichment and fuel transforming technology. That model was a model supported by EU. But Iran doesn't accept that model due to perceiving subservience.

⁹⁷ Emre Bayır, “*ABD-Iran Gerginliğinde AB-Iran ilişkilerine Analitik Bir Bakış*” *Stratejik Analiz*, Cilt 3, Sayı 28, Ağustos 2002, p.53.

⁹⁸ Murteza Munesi, “Der Costecuy-e Model-e Hesteyi-e İran”, <http://www.baztab.com/news/20318.php>

CONCLUSION

International attitude and political weight has changed with American interventions after 11 September. Afghanistan and Iraq occupations aims to restrict Iran provided new expansion to Iran. Iran rescued from an enemy with Overthrowing of Taliban by America. Iran also rescued one of the other competitors with Overthrowing of Saddam by America and increased its regional force. Correspondingly Iran accelerated its nuclear studies and make progress. Iran appropriated a new foreign policy base on deterrence in this period.

When we examine the developed process since the second half of twentieth century, demand of a certain nuclear power of Iran is seen. Iran advocated this demand in international arena. Even though Iran advocates that demand is one of the international rights of Iran, faced many problems about international assent. Therefore Iran is trying to keep its relations well with IAEA and neighboring countries and striving to not to be perceived as a nuclear threat. Accordingly Iran is trying to follow a successful diplomacy, accepting inspection of IAEA and benefit from the disagreement between USA, EU and Russia. Iran also demands to remove from the problematic list of Atomic Energy institution.

The other point is to not to take Iran that matter to a point where military intervention is required. Even though respond the explanations which aims a military intervention to Iran by the same way even to target Israel openly these are considered as a politic stakes. Iran doesn't care about the pressures coming from world. Iran avoid from distemper until program achieved and sometimes interrupts the studies.

Dependent nuclear technology is a situation which Iran doesn't want. Because according to Iran all facilities of nuclear studies must be maintain

inside of the country. Iran emphasizes that, there was no need to supply current technology from outside. Specifies that matter like “Anyway we have that technology, why should we dependent to outside?”⁹⁹

As mentioned before, a decision to attack Iran either couldn't be approved by UN or the American public opinion ready to accept this. In term of having limited information about nuclear existence designates that, Iran can shot American forces around and Israel.

Normalization is expected for the variety, deepness and dimensions of Iran-USA problem. Mentioned situation shows Iran how to maintain a politics about nuclear studies.

Iran must interrupt the nuclear studies forever not temporary in order to reassure the entire world. Mentioned attitude will change the politics of USA and Israel against Iran. But if Iran goes ahead to current line, anti-Iran agreement could be generated all around the world naturally. Because world doesn't want Iran to be a nuclear power. This situation shows that there is a potential Anti – Iran agreement.

No consent model is seen on the current process. Either Ahmedinedjat management or new president Obama is far from to put concrete solutions about the issue. NPT agreement gives the impression far from operability.

Single way to prevent the nuclear crisis of India, Iran and Korea can be appear in the future is to give up this technology completely. This is a way out which can not be applied. The first thing to do is, to restrict the countries to manufacture nuclear technologies by revising the agreements like NPT. Now America and Russia can not give up that power. Therefore

⁹⁹ Arif KESKİN, “İran’ın Nükleer Çabaları: Hedefler, Tartışmalar ve Sonuçlar Nükleer Enerji”
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it is going to be more difficult to find a solution. To apply sanctions attitude of the states which have nuclear power is inequitable and agitator behave.

It is possible to see new countries like Iran. To not to abdicate of some countries about nuclear power will cause some countries to compete nuclear race. On such an occasion, either the humankind will not use that weapon in order to maintain of generation or mobilize all technical efficiency to invent a time machine. Because to hinder the usage of nuclear power is only mercy, honor and philanthropy even can not hinder the manufacturing of them.

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