

## **Pillars of Strength in The Nuclear Negotiations between Iran and The Great Powers (5+1)**

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### **Abstract**

This research examines the causes as well as motives that contributed to a landmark nuclear agreement with the U.S. and the Islamic Republic of Iran. It also finds out a combination of internal factors in Iran, which in turn led to that agreement.

An examination of these influencing factors, we can ensure that the United States needs a comprehensive and strategically diplomatic approach to dealing with the Islamic Republic of Iran because of the threats that Iran poses to U.S. interests in the region. More generally, the window of opportunity for achieving a diplomatic breakthrough is needed because of Iran's progress in developing its military capabilities, an increase in Iran's regional standing and capacity to attack any great power. Therefore, the west and Obama's administration believe that the international parties must adopt a comprehensive approach to diplomacy with Iran over the nuclear issue as it happened in the Vienna agreement, which gave Iran all its nuclear rights.

The growing influence of Iran in the region, and at a time when the Middle East witnesses the gradual decrease of US influence have forced the United States to make a "grand bargain" with Iran—that is, an overarching framework in which outstanding bilateral differences are resolved, which resulted in the Vienna agreement that guarantees the peaceful nuclear rights to the Islamic republic under strategically meaningful limits on its nuclear activities.

The results show that Iran has succeeded in having and developing military strategy, which in turn designed to defend against external or hard threats from the United States and Israel. Therefore, the US must think deeply about the disastrous costs of military action against Tehran, and accept Iran as a great regional power that cannot be defeated.

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**Keywords:** Iran, negotiations, pillars, power, alliances, geopolitics, military capabilities.

## **Introduction**

Iran has its nuclear rights due to many factors, which are: internal features in Iran, its regional and international alliances that ended by the Vienna agreement between Tehran and the great powers (5+1). Besides, in the midst of the dramatic changes in the international system that affected its structure at the end of the era of unilateral after two and a half decades for the collapse of the Eastern bloc, the features of a new international system started to appear due to a series of retreats in the hegemony of the great powers.

The importance of this research reflects that the changes in the international system have paved the way to maintain the American-Iranian relations. They also play an essential role in increasing the influence of Iran as a great power and the only alternative for the United States.

The study aims to identify the nature of the internal and external factors, which contributed to Vienna agreement between Tehran and the west after decades of diplomatic as well as military conflicts in the Middle East.

The research tries to find answers to the following questions concerning the pillars of strength in the Iranian nuclear negotiations with the great powers (5+1):

- How does the regional influence of Iran affect the negotiations with the great powers?
- What are the internal and external factors that affect the negotiations with the great powers?

The study hypothesis is that Iran's increasing influence in Middle East is mainly caused by internal changes in Iran and the US, the dramatic changes in the regional and international arenas. These factors contributed to the substantial changes regarding the negotiations over the nuclear issue, and the West's need for the role of Russia and Iran to control the regional conflicts on the Islamic State, which in turn facilitate the way to reach an international understanding in the Vienna agreement.

The methodology used in this research is the analytical approach in order to analyze the factors and changes that contributed to the Vienna agreement with Iran and the great powers (5+1), which will help understand the changes that affected the relations between Iran and the West that will enhance Iran's influence in the region.

## **Historical Background**

Important changes in Iran's regional status have in many ways expanded Iran's influence in the Middle East. This ambition rests on Iran's being a key country in the region, positioned at an important geo-strategic junction and boasting an ancient culture and imperial past. Iran's territory and its population are among the largest powers in the Middle East. It has

great economic potential and the capability of building impressive military power, including nonconventional capabilities. The Persian civilization traced its roots to The Safavid dynasty that was founded about 1501 by Shah Ismail I and the establishment of the Islamic Republic after the Islamic Revolution 1979 by Khamenei. The Islamic Republic started its journey by having its peaceful nuclear rights, which were rejected by the great powers, but this did not prevent Iran from developing its military capabilities and nuclear weapons.

The nuclear program of Iran was launched in the 1950s with the help of the United States. The support, encouragement and participation of the United States and Western European governments in Iran's nuclear program continued until the 1979 Iranian Revolution that toppled the Shah of Iran. After the 1979 revolution, the Iranian government temporarily disbanded elements of the program, and then revived it with less Western assistance than during the pre-revolution era.

International interest in Iran was heightened dramatically in 2002, when the existence of two nuclear sites was revealed by an exiled Iranian resistance group. Within a year, the world realized that Iran had built or was building everything needed to produce enriched uranium, which could fuel nuclear weapons as well as nuclear reactors. Iran insists that its nuclear program is peaceful.

Throughout this period, the nuclear program was largely a concern of Iran's political elites. The Supreme National Security Council technically acted as the body that reflected all political tendencies. Its decisions therefore reflected a national consensus. In 1968 Iran signed the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), the international treaty that regulates international nuclear activities and aims to prevent the proliferation, or spread, of nuclear weapons.

Iran's ensuing negotiations with Britain, France and Germany proved unproductive and added to mutual suspicions. With the U.S. military preoccupied in Iraq, the threat of military action against Iran receded.

Two factors spurred intense backlash—and a reaction on the other side of the street. First, the United Nations imposed a series of U.N. resolutions between 2006 and 2010 that included punitive sanctions. The United States and the European Union imposed even tougher unilateral sanctions. For the Iranian public, the costs of continued defiance became increasingly clear—and complicated daily life. Second, Iran's disputed 2009 election—won by Ahmadinejad amid widespread allegations of fraud—sparked the largest protests against the regime since the 1979 revolution. President-elect Hassan Rouhani linked the nuclear issue to domestic discontent, stating that Iranians needed more than centrifuges spinning for their well-being.

### **Theoretical Framework of the study:**

The political settlements between Iran and the USA in the Middle East have created a wide controversy between academics and thinkers at global and regional levels. This happens in the light of Iran's policies that have been largely successful in the Levant, giving itself an unprecedented degree of influence at the expense of the United States, and after entering the competitive regional arena as a result of increasing conflicts in Syria and Iraq.

In order to understand the negotiations over the relationships between Iran and the USA, it should be noted that there are many theories that explain this converting. According to the realist theory, the international system is concerned with states that always act in accordance with their national, economic or political interests. Therefore, the more powerful the state is the less wars and violence will arise. Based upon this theory, Iran having a nuclear weapons capability can potentially increase its influence as well as avoid military confrontation. Besides, America sees that the military confrontation with Iran will threaten its influence in the Middle East.

Alliance formation theory (Balance of Power) is connected with relationships of security cooperation between two or more sovereign states in order to avoid dilemmas. In this view, Iran regional and international alliances have magnified the urgency for diplomatic solutions. In addition to the balance of threat theory, which maintains that attaining the military and nuclear capabilities is the most important concern of the countries that is defined as power plus perceived aggressiveness. The Iranian threat and the fear it produced by attaining these capabilities became a powerful driver for establishing a balance threat in order to seek survival in the international system.

The Theory of games assume that the situation is a win-lose problem, and they respond very aggressively, or competitively, trying to get as much as possible for themselves, and consequently as little as possible for their opponents. This tends to increase the opposition of the other side, cause the conflict to escalate. A cooperative conflict, on the other hand, can often improve even win-lose situations, as the parties can learn more about what each needs and then determine together the fairest way to cooperate.

The last theory is the international negotiations, which examines negotiation and its research methodology. In his book, Mohamed Badr Aldin talked about the theoretical methodology of international negotiations. He assumed that there are four dimensions, which offered some explanations about the international negotiations process. The first dimension defined negotiations as collection of processes in which two or more parties with conflicting and compatible goals and interests and seek to reach agreement on a transaction by a swap. The second one considers negotiations as a

strategic interaction between two parties. This interaction is defined as a collection of behavioral patterns, which is expressed by individual parties that are cooperating to make decisions. The third one considers negotiations as a joint decision-making process in which points of views are used in order to reach an agreement. As for the last dimension, negotiations are defined as a bargaining process between two parties seeking to reach an agreement to settle a matter of mutual concern or resolve a conflict.

### **The Geopolitics of Iran:**

Iran holds a position of huge strategic importance among the three major powers in the world today as well as a regional importance among the nations of the Persian Gulf both militarily and geopolitically. It is, in effect, a border between the interests of the East and the West, in addition to bridging two vital centers of energy, namely, the Caspian Sea and the Persian Gulf, assumes an importance greater than ever before. Today, the overarching significance of Oil in the global economy has vividly added to Iran's importance not only as a passive link, but as a key player and indeed instigator and arbiter of events transpiring in the entire adjacent region. Iran's southern coast offering Iran easily exercisable hard power in the narrow Gulf and Strait of Hormuz.

Iran is the 17th largest country in world. It measures 1,684,000 square kilometers according to (**GLASSAER**) classification. This means that its territory is larger than the combined territories of France, Germany, the Netherlands, Belgium, Spain and Portugal — Western Europe. Iran is the 16th most populous country in the world, with about 70 million people. Its population is larger than the populations of either France or the United Kingdom. More important are its topographical barriers. Iran is defined, above all, by its mountains, which form its frontiers, enfold its cities and describe its historical heartland.

Iran is the second largest economy in the Middle East after Saudi Arabia, with an estimated Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of US\$406.3 billion. Iran also ranks second in the world in natural gas reserves and fourth in proven crude oil reserves.

The main goal of Iran is clear since it is a regional dominant power, which has huge geopolitical capabilities – population (75 million), area (1.6 square kilometers), and oil and gas reserves (save more than 30 million Dollars every year), an old Persian civilization, and huge conventional military power. Therefore, the development of nuclear energy—is the only sound and responsible energy strategy for Iran in order to have all the capabilities of a great power.

## **The development of Iran's Military Strength**

During the last two decades, Iran has placed significant emphasis on developing and fielding the military power to counter perceived threats from enemies in the Middle East and to project power in the region.

Based upon the Military Doctrine that has been applied in Iran during the decades of the international siege, which was imposed after the Islamic Revolution 1979, Iran has historically developed its military force strength to include mechanized infantry, and infantry units close to its borders with other countries. This reflects Iran's perception of threats and defensive military doctrine, which is designed to slow an invasion and force a diplomatic solution to hostilities. Iranian military training and public statements echo this defensive doctrine of delay and attrition. Iran has made this in order to reach the strategic interests of other powers and enemies' alliances like Israel. The Iranian missiles vary as the following:

### **Iran's Shorter Range rockets and Missiles:**

Iran's shorter-range artillery rockets can deliver mass fires against nearby tactical targets, and they are:

- The Zelzal 1 is a solid fueled-artillery rocket that has a maximum range of 150 km and a 600 kg warhead.
- The Zelzal 2 has a maximum range of 210 km and a 600 kg warhead.
- The Zelzal 3 that designed with a range of 150-400 km.
- Fateh 110 has a range of 200 km.
- Shahab-1 has a range of 315 km with 1000 kg warhead.
- Shahab-2 armed with a 1000 kg warhead and has a range of 375 km.

### **Iran's Medium Range rockets and Missiles:**

Iran's medium missile systems include a wide range of medium-range ballistic missiles (MRBMs) that can cover the range from Iran to targets across the Gulf, and throughout the areas near Iran's borders with Iraq and Kuwait. These missiles are:

- Shahab-3 has a range of 2100 km with a 760-100 kg warhead and a 16-58 m length.
- Fajr-3 has a range of 2500 km with a 5.2 m length.
- Ashura has a range of 2000-2500 km with a 750 kg warhead and a 18 m length.
- Qader has a range of 2000-3000 km with a 750 kg warhead and a 15.6 m length.

### **Iran's long Range rockets and Missiles:**

Iran's existing missile forces give it the capability to attack targets in the Gulf and near its border with long-range missiles and rockets. Iran can attack targets in Israel, throughout the region, and beyond with its longest-range ballistic missiles. This constantly evolving family of missiles have the range to attack virtually any target in Israel, the Levant, the Gulf and Arabian Peninsula, Turkey, Pakistan and part of Central Asia, and targets in Southern Russia and Europe. They are also a threat to America's Arab allies and other powers in the region, to the flow of world energy exports, and to the global and U.S. economy. Such missiles can, however, hit large area-sized targets, and disrupt military and economic operations, and civil life. These rockets are:

- Sajjil has a range of 3000 km with a 750 kg warhead and a 18 m length.
- Shahab-5 has a range of 3000-5000 km.

Iran has successfully test-fired a new precision-guided, long-range missile. The Emad (Pillar) surface-to-surface missile, designed and built by Iranian experts, is the country's first long-range missile that can be precision-guided until it reaches its target. The liquid-propelled rocket had a range of 1,700 kilometers (1,056 miles) and was accurate to within 500 meters (1,640 feet) of the target. The rocket could carry a 750-kilogram warhead and was scheduled for deployment sometime after 2016.

Iran continued to develop Ballistic missiles that can help release nuclear weapons in order to join the competitive arena, which has economic and military conflicts. By going so, Iran has made a strategic progress that will add to its regional interests and military strength, so that it can spread its influence and measure the military danger on its territories.

### **Iran's Radar System to Monitor and Control Remote Flights:**

Iran unveiled two new home-made radar systems named Nazir and Bina with the capability of detecting radar-evading targets and fighting against electronic warfare. Nazir is a long-range and high-precision radar system which is highly capable of detecting targets in low radar cross section and is resistant to radar evading and antiradar missiles. The radar can detect all radar-evading targets and is capable of fighting electronic warfare Bina and Nazir radar systems have been mounted in the mountainous and plain regions in Southeastern Iran. The radars have been designed in different frequencies and with jump frequently and also in special bands which cannot be heard by the enemies. They are multi-range radars meaning that they can detect wide body and stealth targets as well as small planes, including drones, in long distances before they can approach Iranian borders. Iran also has new smart anti-ship ballistic missile with a 250- to 300-kilometer range,

and that they were manufacturing radars with 500-kilometer ranges and had finished studies on developing a 300-kilometer coastal radar and 60-kilometer ship-borne radar.

Iran has carried on all the potential efforts to have the power's tools until recently, the government of Russia, led by President Vladimir Putin, signed a contract in 2007 for the delivery of S-300 missile defense system to Iran at the cost of USD 800 million. However, following a delay of three years, then the Russian president, Dmitri Medvedev, announced in 2010 that his country had banned delivery of the missile defense system to Iran. The S-300 missile defense system has a range of up to 400 km and its most advanced version can track 100 targets simultaneously and engage 12 targets, including stealth planes and ballistic missiles. Such a defense capability would have immunized Iran's nuclear sites against any military attack and would have also changed the parameters of the nuclear negotiations between Iran and the world powers.

### **Iran's Air Power:**

Iran's air force plays a vital role in strengthening Iran's regional influence throughout its personnel, aircrafts and their kinds. It is estimated that 52,000 personnel are serving in the Iranian air force at present, while the number of aircrafts that have the ability to attack any target is 471, and they are as follows:

- Fighters \ interceptors: 137
- Fixed-Wing attack aircraft: 119
- Transport aircraft: 196
- Trainer aircraft: 78
- Helicopters: 123
- Attack Helicopters: 12

### **Iran's Ground Force:**

The Islamic Republic of Iran has the biggest ground force in the Middle East. The number of conventional personnel is estimated at 523000, in addition to the spare force with a number of 350000, while the number of the paramilitary force (Basij) is estimated at 1000000. Moreover, Iran has more than 1693 tanks and more than 8196 guns including rockets' launchers.

### **Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps**

The Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC) is a separate organization from the Regular Armed Forces, although its activities run in parallel and are coordinated by the Armed Forces General Staff. The IRGC is considered, on the whole, to be well trained, well-armed, highly motivated

and politically influential, thereby giving it a privileged position in terms of funding and resources. In total the IRGC consists of 125,000 personnel, divided into ground forces, naval forces, marines and air forces and represents nearly a quarter of Iran's total regular military forces (24%).

Because of the international threats that surrounded the Islamic Republic of Iran, an Iranian missile facility situated a staggering 500 meters underground in an unspecified mountain range and still would be "hard but not impossible" for the United States to destroy. The Islamic republic's long-range missile bases are stationed and ready under the high mountains in all the country's provinces and cities. The show of strength was in response to analysts who doubted about the strategic gains for Iran after signing the Vienna agreement. This military achievement proved that Iran has not been subjected to international restrictions that affect its right to have nuclear technology, which protect Iran's interests from any attack.

### **Iran's Navy Force:**

Iran's current regime has also been cautious about any form of military action that would threaten its survival and control over the country. It certainly has strategic ambitions and has pursued the development of the naval power to expand its influence in the Levant. The build-up of Iran's naval power poses a wide range of threats to other powers in the region. This power has the ability to surprise US forces, and Iran has steadily increased its naval capability to attack targets in the Gulf of Oman, Arabian Sea, Indian Sea and the Red Sea.

Iran's Navy power continues to grow to attack any dangerous targets. It had more than 20,000 men including 5,000 marines. Iran has three kilo-class submarines bought from Russia in 1990, and is building two small submarines on its own. Its kilo-class submarines can fire long-range homing torpedoes and lay smart and conventional mines. It acquired its first Ghadir-class 120-150-ton midget submarine in 2007 and now has up to 17. The kilo can carry a mix of 18 homing and wire-guided torpedoes. Iran bought 1000 modern Russian mines along with the kilos and that the mines were equipped with modern magnetic, acoustic, and pressure sensors. Iran's ability to use its submarines to deliver mines and fire wake-homing torpedoes at ranges of up to 4000-6000 meters gives it a potential capability to strike in ways that are difficult to detect or deter. Its submarines can fire long-range homing torpedoes that can be used against tanker-sized targets and to attack slow-moving combat ships that are not on alert or lack sonars or countermeasures. Iran's navy also has three rockets' launchers, two torpedoes with guns that have a range of 76 mm, more than 146 coastal defense crafts, 13 amphibious ships and 26 logistic ships, and 5 mines warfare.

Iran's Navy force is a central point in the total power of Iran since it protects Iran from any external attacks, affects the interest of enemies and their alliances in the region because it can destroy the trade in Strait of Hormuz, and has the ability to occupy the Gulf if the military action is chosen over Iran.

### **The Expansion of the Iranian Influence in the Middle East:**

No country in the Middle East has Iran's combination of geographic size, strategic location, large and educated population, ancient history, and vast natural resources. Regardless of whom rules Tehran, these attributes will always fuel aspirations of regional primacy. Iran's external ambitions were cloaked in nationalism and prioritized developing Iranian power and influence within the international system. Since the 1979 revolution and the advent of the Islamic Republic, Iran's foreign policy has been cloaked in an anti-Imperialist, Islamist revolutionary ideology that has expanded the country's regional influence by challenging the international system.

The war on terror has supported Iran to enhance its influence as a regional power. The collapse of the Iraqi and Afghani systems, which were considered as major threats to Tehran, have also helped Iran to spread its influence in the regions like Iraq, Afghanistan, Lebanon, Gaza, Middle Asia, Africa and Latin America. In Iraq, Tehran's policies have been largely successful, giving Iran an unprecedented degree of influence there at the expense of the United States and of Baghdad's Arab neighbors. A friendly Iraq is not only an important part of the Iranian-led "axis of resistance" but also serves as an opportunity for Iran to evade the increasingly harsh international sanctions regime and to continue financing regional groups.

The presence of Iran in the Levant was accompanied with the failure of the American hegemony in its wars on terror. Iraq and Afghanistan are witnessing a huge spread of the Iranian forces, and they have control over the Middle East and parts of the Horn of Africa. Recently, they reached to the centre of Europe and the United States without any American efforts to stop their spread. These regional and international realities have created a historical chance for Iran to enter the arena under the slogan "Fighting Terror".

The absence of the Arab role, which is not subjected to the Western Dependency, has contributed to the spread of Iran's influence in the Middle East, and facilitated its task to be a dominant power in the region after decades of conflict that has supported Iran with power because of its unlimited support for the Palestinian case.

This scene has opened the doors for Iran to spread its influence in the regions that have conflicts. Unlike all the other estimates, the international community accepted the existence of Iran in Syria and Iraq since it is

important to stop the expansion of the Islamic State. U.S. acquiescence to this existence is happened due to the failure of America in its wars on the Islamic State.

Undoubtedly, Iran is expanding its influence and forming new alliances in order to meet its strategic interests since it is one of the regional and international powers, which deals with the map of the region according to its regional security. It becomes clear that Iran is the only dominant power in the international arena with no competitors, and after the withdrawal of the United States from the Middle East as a major player due to its military withdrawal from Iraq.

### **Iran's Regional and International Alliances:**

Since 1979, Iran seeks to increase its stature by countering U.S. influence and expanding ties with regional actors while advocating Islamic solidarity. It also seeks to demonstrate to the world its "resistance" to the West. Iran is attempting to secure political, economic, and security influence in Iraq and Afghanistan while undermining U.S. efforts by supporting various political groups, providing developmental and humanitarian assistance, and furnishing lethal aid to regions. In an attempt to increase influence in the Levant, Iran has also signed economic and security agreements with other nations, particularly in Latin America and Africa, and is attempting to do the same in the broader Middle East region.

Since the Islamic revolution of 1979, having the support from another Arab state has been incredibly important for Iran, they needed an ally that had common enemies (such as Israel, and Western Powers), and could share its ideology and political identity. Therefore, Syria was the most important alliance because the interests and ideologies of both states have met at times. With Syria's current situation, the state is in terrible need of assistance from its loyal allies, and Iran has vowed to continue to support and maintain its ties with Syria. But Iran is not the only one that is supporting the al-Assad regime during its current conflict, Hezbollah, one of the most important factors that has come out from the collaboration between Iran and Syria is also pulling for Bashar to stay in power.

In Iraq, the U.S. military ousting of Saddam Hussein in 2003 benefitted Iran strategically by removing a long-time antagonist and producing governments led by Shiite Islamists who have long-standing ties to Iran.

Iran appears to attach increasing weight to its relations with Russia, which is a permanent member of the U.N. Security Council, the member of the P5+1 that was perhaps the most accepting of Iran's positions in the JCPOA negotiations. Russia has been Iran's main supplier of conventional weaponry and a significant supplier of missile-related technology. Other

issues similarly align Iran and Russia. Since 2014, Iran and Russia have apparently both seen themselves as targets of Western sanctions. In 2014, Iran and Russia signed a memorandum of understanding on defense cooperation, including military drills. Russia and Iran reportedly agreed to a broad trade and energy deal which might include an exchange of Iranian oil (500,000 barrels per day) for Russian goods. On the other hand, China, a permanent member of the U.N. Security Council and a P5+1 party to the JCPOA, is Iran's largest oil customer. China has also been a supplier of advanced conventional arms to Iran, including cruise missile-armed fast patrol boats that the IRGC Navy operates in the Persian Gulf. There have been reports that, particularly prior to 2010, some Chinese firms had supplied ballistic missile guidance and other WMD-related technology to Iran. China also is the largest buyer of Iranian oil.

North Korea is one of the few countries with which Iran has formal military-to-military relations, and the two countries have cooperated on a wide range of military and WMD-related ventures, particularly the development of ballistic missile technology. In the past, Iran reportedly funded and assisted in the re-transfer of missile and possibly nuclear technology from North Korea to Syria.

European approaches on Iran have converged since 2002, when Iran was found to be developing a uranium enrichment capability. Previously, European countries had appeared somewhat less concerned than the United States about Iranian policies and were reluctant to sanction Iran.

After the passage of Resolution 1929 in 2010, European Union (EU) sanctions on Iran became nearly as extensive as those of the United States due to the uranium enrichment in Arak and Natanz. In 2012, the EU banned imports of Iranian crude oil and natural gas. Still, the EU countries generally conducted trade relations in civilian goods that are not the subject of any sanctions.

Diplomatic Relations between Europe and Iran have maintained. Their efforts have succeeded in facilitating the Vienna agreement, which gives Iran the right to have nuclear technology under interim restrictions. After the announcement of signing Vienna agreement, the relations between the two countries have resumed again.

### **The collapse of Unipolarity in favor of pluralism:**

In 1991 the international system awoke to a new multipolar world. The lowering of the flag of the Soviet Union for the last time the previous evening marked the end of the bipolar structure of international relations that had existed for decades. By the time the Soviet Union collapsed, the bipolar world had already become the most dominant one with no competitors. America exerts all the potential efforts to achieve global hegemony over the

world and the Middle East. The terrorist attacks of 9/11 placed the United States in a position to exercise its political objectives of securing national interests through military means. So, it invaded Iraq and Afghanistan, and the result was huge military, the budgetary and economic costs associated with the wars in both regions, and the military withdrawal from the countries without achieving any goals, which are to stop the expansion of terror in the east and the west.

The world is facing a dangerous power vacuum. This vacuum is developing because the US is currently in a phase of relative decline while China, India and Brazil are claiming international standing and is being able to fill its role in the Middle East. Iran is becoming a global actor and is gaining relative strength. It has entered the wars in Iraq and Syria, so it became a major player in the international arena.

The American's setbacks have reached the center of power. The global financial crisis affected virtually all areas, including the process of globalization. Housing prices crashed; foreclosures became commonplace; unemployment reached 10 percent in the United States and higher levels in Europe and elsewhere; manufacturing declined sharply, especially in the automotive industry; students were faced with higher costs as colleges suffered financial losses; finding jobs after college became more challenging; and a global recession created widespread hardships. U.S. exports fell by almost 24 percent in 2008 and China surpassing Japan to become the world's second-largest economy.

According to recent statistics regarding the U.S. debt, they show that the American's debt reached about 18.107 trillion Dollars, and they expected that it will reach 21.845 trillion Dollars at the end of 2015. As for the statistics concerning Trade Deficit, the U.S. monthly international trade deficit increased in October 2015 according to the U.S. Bureau of Economic Analysis and the U.S. Census Bureau. The deficit increased from \$42.5 billion to \$43.9 billion in October, as exports decreased more than imports. Therefore, the United States is facing a very difficult economic situation, which in turn represents a sign for a near retreat.

Due to the decline of America and the rise of regional powers like China and Iran, the economies of Brazil, Russia, India and China combined, originally projected to be the fastest growing market economies in the world. Together, the BRICS account for more than 40 per cent of the global population, nearly 30 per cent of the land mass, and a share in world GDP (in PPP terms) that reached 18%, and 15% of the world trade.

At the same time, the international system is witnessing difficult situations since the beginning of the Crimean crisis, which fell under the Russia control. This crisis as well as Georgia's events have revealed the strength of the Russian Power in the regions. These crises have ended up

with the Russian interference in Syria and Iraq after applying the systems of s-300 in Syria, using the submarines in the Caspian Sea, and using the Russian launchers to strike the sites of the Islamic State in the region. So, the international system becomes multipolar due to the collapse of the Unipolarity, the retreat of America and the rise of regional and global powers.

### **Conclusion:**

International sanctions are "constraining" Iran's capacity to purchase supplies and equipment to develop nuclear and ballistic missile technology, but Tehran continues to actively seek way to overcome the measures, and it is now in its way to achieve the dreams, which Iran paved the way to since 1979, and have all the rights to have nuclear weapons.

The internal factors in Iran, such as population (77 million) and area (1.6 square kilometers), natural and energetic resources, its mountainous terrains and its military capabilities have affected the international decisions regarding the nuclear issue, which led to Vienna agreement. On the other hand, external factors like regional and international alliances have also affects the international decisions.

Another important factor, which is the decline of the American hegemony at the regional and the international levels due to its failure in wars on Iraq and Afghanistan, has created a new international system characterized by Multipolarity and the rise of new great powers.

The failure of wars on terror has led to the collapse of the United States, the spread of the terror in the east and the west as well as the rise of Iran's and Russia's influence in the international arena.

The Vienna agreement is growing along side with the growth of Iran in the region. Iran has built up strategic alliances that helped Iran emerged from the isolation before the Vienna agreement. These days. The world needs for military and economic powers like Iran in order to stop the spread of terror in the Middle East, Europe, Africa and America. Therefore, Iran's interference in wars of Iraq and Syria is important because they are its alliances. This helps understand the Iranian existence in the regions and the change of the America position concerning the Syrian government.

What has happened in Iran regarding the collapse of the military action against Iran can be seen in Syria today. This can be identified as the change of the regional and international realities. Besides, it is an indicator to read the Vienna agreement or any agreement in the future that can end the Syrian conflict. The fact that Iran, Russia and China are major regional and international powers, and the fall of the American hegemony will also enhance the reading of the Vienna agreement.

The strangling of oil exports through the Strait of Hormuz is a tactical Iranian step that killed the American dream and its alliances about striking the Iranian sites in the region. It also forced the West to sit with Tehran to find a solution concerning the nuclear issue after the signing of the Vienna agreement on July 14, 2015.

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