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**THE GREAT POWERS' NUCLEAR DIPLOMACY TOWARD
IRAN
2003-2015
From the “Grand Bargain” to the JCPOA**



**DIPLOMAȚIA NUCLEARĂ A MARILOR PUTERI FAȚĂ DE IRAN
2003-2015.
De la “Grand Bargain” la JCPOA**

Rezumat

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ABSTRACT

Această cercetare își propune să introducă o analiză exhaustivă a procesului diplomatic dintre Marile Puteri (Statele Unite, Marea Britanie, Franța, China, Federația Rusă și Germania - denumit grupul P5 + 1) și procesul Republicii Islamice Iran. care a dus la semnarea Planului comun de acțiune cuprinzător (JCPOA), pe 14 iulie 2015, un acord care limitează activitatea nucleară a Iranului, prin impunerea celui mai strict regim de control internațional desfășurat de Agenția Internațională pentru Energie Atomică (AIEA). Actorii implicați în JCPOA au salutat acest tratat istoric, care era menit să controleze operațiunile nucleare ale Iranului și să se asigure că acesta va fi exclusiv în scop civil, și a fost, de asemenea, piatra de temelie pentru o schimbare fundamentală în această problemă. Marile Puteri au fost de acord în unanimitate la semnarea JCPOA „că implementarea integrală a acestui Plan de Acțiune Comprehensiv Comun va contribui pozitiv la pacea și securitatea regională și internațională”. Cercetarea este structurată în cinci secțiuni și include un set de anexe, un index de termeni și câteva tabele și cifre reprezentative pentru procesul de negociere. Perioada analizată se extinde între 2003 și 2015 – limite de timp care reprezintă prima inițiativă diplomatică nucleară, respectiv anul semnării JCPOA.

Cuvinte cheie: Marile Puteri, Iran, Diplomatie Nucleară, JCPOA, Grand Bargain, Neproliferare Nucleară, Agenția Internațională pentru Energie Atomică, NPT, Relații Internaționale.

SECȚIUNEA I

Acordul istoric cunoscut sub numele de “Planul Comun și Cuprinzător de Acțiune (JCPOA)”¹ semnat în 2015 între P5 + 1 (Statele Unite, Franța, Regatul Unit, China, Rusia plus Germania) și Republica Islamică a fost menit să oprească calea iraniană către obținerea capacității nucleare. La momentul redactării acestei cercetări, SUA s-a retras unilateral din acordul nuclear, în timpul administrației lui Donald Trump, în mai 2018, iar Iranul a început treptat să încalce prevederile JCPOA, măbind stocul de materiale necesare și îmbogățind uraniul până la 60%. Actuala administrație americană, condusă de noul președinte Joe Biden, lucrează din greu pentru a reveni la conformitatea prevederilor și pentru a reînvia acordul nuclear iranian. Acordul nuclear cu Iranul nu este doar un instrument menit să limiteze calea Republicii Islamice către obținerea capacității nucleare, ci poate deveni și o **piatră de temelie** pentru o perspectivă globală de neproliferare internațională și poate completa puzzle-ul dezbatelor nucleare, atâta vreme cât este

¹ *** (2015), “The Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA) at a Glance”, *Arms Control Association*. <https://www.armscontrol.org/factsheets/JCPOA-at-a-glance>. [May 9, 2018].

„cel mai puternic acord de neproliferare negociat vreodată”². Deceniul petrecut la masa negocierilor este o dovadă a rezistenței și voinței, precum și cel mai bun exemplu de bune practici diplomatice și multilateralism.

Această cercetare este o examinare exhaustivă a negocierilor privind activitățile nucleare controversate iraniene și încearcă să ofere o cunoaștere detaliată a acestui proces prelungit. Un progres semnificativ a fost atins la Geneva în noiembrie 2013, după câțiva ani de runde neconcludente de negocieri - la Viena, Geneva, Istanbul, Bagdad, Moscova și Almaty - între Republica Islamică Iran și țările P5 + 1. Una dintre cele mai importante întrebări legate de aceste negocieri se referă la legătura dintre activitățile nucleare ale Iranului și politica sa externă, respectiv securitatea sa națională. De la semnarea JCPOA, factorii de decizie politici iranieni au dat tot mai mult impresia publică că acordul nuclear este un segment al unei regândiri mai largi a politicii externe, menit să pună capăt izolaționismului internațional iranian. Sancțiunile UNSC au avut o consecință negativă profundă asupra infrastructurii și economiei interne a Iranului, în special în timpul președinției lui Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, când fostul președinte iranian a adoptat o poziție ostilă față de Occident. Poziția sa nu numai că a pus în pericol stabilitatea regională și internațională, dar a creat și o percepție negativă în cadrul societății iraniene, prin urmare, în 2013, un candidat conservator cu o abordare mai pragmatică (adesea greșit descris ca moderat) a câștigat cursa prezidențială. Victoria lui Hassan Rouhani a reprezentat o piatră de temelie care a schimbat diplomația nucleară a Teheranului în favoarea unei noi abordări flexibile și pragmatice, care a fost comparativ mai adecvată pentru a încheia un acord la masa negocierilor. Semnele timpurii ale unei astfel de evoluții au apărut în timpul dezbaterii prezidențiale din 2013, între Saeed Jalili, Hassan Rouhani și Ali Akbar Velayati. Ambii, Rouhani și Velayati, l-au acuzat pe primul pentru că nu a reușit să obțină niciun progres în negocierile nucleare în curs (la acel moment), din poziția sa de negociator șef al Iranului. Promițând să aducă „vești nucleare bune”³ în primele sale o sută de zile de președinție, candidatul Rouhani a criticat în mod deschis politica nucleară condusă de Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, ca fiind în esență și un dezastru economic cauzat de sancțiunile internaționale extinse. Rouhani l-a numit pe Javad Zarif ministru de externe și i-a transferat dosarul nuclear de la Consiliul Suprem de Securitate Națională.

Scopul acestei cercetări este de a prezenta și de a crea o perspectivă asupra modului în care a apărut programul nuclear iranian ca o problemă internațională, a acțiunilor întreprinse pentru

² The White House (2015), “Remarks of the President on the Iran Nuclear Deal”, August 5. <https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2015/08/05/remarks-President-iran-nuclear-deal>. [October 5, 2017]; M. Fitzpatrick (2017), “Assessing the JCPOA”, *Adelphi Series*, Vol. 57, Issue: 466-467, pp. 19-60. <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/19445571.2017.1555914>. [October 12, 2017].

³ N. Entessar, K. L. Afrasiabi (2018), *Iran Nuclear Accord and the Remaking of the Middle East*, Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, p. 5.

rezolvarea acestuia și a avantajelor acordului nuclear. Această teză este concepută pentru a revizui antecedentele, pentru a analiza JCPOA și pentru a evalua poziția comunității internaționale și eforturile diplomatice ale Marilor Puteri și pentru a analiza rezultatele. Metodologia aplicată este în mare parte analitică, dar cercetările empirice și puține interviuri care au studiat domeniul negocierilor nucleare sau au fost direct implicați în proces, sunt menite să completeze și să sporească calitatea acestei cercetări. Cu toate acestea, atunci când analizăm un anumit fenomen, sau mai mult, cu un eveniment ale cărui consecințe și rezultate sunt încă în curs de desfășurare și care fac obiectul dezbaterilor, ne confruntăm cu lipsa resurselor necesare pentru a găsi răspunsuri adecvate la toate întrebările. Despre acordul nuclear al Iranului au fost create numeroase articole, numeroase lucrări academice, precum și câteva zeci de cărți. Neajunsurile acestei scrieri se datorează accesului semi-public la ușa din spate a negocierilor nucleare. Cu siguranță nu se poate pretinde cunoștințe privilegiate unor astfel de informații confidențiale; prin urmare, imaginea care a apărut cu privire la procesul de negocieri dintre Iran și Marile Puteri este una incompletă, cu unele piese de puzzle care lipsesc încă din ochii publicului. Totuși, în ciuda unei astfel de penurii de informații, dictată de procesul strâns păzit, este posibil să ne bazăm pe vastul grup de informații disponibile, informații despre sursele deschise și, de asemenea, pe deschiderea unor persoane pentru a discuta o problemă atât de sensibilă. Toate aceste resurse vor fi puse împreună pentru a crea o narațiune care urmărește în mod obiectiv să prezinte diplomația nucleară a Marilor Puteri către Iran.

Interesul cercetării nu este întâmplător. Republica Islamică Iran și ambițiile sale nucleare au păstrat prima pagină a agendei Marilor Puteri în ultimele decenii. Problema nucleară a prezentat Iranul într-un stat cu intenții hegemonice, percepute în termeni apocaliptici, plasând Teheranul pe așa-numita „axă a răului”⁴. Dualismul instituțional, amestecul dintre religie și politică, împreună cu ideologia revoluționară șiiită, au creat perspectiva unui stat agresiv care poate fi îngrădit doar prin mijloace de putere, precum intervenția militară, în ciuda faptului că acțiunile Teheranului din ultimele patru decenii indică un actor rațional, care caută modalități defensive de a-și păstra interesele naționale. Ambițiile nucleare ale Iranului au fost ultima soluție a unui regim care a condus țara printr-un război de opt ani cu Irakul vecin și apoi a făcut apel la orice mijloc de a readuce Iranul pe scena internațională. Prin urmare, JCPOA este o consecință a unei schimbări constructiviste în cadrul guvernului iranian care a depășit reputația unui stat rebel în sistemul internațional și a demonstrat că acesta poate fi tratat ca un actor rațional. Voința și interesul de a studia în profunzime întregul proces din spatele semnării JCPOA au crescut rapid și au devenit în

⁴ G. Bush (2005), “2005 State of the Union Address”, *The Washington Post*, February 2. <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/politics/transcripts/bushtext>. [September 19, 2019].

curând un proiect de doctorat. Negocierile nucleare și principalele caracteristici ale acordului nuclear sunt incluse în această cercetare, cu un interes sporit față de comportamentul și motivele care au determinat grupul P5 + 1 să nu abandoneze acest proiect complicat.

Tema cercetării este cu siguranță **oportună**, având în vedere natura fluidă a evoluției actuale a Relațiilor Internaționale și schimbărilor din administrațiile occidentale. JCPOA a fost o problemă la începutul secolului 21 și continuă să fie și astăzi. Mai mult, schimbarea administrației din 2016 la Casa Albă a adus retragerea SUA din acordul nuclear iranian, gest care a provocat o adevărată dispută internațională. Decizia președintelui Donald Trump a declanșat anxietate și chiar unele îngrijorări nu numai din partea Iranului, ci și a Uniunii Europene (UE), Chinei și chiar Japoniei. Consecințele retragerii SUA și ale retoricii agresive direcționată către guvernul iranian au potențialul de a distruge arhitectura internațională de neproliferare și de a induce o stabilitate suplimentară în Orientul Mijlociu. De asemenea, poate amenința viitorul drum diplomatic cu guvernul iranian pentru alte probleme regionale, precum Siria, Afganistan sau Yemen. Dezbaterea asupra JCPOA tinde să crească pe măsură ce noile valuri ale sancțiunilor SUA intră în vigoare. Din toate problemele internaționale în curs, dosarul iranian pare să-și păstreze poziția de vârf în agenda Marilor Puteri.

În ceea ce privește **ipotezele de cercetare**, acestea se bazează pe următoarea premisă: dacă nu ar fi fost un motiv comun de interes pentru actorii implicați, acordul nu ar fi fost semnat și fără a înțelege mecanismele specifice negocierilor, atât pentru Teheran, cât și pentru Guvernele occidentale, atunci nici strategiile pe termen lung ale Iranului și ale statelor P5 + 1 nu pot fi anticipate.

Această lucrare caută să răspundă la următoarele **întrebări de cercetare**:

- Este posibilă cooperarea dintre statele competitive care își exercită influența într-un sistem anarhic și care au fost provocările majore pentru Marile Puteri pentru a atinge scopul propus - reducerea activității nucleare a Iranului?
- Cum au fost prezentate în editoriale evenimentele, actorii și politicile privind programul nuclear iranian și negocierile nucleare dintre Marile Puteri și Iran și cum au influențat aceste opinii procesul de negociere?
- Care au fost interesele individuale ale fiecărui actor implicat în negocierile JCPOA?
- Care au fost provocările majore pentru Marile Puteri în a atinge obiectivul propus - oprirea activității nucleare a Iranului - și care au fost momentele importante care au condus la un acord?

- Care ar putea fi punctul de inflexiune care ar putea duce la reluarea programului nuclear iranian și cum vor răspunde Marile Puteri la acest scenariu? Cum va afecta acest scenariu stabilitatea deja fragilă din Orientul Mijlociu?
- Există o posibilă zonă de salvare a acordului în contextul retragerii SUA din JCPOA și care este posibilitatea ca E3 / UE, împreună cu Federația Rusă și China să păstreze acordul nuclear având în vedere riscul creării unui conflict de interese cu Washington?

Metodologia utilizată pentru realizarea acestei cercetări include modelele lui Oliver Richmond privind rezolvarea conflictelor de **primă generație**⁵ și a **doua generație** a conflictului, analiza modelului politicii externe a lui James Rosenau, analiza discursului, teoria jocurilor, studiul de caz, interviurile semi-structurate și analiza cantitativă a surselor primare și secundare.

Din punct de vedere teoretic, această cercetare propune o abordare eclectică, introducând un model hibrid de analiză al negocierilor diplomatice nucleare.

STRUCTURA TEZEI: Această cercetare este structurată în **cinci secțiuni principale**, fiecare dintre ele conținând mai multe capitole și subcapitole dedicate problemelor specifice și conceptelor specifice. Teza este concepută pentru a prezenta o abordare cuprinzătoare a întregului proces diplomatic dintre Marile Puteri și Republica Islamică, fiind din acest punct de vedere o **cercetare unică** în mediul academic românesc. Timpul cadru propus a fost ales atât din motive metodologice, pentru a defini clar limitele acestei cercetări și pentru a evita ambiguitatea cauzată de evenimentele ulterioare, dar și pentru a prezenta realitățile sistemului internațional în care au avut loc negocierile diplomatice dintre SUA, Franța, Marea Britanie, Germania, Rusia, China și Republica Islamică Iran.

SECȚIUNEA A II-A

Această secțiune introduce o prezentare a politicii externe a Iranului în timpul mandatelor a trei președinți, timp în care programul nuclear al Iranului a devenit o preocupare pentru întregul sistem internațional. Pentru o mai bună înțelegere a întregului lanț de evenimente, este prezentat și contextul internațional al momentului, într-o analiză comparativă cu dinamica regională a Orientului Mijlociu. Această secțiune cuprinde evaluări teoretice ale comportamentului politicii externe ale Republicii Islamice și o cronologie a programului nuclear iranian.

⁵ O. P. Richmond (2002), *Maintaining Order, Making Peace*, Basingstoke: Palgrave, p. vii.

Această secțiune face trimitere și la aplicabilitatea **neorealismului** și a **constructivismului** în analiza comportamentului extern al Teheranului, subliniind în același timp corelația dintre cele două teorii, precum și modul în care ele se compensează reciproc.

Din 1992 până în 2002 Iranul a avansat spre finalizarea ciclului nuclear, iar activitatea nucleară a fost desfășurată în secret, împotriva prevederilor TNP. Mai mult, Iranul a început să construiască o altă instalație subterană lângă Natanz, iar AEOI „a început, de asemenea, să construiască în secret o instalație de producere a apei grele și un reactor de cercetare de 40 MW lângă Arak”⁶. În timpul unei conferințe de presă organizate la 14 august 2002, Alireza Jafarzadeh a atras atenția la nivel mondial, dezvăluind că Republica Islamică Iran dezvoltă un sit nuclear secret în Natanz și o instalație de oxid de deuteriu în Arak. Un nou raport al AIEA publicat în februarie 2010, a prezentat detalii despre potențialul Iranului de a produce o armă nucleară, confirmând astfel ipotezele cu privire la o a doua instalație de îmbogățire a uraniului aproape de „orașul sfânt Qom”⁷. Între 2010 și 2011, orice discuție din cadrul oficialilor de la Teheran despre programul nuclear a fost dominată de ideea unei interferențe străine. Până în 2013, Teheranul a fost izolat aproape complet de piața internațională și de infrastructura financiară. În acel an, campaniile candidaților la președinție s-au concentrat aproape exclusiv pe îmbunătățirea economiei. Hassan Rouhani a câștigat alegerile și după o sută de zile de la preluarea funcției a semnat Planul Comun de Acțiune (JPOA). Toate părțile au semnat acordul final, JCPOA, pe 14 iulie 2015.

SECȚIUNEA A III-A

Această secțiune prezintă o analiză de discurs a unor editoriale occidentale și iraniene, foaia de parcurs a negocierilor nucleare și pașii finali care au condus la semnarea JCPOA.

Secțiunea III include, de asemenea, o evaluare analitică a JCPOA și prezintă un set de constrângeri și critici îndreptate împotriva comportamentului politicii externe iraniene și a acordului nuclear. În toate scopurile sale, acordul a avut succes, cel puțin până la 8 mai 2018, când fostul președinte, Donald J. Trump, a decis să retragă unilateral SUA din acord. JCPOA a fost o mișcare înțeleaptă de politică externă, deoarece a funcționat și Iranul și-a limitat programul nuclear. O componentă adesea neglijată, dar cheie pentru susținerea și înțelegerea succesului JCPOA este să o luați la valoarea nominală. După cum a afirmat Robert Einhorn, „[acordul] este tranzacțional, nu transformativ ... acordul a abordat o problemă specifică și, în acești termeni restrânși, poate fi considerat un succes relativ. Valoarea aceluia succes relativ nu trebuie

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ M. Gaietta (2015), *The Trajectory of Iran's Nuclear Program*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, p. 141.

subestimată...”⁸. Documentul final este unul complex, cuprinzând 159 de pagini. Este un document imperfect, dar completează unele goluri și stabilește o anumită stare de acalmie. Tocmai respingerea unui joc de sumă zero și acceptarea eventualelor defecte au permis celor două părți să ajungă la semnarea JCPOA.

Așadar, această secțiune prezintă de-a lungul celor trei capitole o perspectivă concluzivă, holistică. În timp ce în primul capitol este subliniat rolul și influența trusturilor media asupra factorilor decizionali, al doilea capitol introduce o cronologie detaliată a negocierilor pentru ca la final să redea o perspectivă analitică a JCPOA.

SECȚIUNEA A IV-A

Această secțiune introduce o imagine comprehesivă a relației dintre Marile Puteri și Iran între 2003 și 2015. În acest segment de timp se urmărește evoluția negocierilor nucleare, inițiată în 2003 de fostul președinte iranian Mohammad Khatami și finalizată în 2015, prin semnarea JCPOA. Spațiul temporal propus nu este întâmplător, deoarece în această perioadă angajamentul dintre SUA și Iran a început să prindă contur, chiar dacă timp de mai bine de un deceniu dialogul nu a fost întotdeauna unul constructiv. Desfășurarea procesului de negociere nucleară a fost adesea influențat de evenimente externe care au afectat și au schimbat atât strategiile SUA, cât și pe cele iraniene. O parte importantă a acestei cercetări se concentrează pe relația dintre Washington și Teheran deoarece este deja dovedit că, contribuția SUA a fost extrem de importantă în timpul procesului diplomatic și, de asemenea, în menținerea și respectarea prevederilor JCPOA. Desigur, contribuția europeană are o semnificație specială și va fi abordată corespunzător, deoarece politica europeană de angajament constructiv a redus adesea decalajele dintre SUA și Iran.

Relația SUA-Iran își are originile la începutul anilor 1950, cu o perioadă intermediară caracterizată de relații strânse, care, totuși, s-a deteriorat profund după Revoluția Islamică din 1979. Snyder analizează trecerea de la prietenie la ostilitate și este de părere că este cauzată de următorii factori: obiectivele economice și ideologice ale SUA; neîncredere reciprocă; și politica internă în Republica Islamică revoluționară⁹. Evoluțiile de după Războiul Rece și consecințele atacurilor teroriste din 11 septembrie de la New York - cu excepția câtorva episoade în care cele

⁸ R. Einhorn *et al.* (2016), “The Iran Deal, One Year Out: What Brookings Experts are Saying”, *Brookings*, The Brookings Institute, July 14. <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/markaz/2016/07/14/the-iran-deal-one-year-out-what-brookings-experts-are-saying/>. [March 25, 2021].

⁹ R. S. Snyder (2014), “The U. S. and Third World Revolutionary States: Understanding the Breakdown in Relations”, *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 43, No. 2 (Jun.), p. 273. <https://sci-hub.se/https://www.jstor.org/stable/2600756?seq=1>. [December 16, 2017].

două state au cooperat informal, cum ar fi în Afganistan sau Irak - au condus la intensificarea poziției ostile a SUA față de Iran în timpul administrațiilor lui Bill Clinton (1993-2000) și George W. Bush (2001-2009). Administrația președintelui Obama (2009-2016) a avut o abordare diferită față de Iran, în concordanță cu cea prezentată în campania electorală. După o fază promițătoare de angajament, primită cu reticență de administrația ultraconservatoare a lui Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, a urmat o nouă perioadă tensionată care a fost însă redirecționată spre dialog în timpul mandatului lui Hassan Rouhani.

Relația Uniunii Europene cu Iranul este una de lungă durată și, după dezmembrarea URSS, Republica Islamică a încercat să-și îmbunătățească relațiile externe. Inițial, majoritatea țărilor europene au fost „deschise spre legături mai bune cu Iranul”¹⁰, totuși, din cauza mai multor probleme internaționale, cum ar fi afacerea Salman Rushdie sau criza ostaticilor din ambasada SUA din Teheran, ritmul îmbunătățirii a încetinit. Transformarea Comunității Europene în UE și încercările sale de a dezvolta PESC au restrâns parțial relațiile bilaterale ale statelor cu Republica Islamică, întrucât politicile externe individuale au fost constrânse de politici mai largi ale UE. În acest context, nici măcar țări precum Germania, Franța sau Regatul Unit (membru al UE la acea vreme) nu au reușit să dezvolte cu ușurință legături cu Iranul¹¹. Cu toate acestea, UE a fost canalul de comunicare între Iran și restul Marilor Puteri și, din 2003, a facilitat un cadru de negocieri multilaterale dublat de o politică de angajament constructiv față de Iran. Mai mult, după retragerea unilaterală a SUA din JCPOA, negociatorii europeni și-au asumat rolul de mediator între administrația SUA și Iran.

Relațiile sino-iraniene de după Războiul Rece au fost influențate pozitiv de mai mulți factori. Dintre consecințele sistemice care au urmat dizolvării URSS, emergența SUA ca „singura superputere”¹² a acționat ca un impuls pentru îmbunătățirea relației sino-iraniene. Chiar dacă China și Iranul s-au confruntat uneori cu interese diferite, cele două țări au căutat întotdeauna scopurile comune care ar putea servi strategiilor lor regionale și internaționale.

Printre problemele cu care s-au confruntat China și Iranul, a fost reticența Beijingului de a se apropia prea mult de Teheran, chiar dacă Republica Islamică ar fi putut fi folosită ca o legătură strategică pentru a controla ambițiile SUA în regiune. Cu toate acestea, considerabilele „rezerve de petrol și gaze naturale”¹³ ale Iranului puteau fi utile pentru China, în timp ce pentru Iran aceasta a fost o bună oportunitate de a ușura presiunile exercitate asupra economiei sale de sancțiunile

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 82.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 84-85.

¹² S. Hunter (2010), *op. cit.* p. 121.

¹³ A. Scobell, A. Nader (2016), “China in the Middle East. The Wary Dragon”, *RAND Corporation*, p. 11. https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/research_reports/RR1200/RR1229/RAND_RR1229.pdf. [February 19, 2021].

americane. În plus, un Iran implicat într-o dispută cu SUA oferă Chinei „o oportunitate unică de a-și extinde influența în Orientul Mijlociu și ar putea stabili armata SUA din Golful Persic, astfel încât să fie mai greu de pivotat spre Pacific”¹⁴.

Relația Rusiei cu Iranul a avut un început ezitant, deoarece acesta din urmă nu a salutat dezmembrarea URSS, pentru că acel eveniment a lăsat Republica Islamică cu trei vecini instabili - Azerbaidjan, Armenia și Turkmenistan. Mai mult, primii doi vecini menționați erau angajați într-un „conflict armat asupra regiunii disputate din Nagorno-Karabakh. Acest conflict a pus Iranul în fața unor decizii politice sensibile și l-a făcut vulnerabil la consecințe negative, cum ar fi fluxul de refugiați azeri”¹⁵. În acest context, Republica Islamică a făcut tot posibilul pentru a îmbunătăți relațiile cu Rusia, „în ciuda lipsei de entuziasm a Moscovei pentru astfel de legături”¹⁶. Prin urmare, relațiile dintre Rusia și Iran au cunoscut „răsuciri drastice într-o perioadă scurtă de timp”¹⁷. Analizând relațiile ruso-iraniene între 1991 și 2011, Vladimir Sazhin (2003) „a numit această relație un „parteneriat vigilent”¹⁸. El a susținut că „deși dialogul pozitiv dintre Iran și Rusia era în interesul Moscovei, guvernul rus a urmărit cu atenție dezvoltarea relațiilor pentru a le împiedica să depășească un nivel care ar pune în pericol dialogul Moscovei cu alte țări”¹⁹.

SECȚIUNEA A V-A

Această secțiune este dedicată unui set de concluzii, încorporând constatările personale și câteva evaluări și previziuni cu privire la soarta JCPOA și rolul acestuia în viitoarele negocieri internaționale cu privire la problema neproliferării.

Ideea acestei cercetări s-a născut din următoarea premisă: concepția unei opere unice care să acopere întreaga perioadă a negocierilor nucleare, în timp ce descrie fiecare actor individual și modelul său de negociere cu Iranul. Toate cele de mai sus contribuie la **unicitatea** acestei cercetări, care diferă de toate celelalte lucrări ce abordează acest subiect prin **forma, conținutul și scopul** său. În afară de faptul că această lucrare este unică, este și **oportună**, deoarece programul nuclear al Iranului atrage din nou atenția sistemului internațional.

¹⁴ J. W. Garver (2011), “Is China Playing a Dual Game in Iran?”, *Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 34, Issue 1, p. 79. <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/0163660X.2011.538296>. [October 30, 2020].

¹⁵ S. T. Hunter (1990), *Iran and the World: Continuity in a Revolutionary Decade*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, pp. 83-93.

¹⁶ S. Hunter (2010), *op. cit.* p. 105.

¹⁷ V. Evseev (2010), “Rossiysko-Iranskoye Nastorozhennoye Partnerstvo” (“The Russian-Iranian Watchful Partnership”), *Vestnik Kavkaza*, July 5. <https://vestnikavkaza.ru/analytics/%20politika/22111.html>. [October 27, 2020].

¹⁸ N. Kozhanov, (2015), “Understanding The Revitalization Of Russian-Iranian Relations”, *Carnegie Moscow Center*, p. 7. https://carnegieendowment.org/files/CP_Kozhanov_web_Eng.pdf. [September 27, 2019].

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

JCPOA a stabilit un precedent pentru angajamentul constructiv și pentru gestionarea conflictelor din prima generație și a condus la un consens între state împărțite în funcție de orientarea ideologică și ale căror ambiții geopolitice sunt total diferite. Acordul nuclear iranian este un exemplu unic de multilateralism eficient și are capacitatea de a crea un precedent pentru orice viitoare negocieri nucleare și eforturi de neproliferare. Mai mult, JCPOA a reiterat și a restabilit într-o oarecare măsură importanța și autoritatea instituțiilor și tratatelor internaționale, precum CSONU, AIEA sau TNP.

Dintr-o perspectivă teoretică, JCPOA a demonstrat că, cooperarea dintre statele competitive într-un sistem anarhic poate fi atinsă și astfel frontierele care delimitează teoriile relațiilor internaționale devin mai subțiri, permițând cercetătorului să exploreze noi căi. Astfel, scopul prezentării procesului diplomatic, atât într-un format bilateral, cât și într-un format multilateral, a fost de a demonstra că este posibilă cooperarea între state cu ideologii, strategii și perspective diferite și că teoriile relațiilor internaționale se juxtapun atunci când obiectivul final este instrumental pentru toți actorii implicați în acel proces diplomatic.

Dincolo de obstacolele întâmpinate pe parcurs și în ciuda îngrijorărilor și constrângerilor, procesul negocierilor nucleare a plasat sistemul internațional pe calea multilateralismului, abordând în același timp preocupări foarte sensibile cu privire la ambițiile nucleare iraniene. După adoptarea JCPOA, Iranul a avut șansa de a începe reintegrarea în sistemul global și prin limitarea stocurilor de materiale nucleare, iar regiunea Orientului Mijlociu a devenit mai sigură.

La momentul finalizării acestei cercetări, negocierile nucleare de la Viena sunt în desfășurare. La încheierea celei de-a șasea runde, echipele diplomatice s-au întors în țările lor pentru a clarifica ultimele detalii politice necesare revigorării JCPOA.

Dosarul nord-coreean este un exemplu actual prin care se dovedește că abandonarea unui “acord care și-a limitat producția de plutoniu a dus la o problemă insurmontabilă”²⁰. Documentul intitulat “Agreed Framework”²¹ (1994) a avut defectele sale “și Coreea de Nord a înșelat”²², totuși acordul a redus, cel puțin pentru o anumită perioadă, în mod semnificativ programul său nuclear militar. Prin urmare, dacă Marile Puteri doresc să evite o nouă situație nord-coreeană, revigorarea și punerea în aplicare a unui acord criticat dar eficient, ar fi cea mai optimă soluție.

²⁰ M. Fitzpatrick (2017), “Assessing the JCPOA”, *Adelphi Series*, Vol. 57, Issue: 466-467, p. 60. <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/19445571.2017.1555914>. [October 12, 2017].

²¹ IAEA (2009), “Fact Sheet on DPRK Nuclear Safeguards”. <https://www.iaea.org/newscenter/focus/dprk/fact-sheet-on-dprk-nuclear-safeguards>. [July 1, 2021].

²² M. Fitzpatrick (2017), “Assessing the JCPOA”, *Adelphi Series*, Vol. 57, Issue: 466-467, p. 60. <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/19445571.2017.1555914>. [October 12, 2017].

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Interviuri

- COLIBASANU, A., *Geopolitical Futures*’ Senior Analyst, Associate Professor at SNSPA.
- FERUȚĂ, C., Former Acting Director General at IAEA.
- GÄRTNER, H., Professor at the Center for International Security and Cooperation at Stanford University.
- GOLMOHAMMADI, V., Assistant Professor at Tarbiat Modares University, Tehran, Iran.
- HUNTER, S. T., Research Professor at the Center for Muslim-Christian Understanding at Georgetown University in Washington, D.C.
- LAGGNER, B., Swiss Diplomat (Ambassador), Chair of the “Nuclear Suppliers Group” from 2017 to 2018.
- MOUSAVIAN, S. H., Iranian Diplomat and Former Negotiator for the JCPOA.
- PARSI, T., Co-Founder And Executive Vice President of the Quincy Institute For Responsible Statecraft, Former Adviser On Behalf of NIAC to US President Barack Obama.
- RAUF, T., Founder and CEO of Global Product, former Director of SIPRI, Senior Advisor to the Chair of the Disarmament Committee at the 2015 Non-Proliferation Treaty Review Conference.
- ROCKWOOD, L., Director of Open Nuclear Network, former Section Head for Non-Proliferation and Policy Making at the IAEA.
- SOKOV, N., Senior Fellow at James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies and Senior Fellow at the Vienna Center For Disarmament and Non-Proliferation.
- SOLTANIEH, A. A., Iran’s Ambassador to the IAEA, (1982-2987; 2006-2013).

ZWEIRI, M., Associate Professor - Director of Gulf Studies Center Contemporary History and Politics at Qatar University.

Conferințe și workshop-uri

HARVARD KENNEDY SCHOOL'S INSTITUTE OF POLITICS, "THE IRAN NUCLEAR NEGOTIATIONS: A DISCUSSION WITH WENDY SHERMAN", Cambridge, Massachusetts, October 7, 2015.

EURINT: "REFLECTING ON EUROPE'S (DIS)ORDER: SCENARIOS FOR THE EU'S FUTURE", Iași, May 18-19, 2018.

"INTERNATIONAL PEACE STUDIES CONFERENCE", Diplomatische Akademie Wien and Academic Council on the United Nations System, Vienna, May 28-29, 2018.

"IRAN IN THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM", International Institute for Peace, Workshop, Vienna, June 12-14, 2018.

"INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION IN THE 21st CENTURY – III", Yeditepe University Istanbul, October 10-11, 2018.

GEOPOLITICS FOR BUSINESS – RISK ANALYSIS WORKSHOP, Bucharest, March 16, 2019.

DIECE CONFERENCE – "MANAGING DIVERSITY IN THE PROCESS OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATION", Faculty of European Studies, University Babes-Bolyai, Cluj-Napoca, March 21-22, 2019.

SEPAD CONFERENCE – "SECTARIANISM, PROXIES AND DE-SECTARIANISM ACROSS THE MIDDLE EAST", Lancaster University, UK, March 28, 2019.

PSA ANNUAL INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE: „(UN)SUSTAINABLE POLITICS IN A CHANGING WORLD”, Nottingham Trent University, April 15-17, 2019.

COUNCIL FOR EUROPEAN STUDIES – "SOVEREIGNTIES IN CONTENTION: NATIONS, REGIONS AND CITIZENS IN EUROPE", Madrid, June 20-22, 2019.

INTERNATIONAL AGENCY ENERGY AGENCY – "INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON CLIMATE CHANGE AND THE ROLE OF NUCLEAR POWER", IAEA, Vienna, October 7-11, 2019.

INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AND EUROPEAN AFFAIRS, "American and the Post-Pandemic World", Discussion with H. E. William Burns, Webinar, July 15, 2020.

VIENNA CENTER FOR DISARMAMENT AND NON-PROLIFERATION (VCDN) - short course on nuclear non-proliferation and disarmament, online course, October 15-29, 2020.

THE EUROPEAN UNION'S EXTERNAL RELATIONS AND GLOBAL ORDER (EUXGLOB): "THE NEW TRANSATLANTIC RELATIONS AND THE PERSPECTIVES OF THE GLOBAL ORDER", Online, Faculty of European Studies, University Babes-Bolyai, Cluj-Napoca, April 15, 2021.

"IRAN AFTER THE ROUHANI PRESIDENCY: DEBRIEFING THE JUNE 18th ELECTION", NATIONAL IRANIAN AMERICAN COUNCIL, Online, June 21, 2021.

"IRAN, RUSSIA, AND CHINA IN THE POST US WITHDRAWAL AFGHAN LANDSCAPE", Middle East Institute (Washington, DC), Online, June 25, 2021.

"IRAN'S THIRTEENTH PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS. REGIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL IMPLICATIONS", Qatar University, Doha, June 28, 2021.