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## **The US Foreign Policy Towards The Iran Deal**

A comparative study: Obama Era Vs. Trump Era

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## **Declaration**

This dissertation is my own work. It is based on research that I carried out myself, and is written in my own words. With the exception of acknowledged quotations, no part of the text of the dissertation has been copied from any other source, or written by any other person.

*Mr. Belerehmi Fayçal*

## **Dedication**

*I dedicate this modest work to:*

***My Parents**, my first teacher who has taught me always to have faith in God in  
hard times.*

***My Small Family** who encouraged me to reach my goals.*

***My Sisters** Inesse and Nedjah.*

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## **Abstract**

The research deals with an important file in the global and Middle Eastern levels the issue of the Iranian nuclear program. This issue, which has preoccupied international public opinion, it has removed a lot of ink on paper, and thus the Iranian nuclear file has been sharply criticized by the international community in general and the United States in particular. The research highlights the concept of the theoretical side of the foreign policy principles of President Barack Obama and President Donald Trump, as well as the contradiction in the Iranian nuclear file to the both administrations the administrations of President Barack Obama and Donald Trump. Whereas the to contain the Iranian nuclear crisis. However, President Donald Trump withdrew from the agreement without warning. The latter raised several questions about President Trump's handling of this thorny issue. In addition, the study aims to shed light on the differences between these two administrations regarding the Iranian nuclear file, especially under President Trump.

## ملخص

يتطرق البحث لملف هام على الصعيدين العالمي والشرق أوسطي والتي تتمثل في قضية البرنامج النووي الإيراني. هذه القضية التي شغلت الرأي العام الدولي والتي أسالت الكثير من الحبر على الورق، كما يواجه الملف النووي الإيراني انتقادات حادة من قبل المجتمع الدولي بشكل عام والولايات المتحدة بشكل خاص. البحث يسلط الضوء في مناقشته على مفهوم الجانب النظري لمبادئ السياسة الخارجية لكل من الرئيس باراك أوباما و للرئيس دونالد ترامب، كما يناقش أيضا التناقض الذي يواجهه الملف النووي الإيراني امام إدارتي الرئيسين باراك أوباما ودونالد ترامب، حيث كان الاتفاق النووي في الأساس فكرة منبثقة من قبل إدارة الرئيس أوباما لاحتواء الازمة النووية الإيرانية، لكن انسحبت إدارة الرئيس دونالد ترامب من الاتفا بدون سابق إنذار، هذا الأخير أثار عدة تساؤلات حول إدارة الرئيس ترامب تجاه هذا الملف الشائك. كما يهدف البحث بصفة عامة إلى دراسة مقارنة من الجانب النظري و التطبيقي للسياسة الخارجية لإدارة الرئيس أوباما و إدارة الرئيس ترامب، وبشكل خاص يهدف على تسليط الضوء على الاختلاف بين هاتين الإدارتين فيما يخص الملف النووي الإيراني، واستنباط الحقائق وراء ظاهرة التناقض التي شهدتها السياسة الامريكية تجاه الملف النووي الإيراني خاصة في عهد الرئيس ترامب.

## Résumé

La recherche porte sur un dossier important aux niveaux mondial et moyen-oriental la question du programme nucléaire iranien. Cette question, qui préoccupe l'opinion publique internationale, a fait couler beaucoup d'encre et le dossier nucléaire iranien a été vivement critiqué par la communauté internationale en général et par les États-Unis en particulier. La recherche met en évidence le concept de l'aspect théorique des principes de politique étrangère du président Barack Obama et du président Donald Trump, ainsi que la contradiction du dossier nucléaire iranien avec les administrations du président Barack Obama et de Donald Trump. L'accord sur le nucléaire était essentiellement une idée de l'administration Obama visant à contenir la crise nucléaire iranienne, mais l'administration du président Donald Trump s'est retirée de cet accord sans préavis, ce qui a soulevé plusieurs questions sur le traitement de cette question épineuse par son président. En outre, l'étude vise à faire la lumière sur les différences entre ces deux administrations en ce qui concerne le dossier nucléaire iranien et à en déduire les faits derrière la contradiction de la politique américaine vis-à-vis de l'administration Obama et du président Trump. Le dossier nucléaire iranien, en particulier sous le président Trump.

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## **General Introduction**

With the wave of the Arab Spring, the increasing crisis in the Middle East ,and the wide opening of foreign intervention, all of these transformations have led to the imbalance of power in the region and the emergence of Iran in its nuclear file, which occupied an important position in the series of outstanding and thorny issues in the world of international politics.

Because of its direct and significant influence in the Middle East and the world, especially with its regional rivals, Israel, as well as the United States' interest in this matter because of its Middle Eastern interests in an attempt to protect and preserve it by all means available and possible.

Another basic element in this case was the negotiations of Vienna, which is officially known as the The Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA), it was an agreement between the US, Russia, France, China and the United Kingdom, Germany and the European Union and Iran, it was a remarkable and turning point in Iran nuclear future. The Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action was an agreement for limiting the Iranian nuclear expansion for a period of 25 years in exchange for decreasing the sanctions mainly the economic. Until May 2018, there was wide consensus between America under the Obama administration and the international community that Iran has abided by the agreement.

The Iran Deal or The Iranian nuclear agreement, which officially known as the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action, offered Tehran sanctions relief in exchange for accepting to stop its nuclear program. The deal's goal was making sure that "Iran's nuclear program will be absolutely peaceful". In return, it raises up other economic

sanctions against Iran, as well as in areas covering trade, technology, finance and energy. Iran signed the treaty with the five permanent members of the U.N. Security Council: US, Russia, France, China and the United Kingdom, Germany and the European Union. The deal was ratified on July 14, 2015, under President Barack Obama administration.

Milena states that The Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action is President Obama's most significant foreign policy achievement and may turn into the most essential element of President Obama's legacy. In protecting the Agreement, President Obama argued "this deal will make The US and the rest of the world safer and more secure." The Accord, which restrains Iran's capability to develop nuclear weapons over the next fifteen years, may lead to universal security, peace in the Middle East, and nuclear non-proliferation. If this proves to be true, the Agreement would constitute President Obama's most significant foreign policy attainment and would be viewed as a cornerstone of his legacy (Sterio69).

However, The deal started to witness a new era, especially by the end of the Second term of President Obama and the rising of the Republican businessman and television personality Donald Trump, who showed his opposition to the Democrats in different crucial American cases among them The Deal. During his electoral campaign, Donald Trump has made no secret of his detestation for the accord, calling it "the worst deal ever." ("Read Trump and Obama Statements on Iran Deal").

However, on 8 May 2018, U.S. President Donald Trump announced that the United States would stop implementing the JCPOA, and that he plans to re-impose other serious sanctions on Iran. Experts say That this decision was met with disappointment by Iran and the other members of the P5+1, who stated that they will continue to maintain the deal without U.S. participation, this it was another unexpected

turning point in Iran Deal that would change the game variables.

In addition, nuclear power is in itself an addition to the quality of every country that seeks to own it, as is Iran, where the Persian spirit still has a strong sense of importance and greatness, and it appears clear in the speeches of its political leaders.

For this purpose, this research came to reach fundamental facts regarding the US policies towards the Iranian nuclear file, the reasons and motives that led to the emergence of a great contradiction between the administrations of Presidents Barack Obama and Donald Trump, and which is the most realistic policy that lead to exhaust the Iranian nuclear program and serve the Interests of The US and its allies effectively. Therefore, the research starts from the basic hypothesis that both Obama and Trump have different political visions, therefore they have different foreign policies, especially towards the Iranian nuclear file.

Finally, and based on the above facts, The proposed research aims at analyzing the foreign policies of both Obama and Trump towards The Deal, putting the light about the differences between them, and investigating the causes that led to the withdrawal of the U.S from the Iran Deal under the administration of Donald Trump, and how Iran will react towards that unexpected American decision. This work also intends to investigate some specific research questions on that subject, for instance, what did Trump oppose in the Iran Deal, Does the Iran Deal in danger after the withdrawal of the U.S, and what are the outcomes of the withdrawal of the U.S from the Iran Deal on both Iran and the West (U.S mainly)?

In addition, it provides the researchers with a reliable and fruitful source for their researches in the field.

Furthermore, a focus on the struggle between the U.S and Iran based on the issue of nuclear program of Iran is interesting for the researchers in this field or domain, and

it will be a fruitful research that allows interested people to understand more the current American Foreign Policy, mainly towards Iran during Obama and Trump's Administrations.

In order to demonstrate the validity of the hypothesis, the following questions were raised:

- Does the nuclear agreement sign by Obama administration and The international community in 2015 have a positive impact on the Iran in containing the crisis of the nuclear program between the United States and Iran.
- Whether Trump and his administration have sharply criticized former President Obama's policy towards Iran. What kind of policy does President Trump's administration intend to follow towards Iran?
- Does President Trump's withdrawal from Iran's nuclear deal exacerbate the crisis between the two sides The US and Iran, and what is the last position of the withdrawal, which harmed its interests.

In the writing of the research was followed the method of multiple approaches, adopting the historical and the comparative approaches, as well as critical approach and argumentative analysis in of classified primary sources. It will also examine relevant Secondary sources: papers and articles dealing with our research topic. In that sense, the study will rely on studies made by scholars, historians, experts, journalists, and reporters on issues related to intelligence, defense and foreign policy.

The research includes an abstract, a general introduction, three chapters, and a general conclusion. The abstract gives a brief overview about the research. The general introduction contains the main ideas of the research, the hypothesis, as well as the key questions. The First chapter studies the conceptual frameworks of both presidents' foreign policy. The Second chapter studies the president B. Obama's administration

policy towards Iran Deal. The Third chapter studies the president D. Trump's administration policy towards Iran Deal. At the end, a general conclusion which concludes the research.

# **Chapter One**

## **Conceptual Framework**

### **1.1.Introduction**

This chapter studies the theoretical aspects and backgrounds of each president, and how these differences influence the policies and perspectives of each president. The U.S foreign policy followed by each president differs in terms of theories and perspectives. However the main goal remains the same. It is the continuation of America as a superpower in the world. In other words, it is called a change and continuity policy at the same time. Each president has a different theoretical background, strategy, and vision that serves the same American goal. It is the continuity of preserving the United States economic and geopolitical interest in the world stage.

Experts state that President Obama's foreign policy differs from that of President Donald Trump. This can be clearly noticed in their decisions regarding key issues, especially the Iran Deal. Each president adopts a particular doctrine in his foreign policy that determines his political decisions mainly towards Iran Deal.

Thus, to understand each president's decision, it is very important to distinguish between Barak Obama's foreign policy thinking and Donald Trump's foreign policy thinking.

### **1.2. Brief Biography About Barak Obama**

Barack Obama was inaugurated as the 44th president of the United States becoming the first African American to serve in that office on January 20, 2009. During the first two years of his first term, President Obama was able to work with the Democratic-controlled Congress to improve the economy, pass health care reform

legislation, and withdraw most US troops from Iraq. After the Republicans won control of the House of Representatives in 2010, the president spent significant time and political effort negotiating, for the most part unsuccessfully, with congressional Republicans about taxes, budgets, and the deficit. After winning reelection in 2012, Obama began his second term focused on securing legislation on immigration reform and gun control, neither of which he was able to achieve. When the Republicans won the Senate in 2014, Obama refocused on actions that he could take unilaterally, invoking his executive authority as president. In foreign policy, Obama concentrated during the second term in the Middle East and climate change.

Obama left the presidency, at age fifty-five, after his constitutionally limited to two terms ended on January 20, 2017. He announced plans to remain in Washington DC, until his younger daughter finished high school and, as a former president, to play a restrained but an active role in public affairs. He also devoted energy to raising money and planning for the opening of the Obama Presidential Center in Chicago, Illinois.” (“Barack Obama: Life in Brief”).

### **1.3. Barak Obama’s Foreign Policy**

#### **1.3.1. Obama’s Foreign Policy Theory**

Obama’s quotation about Iran Deal “There are few issues more important to the security of the United States than the potential spread of nuclear weapons, or the potential for even more destructive war in the Middle East. That’s why the United States negotiated JCPOA in the first place. The reality is clear. The JCPOA is working – that is a view shared by our European allies, independent experts, and the current U.S. Secretary of Defense.” (“Read Trump and Obama Statements on Iran Deal”).



Trump's quotation about Iran Deal'' My fellow Americans: Today, I want to update the world on our efforts to prevent Iran from acquiring a nuclear weapon. The Iranian regime is the leading state sponsor of terror. It exports dangerous missiles, fuels conflicts across the Middle East, and supports terrorist proxies and militias such as Hezbollah, Hamas, the Taliban, and al Qaeda.'' ("Read Trump and Obama Statements on Iran Deal").

According to these two contradicting speeches, Experts say that it is clear that both Obama and Trump followed different doctrines concerning The Iran Deal. Obama's vision based on multiculturalism, which is any doctrine or agenda that supports multi-sided actions, therefore he focused on the European allies to treat the issue, whereas Trump's vision based on Unilateralism which is any doctrine or agenda that supports one-sided action, that was the reason behind taking the decision alone about withdrawing from The Iran Deal without consulting the former American allies which is The European Nations. Inu Baerbee and Alexander Moens state that in foreign policy Obama does not easily fit into a traditional ideological category. Obama shows the liberal-internationalist feature of the Woodrow Wilson tradition as told by Walter Russell Mead. Meanwhile, he is less Stubborn on human rights than the president Jimmy Carter and more careful of the attraction and power of American democracy than George W. Bush. They add that Obama is not so confident that American values are the solution of world problems. They say that There is a small realism in his foreign policy ambitions (Moens and Barbee).

### **1.3.2. Characteristics of Obama's Foreign Policy**

#### **1.3.2.1. Political Realism**

Experts in the field say that Realism is the most dominant school of thought in international relations. It is the exercise of power by the states towards each and is also

known as ‘‘ power politics’’. All Realists share believes that states are unitary rational actors that are motivated by the desire for military power and security rather than ideals and ethics. The theory of realism in international relations has been developed throughout history by the famous political philosophers such as Thucydides (the founder of the school), Machiavelli, and others ("Realism Theory of IR").

Obama administration's foreign policy is best described throughout theory of realism. Since he is elected as American president in 2008, Obama made plentiful speeches known with liberalist ideas: collaboration with allies, multilateralism, democracy, interdependence. However, actions speak louder than words, and Obama’s administration actions proved to be more real than liberalism. In the last five years, the world witnessed a continuance of American involvement in wars, the growth of its military budget and the pursuit of its imperialistic policies through its representations of 'threats'. The foreign policies of Obama's administration are realist in nature through addressing the above events. To realism humanity is regarded as imperfect, self-centered, power-seeking and selfish. And from that point comes the inspiration of self-help, survival and the run after of power. Therefore, it is the state which promotes the idea of war as a means of continuing the politics and interests, especially through the growth and development of American military power. Obama's administration fits this type perfectly, especially in light of its involvement in the world affairs. Most of its involvement is based on military in nature. Obama's foreign policy speech of his campaign on April 23, 2007 is the evidence of this tendency. Where he points, five key goals for the future. The first is to pass a responsible end to the war in Iraq and the orientation towards the challenges in the further region. His second goal was to construct the strongest military and install it smartly. His third goal was to protect, demolish and stop the increase of weapons of mass destruction. Fourth, to restore and

construct the alliances and partnerships that is essential to face common challenges and common threats", and his fifth goal, "while America can help others build more secure societies, we must never forget that only the citizens of these nations can sustain them." All five goals have a militaristic center of attention emphasized with a defensive and offensive realism. This foreign policy speech is pivotal when analyzing Obama's administration today, because those are the promises that have come to define America's participation across the global order ("Political Realism in International Relations (Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy)").

### **1.3.2.2. Multilateralism**

Experts say that multiculturalism is when at least three governments participate in a particular issue or to try to solve a problem. It is an example of cooperation among world governments and used in contrast with unilateralism. Multilateralism is believed to be a way to achieve a nation's interest, while promoting stability in the world ("Multilateralism: Definition & International Relations").

John states that Barack Obama has introduced his sight of American leadership below the strategy of multilateralism. Compared to, the Bush administration's foreign policy strategies were run more unilaterally (one-sided decision). Obama Addressed the U.N. General Assembly in 2009 that Those who adopted unilateralism to push America for performing alone in the world cannot now stand by and wait for America to solve the world's problems alone (John 1).

Obama has always followed multilateral coalitions to solve collective issues, whether in Iran or Libya or other places in the world particularly places of interests. John says that Obama's multilateral doctrine towards global problems developed as a result the war of 2003 in Iraq. The U.S. occupied Iraq under the international coalition (The United Kingdom, Australia, Poland and other nations). This coalition along with

U.S played an important role, but the main role was played by The U.S. troops who confront the most dangers and the United States covered most of the prices and expenses. This unilateral doctrine which was adopted in Iraq caused the international community to ask what is the international role that the U.S. was playing. Experts say that in the recent past, when the U.S. has been forced or encouraged to confront international problems, building international consensus strengthened its position as in the case of the 1991 Gulf War and the NATO

Bombings of Serbs in order to halt ethnic genocide. Multilateralism affords less blowback and lessens the chances that if situations go awry the U.S. would not be held wholly responsible (2).

John adds that Obama's adoption of a multilateral approach reflects his broad open vision, understanding, and wisdom on international issues. This open view, which reflects Obama's unwillingness to dominate international decisions on global affairs alone. Obama prefers to share his decisions with the international community, especially the Western allies, and not to drag the United States alone to the quagmire of international problems, which always leads to a big loss and costs for Americans.

John states also that multilateral efforts are marked by opaque decision-making and strategic vagueness. It is hard to get leaders from different nations with different values to agree on a common course of action. When diplomats do achieve this, it is usually because they have arrived at artful fudges that allow leaders from different countries to read the same words in a U.N. Resolution and understand them in different ways. The negotiation process to arrive at these fudges involves a long chain of secret discussions and it necessarily involves eliding issues that might blow everything up.

John says that positive changes in global attitudes toward the United States and American foreign policy resulted noticeably from perceptions that an Obama

administration would follow a more multilateral method to deal with the world. Support for international institutions, as embodied by the United Nations, was strong and rising in much of the world. ‘‘According to the authors of the PEW (2009) survey report: ‘‘Majorities or pluralities in 19 of the 25 countries surveyed have a favorable view of the United Nations. Moreover, ratings of the U.N have grown more positive since 2007 in 12 of the 25 countries.’’This was coupled with the widely shared expectation that Barack Obama would move to strengthen U.S. engagement with multilateral institutions. In nine of twenty-five countries, 60% or more of respondents expressed the view that Obama would conduct a multilateralist foreign policy. Pluralities or majorities shared this view in sixteen of twenty five countries.’’(John).

#### **1.3.2.3. Diplomacy**

Claudia states that Obama’s foreign policy towards Iran stood clearly against any weaponization of Iranian nuclear agenda and reaffirmed his aim to do anything in his power to stop Iran from obtaining the bomb. He also never uses the military option after exhausting all the negotiating efforts should Iran not discard its nuclear ambitions, Obama tried to distance himself from his predecessor and from his Republican competitors by adopting a diplomatic solution (the significance of direct talks with the leadership in Tehran without preconditions). During his era, Obama stated his enthusiasm to carry out a serious, harmonized diplomatic effort able to transform world opinion about the American approach to Iran and reinforce the US stance and credibility in the region. Obama’s administration crucial goal was to apply to the Iranian case the logic of ‘‘diplomacy first’’ that it tried to convey during his electoral campaign as one of the pillars of his foreign policy. In addition, it was to reverse the

policy of the previous administration and its refusal to dialogue as a form of punishment to hostile regimes.

‘‘At first glance, the Obama administration's approach to public diplomacy reflects the cumulative lessons learned over the last seven-and-a-half years about how to communicate or not communicate with the Arab and Islamic world. Most notable is the energy and sense of purpose in the way the administration appears to be reaching out to the international community in general and the Muslim world in particular. The focus on listening and engagement is pronounced as is the deliberate effort to communicate respect and understanding. The rhetoric is less shrill, less demanding and less confrontational. Metaphorically, the image of U.S. public diplomacy is one of open hands rather than clenched fists (Claudia 2).

Experts state that Obama's foreign policy is based on the principle of diplomacy in dealing and solving global issues, it gives great importance to the diplomatic canals and dialogues with the various countries of the world, especially Islamic and Arab countries. Obama focused on diplomatic tools, for instance the media with all its all kinds mainly the internet, international forums such as the United Nations and so on. This diplomatic doctrine shows that Obama's foreign policy is based on dialogue and understanding, unlike confrontation and closed fist towards the international issues (38).

Yu says that digital and social media are a strategic core feature of public diplomacy and public affairs under Obama's administration. For instance, in March 2009, in order to alleviate the strained relations between Iran and the United States, President Obama launched the ‘‘YouTube’’ diplomacy with Iran: he recorded a video message titled, ‘‘A New Year, A New Beginning’’ and released the video on YouTube to

Iranian people during the Iranian New Year (Norooz). The video contained Farsi subtitles, it got 150,000 views within only 18 hours once it released (qtd. In Yu 44).

#### **1.4. Brief Biography About Donald Trump**

Donald Trump at the age of 70 won his first bid for public office, to be elected the 45<sup>th</sup> president of the United States, in an upset victory on November 8, 2016. He is the fifth US president to take office despite losing the popular vote, having prevailed in Electoral College votes over Democrat Hillary Clinton. A real estate mogul and reality television star, Trump is the first president without previous service in either elective office or the military, as well as the oldest and among the richest to take office. He holds another distinction as well: Trump took office on January 20, 2017, with the lowest public approval ratings of any president since polling began after his campaign and transition were dogged with allegations of sexual improprieties and Russian meddling in the campaign on his behalf.

Trump was born in the borough of Queens in New York City on June 14, 1946, and raised there. The fourth of five children of Fred Trump, a residential real estate developer and son of German immigrants, and Mary Anne MacLeod Trump, an immigrant from Scotland, Donald took over the family business and expanded it globally, with interests in hotels, casinos, resorts, golf courses, beauty pageants, and Trump-branded products. From the 1970s on, he assiduously promoted the family name as synonymous with business success and the high life, including in bestselling books. While Trump went through a series of bankruptcies in his casino businesses, his branding feats otherwise remained successful and culminated with his years-long run as the star of NBC's reality show *The Apprentice*. By the time he ran for president, licensing the Trump name was more important to his financial status than real estate development and ownership, married three times and divorced twice, Trump has five

children, three of whom Donald Jr., Ivanka, and Eric, his children with his first wife, Ivana joined his businesses.

Trump had dabbled in politics for decades. He contributed to candidates of both parties, registered variously as a Democrat, Republican, and independent, and flirted with running for president in 1988, 2000, 2004, and 2012. In winning the Republican nomination and the presidency in 2016, he vanquished two political dynasties, Bush and Clinton, and the billionaire did so as the unlikely tribune of frustrated working-class voters. Trump said during the campaign that his wealth exceeded \$10 billion. However, the accuracy of his claim could not be determined because Trump is the first president in four decades to refuse to release federal income tax returns.” (“Donald Trump: Life in Brief”).

## **1.5. Donald Trump’s Foreign Policy**

### **1.5.1. Trump’s Foreign Policy Theory**

It is very clear that Trump's foreign policy is different from the former President Obama. When Trump came to power, the latter strongly criticized the Iranian nuclear deal signed under Obama’s administration. Thus, Trump's approach to foreign policy is not the same as Obama's.

Donald states that Obama’s plan to have Russia stand up to Iran was a horrible failure that turned America into a laughing stock. Unfortunately, our current foreign policy toward Iran has been just as embarrassing and disastrous.” (Donald 88).

President Donald Trump has continually criticized under the former President Barack Obama in 2015. The preceding administration entered with other nations (the allies mainly) in a deal about Iran's nuclear agenda. This accord was known as the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action, or JCPOA, and he said that it was a failure of Obama’s administration foreign policy because In theory, the so-called "Iran deal" it was



thought to protect the U.S and the American allies from the madness of an Iranian nuclear bomb, a weapon will create a threat for The world generally and the region specifically, and it endangers the American and its allies' interests deeply. In fact, the deal gave Iran more time to build its nuclear program and permitted it to pursue enriching uranium and, over time, reach the brink of a nuclear breakout.

As a result, Trump announced the U.S. would be withdrawn out of that deal, he said that the accord has a "decaying and rotten structure." (Read Trump and Obama Statement On Iran Deal)

Donald adds: ‘‘America’s primary goal in Iran must be to destroy its nuclear ambitions. Let me put this as plainly as I know how: Iran’s nuclear program must be stopped—by any and all means necessary Period. We cannot allow this radical regime to acquire a nuclear weapon that they will either use or hand off to terrorists. Better now than later!’’ (Donald 90).

### **1.5.2. Characteristics of Trump’s Foreign Policy**

According to experts, it is very clear that President Trump's background with its various characteristics influences his foreign policy and his decision. Trump is a man of the economy of the first degree and this factor inevitably affects his policies, whether internal or external. Thus, according to experts in the field, Trump’ principles and doctrines that influenced his political decisions mainly on the foreign policy are better to describe through the following:

#### **1.5.2.1. Trumpology**

Fuchs states that Trumpology is Trump-style ideology. It is not the ideology of a single person, but rather a whole way of thought and life that consists of elements such as hyper-individualism, hard labor, leadership, the friend/enemy-scheme, and Social Darwinism (Fuchs).

Glasser and Michael Kruse say that, according to Trump, there is a complex relationship between politics and culture in general and the state and ideology in capitalist society. The state's collective and individual actors produce meanings about society, and individuals and groups in society make meaning of the state. We can therefore distinguish between discourses by the state and discourses on the state ("Trumpology: A Master Class").

#### **1.5.2.2. Possessive Hyper-Individualism**

Trump explains that Hyper-individualism is Trumpology's First element. Trump is a trade name. Trump is an approach Trump is entertainment. Trump is a show. Trump is politics. Trump has an instrumental part or role of everything surrounding him. Trump is the utter commodification of the self. Donald Trump made a career by branding and selling himself. His presidential campaign was also paid attention on Trump as brand, celebrity, billionaire and political leader. As a result, Trump likes to use the first person singular, and among his most often used words are: "I", "me", "my" and "mine". Trumpology is about possessive individualism, the individual as owner (Fuchs).

#### **1.5.2.3. Performance and the Ideology of Hard Labor**

Donald J. Trump and Bill Zanker remark that Trumpology's Second element is the ideology of hard labor. He said that his father didn't give him much money, but what he did give me was a good education and the simple principles for getting wealthy for instance work hard, doing what you love. For Trump a hard work is his personal method for financial success, and for him You can help create your own luck, you can make things happen through hard work and intelligence. Thus, you will become luckier. Trump said that the harder you work, the luckier you get. "Celebrities, billionaires, successful business people and superstars' "attitudes, actions, persistence, and passion

[...] separate the winners from the losers” (Donald and Zanker 44).

#### **1.5.2.4. The Leadership Ideology**

Fuchs states that according to Trump Trumpology’s Third element is the leadership thinking. “I’m not bragging when I say that I’m a winner. I have experience in winning. That’s what we call leadership. That means that people will follow me and be inspired by what I do. How do I know? I’ve been a leader my whole life” (qtd. In Fuchs 9). “Leadership is not a group effort. If you’re in charge, then be in charge. [...] I’m the conductor who leads the Trump Organization; I set the tempo. In my organization, I set a rapid pace, which is called allegro in symphonic circles. I pay close attention to tempo because I know that it’s vital to keep the momentum going at all times. I provide strong leadership, and, at times, this can be hard and not what I want to do” (qtd.in Fuchs). Thus, politics for Trump is a matter of leadership, and the best ideology of making America great again is based on the theory that the U.S needs to be the leader of the world in every respect. “The idea of American Greatness, of our country as the leader of the free and unfree world, has vanished”(qtd.in Fuchs). In addition, Trump claimed that making the USA lead the world needs a strong leader who runs the country and the world as a company (Fuchs).

#### **1.5.2.5. Social Darwinism and the Friend/Enemy-Scheme**

Fuchs adds that social Darwinism and the friend/enemy-scheme are Trumpology’s Fourth dimension. Social Darwinism is a highly competitive and militaristic view of society, in which there is constant egoism, battle, conflict, and war. It is based on the assumption that only the strong can and should survive and that survival requires crushing enemies (Fuchs).

#### **1.5.2..6. Trump and the Media**

Fuchs states states that Trumpology does not simply exist because of a single

individual. Like any ideology, it requires hegemony. It requires those who admire Trump as brand and leader. And it also requires public visibility. Trumpology needs Trump as a media spectacle. The Trump spectacle has two dimensions. On the one side Trump understands well how to stage himself as scandalous spectacle in order to attract media attention. On the other side the media also need someone like Trump for staging spectacles that attract a large audience. There is a profit motive on both sides of mediated Trumpology spectacles: The one side is looking for advertising, marketing and public relations opportunities in order to be able to better sell a range of branded commodities. The other side is looking for content that attracts a large audience and thereby allows selling advertising space expensively (Fuchs).

#### **1.5.2.7. Unilateralism**

Unilateralism is when a state acts without regard to the support or interests of other states. For example, the 2003 American-led invasion of Iraq is often given as an example of unilateralism in international relations because it was opposed by many of America's traditional allies like France and Germany. Rather than being a principle of cooperation for the sake of cooperation ("Multilateralism: Definition & International Relations").

Hongyu says that US President Donald Trump, pledging to "Make America Great Again," has moved away from international agreements and obligations since he took office. He has withdrawn the US from the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP), the Paris Agreement, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), talks on the Global Compact on Migration, and the Iran nuclear deal. Nikki Haley, US ambassador to the UN, announced on June 19 that the US was quitting the expressed disappointment with the US decision.

Hongyu States that The Trump administration's series of withdrawals reflects

parochialism, prejudice and selfishness. It ruins the multilateral cooperation of the global society and hurts efficient global governance, bringing uncertainties to world peace and development. Withdrawal, intransigence and unilateralism are three main approaches of Republican president's diplomatic strategy since the 20th century. Giving full play to all the three, Trump has formed his own style of presidency (Hongyu).

## **1.6.Conclusion**

This chapter highlighted a distinctive differences between the Obama and the Trump administrations' approach to foreign policy, these differences are: a transactional model versus a diplomatic model, doctrinal versus pragmatic decision-making and prioritizing the use of hard power versus soft power, and this means that even though Obama and Trump are president to the same country, but each one has his own vision and perspective concerning the making of the American foreign policy and key issues.

## **Chapter Two**

### **Obama Administration Policy towards Iran Deal**

#### **2.1. Introduction**

The American-Iranian relationship had witnessed many tensions. Back in history, the Iran's issue constitutes the core of the American foreign policy. Each proceeding president inherits the Iran's file. Many negotiations and attempts, furthermore to have dealt with Iran went in vain, because the two countries have different programs, agendas as well interests. Iran, thus loses interest in the offers of the on the ground negotiations. In their administrations, both Bush and Obama, the American Presidents approached the issue of Iran and its nuclear program differently. However, the Obamean approach succeeded in its intended objective to constraint the nuclear program of Iran under a signed agreement known as The Joint Comprehensive Program. This chapter is an account of the main key terms of the JCPOA and how the Obamean administration worked during its implementation.

#### **2.2. American Foreign Policy and the Middle East Related Issues**

A survey that was initiated by Joel Magdal insured that there exist two overall patterns in the American foreign policy and its relations to the Middle East issues (Jervis 32). Reducing the American involvement in the Middle East was, first of all, the main issue for many of American Presidents. According to Magdal, the American Presidents wanted to lesson their contact and involvement in the Middle East, of course, for the exchange of other crucial issues in the region, however, this was due to the continuous regional change that the aforementioned region witnesses all the time. It seems that is impossible of getting rid of the Middle issue because ultimately the Middle East's region is like a swamp that pushes the United States down each time. It is

not necessary that the interference is a planned decision, yet it is vital and no President could escape (32). The Middle East has always been present in the American agenda, whether intentionally or unintentionally.

The second general pattern was to minimize as much as possible the U.S involvement in the Middle East. Absolutely, Obama, the President, followed the latter pattern and this what he insured in his 2009's speech in Cairo. In his foreign policies, Obama promised to reduce not only the Political, but also the military involvement in the region (32). By 2011, there was zero troop in Iraq, after the number was 124, 000 during the beginning of his Presidency (33). Definitely, the Presidential decision was not easy, the evacuation of Iraq was planned and it needed to be fulfilled by President Obama.

### **2.3. Obama and his Administration Towards the Iranian Issue of Nuclear Weapons**

One of the haunting nightmares to many American Presidents is the Iranian issue. This issue existed three decades ago and which poisoned the American and the Middle East's relations.

Tritta Parsi confirms that opportunities for dialogues were rare and short –lived (1). The past patterns of the American policy were broken by Obama's attempt to deal with the issue. However, his attempts suffer from many restrictions that led to a little success and development in the issue.

In his policy towards Iran, President Obama did not deviate from Bush's path. President Obama shared a ground with the Republican President, in the sense that « he stood clearly against any weaponization of Iranian nuclear program and reaffirmed his intention to do something in his power to prevent Iran from acquiring the bomb » (Castiglioni 1).

Castiglioni added that « He never ruled out any military option after exhausting all the

negotiating efforts should Iran abandon not its nuclear program » (2). In short, the Obamean agenda was strict and clear right from the beginning. Obama asserted how he will put his efforts to stop Iran from gaining or even producing any weapons. President Obama even went further by having negotiations with Iran to adjust its position and to stop for good their weaponry program. Multiple explanations can be attributed to that. First, the President wanted to foster and promote peace in the ME, nevertheless the Iranian program hinders his attempts in the region. Thus, they will secure and prevent possible nuclear threats and attacks internationally. Secondly, the American's intention, in its specific sense, is to lesson the international powers that possess nuclear power.

There is a long history of negotiations between the United States and Tehran back in 1953, yet these negotiations are either short-lived or they failed. America and Tehran have never reached a common ground because both have different agendas, thus divergent interest (Sharp 1). American interests in the middle east goes around having access to petroleum, getting rid of terrorist intimidations, ending the spread of weapons of mass destruction and of course, protecting Israel (1). B. Ross and F. Jeffrey stated that President Obama gave his full focus and energy to the issue of Iran and its nuclear program (07).

According to B. Ross and F. Jeffrey, in his policies that he planned for the Iran Issue, President Obama emphasized on two points, pressure and engagement. Based on pressure, Obama, the President, could cut off the Iranian commerce from broad worldwide commerce by imposing sanctions (07). The imposing of these economic sanctions led Iran to encounter some problems in having trade with other countries and the costs were unbearable. Even the production of oil, which constitutes 85% of the regime's income has been damaged and decreased. However, Iran has never stopped its nuclear program (8).



Robert Rehorn and Richard Nephew state in their book that is entitled The Iran Nuclear Deal that the Implementation Day is specified by the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA). The Implementation Day is a cornerstone for the deal. In fact, the implementation Day is reached only when the IAEA asserts the full fulfillment the designed commitments in the deal (6). Based on the Iranian fulfillment of the deal terms, the end or the suspension of the sanctions is achieved by the U.S, U.N Security Council and EU (06).

On January 16, 2016, the Director General of the IAEA issued his report to the UN. Council and the IAEA's Board of Governors. In his report, the Director General confirmed that Iran has done all the required commitments to join the deal.

- Iran lessened its centrifuges to 6, 100 and promised not to go beyond 3, 67% for 15 years.
- Lesson its uranium enrichment research and development. This plan was designed for thirteen years.
- Three hundred kilometers is the highest access that Iran might reach in exporting and reducing its enriching uranium stockpiles (06).
- Stop the production of new centrifuges and parts of them. They will continue for years and then initiated again, yet under limited constraints for five years later.
- Disactivate the Arak reactor by removing the core which is the colander.
- Iran should commit itself, not for the construct of the heavy crates or even creating heavy waters unless for their needs for fifteen years (07).
- Also, Iran agreed not to involve itself in a fuel recycling or even having the intention to recycle later on.

- Accept the disturbing transparency and controlling duties, for example the agreements with IAEA and the Additional Protocol.
- Iran is not supposed to engage in any further activities concerning nuclear weapons development. Even, the acquire of technologies and equipments that might help the latter work is not accepted (07).
- The activities that Iran might have are only to obtain its civil nuclear program (07). After long negotiations with Iran, it accepted these conditions willingly which initiated a new phase of the American-Iranian relations ships for the long run. For the first time, Iran and the United States come into a common ground to solve the unsaved issue of nuclear power.

Iran had to agree on the pre-conditioned terms in order to join the deal and to be a member of an international agreement. However, it was not easy to come into agreement with Iran. Prior to 2009, Iran had refused any sort of agreement and the negotiations with the USA. President Obama had many attempts to come into terms with Iran, but with a little success. Then, President Obama had to move to another strategy which is pressure. He meant to restrict Iran from all sides ego via restricting their economy, which is the fuel and the core of the research as well the enrichment of uranium. In this game, after a short period of time, Iran had to surrender to the international requirements, in order to release the economic pressure. By joining the Joint Comprehensive Agreement, Iran guaranteed the continuity of their research of uranium. In the same respect, Iran ensured that no further disturbances or military intervention would occur.

#### **2.4.The Essence of the Joint Comprehensive Plan (JCPOA)**

The agreement that was reached on July 14, 2015 gave a birth to a new deal with the American-Iranian history which was called the Joint comprehensive Agreement.

Under Obama's administration, the Plan helped in freezing the Iranian nuclear program, providing Iran a sanction relief and to give a due time to reach a comprehensive plan (3). The harsh and deep terms of the Iran deal of reducing the Iranian enrichment capacity there scheming of the Arak supported in a way or another the reduction of the production of fissile materials for nuclear weaponry (3). Many congressional debates over the terms were addressed to the Deal. Many critics highlighted that the Iranian enrichment ability should be ended for good and the recycling of the should continue for good or at least for a longer duration of time. However, Obama with his agenda could obtain the approval of the majority of the Democratic debate and of this he got rid of a vote to resolve the proposal (3).

The Congressional fear was apparent in their debate. The ask to extend the time duration of the sanctions and commitments by critics came out from their fear that Iran after the planned time will eventually return to its program. They thought that this is deemed to be just a delay or a suspension that will end after the designed time. They thought that it is better if the agreement had long-run term or even everlasting results; however Obama's administration had another word to say.

The deal was accepted by the opponents because there was no other alternative if this proposal is refused by the congress. Also, there was a fear that America will not obtain an international support and ground, the case of the opponents was loose and could not gain ground. The JPCOA was activated on October 18, 2015. This day is labeled ADOPTION DAY (3).

In its process of reducing possible nuclear arms, the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action tries to guarantee the aforementioned objective. In doing so, the Iranian intentions are not clear; In this case, the region's states should work to endorse their security. This depends heavily on the Iranian behavior. Some states may not feel that

they are threatened by the future of the Iranian –nuclear program, while others feel the necessity to enhance their defense capacities and to strengthen security. Or to strengthen its security with super powers and with America (4-5). The 5P+1's main objective was not only to get rid of the nuclear program for the definite future, however they wanted to block any nuclear race in the Middle East (5). The agreement that was reached with Iran was not only set for Iran.

For the short term, the agreement was meant to reduce the nuclear –weaponry development in Iran. While, the same agreement is set in the Middle East. In this respect, the nuclear international race that many countries are having should stop from America and the 5P+1. By preventing Iran, which is strong, from developing mass destruction and nuclear weapons, the ME and the rest of the world have no chance to develop any future nuclear projects or even weaponry. In this case, the strategy that Obama had is not containment but is economic strategy.

Sterio states that Iran, in addition to five world super- powers signed a crucial agreement in 2015. The agreement was a kind of a comprehensive plan of action. John Mecklin highlighted that this agreement, for many commentators, is deemed the most detailed agreement ever in the history of nuclear proliferations (70). The terms of the agreement were clear. In this agreement, Iran approved that its nuclear program will be restricted in several ways. Both Micheal R. Gordon and David E. Sanger stated that Iran decided to diminish the store or the production « of low-enriched uranium by 98 percent » (Sterio 74). The expected duration of this agreement is 15 years. In other words, the agreement was planned for 15 years. In the same duration of fifteen years, Iran is supposed only to improve and enhance, to 3.67%, its uranium. Peralta thinks that the percentage is fair enough to reach, but not for building nuclear weapons (74). The percentage is significant because it guaranteed the continuity of the production at

its minimum level.

The second point obliges Iran too « [...] place over two- thirds of its centerfiges in storage and to limit any enrichment capacity to only to the Natanz Plant, which will be monitored by the IAEA. The supposed time that was planned for this agreement was ten years (75).

For fifteen years, Iran is not supposed to cease any development of uranium facilities, as Bradner stated (Melina 74). It is true that Iran is not an obstacle, for one hundred percent, from continuing research and enriching uranium, but only for the Natanz facility and the first years will witness huge restrictions on their work.

The fourth point in the agreement is that Iran willingly agreed that it will, for good, stop enriching uranium in the Fodrow facility for fifteen years. Instead the facility would turn into a center of physics, and technology (Stereo 75). The Additional Protocol is emphasized on Iran to sign if she stays a member of the NPT. The Additional Protocol furthermore is eternal.

When Iran signed the comprehensive agreement, she agreed on the terms that the IAEA will have a comprehensive examination and confirmation regime. The last point in the agreement ensures that it gives an argument of the determination procedure, in case Iran does not obey and fulfill the agreement. Eventually, if the deal is not fulfilled by Iran, the deal designs a kind of a plan, if there is an argument that Iran is meeting its duties and responsibilities. In this case, the whole U.N council will eventually vote to determine more the lifting of the sanctions, as Peralta stated (76). According to Panda, this strategy is called « Snap-back sanction » in the Obamean administration (76).

All in all, the whole comprehensive program is built upon a smart strategy. It is a point of strength in the sense that Iran is no more independent in its enrichment of

Uranium. The Iranian deal helps to have a controlling hand over the nuclear program of Iran. From one hand, it restricts the production of uranium, and on the other hand, the deal did not stop ultimately the enrichment. This is one point. The second point is that the restriction is huge because Iran is no more deciding unilaterally on the issue of the nuclear power; its facilities are reduced and it is all the time scrutinized. Time also plays a major role in the agreement. Each section from the deal imposes a minimum ten to fifteen years. Thus, this will lessen the quantity. However, what is strange in the deal is that is why America negotiated these terms with Iran and it only restricted the production and research about uranium? Is it because, America is afraid of Iran?

In exchange of obeying the terms of the deal, the Iranian benefits are merely economic because the economic authorizations that were imposed on Iran will be suspended or finished.

1. Jessica Simon and Anup Khaple stated that neither the United Nations nor the European –Union related authorizations will impose restricting measures on Iran (Stereo 77)
2. The article that is entitled Explainer: The Iran nuclear Deal asserted when the IAEA ensures the Iranian implementation of the previous strategies in the deal, most of the sanctions of the United nations will be finished, and the European nations will be finished or determined (Stereo 77).
3. In addition, the United Nations promised to stop imposing sanctions on Iran for the first six months of 2016. What is crucial to Iran is once these sanctions are lifted, this will help Iran to recover 100 billion dollars that are frozen in overseas banks, according to Jackie Northam.
4. Some sanctions on ballistic missile technology and conventional weapon sales will continue for more five years, for Gordon and Sanger.

5. For Felicia Swartz, two other American consents and agreements on missiles, human rights and support for terrorists will continue, and the agreement will not influence them (77). These approvals are rigorous because being more universal than the other economic sanctions.

It is obvious that the agreements and permissions that Iran will benefit from being economical in which once they are lifted, the Iranian economy will be released. President Obama found diplomatic solutions without intervening military and creating unnecessary nuclear war. He wanted to assure via the deal the lessening of the Iranian threat and thus cut off terrorism; In addition, the President wanted to gain acceptance and respect in Iran, America and world wide. His smart moves concludes that military power is not the best and the appropriate decision in all cases. And thus, America will have access and keep an eye on the Iranian nuclear program by having the Iranian permission.

Even after the Implementation Day, the parties should continue working on the JCPOA. Among the tasks of the parties: the Arakreactor is needed to be modified. The Fordow facility will turn into a nuclear research center. Iran, also needs to cooperate actively with IAEA control and examination and the completion of the terms under the Additional Protocol (7).

July 2015 witnessed the adoption of the resolution 2231«[...] in which the previous UN sanctions were relaxed » (7). Some of the requirements of 2231 are deemed to be removed over time:

- If the IAEA arrives first to its Brader Conclusion, the ban of « [...] the transfer of the conventional arms to and from Irn will be removed » in October 2002 (8).
- Also, if the Board Conclusion happens first, all the ties that are put on the activities that are related to missiles that were frozen will end by 2023.

- By 2025, the ban on nuclear trade outside the designed channel will be removed. By this, America suspended many economic sanctions which are crucial to the Iranian commerce and the economy.

#### **2.4.Conclusion**

Although the debate over the terms of the Iran deal were critical, yet its success in gaining the Iranian approval and its reduction in the work of the uranium power are accounts of the administration of Obama. The 2015 Iran agreement was crucial to gain again the world power balance and to eliminate future attempts to develop nuclear weaponry. By this huge step, President Obama and his administration proved again to the world that diplomacy can solve unsolving problems and that military power should be used only as a last choice. All in all, the smart step that the Obamean administration tool, helped in constructing a good image of Obama as An American President and that soft power is stronger than hard power.



## **Chapter Three**

### **Trump Administration Policy Towards Iran Deal**

#### **3.1.Introduction**

The election of President Donald Trump appears to signify the end of an epoch, stretching back to the Second World War, in which Iran and the United States have lurched alternately closer and further apart. There is now a US administration committed not to contain Iranian power, but to roll it back to Iran's territorial borders and ultimately disarming it. These maximal aims would appear to entail a regime change. Yet dislodging the Iran's government would take a massive effort and likely entail another American war in the Middle East. Whether Trump has the focus, will, and domestic and international support for this quest seems dubious. But he does appear to have the intent. Therefore, there are many reasons why Trump administration is different than the preceding one, and finally it withdrew from the Iran Deal confidently.

Thus, this chapter aims to study the US doctrine during President Trump's reign toward Iran, it studies how The US national security strategy, which aims to contain and encircle Iran as regional powers and to counter its influence throughout the Middle East, which seeks to paralyze Iran economically in preparation for isolating it and marginalizing its role in the region.

#### **3.2.The US Foreign Policy Under President Trump**

M.Ferhane says that the administration of President Donald Trump announced on January 18 an American national security strategy, which bore the same slogan as Trump during his campaign 'America First', and the new strategy said that the threat sources in the United States and its allies come From three sources:

- Facing the big powers ambitious Russia and China and prevent the emergence of competing forces.
- Preventing the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction by confronting the regional powers seeking to acquire nuclear weapons(Iran and North Korea) or rogue states, according to the American expression.
- Terrorist guerilla organizations (M. Ferhane 124).

The tension between the new US administrations over the agreement on the Iranian nuclear program reached its peak with the rejection of the American president (Trump) to ratify the Iranian nuclear agreement and adopt a more hostile US strategy towards Iran. In announcing his new strategy, the US president described Iran as an extremist regime and accused it of being the largest state sponsor of terrorism (M.Ferhane 134).

### **3.3. Trump Administration's Vision to Iran Nuclear Agreement**

In 2018, US President Donald Trump decided to withdraw from the United States The Iranian nuclear agreement, which was held between Iran and the countries The **P5+1** Which are the five permanent members of the UN Security Council; namely China, France, Russia, the United Kingdom, and The United States; plus Germany in 2015, and signed a presidential memorandum under which the return of sanctions on the Iranian regime, and the president stressed that the sanctions will be of a very economic nature severe.

Ali Tarek and Shayma A.Fadel state that Trump's argument was that the Iranian regime supported the terrorist system and squandered the wealth of the Iranian people. He stressed that the administration of former president Barack Obama allowed the Islamic republic of Iran to progress in its nuclear program, especially in enriching uranium, and reaching the possibility of acquiring a nuclear bomb. Trump also

described the nuclear deal as catastrophic, as it caused Iran to receive large sums of money and support its nuclear program. Trump said the nuclear deal would lead to a nuclear arms race in the Middle East in the future. Israel is concerned about the nuclear deal and may seek to develop its nuclear arsenal to provide protection. In itself, as it presented a number of evidence condemning the Iranian regime and its delusion of seeking to acquire nuclear weapons for non-peaceful purposes.

The withdrawal of US President Donald Trump from the Iranian nuclear agreement, the withdrawal of one of the six international parties signed the agreement, which counted an international agreement after the adoption by the Security Council, but the US withdrawal loses the agreement value, in return for Iran did not offer to withdraw from the agreement And committed to staying despite the US withdrawal (A.Fadel and Tarek 226).

### **3.4. New policy towards Iran**

President Trump the 1<sup>st</sup> Remarks on the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action reflects his future policy towards Iran nuclear program. ‘‘ President Trump: My fellow Americans: Today, I want to update the world on our efforts to prevent Iran from acquiring a nuclear weapon.’’ (“Remarks by President Trump on the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action”).

The Iranian regime is the leading state sponsor of terror. It exports dangerous missiles, fuels conflicts across the Middle East, and supports terrorist proxies and militias such as Hezbollah, Hamas, the Taliban, and Al Qaeda.’’ (“Remarks by President Trump on the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action”).

Experts observe that The US foreign policy toward the Islamic Republic of Iran has been seen since the president's arrival the new American Donald Trump 's position on 20 January 2017 changes are evident in the US positions on Iran, compared to the

policy followed by former President Barak Obama. It is an indicator of a new era of changes that Trump is planning to adopt against Iran especially with regard to the US deal with the Iranian nuclear file and the agreement reached with The P5+1 which is the five permanent members of the UN Security Council; namely China, France, Russia, the United Kingdom, and The United States; plus Germany. The most important of these changes is that this file has become a top priority for this administration, especially after the success of Saudi Arabia in the inauguration of the Riyadh summit, which was one of its main words facing the threat of Iran (133).

Furthermore, Trump is not satisfied with reject the Iran nuclear deal inked in 2015 by his precursor; he wants to negotiate a better one, and kill the Iranian nuclear ambitions because the latter creates a threat to US interests and its allies in the area (Singh).

### **3.5.Trump Policy, Regan Policy and The Maximum Pressure**

It seems that there is a relationship between Trump policy towards Iran and Regan policy towards the Soviet Union. Mike Giglio states that President Trump policy with Iran seems very similar to that of President Reagan against The Soviet Union because it seems that Trump's advisers were influenced by the book Victory: The Reagan Administration's Secret Strategy that Hastened the Collapse of the Soviet Union. The book has some influence on policy of Trump, it was written by Peter Schweizer, a favorite author of former Trump strategist Steve Bannon.

Mike Giglio explained that Trump's New Iran Strategy, Inspired By The Cold War, Calls For "Maximum Pressure" The Trump administration is going back into Cold War history as it develops an increasingly aggressive strategy against Iran — one that could Current and former US officials say a new campaign often described as “maximum pressure” was the method that once used by the President Ronald Regan,

the conservative hero who is credited by some for paving the way for the ruin of the Soviet Union.

The campaign of maximum pressure has taken shape quickly in the wake of Trump's withdrawal from the nuclear deal. The onset of new sanctions has pushed an already weakened Iranian currency into a tailspin, and the most punishing sanctions, on Iran's oil and energy industries, will begin in November. Secretary of State Mike Pompeo has brought a muscular new diplomacy to the State Department since arriving there in April, promising to bring the "swagger" back to Foggy Bottom as he promotes a harder line on Iran than his predecessor, while national security adviser John Bolton, who had called publicly for regime change in Iran, took office the same month. "Of course, in public, they deny it," Dubowitz, the FDD chief, said of the idea that the Trump administration's policy on Iran is designed in part to destabilize and possibly collapse the regime. "I do think Bolton and others honestly believe that you can crack the regime the way Reagan cracked the Soviet Union." ("Trump's New Iran Strategy, Inspired By The Cold War, Calls For "Maximum Pressure").

### **3.6. Trump Strategies to Face Iran Nuclear Agreement**

#### **3.6.1. Confrontation**

For Donald Trump, the Islamic Republic of Iran has a particular importance in his agenda, three months into his presidency, Iran is rising as a primary precedence for the brand new administration. Trump administration has started to replace accommodation with confrontation as a guiding principle of American policy towards Tehran, seeking to counter Iran through a multi-front campaign of diplomatic, economic, and military strain strain (Maloney).

With the Trump administration's recent imposition of new firm sanctions on Iran's power and financial sectors, Washington and Tehran have entered a brand

new and potentially an unstable phase in their already combustible relationship. It is not clear beyond the Trump administration's option to increase pressure on the Iranian regime and the regime's efforts to face up to it what each side desires to achieve ("Ground Truth Briefing Iran and the U.S.: New Confrontation, Accommodation, or Muddling Through?").

American reports in UN Security Council Meeting reflects the change of the United State vision towards Iran. Ambassador Nikki Haley Chairs UN Security Council Meeting on the Middle East, remarked that speaking honestly about conflict in the Middle East needs to tackle or focus on the main responsible which is Iran and its partner militia, Hezbollah. Iran and Hezbollah conspire together to destabilize the Middle East, and their actions are expanding. She stated that For decades, Iran and its partners have committed terrorist acts across the region.” (“Ambassador Nikki Haley Chairs UN Security Council Meeting on the Middle East”).

Experts explained that Trump administration followed a severe policy towards Iran and it takes many steps to overcome the Iranian Threat for instance economic and military pressures.

Colin Kahil state that US put a maximum economic pressures on Iran, especially when it paralyzed the Iranian oil exports by preventing big importers like China and others from importing Iranian oil under the cover of end waivers. He says that The Trump administration told five countries, including allies Japan, South Korea and Turkey, that they may now not be exempt from U.S. sanctions if they retain to import oil from Iran. Seeking to press Iran to the breaking point, the Trump administration announced in late April that it would end waivers that had permitted China, India, Japan, South Korea, and Turkey to continue importing Iranian oil. Colin state that the administration's stated goal is to drive Iranian oil exports, the lifeblood of

the country's economy, to as close to zero as possible. Iran responded with renewed threats to close the Strait of Hormuz, a narrow waterway off Iran's coast through which about 20 percent of global traded oil flows. And Iranian regime has indicated that Iran could take other steps to disrupt oil exports from Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates archrivals of Tehran that have championed Trump's maximum pressure campaign by targeting oil shipments through the Bab el-Mandeb strait and the Red Sea, or by hitting Saudi and Emirati critical infrastructure with destructive cyber attacks.

Colin adds that the US uses military option as a measure to prevent Iran threatening its interests in the area, especially oil trade with Arabic countries mainly Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates. Colin stated that On May 5, U.S. National Security Advisor John Bolton announced a severe warning to Iran. The United States, he declared, would move the USS Abraham Lincoln carrier strike group accompanied with a bomber task power to the Persian Gulf, "to send a clear and unmistakable message to the Iranian regime that any attack on American interests or on the ones of our allies can be met with unrelenting force." America, he continued, "isn't seeking conflict with the Iranian regime" but is "fully prepared to reply to any attack."

Another attempt to dial up pressure on the Iranian regime, experts say that Trump administration has classified the Islamic Revolutionary Guard as a terrorist group, the first time Washington has published such a description against a component of another nation's government. The Iranian parliament answered via passing a law, which President Hassan Rouhani signed remaining week, declaring all American troops within The Middle East terrorists and calling the U.S authorities a country sponsor of terrorism (Kahl).

### **3.6 .2.Sanctions and Economic Pressure**

Ali Hachem stated that after the United States pulled out of the nuclear deal with Iran on May 8, 2018, US sanctions gradually returned to Iran after they were lifted in accordance with the nuclear agreement reached in 2015. On November 5, 2018 the sanctions were applied "the worst ever", analysts said. These sanctions include oil exports, shipping, banks, and all key sectors of the economy and Trump will reinstate all sanctions.

"Sanctions on Iran are very severe," Trump said. "It is the most severe sanctions we ever impose. We will see what happens with». Experts say that The US administration wants Donald Trump to dry up Iran's hard currency. It goes directly to oil, the mainspring that feeds Tehran's coffers with what it needs to make a long-lasting and controversial influence in the Middle East.

For Trump, when Iran is unable to secure enough Dollars and Euros, it will not be able to pay its allies' bills and pay their salaries and a pro-US propaganda industry that will consolidate its regional agenda against Washington and its allies in the region. Iran, but they will not be okay, I can tell you that." ("US sanctions on Iran: Does the map of Iranian influence change in the Middle East?").

The United States on Monday (August 6,2018) re-imposed economic sanctions and tightened sanctions on Iran's oil, banking and transportation sectors on Monday after the administration of US President Donald Trump withdrew from the nuclear deal in 2015 and pledged more moves to pressure Tehran.

The sanctions include 50 banks and related entities, more than 200 people and a ship in the cargo sector, as well as Iran Air and more than 65 aircraft. The sanctions include the inclusion of some 25 Iranian banks previously sanctioned in a blacklist,



prompting Swift's system of remittances and interbank transactions to stop dealing with them, adding further obstacles to Iran's trade with the world. The move would reinstate sanctions lifted under the nuclear deal negotiated by the Obama administration and five other world powers in 2015 and will add 300 new ratings to Iran's oil, shipping, insurance and banking sectors.

The details of these sanctions will ban trade transactions involving precious metals such as gold, as well as aluminum and iron, technology associated with industrial technology programs, which may be used civil or military, as well as sanctions on institutions and governments dealing in Iranian rials or Iranian government bonds, Transport, energy and banking sectors. US sanctions allow trade in humanitarian goods, such as food and medicine, but measures imposed on banks and trade restrictions may increase the cost of such goods.

US Secretary of State Mike Pompeo said on Sunday that the sanctions, to be re-imposed on Monday, "are the most severe sanctions ever imposed on the Islamic Republic of Iran". He added that the Iranian regime will face increased financial isolation and economic stagnation to radically alter its destabilizing activities. Treasury Secretary Stephen Mnuchin said in a statement. The re-imposition of sanctions comes as part of broader efforts by US President Donald Trump to force Iran to scale back its nuclear and missile programs and support proxy armed forces in Yemen, Syria, Lebanon and elsewhere in the Middle East era ("All you need to know about the new US sanctions against Iran").

### **3.6.3. Iranian Reaction**

Experts remark that Iran said it would defy US-imposed sanctions on Monday and condemned Washington's attempt to curb its missile and nuclear programs and

weaken its influence in the Middle East as an "economic war." But Iran's clerical rulers played down concerns about the impact of sanctions on the country's economy.

"Today the enemy (the United States) is targeting the economy," Iranian President Hassan Rowhani said. "The main objective of the sanctions is our people."

He said Tehran would sell oil and break sanctions the United States has imposed on Iran's energy and banking sectors.

"America wanted to reduce Iranian oil sales to zero... but we will continue to sell our oil... and breach the sanctions," Rowhani told a meeting of economists and was quoted on state television.

"This is an economic war on Iran," Rohani said. "But America must know that it can not use the language of force against Iran... We are ready to resist any pressure." ("All you need to know about the new US sanctions against Iran").

#### **3.6.4. Trump Unilateral decisions**

For 8 years, President Barack Obama's foreign policy has been based on the notion of Multilateralism, "Multilateralism regulates hubris," Obama declared.

His successor, President-elect Donald Trump, has mocked some of the same international partnerships Obama and his recent predecessors have promoted, raising the Republican's logo which is "America First". Experts commented that Trump's agenda might well mean an America more willing to act alone ("Trump Signals Shift from Obama's Focus on Multilateralism").

President Donald Trump withdrew the United States from certain high-profile agreements like the Paris Agreement on climate change and the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA) related to Iran's nuclear program. Thus, by these actions president Trump ignores international or multilateral decisions and focuses on one-side or unilateral decisions in world affairs, especially in the Case of Iran Deal.

Marco Carrasco, a Peruvian economist stated in an interview with New China News Agency that President Donald Trump has a "confrontational" style of governing, he said also that his unilateral decisions are "bad measures" .Carrasco remarks starting from his campaign promises, Trump has proven his willingness to go it alone, even that means going against the general consensus. Carrasco noted that Just in the short time he has been in office, Trump has driven the United States close to the edge of a constitutional crisis by flouting laws, and frighten other countries with threats of trade wars and military attacks. "They are bad measures, in my opinion, and seemingly in the opinion of most people, even in Washington," Carrasco said in a recent interview with Xinhua. "Let's hope certain things are toned down." (Arab Democratic Center for Strategic Studies, Berlin, Germany 226).

### **3.7.Conclusion**

Finally, President Trump's policy toward Iran and its success in achieving its objectives towards the latter depends on a range of variables related to the American interior, and other variables related to the nature of what is expected to be Iran's reactions in this area, as well as the variables related to major international powers such as Russia, China and the European Union With important economic interests and relations with both sides of the relationship.

## **General Conclusion**

Regardless of who takes power, whether they are Jmorin or democrats," Change and continuity" keeps as a basic logo of The American policy. For example, the policy of defense and the preservation of American interests abroad, the face of emerging threats and challenges, the survival of the United States as the only pole in the world by facing the ambitions of competing forces such as Russia and China, as well as its continuation in containing enemies and confronting their threats. This is true of Iran, which sees the United States as a serious challenge to its interests.

In light of our study of the Iranian nuclear file and the American influence in reducing it, it is clear that despite three and a half decades of sanctions and the isolation of the Islamic Republic of Iran over its nuclear file and sending a message to the leaders of the world, And will not relinquish its positions, ambitions and dreams towards the Middle East with threats and sanctions.

Moreover, the United States and other allied countries have not stopped their policy towards Iran from continuing to isolate and isolate it at the regional and international levels, and to pressure the Security Council to impose severe sanctions against it and intensify pressure on the countries that support it.

In light of the above and in light of the reality and based on the above analysis, the study reached the following results:

- That Iran's insistence on continuing its nuclear agenda despite the pressures on it is an achievement of his policies, as it added to it a kind of force that posed a threat to the forces competing for its equal within its territory or outside.
- The risks of a confirmed confrontation will be at the forefront of the future

options offered if the Iranian and US sides continue not to give up their different views on the nuclear file.

- Although the positions and differences of the administration of former US presidents Barack Obama and current President Donald Trump on the Iranian pursuit of nuclear weapons, they agree that the survival of their country, the guardian of security and balance, is one of the priorities of the country's policy.
- The decision of the American withdrawal from the Iranian nuclear agreement, regardless of the reasons for its continuation and its motives, has brought the two countries into a new crisis, as well as different international reactions between supporters and rejecters for reasons related to the interests of each country.

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## Glossary

**Al Qaeda:** *Al-Qaeda* is a militant Sunni Islamist multi-national organization founded in 1988 by Osama bin Laden, Abdullah Azzam, and several other Arab volunteers

**FDD:** The Foundation for Defense of Democracies , it is a nonprofit, nonpartisan research institute focusing on foreign policy and national security. FDD does not accept donations from foreign governments.

**Hamas:** it is a Palestinian Sunni-Islamist fundamentalist organization. It has a social service wing, Dawah, and a military wing, the Izz ad-Din al-Qassam Brigades.

**Hezbollah:** it is a Shi'a Islamist political party and militant group based in Lebanon Hezbollah's paramilitary wing is the Jihad Council and its political wing is Loyalty to the Resistance Bloc party in the Lebanese parliament.

**IAEA:** International Atomic Energy Agency, The IAEA, a global center for nuclear cooperation, works to promote the safe, secure and peaceful use of nuclear technologies.

**JCPOA:** known commonly as the Iran nuclear deal or Iran deal, is an agreement on the Iranian nuclear program reached in Vienna on July 14, 2015, between Iran, the P5+1 (the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council—China, France, Russia, United Kingdom, United States—plus Germany), and the European Union.

**ME:** Middle East.

**NBC:** The National Broadcasting Company (NBC) is an American English-language commercial terrestrial television network that is a flagship property of NBC Universal, a subsidiary of Comcast. The network is headquartered at 30 Rockefeller Plaza in New York City, with additional major offices near Los Angeles (at 10 Universal City Plaza), Chicago (at the NBC Tower) and Philadelphia (at the Comcast

Technology Center).

**Norooz:** Nowruz (Persian: نوروز Nowruz, [nou'ru:z]; literally "new day") is the Iranian New Year, also known as the Persian New Year, which is celebrated worldwide by various ethno-linguistic groups.

**NPT:** Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons The NPT aims to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons and weapons technology, to foster the peaceful uses of nuclear energy, and to further the goal of disarmament.

**Taliban:** The Taliban (Pashto: طالبان, ṭālibān "students") or Taleban, who refer to themselves as the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan (IEA), are a Sunni Islamic fundamentalist political movement and military organization in Afghanistan currently waging war (an insurgency, or jihad) within that country. Since 2016, the Taliban's leader is Mawlawi Hibatullah Akhundzada.

**the Arak reactor:** IR-40 also known as Arak Nuclear Plant is an Iranian 40 megawatt (thermal) heavy water reactor under construction near Arak, adjacent to the 1990s era Arak Heavy Water Production Plant. Civil works for the construction began in October 2004. It was initially planned that the reactor would begin nuclear operations in 2014.

**the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP):** The Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP), also called the Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement, is a defunct proposed trade agreement between Australia, Brunei, Canada, Chile, Japan, Malaysia, Mexico, New Zealand, Peru, Singapore, Vietnam, and the United States signed on 4 February 2016, which was not ratified as required and did not take effect. After the United States withdrew its signature, the agreement could not enter into force. The remaining nations negotiated a new trade agreement called Comprehensive and Progressive Agreement for Trans-Pacific Partnership, which incorporates most of the provisions of the TPP and

which entered into force on 30 December 2018.

**U.N:** The United Nations (UN) is an intergovernmental organization tasked with maintaining international peace and security, developing friendly relations among nations, achieving international co-operation, and being a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations. It was established after World War II, with the aim of preventing future wars, and succeeded the ineffective League of Nations. Its headquarters, which are subject to extraterritoriality, are in Manhattan, New York City, and it has other main offices in Geneva, Nairobi, Vienna and The Hague.

**UNESCO** :The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO); (French: Organisation des Nations unies pour l'éducation, la science et la culture) is a specialized agency of the United Nations (UN) based in Paris. Its declared purpose is to contribute to peace and security by promoting international collaboration in education, sciences, and culture in order to increase universal respect for justice, the rule of law, and human rights along with fundamental freedom proclaimed in the United Nations Charter. It is the successor of the League of Nations' International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation

