

**The Effect of Normative and Cognitive Ideas on the Foreign Policy  
(Case study: European Union and the Iran's Nuclear Program)**

**Document Type:** Case- Study

**Parviz Ahadi\***

Received: 2021/10/23

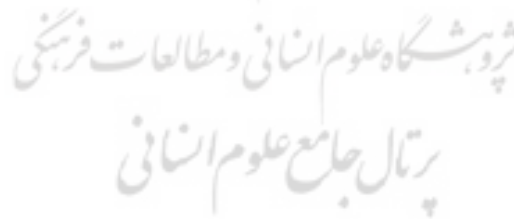
Accepted: 2022/01/06

**Abstract**

Normative and Cognitive Ideas has a great effect on the Foreign Policy. In fact, today the most international relations theories and models-in contrast to traditional theories such as realism- believe that states decide according to numerous and different factors including normative and cognitive ideas, procedures, meanings, and interpretations of ideas. Normative and cognitive ideas define a situation's interpretation. In this framework, considering the international position of the European Union as a great power and its role in international issues and crises, this article analysis its normative and cognitive Ideas in response to the Iranian nuclear program. This research endeavor to answer the question that what is the role of the normative and cognitive ideas of the European Union in dealing with the Iranian nuclear crisis? The article hypothesizes that the EU's response to crises and intergovernmental convergence over international crises like the Iran nuclear issue is sourced out of a single interpretation by normative and cognitive ideas of EU member states.

**Keywords:**

European Union, Normative and Cognitive Ideas, Identity, Iran Nuclear program.



---

\* Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science and International Relations, Islamic Azad University, Bonab Branch, Bonab, Iran  
p.ahadi1399@gmail.com

### **Introduction**

The discussion of normative and cognitive factors in political science is too crucial and effective, particularly normative and cognitive issues that define things such as "what is", "what they do" or "what is good or bad". Cooperation in EU governments is often according to a specific interpretations of normative and cognitive ideas that may conclude to cooperation or non-cooperation among EU members, on the ability and power of actors such as governments, institutions and organizations to influence policy-making, likewise. They play a vital key role in the European Union and have a great influence.

Normative and cognitive ideas in governments cultivate similar or different points and interpretations, for instance, in international cases that the government deems useful and appropriate, it may conclude to inclination and cooperation, or else they lead to non-cooperation. In any case, in foreign policy, if the interpretations are united within a separate normative space and the response to crises leads to consensus, but if they diverge, they move towards non-cooperation. It is noteworthy that in certain crisis situations, ideas in the EU remain stable to the end, but ideas may not be the only variable to examine the EU's capabilities in international affairs collectively, but ideas play different roles in the EU's response to international affairs. For instance in the case of Iran's nuclear program, it has concluded to cooperation between EU members, hence this article is in pursuit of examining how normative and cognitive ideas in the EU work towards cooperation and agreement on how to deal with the Iranian nuclear crisis.

### **1. Theoretical framework: Constructivism**

Constructivism can be viewed as an approach between positivists and meta-positivists. There are two parts of ontology and epistemology in international relations, which is the focus of this approach on ontology. In this theory, 3 main propositions about ontology are expressed:

- Structures from the treatment of actors, whether government or individuals. They maintain that normative or intellectual structures are as significant as material structures, and they hold that structures constitute the social identity of actors.

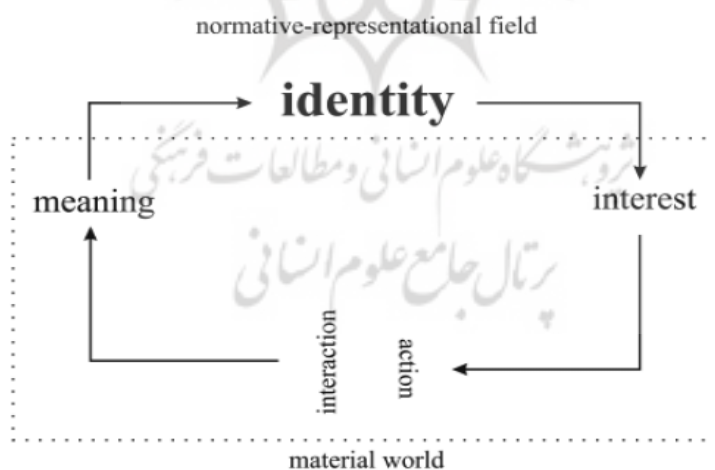
- Identities inspire interests and actions, and understanding that they care about understanding how material structures condition the identities of actors is that identities are the foundation of interests. They believe that structures and actors are mutually consistent with each other, they do not distinguish between structure and agent. They believe that structures are the result of the consequences of agents' actions. (Moshirzadeh and Talebi, 2014: 284,285)

- In ontology, on the one side, they pay close attention to norms, ideas, meanings of rules and procedures, and on the other hand, they highlight the role of the creation and development of intellectual factors against materialism. It is maintained that actors no matter individuals or governments, act on the meanings that are shaped in interaction, accentuating the existence of inter subjective understandings. This approach is a new attitude and position for values, practices, Identity shapes and expresses individual interests in international relations. Ideas, values, norms and identities are very effective and strong in shaping world politics and identity is shaped by agents. (Moshirzadeh and Talebi, 2014: 299).

There are numerous issues about the beliefs of constructivist theorists, some of which we will concisely state down below.

- Culture, based on constructivists, defines social and legal norms and how to use them through reasoning and communication to shape the identity and interests of actors and consider culture as the fabric of society.
- Highlight the transformation of political practices.
- The government is deemed the major actor in international relations.
- They do not only deem the form of the international system as self-help but also believe in cooperation (Moshirzadeh and Talebi, 2014: 304-303).

**Figure1: The Constructivist Perspective on Political/Social Reality (Ghica 2013).**



source: authors

In this approach, the formation of interests is seen as endogenous, that is, it is the result of acquiring identity. For how interests are formed on social identities, actors emphasize that these interests are due to social relations (Wahabpour, 2005: 129). The significant issues of constructivists are the identity of actors. Emphasize the impact of immaterial structures on identity and interests and the role of procedures in maintaining or evolving structures. They believe that normative and intellectual structures form identities and interests in three ways: Imagination means what they do that is morally and practically possible and necessary, Communication and Limitation (Moshirzadeh and Talebi, 2014: 288). In addition, constructivist theorists, especially system constructivists such as Alexander Went, on the identity of the state believe that there are two types of identities for states: social identity and corporate identity. Collective identity goes back to the internal material, cultural and human characteristics of states and illuminates the nature of their meaning.

Social identity refers to the concept that an actor presents in international relations of himself and others. Constructivists define how governments think and behave in world politics based on their perception of the world, which stems from their beliefs about the world, as well as about themselves and other states. Therefore states observe their relations in international relations as subject to the social constructs from which they derive their meanings. One of the methods of constructivists is to recognize some of the concepts they use (smith, 2008: 313). Constructivists offer a new interpretation of the world and generally believe that the world is constructed. As a result, the interests of state are changing and evolving, represented by identities. For this reason, the identity of states is considered very important in the creation and formation of interests and is the product of inter-mental structures (Abbasi ashalaghi and Farrokhi, 2010: 39-42). According to Went, international politics is the end result of social identity and social identity is the result of interaction between actors. It is in these social interactions that states form certain structures and send a series of messages and signals to each other according to their perceptions of themselves and others. States interpret these messages based on their perceptions, identities, and semantic structures, and based on that friend and recognize their enemy in the international arena (Wendt, 1992: 330-331).

## **2. Identity in the European Union Foreign Policy**

### **2-1. Formation of the European Union**

Thoughts and attitudes of thinkers and politicians such as Jean Monet, Churchill, Richard Kuden, Hoff Calucci, etc. have been effective in creating

the European Union. Convergence advocates believe that Europe is a unique and definable identity and after the end of World War II, this result. They realized that in order to achieve national unity, it would be better to work together to solve problems through economic convergence. Initially, in 1951, the European Coal and Steel Community, in 1957, the European Economic Community, and finally in 1968, the European Coal and Steel Community, the European Economic Community, and the European Atomic Energy Community were merged, leading to the 1992 Maastricht Treaty. (Pourhashemi, 2002: 3-4). The process of formation of the European Union has a historical course in which treaties and treaties like Schengen and Maastricht, etc. have been very influential in this evolution. The most significant factor has been economic convergence and they have been able to overcome economic problems and create more intensity to deal with international crises. Today, the European Union is the world's largest trading operator and plays a very important role in policy-making in the world (Sabri, 2014). The European Union encounters numerous challenges, each of which can challenge European integration, such as the Iran nuclear crisis or the Greek crisis, tensions in Ukraine and factors such as identity and cultural gaps, European immigrants, extremism, racism, Nationalism, etc. are among the factors that add to the depth of the challenges facing the European Union (Jafari, 2014: 58).

## **2-2. Identity in Europe**

A group of identity researcher considers collective identity to be related to the mental feelings of individuals in terms of belonging to each other, so that it is a necessary condition for group cooperation but in addition to convergence, this feeling can also cause divergence. In 1990, a stream of common European history was formed to establish a unified European identity. The decisive factor in EU membership is political in nature, with two dimensions, internal and external, which internally are the adherence of EU members to the rules of the European framework, and externally place less emphasis on nationalism. One of the factors in the formation of a United European Identity is the existence of solidarity that members and citizens must feel belong to each other but in the early days of the Maastricht Treaty, citizens opposed it because of the disappearance of borders and something like the united currency (the euro), they feared losing their identity.

The turning point of reconstruction of European identity should be considered in the collapse of the Berlin Wall, which was an important step in creating a united European identity with the unification of East and West Germany, and can be said to be the second step in creating the European Union. That Europeans have a common identity that has been reproduced in

various political, economic, and cultural institutions. European identity can be examined in different dimensions:

1. Creating a collective identity in which citizens of EU member states identify themselves first as Europeans and then as ethnic and national identities.

2. The citizens' situation is another dimension of European identity. By accepting a European identity, they feel that some differentiations will vanish in a more open and wide space. After the Cold War, a dual European identity was shaped, which was in pursuit of a new identity from Eastern Europe by developing the political and cultural programs of the East. A single European identity plays a very important role in European integration, both among citizens and among government officials, especially in adopting foreign policies in response to some international crises, so Europeans strengthen European identity with a political nature and project (Ghavam and kiani, 2010: 119).

### **2-3. Integration as a result of common identity**

Integration theorists emphasize that one of the factors consolidate the integration in the European Union in the politics and more particularly in foreign policy issues is the connectivity to governments and communities, which is closely associated to loyalty, solidarity and identity. There exist collective norms among EU governments that outline that they are not in line with temporary interests. In terms of integration in European identity or on the type of relationship with crises and the like, it is required to see how European agents interpret and understand the world in terms of the influence of normative and cognitive ideas. Integration in Europe is the result of rational decision-making and compromise and negotiation of rational and utilitarian states participating in the union. In most of these convergences, the EU member states will continue to be the dominant actors and, based on their national goals and national interests, will form a convergence if in this process the influence of normative and cognitive ideas reaches a single interpretation of these situations. This is the case with divergence, non-compromise, compromise and consensus. However, the European Union spends a lot of energy to achieve convergence among members (Majidi, Thamudi, 2014: 9-10) For strengthening security and political space among states, as well as to strengthening cooperation among its members, the European Union implemented a policy based on the integration and inclusiveness in 2004 in order to achieve the above-mentioned issues by emphasizing this policy (Poorismaili, 2012: 2). In the process of developing a common immigration policy the Justice and Home Affairs Council adopted the Common Basic Principles for Immigrant Integration Policy in the EU in November 2004. The



comprehensive set of 11 principles stresses that integration is a dynamic, two-way process of mutual accommodation by all immigrants and residents, and implies respect for the basic values of the EU. In article 2 of this principle it emphasizes on common and share values: "Integration implies respect for the basic values of the European Union. Everybody resident in the EU must adapt and adhere closely to the basic values of the European Union as well as to Member State laws. The provisions and values enshrined in European Treaties serve as both baseline and compass, as they are common to the Member States. They include respect for the principles of liberty, democracy, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, and the rule of law. Furthermore they include respect for the provisions of the Charter of fundamental rights of the Union, which enshrine the concepts of dignity, freedom, equality and non-discrimination, solidarity, citizen's rights, and justice. Members States are responsible for actively assuring that all residents, including immigrants, understand, respect, benefit from, and are protected on an equal basis by the full scope of values, rights, responsibilities, and privileges established by the EU and Member State laws. Views and opinions that are not compatible with such basic values might hinder the successful integration of immigrants into their new host society and might adversely influence the society as a whole. Consequently successful integration policies and practices preventing isolation of certain groups are a way to enhance the fulfilment of respect for common European and national values" (Council of the European Union, 2004: 19).

#### **2-4. Ideas and Normative roles in the EU Common Foreign and Security Policy**

In the recent years, the European Union has established a number of institutions, legal bodies, etc., that have increased cooperation among EU members. In this framework, transnational elements play a very important role in EU security and foreign policy decisions. Generally, the efficiency or inefficiency of the European Union in international affairs is not only the result of a compromise among national interests of states but the normative and cognitive ideas guide political principles and have a sensible and effective role in integration or disintegration among states. In other words, EU members by their interpretations of this ideas may conclude to disagreement or adaptation, which is a very difficult decision among EU decision-makers (Schmidt, 2008, 310). The EU's joint foreign and security policy, designed to resolve conflicts and foster international understanding, is based on diplomacy and respect for international rules. Trade, humanitarian aid, and development cooperation also play an important role in the EU's international role. EU foreign and security policy seeks to: preserve peace, strengthen international

security, promote international cooperation and develop and consolidate democracy, the rule of law and respect for human rights & fundamental freedoms. In this common foreign and security policy, the vital role of ideas and normative issues is tangible. In this matter, one must focus on the dependencies of normative and cognitive ideas by answering to "What are ideas?" These ideas affect the understanding of the cases that EU member should react in internal and foreign spheres. It can be said that:

- Ideas are effective in creating problems that enter into political principles. (Beland, 2008, 704)

- Cases are known in specific ways and ideas show how to communicate with it.

- Ideas help to answer questions about the effectiveness and legitimacy of specific political reactions, especially since ideas impose most of the things that are available and useful and legitimate (Campbell, 1998, 385- Kowert, and Legro, 1996, 463-5).

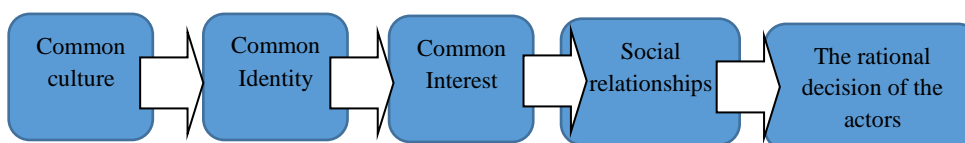
- Some ideas are interfering factors in interpretation that have the main task of implementing intervention in international crises and can be related to other ideas and can also be several factors, such as communication with other actors, economic considerations with other states (Kienzle, 2013, 9).

- Ideas are extremely effective in accepting or declining certain meanings, and they are also effective in accepting the role that these ideas play in crises. In the case of U.K, for instance, they have been instrumental in the legitimacy and effectiveness of some support for Iraq War. In the case of Ukraine either we can observe how the EU decides according to normative and cognitive ideas. Tensions in Ukraine began in 2004 when the majority of westerners tended to cooperate with the European Union, while those in the south and east sought cooperation with Russia (Shoaib, 2009: 17). Ukraine is important to the European Union due to its geopolitical and economic situation, and Ukraine's largest foreign trade is with the European Union. On the other hand, about 80 percent of Europe's natural gas and a large amount of European crude oil come from Russia. Regardless of the fact that pro-Western political elites came to power in 2004, the EU still has its own gray policy. In response to Ukraine's widespread involvement and EU affiliation with Ukraine, the bloc has decided on the basis of its own self-interest. Therefore, we see that the European Union still wants reconciliation between the parties, so based on the understanding of situations and the interpretation and common meaning of normative and cognitive ideas by members have reacted in unison regarding the tension in Ukraine (Kiani, 2007) .In recent Ukraine War, unlike



2004 crisis, common ideas in EU leads to consolidation against Russia even by accepting more pressures.

**Figure 2- The role of Ideas and Normative factors in Integrity of decision making in EU**



source: authors

### **3. Brief background on the Iranian nuclear crisis**

The first major step in the use of nuclear science and technology in Iran took place in 1956, when the University of Tehran established a center called Atomic Center of the University of Tehran and finally in 1958 the construction of a nuclear reactor was on the agenda of the cabinet. It was approved and this construction operation of the reactors was started by the Americans. In November 1962, the first reactor in Iran, which had more laboratory and research applications, was used. This victory was achieved by the youth and Iranian specialists. Subsequently, in 1973, Islamic Iran joined the NPT Treaty of the International Atomic Energy Agency. In 1974, the Atomic Center of the University of Tehran came under the supervision of this organization. In the same year, the contract for the construction of the Bushehr nuclear power plant was signed with the German company Siemens, but after the victory of the Islamic Revolution of Iran in 1979, the company suspended the contract. In 1982, negotiations were held with Siemens, but the company was reluctant to continue the project. Finally, Iran replaced Russia with Germany, and in 1992, a cooperation agreement was signed between the two countries. At this time, in 1995, due to the large number of foreign opponents, Iran voluntarily submitted a request to the International Atomic Energy Agency to inspect Iran's nuclear facilities in order to prove the peaceful nature of its nuclear activities. Due to the fact that in 1993, a contract was signed for the construction of the Isfahan thermal power plant, but it was suspended by the Chinese, Iran received about \$ 62 million in damages from the Chinese. Afterwards that, the thinkers and experts of the country in 2000 made a decision based on the completion of this project and in 2002 it was officially announced that the Islamic Republic has achieved nuclear technology. This provoked the reaction of various opponents, including the United States and

Europe, and led to the opening of the Iranian nuclear case in the Board of Governors of the International Atomic Energy Agency. Finally, in 2003, the first official statement of the international community was issued to suspend part of Iran's nuclear activities. The resolution, which was adopted is considered the beginning of the Iranian nuclear crisis (Golberg, 2008: 5-3). In September 2003, the ministers of Germany, Britain and France came to Iran and signed the Saadabad Declaration, which suspended the scope of the suspension from gas injection to centrifuges. This reduced US pressure on Iran.

Finally, in 2004, with the efforts of domestic experts, uranium tetrafluoride was produced for the first time in the country. But in response to this request and in the face of excessive foreign pressure, Iran announced the reopening of the Natanz and Arak nuclear facilities. And in 2006, it was announced that Iran had achieved a uranium enrichment cycle at the Natanz facility. This led to the adoption of various resolutions and sanctions by the United States, Europe and the IAEA against Iran. Negotiations resumed to resolve Iran's nuclear crisis, which finally resumed the P5 + 1 talks. Iran has even suspended all uranium enrichment activities for more than two and a half years at a time of confidence-building over its nuclear activities, and has voluntarily signed the Additional Protocol.

#### **4. The role of the nuclear crisis in Iran-EU relations**

Before addressing the obvious periods of positive and negative convergence in the European Union's response to the Iranian nuclear crisis, a brief explanation of Iran-Europe relations seems necessary. Iran and Europe relations can be divided into several periods since the victory of the Islamic Revolution of Iran. The European Union cautiously had a see and watch policy toward new regime. During this period, with the hostage crisis of American embassy in Iran, they began to challenge with Iran. During the Iran-Iraq war, they also supported Iraq and imposed an arms embargo on Iran. But after the war, in different periods, the European Union had different reactions to Iran. For example, during the presidency of Hashemi Rafsanjani, the adoption of Resolution 598 created a good opportunity for relations with Europe, but in the same period, with the occurrence of the fatwa of Ayatollah Khomeini against Salman Rushdie, in spite of the Rafsanjani's many efforts, European Union and Iran relations were not on a good track, but after these developments, during Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, the declaration of Iran's neutrality opened the way for normalization and establishment of relations with the European Union (Azizian, 2000: 209). But at the end of this period, with the court of Mykonos, the relations became strained again and the ambassadors of these countries left Tehran (Azghandi, 2010: 91) During

Khatami's presidency, the policy of de-escalation with the West was on the agenda. In this period, due to the change of policy and the coming to power of the reformists who adopted revisionist policies, the dialogues went from critical to constructive dialogues. It turned out that we are witnessing the return of foreign ambassadors to Iran, and also the first talks with Europe on the nuclear program were resumed, which took place in 2003. From that period onwards, the nuclear issue became the main factor in relations between Iran and the European Union (Nawazani, 2002: 44). According to the explanations given, this period can be called a period of positive convergence. In Ahmadinejad's presidency period, due to the adoption of critical policies on foreign relations, as well as the view of the West, which was different from the previous period, caused separation among the two sides. During this period, relations between Iran and the European Union became very strained, so the talks changed from the constructive state of the previous period to critical. The European Union (EU) had called for Iran's nuclear program to be referred to the Security Council that France, Germany, and Britain were its leaders. "Following the escalation of sanctions to halt Iran's nuclear activities, the European Union passed a law gradually imposing sanctions on the oil industry, and in return, Iran approved a plan to refrain from selling oil to EU members," As a result, in this period, according to the policies adopted and the Iranian nuclear issue, we do not see a developing relations with the European Union (Aghaei, 2007: 13).

In Rouhani's presidency, undoubtedly, by considering the measures taken in this period, it can be called a clear symbol of positive convergence. This period, seems similar to the period of Khatami's presidency, in which we also see the change of negotiations to constructive negotiations, for example Ashton a few days later congratulations to the Presidential Election, The Foreign Ministers of Germany, France, and Russia welcomed the peaceful resolution of the nuclear issue, which indicates a desire for relations and the opening of new eras between Iran and the European Union. In this time, we were witnessing an approach to the Iranian nuclear issue as a result of a new era of relations that has led to the Lausanne Statement that the European Union has played a very active role in this process.

On April 2 in Lausanne, Switzerland, Iran and the P5+1 (China, France, Germany, Russia, the United Kingdom, and the United States) reached a breakthrough on the path toward a comprehensive nuclear agreement. Iran and the P5+1 announced that after 15 months of negotiations, they had reached agreement on a set of parameters that outline the nuclear restrictions, monitoring and verification, and sanctions relief in a final Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action. An April 2 White House fact sheet provides

more detail on the Lausanne framework. In general, the European Union reacts to Iran due to the change of Iranian governments and the establishment of delegations with different policies. For example, during the eight-year presidency of Rafsanjani and Khatami, efforts were made to improve and normalize Iran-EU relations (Azgandi, 2010: 81). The years 1984-92, Iran and EU relations were dark by a critical dialogues, but in the period before 1984 or after 1992, we see relations entering new periods and constructive dialogues, including Reciprocal meetings between the them, such as European ministers such as Lambertudini from Iran and Mohammad Khatami's visit to Paris, indicated that it shows a desire for relations with Iran (Azgandi, 2010: 93). Therefore, the European Union, based on the different situations and times, in each period has a different perception and meaning of normative and cognitive ideas about Iran regarding its nuclear issue, because in different periods Iran has changed its views, for example during Khatami's presidency, Iran's position was such that Iran made shortcomings in not submitting its position to the IAEA in a timely manner, while the next government stated that the voluntary suspension of nuclear enrichment had ended. It is also one of the other factors in the tendency and change of EU procedures in different eras due to its goals and interests. The EU requires a more prominent and effective role in the international arena. For instance, in this period, due to the different foreign policies of the EU and the United States, the Union seeks to play a more effective role in international issues and crises. It has more influence in the Security Council, so the Europeans tried to take the initiative and started the negotiation phase with Iran and played a key role in various statements. It can be said that the European Union is one of the most important actors in the Lausanne Statement. The role of the union in various statements and agreements can be mentioned: The Paris Agreement, which coincided with the election of President Bush in the United States in 2004, was signed among Iran and three European countries (Britain, France, and Germany). The purpose of Iran's acceptance of this agreement was to threaten Iran with sending a nuclear file to Iran. And obtaining a firm assurance from the European Union that the United States will not invade Iran and reduce sanctions, as well as restricting opposition groups abroad such as the Mojahedin-e- Khalq, which, as mentioned above, are among the EU's main goals of preventing the case from being sent to the Security Council. The Board of Governors in 2005: which for the first time accused Iran of violating the NPT, in which the role of the European Union is also significant. In Geneva 4 and Geneva 5 Treaties: which started on October 20, 2013 In this case, the role of Europe cannot be ignored.

##### **5. The Effect of Normative and Cognitive Ideas on the EU Foreign Policy**

Normative and cognitive ideas in the European Union in response to the Iranian nuclear issue cause convergence (positive and negative) and the adoption of a policy as a result of compromise on this issue because; first, EU members maintain that since the beginning of Iran's nuclear program there were evidences that probably Iran pursuit a military plan in its nuclear program, so here the ideas have developed similar interpretations of the issue in the EU, with members agreeing on "what it is" and believing it to be a serious threat. But until 2008 and 2007, the EU refrained from using the word military or weapons of mass destruction, which reflects the members' unified interpretations of the situation and the compromise on how to deal with the crisis (Kienzle, 2013, 14). In short, there is no major divergence in the Iranian crisis among the various members of the European Union, but with similar interpretations of "what is" and "how to deal with it", a central interaction and balance is the result of consensus. The members of the union believe in sanctions against Iran and they have reached a consensus that the last option is to deal with Iran militarily, but they emphasize sanctions and limiting Iran to deal with this crisis. Regarding Iran, considering the convergence in the European Union, three directions are clear: Iran's covert nuclear activities were disclosed in August 2002, and relations between Iran and the European Union were based on a complex network of negotiations. Negotiations at this time were an effective way for EU members to communicate with Iran. This became clear to the EU when Iran was reluctant to cooperate with the EU on nuclear energy. EU members concluded that an approach based on absolute persuasion is not possible and that all members support UN resolutions imposing sanctions on Iran.

Similar normative and cognitive ideas about what are the effective and legitimate ways to deal with Iran move European political principles towards what "Double track" (Approach based on negotiation and punishment) is called, win. (Kienzle, 2013, 17) but after the Lausanne Statement and the signing of the UN Security Council, we are witnessing a change in Europe's position on Iran. The Council of the European Union, for example, has adopted the first legal measures to implement the Comprehensive Joint Action Plan. The Council of the European Union (EU) has issued a statement announcing that the Council has adopted the first legal steps to launch the Comprehensive Joint Action Plan (CJAP), an agreement reached between Iran and the P5 + 1 in Vienna on July 14.

On July 20th, UN Security Council Resolution 2231, in addition to the European Union, already ratified the UN Security Council, authorizing the transfer of special nuclear-related equipment from Iran, the replacement of two waterfalls at the Fordow facility, and the upgrade of the Arak reactor. In

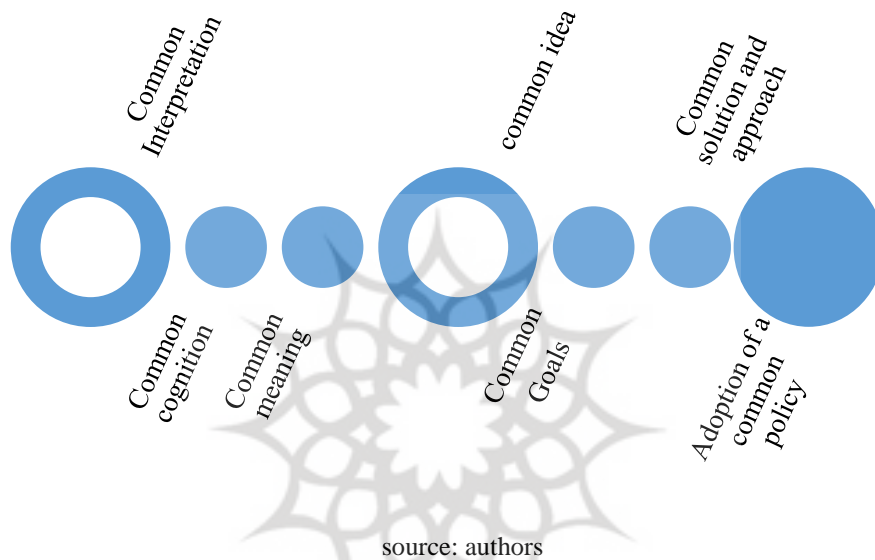


addition, the resolution authorizes transfers and activities necessary to fulfill the relevant nuclear-related obligations set forth in the IAEA Board or to prepare for the implementation of the IAEA Board. According to the statement, the legal measures adopted by the Council of the European Union will translate these measures (the above-mentioned cases) into European law. The statement further states that these legal measures have been adopted in written form by the Council of the European Union. In general, the European Union reacts to Iran due to the change of Iranian governments and the establishment of delegations with different policies. For example, during the eight-year presidency of Rafsanjani and Khatami, efforts were made to improve and normalize Iran-EU relations (Azgandi, 2010: 81). From 2005 to 2013, when the government had critical policies toward west, relations were dark and dialogue was critical, but in the period before 2005 or after 2013, relations entered new periods and constructive dialogue. And in this period, the reciprocal meetings of two sides, such as European ministers from Iran and Mohammad Khatami's visit to Paris, show the desire for relations with Iran (Azghandi, 2010: 93), so the European Union according to different situations and times, in each the period has a different meaning and concept of normative and cognitive ideas about Iran because in different periods of Iran has changed its views, for example, until the end of the Khatami period, Iran's position was such that Iran made shortcomings that timely position has not been handed over to the IAEA, while the Ahmadinejad Government has maintained that the voluntary suspension of nuclear enrichment has ended. It is also another factor in the tendency and change of EU procedures in different periods due to its goals and interests, the EU needs a more prominent and effective role in the international arena, for example in this period due to various foreign policies of the EU with The United States seeks to play a more effective role in international affairs and crises. The European Union is arguably one of the key players in the Lausanne Statement. The role of the union in various statements and agreements can be mentioned: The Paris Agreement, which coincided with the election of President Bush in the United States in 2004, was signed between Iran and three European countries (Britain, France, and Germany). Normative ideas about which way is more efficient or ineffective in explaining international crises like Iran lead to the development of the same political principles as observed in Iran, even as the United States worked under both the Bush administration and the Obama or Biden administration to pressure the EU to take more effective action and tougher sanctions on Iran, but all EU members support the decisions of the EU and tend to the decisions of the center, which shows a similar interpretation of the crisis as a result of the similar reaction of European governments, which we



see convergence among them in the way of dealing with Iran. Shown in the figure below.

Figure 3- Adoption of a common policy in European Union



### Conclusion

The EU's reaction to international crises given the different interpretations and meanings of various ideas and roles in different situations, it can be shown how these normative and cognitive ideas affect the EU's response and political and security decisions. It is not based on the pre-determined interests of these actors, but they use these interpretations to decide on the type of crisis management that results in convergence or divergence of issues. The significant issue is that when the situation is unclear, normative and cognitive ideas provide solutions for action in response to international crises, more particularly since normative and cognitive ideas cultivate different interpretations of a situation, resulting in a relatively clear picture. The emerging EU can reach a consensus, but it cannot be said that these ideas only lead to consensus and convergence and compromise, but not all EU members may have the same interpretations and similar meanings of situations in the international arena, and it is very clear if similar interpretations all support a central interpretation. In many cases, for example, in the Iranian nuclear crisis,

in which all the member states of the Union share a common understanding of "what is Iran's nuclear program" or "what is the nature" of this program and how to deal with this crisis and consensus for an effective and legitimate solution, So, They have reacted convergent, and all states, in spite of provocations from outside and somewhat influential factors such as U.S.A to take a different approach to the crisis, still tend to take joint decisions and support decisions that taken by the union.



## References

- Abbasi Ashlaghi, Majid and Farrokhi, Morteza (2009). Analytical Framework for the Concept of Security from a Constructivist Perspective, Quarterly Journal of Political Studies, Issue 6, winter.
- Aghaei, Davood (2007). The position of the European Union in the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran during the construction period, Politics Quarterly, No. 3
- Azghandi, Alireza (2010). Frameworks and Orientations of the Foreign Policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Tehran, Ghoomes Publishing Company.
- Azizian, Afshin (2000). European unity in theory and practice, Tehran, Chapakhsh Publication.
- Beland, Daniel, (2009). "Ideas institutions and policy change", journal of European public policy. Vol. 16, issue5.
- Campbell, John L. (1998). "Institutional Analysis and the Role of Ideas in Political Economy." Theory and Society 27.
- Council of the European Union (2004). Press releases 2618th Council Meeting Justice and Home Affairs.
- Ghavam, Abdul Ali and Kiani, Davood (2010). European Union, Identity, Security, Politics, Tehran, Research Institute for Strategic Studies.
- Ghica Luciana Alexandra (2013). Beyond Regional Integration? Social Constructivism, Regional Cohesiveness and the Regionalism Puzzle, Romanian Political Science Review, vol. XIII, No. 4.
- Jafari, Ali (2014). European Union under the blade of economic, security, political challenges, Abrar Institute for Contemporary Studies and International Culture, Tehran.
- Kiani, Davood (2007). EU Approach to Developments in Ukraine, Research Institute for Strategic Studies.
- kienzle, Benjamin, (2013). "The role of ideas in EU responses to international crises comparing the case of Iraq and Iran, center of science and security studies, department of war studies, Vol. 48, No 3.
- Kowert, Paul, and Legro, Jeffry, (1996). "Norms, identity and their limits: A theoretical Reprise" in The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics, Peter J. Katzenstein, New York, Columbia University press.
- Majidi, Mohammad Reza, Samoudi pilehroud, Ali Reza (2014). EU Relations with Emerging Powers, Challenges and Disputes, Journal of International Relations.
- Moshirzadeh, Homeira, Talebi Arani, Ruhollah (2012). International Relations Theories, Tehran, Mizan Publishing.
- Nawazani, Bahram (2002). Chronology of Iran's foreign policy from August 1988 to June 2001, Tehran, Islamic Revolutionary Documentation Center of Iran.

- Poorhashemi, Seyed Abbas (2002). Reproduction of the New European Identity, Pegah Magazine, No. 82.
- Poorismaili, Najimeh (2011). EU Middle East Policy Mechanisms, Analytical and Research Papers in the Middle East – Europe, International Peace Studies Centre (IPSC).
- Sabri, Mohsen (2014). An Analysis of the Role of Economic Crisis in Convergence and Realism in Europe.
- Schmidt, Vivien, (2008). “Discursive institutionalism: the explanatory power of idea and Discourse, annual review political science, 11.
- Wahabpour, Peyman (2005). The role of the European Union from a constructivist perspective, Legal and Political Research, No. 4.
- Wendt, Alexander (1992). Anarchy is what state make of it: the social constructivism of power politics, international organization, Vol: 46, No 2.

