Iran’s Multilateral Diplomacy on The International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) Related to The Development of Nuclear Energy 2009-2015

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Abstract
Since the Islamic revolution of Iran in 1979, the United States and its allies don’t like Iran’s nuclear program and aim to manufacture nuclear weapons and assumed that Iran’s nuclear has violated the NPT treaty. Over time Iran sanctions in the form of a resolution by the UN Security Council due to the allegations provided by the United States and its allies. To maintain and acquire nuclear development rights, the Iranian government conducts diplomacy with the IAEA as an international atomic agency. This research explains influential factors in multilateral diplomacy success by Iran on IAEA related to nuclear energy development during 2009-2015 using the concept of multilateral diplomacy by Ronald A. Walker. The method used is qualitative method with descriptive analysis and data collection techniques are the study of literature. Iran is considered successful multilateral diplomacy through the formation of a collective agreement in the form of a comprehensive Joint Plan of Action (JCPOA) in 2015 in Vienna. The Iranian government has been actively disseminating information related to nuclear development, as well as adhering to the multilateral treaty that has been ratified as the NPT safeguards agreement and additional protocol. the Iranian government actively negotiated since 2009 to send a delegation to the various meetings.

Key Words: a nuclear Iran, IAEA, international pressure, multilateral diplomacy

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INTRODUCTION

The International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) is an international atomic agency that specifically deals with countries in the world that are developing the nuclear sector. The IAEA was formed in 1957 and is a government agency under the auspices of the United Nations (United Nations). That year, the IAEA comprised 56 countries, one of which was Iran. The state of Iran officially joined and became a member of the IAEA in 1957 (IAEA, 2016). The IAEA contributes to promoting world peace, maintaining world security, preventing the spread of nuclear weapons, and supporting and assisting the development of nuclear technology for civilian purposes (Karyono, 2005). In carrying out its functions, the IAEA should control nuclear-armed countries. This aims to ensure that the development of nuclear technology is carried out safely and does not lead to the development of nuclear weapons. Therefore, the IAEA has the right to examine the effect of nuclear technology carried out by IAEA member countries (IAEA, 2016).

Even though the IAEA is an international organization, the influence of superpower countries remains the dominant factor in the actions taken by the IAEA. Countries that are very influential on IAEA policies are the United States, Russia, China, Britain, France, and Germany, also known as 5+1. The 5+1 country is a significant player in the IAEA. The United States, as part of the 5+1, is a country that strongly disagrees with Iran's nuclear development efforts, and even the United States is firmly against the continuation of Iran's nuclear development process. The United States has taken various measures to stop Iran's nuclear technology development. The United States uses the IAEA to carry out its intention to stop Iran's nuclear. It is proven that the United States has encouraged the IAEA to carry out scanning monitoring by conducting a scheme against Iran's nuclear installations to develop nuclear weapons (Jamaan, 2007). Iran's efforts to get approval for nuclear development are through the IAEA and to IAEA member countries.

Iran is one of the countries that has long been in developing nuclear energy. Iran's nuclear development efforts began during the reign of Shah Pahlavi. During the reign of Shah Pahlavi, nuclear research and development began in Iran with the help of the United States. Shah Pahlavi purchased a research reactor with a power of 5 watts from the United States in the 1960s. The efforts made by the government were considered successful by the government of Shah Pahlavi, so in 1972 he was very interested and enthusiastic to continue to increase nuclear development efforts. The result of this effort was the establishment of the Atomic Energy Organization of Iran (AEOI) in 1974 (Khan, 2010). Iran's nuclear development process was
carried out at the University of Tehran, which was directly under the supervision of Shah Pahlavi.

In 1968, Shah Pahlevi signed the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) and ratified it in 1970 (Khan, 2010). The treaty's contents follow what was agreed upon by the nuclear-developing countries, namely the right for Iran to develop, research, produce, and use nuclear weapons for peaceful purposes without discrimination. The wheels of government during the time of Shah Pahlavi were more pro-Western, so the pace of development of Iran's nuclear energy ran quite rapidly.

Iran's Islamic Revolution in 1979, led by Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, became the main cause of the end of cooperation between the United States and Iran (Bruno, 2010). The Iranian revolution also made relations between Iran and several other countries strained. This is one of the causes of the distrust of the United States and its allies in Iran's nuclear development, so the United States cut off the uranium supply to the Tehran research center (Kibaroglu, 2006). Iran became the focus of the United States in the Middle East after the end of the Shah Pahlavi government in 1979. The Iranian Islamic revolution led by Khomeini would hinder the interests of the United States in the region. The Islamic Revolution of Iran was the beginning of the release of the Islamic Republic of Iran from Western control led by the United States (Yazdani and Hussein, 2006).

Iran's nuclear program has been a controversial issue in international politics since August 2002, when the construction of Iran's secret uranium enrichment facility at Natanz was discovered. Knowing this, the United States stated that Iran had a personal plan to exploit its nuclear capabilities to develop nuclear weapons (Kibaroglu, 2006).

Iran's nuclear development program is opposed by major countries in the world, which is promoted by the United States and Israel (Kibaroglu, 2006). Iran's nuclear program threatens Israel, the only non-Muslim country in the Middle East. Israel's position will be increasingly threatened if there is another country with a large enough military power, especially if it has the potential for nuclear power. The United States certainly will not remain silent if the position of its ally, Israel, feels threatened by Iran's nuclear existence. The United States alleges that Iran has violated Article II of the NPT treaty. Iran, as a Non-Nuclear Weapon States (NNWS), is suspected of developing nuclear weapons; meanwhile, based on Article II of the NNWS NPT treaty, it is prohibited to develop nuclear weapons. Therefore, the United States seeks to use its influence in international politics which wants Iran's
nuclear to be one of the main agendas for the IAEA Chair, who will later be reported to the United Nations for punishment for violating the NPT treaty.

Ahmadinejad's government is a new phase in Iran's nuclear development. The lack of an entire nuclear program during the Khatami administration made Ahmadinejad continue Iran's nuclear development. In his state address on April 9, 2006, Ahmadinejad said that Iran's nuclear development program had been reactivated since the vacuum of President Muhammad Khatami (Hamzah and Kazhim, 2007). Ahmadinejad's desire is also supported by the ups and downs of the global economy, so every country is trying to develop renewable energy to spur the growth of its domestic economy. Developing nuclear technology is one of the efforts made by countries worldwide, including Iran.

Ahmadinejad is very ambitious to improve his country's capabilities among the countries in the world through nuclear technology. The utilization of human resources and natural resources is the main factor determining the success of Iran's nuclear program. Ahmadinejad himself did not close himself to cooperation with other countries. Ahmadinejad said he would always lend a hand to everyone and still try to establish good relations with anyone except Israel (Gogary, 2007).

The United States and its allies are increasingly concerned about Iran's uranium enrichment program. These concerns were heightened by launching a condemnation of Iran. The criticism began when there were suspicions that the reason for Iran's nuclear development was an attempt to cover up its nuclear weapons development program (Alhadar, 2007). The United States and its ally Israel claim that Iran's need for nuclear technology is not too much. So that Iran does not need to carry out a nuclear enrichment program.

The concerns of the United States and its allies were seen when they brought the issue to the United Nations Security Council (UNSC), which consists of permanent members, and more than half of them are countries that strongly condemn Iran's nuclear development, namely the United States, Britain, and France. Iran's nuclear development has long been one of the main agendas for the IAEA, but the IAEA's position does not have the same power as that of the Security Council, so the IAEA cannot impose sanctions on Iran. Thanks to the insistence of the United States and its allies, the UN Security Council imposed sanctions on Iran's nuclear development through several resolutions, including resolution 1737 (imposing economic and commercial sanctions in the form of freezing of 10 important entities related to nuclear and ballistic programs) in 2006, resolution 1747 (freezing assets of 13 new entities linked to Iran's nuclear program or Revolutionary Guards. There are also
sanctions embargoes on arms purchases and restrictions on loans to Iran) of 2007, resolution 1803 (banning entities and individuals with asset freezes and travel bans) of 2008, and resolution 1929 (placed new restrictions on Iranian investment and prohibited sales to Iran of certain heavy weapons (tanks, warplanes, and helicopters) in 2010 (Faiz, 2007).

In 2009, Iran approached the IAEA by sending a letter containing information that Iran wanted to increase uranium enrichment to 5%. Until 2010 Iran did not stop to fight for its nuclear development rights. Iran continues to approach the UN Security Council member states. Ahmadinejad, in his speech at the UN general assembly, stated that Iran's nuclear power is for civilian purposes. He also said that Iran is willing to hold peace talks with Vienna and 5+1 group countries, namely the United States, Britain, China, France, Russia, and Germany. The Iranian Foreign Minister, Manouchehr Mottaki, also said when meeting with Chinese Foreign Minister Yang Jiechi in New York, "The talks will be successful if they are fair and understand Iran's right to nuclear possession for peaceful purposes and the availability of energy." BUMN Watch, 2010).

Ahmadinejad, whom Hassan Rouhani succeeded in 2013, is trying to get Iran to get approval for the use of nuclear energy. Iran conducts diplomacy with the IAEA and IAEA member countries to get nuclear support, especially with member countries of the UN Security Council. Iran is trying to get its right to develop nuclear. The beginning of the success of Iran's diplomacy was when Iran's negotiators proved that Iran's nuclear program is for peaceful purposes and stated that Tehran has no ambition to produce nuclear weapons (Irib, 2015). Iran's success stems from the Geneva agreement on November 24, 2013. Geneva removed international sanctions in the economic, political, and legal fields against Iran. But Iran's nuclear development has not reached a mutual agreement and will be discussed at a meeting in Vienna.

The meeting in Vienna resulted in the Vienna agreement being the result of Iran's diplomatic struggle. The deal was successfully reached on July 14, 2015, between Iran and 5+1 countries, namely the United States, Britain, China, Russia, France, and Germany (Irib, 2015). The Vienna agreement resulted in an agreement on the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA), namely the recognition of world powers on the nuclear rights of the Iranian nation (Irib, 2015). Under the Vienna agreement, none of Iran's nuclear installations were suspended. All Iranian nuclear installation activity continues, including in the Natanz and Fordow areas. The JCPOA guarantees the continuation of the Uranium enrichment program in Iran.
Hassan Rouhani’s government has succeeded in continuing the struggle for Iran’s nuclear diplomacy that has been carried out since the Ahmadinejad administration.

Based on the dynamics of the Iranian government’s struggle to convince the international community about its nuclear development, as well as accusations and pressures made by the United States and its allies through the IAEA to stop the action being carried out. Thus, the researcher is interested in seeing the diplomacy carried out by Iran to the IAEA to get approval for the use of nuclear energy. This paper has a research question, namely Why is Iran considered successful in conducting multilateral diplomacy against the IAEA related to the development of nuclear power for the 2009-2015 period?

**METHOD**

In this research, the authors used qualitative methods using data collected from various means. Qualitative research seeks to build honesty and understand that reality, so this research is very concerned about processes, events, and authenticity (Deddy, 2001). This study focuses on the diplomacy carried out by the Iranian government with the IAEA to obtain nuclear development approval for the 2009-2015 period. Taken in 2009-2015 because 2009 was the second period of the Ahmadinejad government which attempted to resolve the Iranian nuclear issue through diplomacy, and 2015 was the end of Iran’s nuclear diplomacy struggle, namely with the agreement of a joint agreement in Vienna, Austria.

In data collection, the technique that the researcher uses is library research, namely the method of collecting data by examining several kinds of literature related to the problem under study through books, journals, documents, magazines and articles, electronic media, and searching for information via the internet (Ikbar, 2012). The data obtained from various sources will be translated into units and then arranged into a pattern to choose which is the most important and can help answer the existing problems. The data analysis process is carried out through three stages, namely (1) the data reduction process, (2) the data presentation process, and (3) the conclusion and verification process.
RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Dynamics of Iran and IAEA Nuclear Development

This chapter discusses the dynamics of Iran and Iran’s nuclear development. In the beginning, we will discuss the dynamics of relations between Iran and the IAEA since Iran joined the IAEA and signed the NPT treaty. Then proceed with a discussion of the dynamics of Iran’s nuclear development in two periods, namely before the Iranian Islamic revolution and after the Iranian Islamic revolution.

IAEA Profile

The IAEA (International Atomic Energy Agency) is an international atomic agency that specifically deals with countries in the world that are developing the nuclear sector. The IAEA was formed in 1957 and is a government agency under the auspices of the United Nations (United Nations). The IAEA contributes to campaigning for world peace, maintaining world security, preventing the spread of nuclear weapons, and supporting and assisting the development of nuclear technology for civilian purposes (HS Karyono, 2005). In carrying out its functions, the IAEA should control nuclear-armed countries. This aims to ensure that the development of nuclear technology is carried out safely and does not lead to the development of nuclear weapons. Therefore, the IAEA has the right to examine the development of nuclear technology carried out by IAEA member countries.

Karyono further explained the three pillars of the framework contained in the IAEA, which are as follows:

a. Conduct peace efforts and verification by conducting direct inspections of nuclear installations of member countries under a legal agreement between the IAEA and these member countries. These efforts aim to ensure peaceful nuclear development activities.

b. Maintain security and safety by setting security standards, codes, guidelines, and assistants to member countries that develop nuclear technology.

c. Assist in the development of nuclear technology for peaceful purposes, research technology, and science, such as nuclear for health, agriculture, energy, environmental and other civil purposes.

Based on the three pillars above, the IAEA has the right and obligation to inspect and monitor nuclear-armed countries. However, in carrying out its duties, the IAEA is only given the right to examine countries that have entered into agreements with
the IAEA. The IAEA does not have rights over countries that do not enter into agreements with the IAEA, such as Israel and several other countries.

**Dynamics of Relations between Iran and the IAEA**

The state of Iran officially joined and became a member of the IAEA in 1957. That year was the initial year of the formation of the IAEA, which at that time consisted of 56 countries (IAEA, Member State). President Shah Pahlevi signed a safeguard agreement in 1974 (Michael Adler). After the Iranian Islamic revolution, for about 20 years Iran continued its nuclear development program in secret without informing the IAEA of any of its activities. This continued until Iran’s nuclear facilities at Natanz and Arak were notified in late 2002 (Kelsey Davenport, 2015). The Natanz nuclear facility is for uranium enrichment and the Arak facility is for heavy water production (Michael Adler).

The announcement of Iran’s nuclear facilities in Natanz and Arak was the beginning of Iran’s nuclear program becoming a controversial issue in international politics (Kibaroglu, 207). This is due to the absence of reports from Iran regarding its nuclear development program to the IAEA. So that Iran’s nuclear development is suspected of the manufacture of nuclear weapons by the United States and its allies.

To ensure Iran’s nuclear development program, the IAEA led by Mohamad El Baradei visited Iran to directly review Iran’s nuclear program. During the visit, the IAEA stated that Iran was considered to have failed in carrying out security agreements related to its nuclear program. The failure was related to several things, namely the concealment of information related to the design of buildings and construction of newly built Iranian facilities and the absence of reports related to processing and importing uranium to the IAEA (Mousavi, MA. 2010). During the visit, the IAEA Board of Governors asked Iran to name all materials and facilities related to its uranium enrichment program and asked Iran to be willing to be inspected by the IAEA. Iran was also asked to sign an additional protocol related to the safeguard agreement. The IAEA gave a deadline of 31 October 2003 to meet with the IAEA regarding the request made by the IAEA (Kelsey, 50).

The Iranian government agreed to hold a meeting with the IAEA on October 21, 2003, and signed an additional protocol related to the safeguard agreement on December 31, 2003. Since the signing of the additional protocol, several nuclear facilities have been under the protection of the IAEA. A few months after the signing, on June 18, 2004, the IAEA stated that Iran failed to cooperate with IAEA inspectors who exercise control over Iran’s nuclear facilities. However, the Iranian
government promised to immediately conduct a report related to its uranium enrichment program.

On September 24, 2005, the IAEA Executive Board found Iran's non-compliance with the NPT because it was considered a failure and violated its obligations to comply with the NPT safeguard agreement, namely hiding various strategic nuclear works. The council gave Iran time to answer important IAEA questions and asked key scientists to be available for interviews. It also asked Iran to stop enriching uranium (Michael Adler). However, Iran continues to enrich uranium, and the Board of Governors decided to submit the Iran nuclear case to the UN Security Council in 2006. Until 2006 the IAEA had issued nine resolutions related to the Iranian nuclear case before being submitted to the UN Security Council (IAEA, IAEA Resolutions, 2014).

The dynamics of Iran's nuclear development

The Dynamics of Iran's Nuclear Development Before the Islamic Revolution (1974-1979)

Iran's nuclear program began in the late 1950s during the reign of Reza Pahlevi (Henderson, Simon. 2015). At that time President Pahlavi saw that the country's need for energy availability was very large along with the rapid population growth. Therefore the Iranian government decided to develop nuclear energy because nuclear is considered cheaper and more effective.

Iran's nuclear program began when President Pahlavi was interested in developing Iran's nuclear capabilities, friendly Pahlavi's relations with the United States had paved the way for Iran to develop a nuclear program. The United States as a part of the Atom for Peace Program ensures Iran does not develop nuclear weapons. Iran and the United States signed a nuclear cooperation agreement in 1957 following the Pahlavi commitment not to develop nuclear weapons (Saira, 47).

After signing a cooperation agreement with Iran, in 1960 the United States supplied Iran by bringing in a small-scale research reactor of 5 MW and research labor needs. Then a nuclear commission board called the Tehran Nuclear Research Center (TNRC) was formed in 1967 (London: Routledge, 2005). In 1968 Iran signed the NPT treaty and ratified it in 1970 after it was approved by the Majlis. The treaty guarantees Iran's right to develop research, produce and use nuclear weapons for peaceful purposes without discrimination (Saira, 48).
As one of the IAEA member countries that have ratified the NPT treaty, in 1974 Iran agreed to a safeguard agreement with the IAEA in which Iran gave space to the IAEA to conduct inspections of all nuclear materials owned by Iran. The agreement is an effort for the IAEA to ensure that Iran's nuclear development activities are peaceful (Iran's Strategic Weapons Programs). In 1974 the Iranian government established the Atomic Energy Organization of Iran (AEOI).

The establishment of the AEOI aims to realize the Iranian government's plan to produce 23,000 MW of nuclear energy over the next 20 years and establish a uranium enrichment facility to make fuel that is used as a domestic energy supply. The Iranian government agreed with Germany, France, and the United States to realize its nuclear development plan. Iran acquired 22 reactors to generate 23,000 MW of electricity. The West wants to help Iran in developing its nuclear program, the West's desire is supported by the belief that Iran has never had the ambition to create nuclear weapons.

Iran's nuclear development program began with the construction of an atomic power plant. The atomic power plant was built in cooperation with other Iranians and foreign contractors, including the construction of the Bushehr (Iran I and II), Isfahan (Iran V and VI), and Saveh (Iran VII and VIII) atomic power plants by Germany and Karun atomic power (Iran III and VI) by France (Labib, Muhsin. 2007). At that time, the Iranian government also cooperated with France in the construction of reactors in Ahwaz, Darkhoin and several other Iranian regions. Iran also signed contracts for 10 years which could later be extended with the United States, France, and Germany in 1974-1976.

The projects built during the reign of Shah Pahlavi were carried out for various purposes, including power generation, research needs, and others. The project cost about US$ 30 billion (Rahman, Musthafa Abd. 2003). To improve the capacity of its human resources, the Iranian government sends scientists, experts, and nuclear technicians to several nuclear research institutes and universities in the United States, Britain, France, Germany, Canada, Belgium, and Italy. The United States is a very pro-Iranian government, and even supports all its programs and policies, including policies to develop Iran's nuclear capabilities. This can be seen from the support and assistance provided by the United States in the construction of nuclear reactors, research, experts, and technicians, including the supply of uranium (Ansari, 2008).

In 1974 the United States and Iran signed an agreement aimed at supplying Iran with enriched uranium for approximately 10 years. The aim of the aid from the
United States is to diversify the electricity supply in Iran and get Iran to agree to export more petroleum abroad.

In 1975 the United States became suspicious of Iran's growing nuclear program massively. The suspicion arose when the United States considered that Iran's nuclear development program had two objectives, namely for the needs of civil society and military needs (Saira, 48). For two decades Iran's nuclear development has been the talk of the international community for its desire to enrich uranium. Iran's nuclear development program since its inception has been a serious consideration for several nuclear-developing countries. In early 1975, Iran had problems with the United States over where to process plutonium. The Iranian government insists that it be carried out in Tehran, while the United States must not do it in Tehran (Iran's Strategic Weapons Programs). In 1976 Iran declared its seriousness in improving its uranium enrichment technology. As a testament to this seriousness, the Iranian government increased the budget for the AEOI which was initially US$ 30.8 million in 1975, an increase of more than US$ 1 billion in the 1976 fiscal year (Saira, 48). In 1976, Iran's nuclear development was assisted by South Africa, which contributed to the implementation of Iran's nuclear program of US$ 700 million on the condition that Iran would finance uranium enrichment in South Africa (Leonard, 1990). In the late 1970s, the United States government received information stating that Shah Pahlevi had embezzled the nuclear weapons development program (Leonard, 1987). There is. This shows the high desire and ambition of Shah Pahlavi in increasing Iran's domestic nuclear capabilities.

Shah Pahlavi’s contribution to Iran's nuclear development program was enormous. We can see this contribution to Iran's current nuclear development capabilities. The purpose of procuring Iran's nuclear program is very simple, namely the desire of Shah Pahlavi to make Iran an economic power in the region. The progress of Iran's nuclear development program was influenced by the involvement of the United States in its implementation and also the closeness of Shah Pahlavi with the United States. The involvement and interference of the United States are not only in the nuclear program as well but also in the political sector. Thus causing Iran's dependence on the United States and Western countries (Ali, 81).

Dependence on the United States and Western countries triggered the Iranian Islamic revolution in 1979 and led to the fall of Shah Pahlavi from the position of President of Iran (Satori, 2012). The Iranian Islamic Revolution was led by Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, the Islamic revolution became the main cause of the end of cooperation between the United States and Iran (Bruno, Greg. 2010).
Dynamics of Iran's Nuclear Development After the Islamic Revolution (1979-2015)

Iran's Islamic Revolution led by Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini in 1979 stopped all nuclear development activities in Iran. In the mid-1980s Tehran decided to revive its nuclear development program (Simon, vii). However, in this development, the Iranian government encountered obstacles, namely the absence of assistance from abroad such as the United States. Iran's Islamic Revolution is one of the causes of distrust of the United States and its allies in Iran's nuclear development. So that the United States cut off the supply of uranium to the Tehran research center (Kibaroglu, Mustafa. 2006) The United States also hindered Iran's efforts to continue its nuclear program by stopping Iran's cooperation with several Western countries, namely Germany, Brazil, Argentina, and Spain (Simon, vii).

The distrust of the United States and its allies such as Germany and France has halted the construction of Iran's nuclear reactors. Two reactors that had been built by Iran in cooperation with Germany in the city of Bushehr also stopped (Musthafa, 203-204). Since then Iran's nuclear development program has stalled. This includes reactor construction, uranium supply, cooperation, and foreign aid (Simanjuntak, 2007). This condition was exacerbated by as many as 3700 of the 4500 AEOI scientists leaving Iran (Solingen, 2007).

In 1984 Ayatollah Khomeini, who was the president of Iran at that time, expressed his desire to continue the development of the nuclear program which had been stalled since the Islamic Revolution of Iran. Even without the help of the United States and its allies, Khomeini sought international assistance to complete the construction of a nuclear reactor at Bushehr (IISS, 2005).

Iran's Islamic Revolution is the beginning of Iran's enthusiasm to continue its nuclear development. This is due to the need for technology and nuclear energy. Iran develops its nuclear power by exploiting the capabilities of its nation's children. In March 1986 the Iranian government invited its nuclear scientists who were abroad to attend a conference held in the city of Bushehr (Musthafa, 204).

In the late 1980s and early 1990s, the Iranian government refocused on its nuclear development. Iran actively seeks international assistance and cooperation. At that time Iran was led by Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani who replaced Ayatollah Khomeini. Rafsanjani’s reign lasted for two periods (1989-1997) indicating the government's desire to continue Iran's nuclear program.
From 1980 to 1983 Iran had asked India for help to continue the development of the Bushehr nuclear reactor that Germany had abandoned. In 1986 Iran also discussed the possible involvement of Argentina, Germany, and Spain in assisting the completion of the project (D. Danny, 40). Then in 1987 Iran and Pakistan signed a long-term nuclear cooperation agreement. The agreement states that Pakistan is willing to assist and train Iranian nuclear technicians (Cirincione, 2005).

The Iranian government's efforts in nuclear development continued in cooperation with China in the early 1990s. China agrees and undertakes to cooperate with Iran in training Iranian nuclear technicians. China is also willing to provide 27-kilowatt miniature neutron reactors and two Qinshan reactor plants with a capacity of 300 megawatts. As a form of its seriousness in supporting Iran's nuclear program, China sent 1,800 grams of several types of uranium to Iran in 1991. Uranium is useful in the process of enriching nuclear materials (D. Danny, 41). China also assisted Iran in exploring uranium mines from 1993-1994 through the Beijing Research Institute of Uranium Geology (RIUG) (Suhaimi. 2004).

After cooperating with China, the Iranian government also signed an economic relations agreement with Russia in 1991. The agreement stated that Russia would help Iran's two nuclear reactors, each with a power of 440 megawatts (Musthafa, 205). The agreement continued with the signing of a nuclear cooperation agreement to continue the construction of the Bushehr reactor in August 1992 which was then realized in January 1995 (IISS, 13). Russia agreed to continue the development of the Bushehr nuclear reactor and also offered research related to the development of nuclear technology (Smith, 1995). Furthermore, in 1996 Iran and Russia again carried out continued cooperation on the development of nuclear technology. Iran continues to build four active nuclear reactors that will be used specifically for uranium and plutonium development, namely the Bushehr, Natanz, Arak, and Isfahan reactors, and three nuclear reactors used for nuclear technology research, namely the nuclear reactors in the cities of Tehran, Yazd and Kharaj (Musthafa, 166).

**The International World Pressure on Iran’s Nuclear Development**

This chapter discusses international pressure on Iran's nuclear development efforts. The pressure came from various parties, namely the United States and its allies, the IAEA, and the UN Security Council. In the beginning, we will discuss the pressure exerted by the United States and its allies, where the United States has been actively applying pressure since the Iranian Islamic revolution in 1979. Furthermore, the
IAEA’s pressure on Iran’s nuclear program went through several resolutions, until finally, the IAEA handed over the Iranian nuclear case to the Security Council. UN. At the end of the chapter, we will discuss the pressures given by the UN Security Council in the form of resolutions given from 2006 to 2010.

**The United States and Allied pressure**

Iran’s nuclear development program continues to be carried out and enhanced by the Iranian government in several research centers. The rapid development of Iran's technology has forced the United States to press and take repressive steps with its allies (Labib et al, 189). This condition emerged after Iran's Islamic revolution in 1979. Before Iran's Islamic revolution, the United States and its allies fully supported Iran's nuclear development (Simanjuntak, 2007). However, after the Islamic revolution in Iran, there was anxiety for the United States and its allies about Iran's nuclear program, because it was suspected that Iran's nuclear development program led to the manufacture of nuclear weapons (Jamaican, 44). Therefore, the United States and its allies decided that Iran's nuclear development should be stopped.

After the Iranian Islamic revolution, the United States and its allies were always looking for ways to prevent the influence of the revolution. Among the deterrence made by the United States and its allies is Iran's isolation in the international sphere. The exclusion was caused by the United States disapproval of Iran's nuclear weapons program (Muthafa A. Rahman. 154). One of the exclusions of Iran carried out by the United States is through international conference forums such as the Sharm El Sheikh Summit in Egypt, the G7 Summit in Lyon, and the G7 Summit in Paris.

Economic and financial sector: Banking (On November 6, 2008, Ministry of Finance prohibits United States banks from transacting directly with Iranian banks), Asset Freezing (Executive Order 13224 (2001) authorizes the President of the United States to freeze the assets of entities supporting international terrorism and prohibits transactions with such entities), Investment and trading (Executive Order 12959 (1995) prohibits US companies from trading and investing in Iran, except for food and medical products). Gas and oil sector: Purchasing crude oil (Executive Order 12613 (1987) prohibiting US companies from importing Iranian oil), Petroleum refining.

The number of pressures and international sanctions against Iran's nuclear technology development program has made the Iranian government seek to eliminate these pressures and sanctions and gain international recognition. The Iranian government is trying to recognize these rights through multilateral diplomacy. The analytical framework used is the concept of multilateral diplomacy proposed by Ronald A. Walker. According to Ronald A. Walker, four things influence the success of multilateral diplomacy, namely information, multilateral agreements, negotiations, and delegation.

**Information**

Multilateral diplomacy is the most effective mechanism for disseminating information. Information is the most decisive way for people to express what they think and do, including those in government. The information is the socialization process carried out by a government to inform the public or the international community (Ronald A. Walker, 23).

The Iranian government has been actively providing information regarding its nuclear development program, both in terms of facilities and capacity. Information is supplied by the Iranian government in several ways, namely through official state websites, including TRR and government websites, through Iranian media, reports on the results of IAEA inspections, and direct submissions of the Iranian delegation in conducting multilateral diplomacy.

**Multilateral Agreement**

Multilateral agreements are reciprocal commitments in which each party seeks to carry out specific actions in a predetermined agreement. Multilateral agreements are in the form of efforts to behave following predetermined ways; contracts in multilateral diplomacy are joint efforts between all parties where each party will carry out its obligations. International agreements are self-fulfilling as long as one party sees the benefits for the other party (Ronald, 24).

The Iranian government, through multilateral agreements, seeks to obtain recognition and rights related to the development of nuclear energy, which has been going on for quite a long time, namely since the reign of Shah Pahlavi, as discussed
in Chapter II above. The multilateral agreements that underlie the agreement regarding the recognition of Iran's nuclear rights reviewed in this thesis are the NPT treaty, the IAEA safeguard agreement, and the IAEA additional protocols.

**Negotiation**

Negotiation is a process in which various parties interact to influence the other party's decisions in a meeting. It can be concluded that negotiation is a process of bargaining to reach a mutual agreement between one party and another. In multilateral diplomacy, countries and organizations unite to decide on an important issue.

In general, negotiation is defined as a process by which offers are conveyed to reach an agreement on the exchange or realization of common interests where a conflict of interest arises. The elements that initiate a negotiation are shared interests and issues of contention.

**Delegation**

Delegates are people with the authority and responsibility sent by the government to represent their country in conveying the interests of their country. According to the Big Indonesian Dictionary, delegation is defined as a person appointed and sent by an association or state in a negotiation (deliberation). Ronald A. Walker says in his book that delegations have a considerable influence on the success of multilateral diplomacy carried out. Delegates sent by a country will bring and convey the interests of the country they represent.

Eight delegates participated in the negotiations in resolving the Iran nuclear case, seven people representing their respective countries and one other being an envoy from the European Union. The names of the delegations were Mohammad Javad Zarif (Iran's Foreign Minister), Guido Westerwelle (German Foreign Minister), Wang Yi (Chinese Foreign Minister), and Laurent Fabius (French Foreign Minister), William Hague (Foreign Secretary). British Affairs), John Kerry (US Secretary of State), Sergey Lavrov (Russian Foreign Minister), and Catherine Ashton (EU representative). The ability of delegates in a negotiation cannot be separated from the individual character of the delegation itself.
CONCLUSION

Iran is one of the most nuclear-developing countries. Iran's nuclear technology development program has become an international issue and is under pressure from the international community. The pressure comes from the United States and its allies, the IAEA and the UN Security Council. To respond to international pressure, the Iranian government is trying to eliminate and remove sanctions imposed on Iran. These efforts were carried out by Iran through multilateral diplomacy with the IAEA and 5+1 countries as IAEA representatives.

The multilateral diplomacy carried out by Iran against the IAEA was considered successful because it was able to remove all sanctions on Iran and resulted in a joint agreement recognizing Iran's nuclear development rights in the form of the JCPOA. The success of Iran's multilateral diplomacy cannot be separated from four influential factors, according to Ronald A. Walker, information, multilateral agreements, negotiations, and delegations.

The Iranian government has been active in disseminating information regarding the development of its nuclear technology. The information was disseminated through the official websites of the government and Iran's national atomic agency reports on the results of IAEA inspections and the media in Iran. The information disseminated is a form of transparency and dissemination of Iran's nuclear development program to the international community, so that Iran gets recognition and rights for its nuclear development, and denies accusations of making nuclear weapons as alleged by the United States and its allies. In addition to actively disseminating information on its nuclear developments, the Iranian government also uses multilateral agreements as an instrument to expedite the diplomatic process carried out. The multilateral agreement is a form of Iran's commitment to developing nuclear technology for peaceful purposes. The multilateral agreements that form the basis of the agreement on the recognition of Iran's nuclear development rights are the NPT Treaty, the Safeguard Agreement, and the IAEA Additional Protocol.

The next influential factor is negotiations, the Iranian government has been actively negotiating with the IAEA and 5+1 countries that are representatives of the IAEA. Since 2009 Iran has submitted a negotiation proposal to 5+1 countries, the proposal is a further negotiation proposal from a proposal that has been submitted since 2003. Negotiations on Iran's nuclear case began when Iran submitted a proposal to 5+1 countries which were directly supervised by the IAEA as an agency. international atom. Negotiations conducted by Iran with 5+1 countries ended with
an agreement in the form of the JPOA on November 24, 2013, in Geneva, Switzerland. The agreement contains the removal of economic, legal, and other sanctions against Iran, and further negotiations regarding the Iranian nuclear case will be carried out. In July 2015 Iran with 5+1 countries resulted in a joint agreement in the form of the JCPOA. The JCPOA was motivated by the JPOA agreed in Geneva.

The last influential factor in Iran’s nuclear diplomacy is delegation. Delegates are representatives of countries sent to carry out diplomacy, where they are tasked with conveying the interests of their countries in the meeting. Delegates greatly affect the success of diplomacy, this is due to their existence as actors who act directly in the meeting. The delegation’s ability to convey the interests of their country and act in the meeting is greatly influenced by the educational background and attitude of the delegation. Regarding the Iran nuclear case, the delegations sent by each country are people who are already involved in international politics. They are the Minister of Foreign Affairs in their country.

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