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***The United States' Foreign Policy and the Impact
of the Iranian Nuclear Weapons on the U.S.
Interests in the Middle East 1990-2017***

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DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this dissertation to my parents and sister, who were always pushing me to do the best I can

I would also dedicate this humble work to all my friends who helped me through my hard times especially Dergel Nasrine, Kreiri Kheira and Touaoula Asmaa and Waddan Amina

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Abstract

The aim of this dissertation is to investigate and identify the United States' concern with the nuclear armament in Iran and how it would affect U.S. relations in the Middle East area as well as with other nuclear powers such as Russia, China, and North Korea. This work first examines the U.S. foreign relations especially between 1980 to 2003, where the United States had engaged no easy task in dealing with the Middle East issues and in which various countries were seeking nuclear weapons for protection, peaceful purposes or to control the area. In the second stage, I will identify the roots of the Iranian nuclear programme and how this effected the U.S. relations in the Middle East. This will lead me to examine the U.S. manoeuvre to prevent Iran from owning nuclear capacity. Finally, in this dissertation I will tackle the U.S. fear from losing its control over the Middle East area and how the Iranian allies push the U.S. out of the Middle East region. For that, a number of sources are drawn from other universities and books on U.S. foreign relations as well as information from articles, newspapers and speeches. In conclusion, this dissertation argues that the United States' aim was probably not protecting national security but rather its national interests in the Middle East area.

Keywords: The United States – Nuclear Armament – Iran – Middle East – North Korea - Foreign relations

List of Acronyms and Initialisms

- D.I.Q: Design Information Questionnaire
- D.I.V: Design Information Verification
- E.M.P: Electromagnetic pulse
- E.U: European Union
- G-7: The group of 7
- I.A.E.A: International atomic energy agency
- I.R-40: Iranian 40 megawatt heavy water reactor
- J.C.P.O.A: The Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action
- J.P.A : Joint Plan of Action
- N.A.T.O: North Atlantic Treaty Organization
- N.P.T: Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty
- N.S.A: National Security Agency
- O.P.C.W: The Organisation for the Prohibition of chemical weapons
- O.P.E.C: Organization of the petroleum exporting countries
- P.I.V: Physical Inventory verification
- T.R.R: Tehran research reactor
- U.N: United nation
- U.N.S.C.O.M: United Nation Special Commission
- U.S.A/U.S.: United States of America
- U.S.S.R: Union of Soviet socialist republic
- W.M.D: Weapon of mass destruction

General introduction

The United States' foreign policy has witnessed various changes, starting from the Cold War 1945-1991 until nowadays. The end of the Cold War reshaped the New World Order and placed the U.S. as the first super power in the world especially after the breakdown of the Soviet Union in 1991. The United States took the lead in dealing with international issues, however, many challenges arose. Therefore, American people became more terrified of any pre-emptive nuclear war.

The main purpose of this dissertation is thus to answer question with regard the U.S. concern from the Iranian nuclear programme and how it would threaten the U.S. interests, and affect its relations in the Middle East area.

The dissertation will start by undertaking a comprehensive analysis on the American foreign policy after the Cold War where it has become the first power in the world by eliminating the former Soviet Union and creating a new world order. Bill Clinton's administration was considered as the first administration after the Cold War. It was a huge leap in the U.S. history to formulate a new foreign policy. The United States was determined to preserve its national interests and stood by its allies as well as providing them with security such as Israel, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait. On August 2nd 1990s tensions raised between Iraq and Kuwait due to some economic problems that Iraq was facing, this country asked Kuwait and Saudi Arabia to arise its debts, however, both countries refused every Iraqi proposal.

In 1990s, Iraq invaded Kuwait leading the United Nation to impose economic sanctions on it in order to make Iraq leave Kuwait. However Saddam refused to move out of the country. President George H.W. Bush saw the Iraqi act as a threat to the U.S. interests especially the oil resources. Therefore United States had sent airforces to take up defensive positions in Saudi Arabia insisting on the fact that the U.S. mission was purely defensive. The war ended in 1992 and George W.H. Bush declared the liberation of Kuwait from Saddam's regime. The U.S. accomplishment was considered a victory; however for Hussein it was not as simple as that. Therefore, he attempted a second invasion of Kuwait in 1994. This section also demonstrates the interrelationship between the Gulf War and the September 11 attacks that led to the Iraq War in 2003. For some experts, September 11 attacks gave the U.S. the chance to re-examine its relation with Iraq. Consequently it resulted into the second Iraq war in 2003. Analysts expressed that the Iraqi war was a war of choice and it could have been

avoided because it was due to unresolved problems that were inherited from the precedent administrations of George W.H. Bush and Bill Clinton, since there was no evidence that Iraq possessed Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) nor had a direct or indirect connection with Al-Qaida. That being said, critics have declared that the U.S. failed in its policy in Iraq and even Afghanistan due to a simple fact that the U.S. had a lack of vision of its goal.

The second chapter explains the U.S. Iranian relations and how the Shiite ideology had played a major role in shaping Iran's governing system and helped develop its nuclear facilities. With the return of Ali Ayatollah Khomeini, Iran became stronger than ever and many countries started to reconsider their policy with Iran. Most importantly, the research will analyze the impact of Iranian nuclear programme on the Middle East region such as Israel, Egypt, Syria, and how they would deal with further crises. The last part of the second chapter will focus on the major threat that Iran may impose on American interests in the Middle East.

Iran as a nuclear power would not hesitate to attack any country that would threaten its interest of its nuclear agenda. The U.S. fear became more obvious than before, they already declared that Iran has the largest inventory of ballistic missile force that can reach America as well as its allies like Israel and Saudi Arabia. Furthermore, Iran is working with North Korea to develop its nuclear facility, that collaboration has created uncertainty in the U.S. government.

In the last chapter, I will highlight some U.S. positions toward the Iranian nuclear programme, and how the U.S. is looking for different methods to deal with Iran in order to avoid any nuclear war by considering various options that may reduce tensions between both sides. The U.S. had imposed several sanctions on the Iranian nuclear programme in order to limit and stop its production. However, in January 2016 the International Atomic Energy Agency declared that Iran has completed the necessary step under the Iranian deal but still some sanctions will remain under the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action with regard to sanctions on missiles, as well as terror list sanctions. Meanwhile, Iran was supported by many countries such as Russia, North Korea, and China. Through this, I will attempt to explore the nature of their international relations and how this would affect first Iran's allies, and also the U.S. presence in the Middle East, notably with the Iranian North Korean collaboration. Moreover I will clarify the U.S. concern from Iran North Korean move, since both sides possess weapons of mass) and share a common interests which would increase tensions

especially with the arrival of Donald Trump to presidency where he criticized the nuclear deal of Obama's administration during his campaign in 2016.

Finally, I will undertake a general evaluation of Trump administration and how it would deal with Iran if it did not respect the agreement not only that, but also North Korea because they have not come to an agreement, yet. The Iranian-North Korean relation has remixed the U.S. strategic plan in dealing with the Middle East current issues especially after the last event of the Syrian chemical attack. Trump's response was very quick where he ordered to launch 59 Tomahawk missiles on the Syrian base, however, Russia considered the U.S. act an aggression and stated that Trump administration had violated the international law. The last section of this dissertation will mainly focus on the Middle East recent issues and how the new U.S. administration would resist in front of the world nuclear powers, and how the U.S. policy would prevent any further intense situations on dominating the region.

To sum up, this dissertation revolves around two main questions that are:

- 1- What is the United States' concern from the Iranian nuclear programme?
- 2- How would that threaten the U.S. interests and affect its relations in the Middle East?

As a possible answer, one may say that the U.S. may lose its domination over the Gulf States therefore losing its oil access. It may also deter the U.S Allies in the Middle East such as Israel. Further It Might get the U.S. out of the Middle East.

CHAPTER 1

THE SHIFT OF THE U.S. FOREIGN POLICY

1990-2003

During the last decades the U.S. relations have been destabilized by various changes in the world especially after the WWII, moreover, the U.S. foreign policy started to shift gradually through adopting new ways in dealing with unsolved international issues, by making its interests its major priority. Therefore, in this chapter I will tackle the major changes in the U.S. foreign relations in the period between 1990-2003, notably in the Gulf States where dramatic shifts in the international landscape are afoot. In this chapter I will give a brief historical background about America after the Cold War, and how the U.S. dealt with the Gulf war 1990-1991, to preserve its interests and supposedly spread democracy, additionally I will give a brief analysis about George H. Bush administration policy prior to the September 11 event. Furthermore I will give a brief description of the U.S. policy failure in both Iraq and Afghanistan.

1.1 The American Foreign Policy after the Cold War

According to William ,Jr David E. The Cold War began immediately after WW II . This conflict drove most nations of the world to align with either The American or The Soviet bloc. . “ Iran’s Nuclear Programme .“(4)

In addition, Michael Alexander sees that in his Book (Managing the Cold War¹.)

“The Cold War is shorthand description of the long drawn out confrontation between a group of capitalist democracies, led by The United States and NATO, led by The Soviet Union and The Warsaw Pact.”(1.)

The War lasted from 1945 to 1991 it was extraordinarily intense period, in which the use of military violence was clearly demonstrated by both sides. After the WW II there was the new international system, which was based on the Bipolarity which consist of the United States of America representing The Capitalist Camp, and The Soviet Union representing the Socialist or Communist bloc. As a result they have drawn new political map of the world, where the two poles were sharing the political as well as the military domination and economic on the world.

One of the basic features of the international system, is the recognition of the Bipolarity of the United States of America and the Soviet Union, in which they agreed on the establishment of United Nation (U.N) body, that includes all recognized countries, including countries newly independent. The UN Security Council consists of thirteen member five of them are permanent members who have the right to veto, they are Britain, France, and China in addition to the United States and the Soviet Union, who work on ensuring global peace, and separate the conflicts and disputes that arise between nations.

The collaboration between The U.S. and The Union of Soviet socialist republic (U.S.S.R) did not last for too long due to some ideological differences that separated the two countries, especially when the American democracy started to spread across the globe, which conflicted with the Soviet's principles that seek to overthrow capitalism. Both the United States and The Soviet Union believed that their respective goals survival was at stake and “any gain for one side is a loss for the other” (Kissinger, 22.). Therefore, each one of them was ready to do anything to win, but the two countries found themselves succumbing to the classic prisoners, which is working together would provide the best results for both sides. Nevertheless, afraid of losing everything, neither side could risk trusting the other, at the same time they knew how devastating a nuclear war would be if they did not prevent the Cold War from escalating, for example when Harry Truman¹ refused to use nuclear weapons against

¹ 33rd president of the United States of America (1945-1953)

North Korea and China, consequently Dwight D. Eisenhower² kept his distance from Hungarian Revolution in 1956 “The Cold War (1945-1963)” As well as when The Soviet primer Nikita Khrushchev³ kept the war cold by ending Cuban missile crisis after he agreed on John Kennedy’s⁴ proposal to remove the missiles in exchange for backing down The American missiles from Turkey in 1961, in order to keep the war limited .It was obvious that both countries worked hard to limit the conflicts and use tacit signaling techniques to communicate goals, concerns, intensions, fears, and counteractions. "The Cold War (1945-1963) "

The Cold War sow its final years from 1985-1991 with The German reunification, The dismantling of The Berlin Wall and the dissolution of the Soviet Union. For Zbigniew Brzezinski "The Cold War and its Aftermath" The Cold War did come to it final end “in the victory of one side, and in the defeat of the other side.” where The US took the lead to control the world and remain as the first world wide super power. According to Peter Tarnoff in his interview by Harry Kreisler On October 13Th, 1999:

“The American foreign policy had changed after the disappearances of The Soviet Union and the evaporation of The Cold War....., but the most dramatic in terms of making of America foreign policy, was that it was no longer possible to have a coalition of thoughts.” (1)

After the end of The Cold War in the last decade The US has become completely reluctant, as happened during The World War One and The World War Two, in order to find the most appropriate way to deal with the world, but in some cases history repeat itself and the return to the past become almost definite, where The American leaders have endured no easy task in order to reach unknown destination which is more complex then The Cold War where it has institutional consequences on America and the world, the political climate was changed and many citizen were terrified of nuclear disaster.

The Americans have faced a New World Order since the end of The Cold War, it kept American life off balanced to one degree or another, and many Americans did not recognized that the world’s geographical landscape was shifting, The Soviet Union was no more

² 34rd Soviet president, (1953-1961)

³ Soviet primer Nikita Khrushchev

⁴ 35rd The United States President, (1961-1963)

considered as threat for America. However small countries have obtained nuclear weapons or the capacity to make them which makes these countries more of threat than The Soviet Union had been. The Americans believed that their governing system was strong enough at home but weak abroad, for them the system at home was balanced though the separation of power .Where else in foreign affairs it means that the country cannot speak with one voice, consequently The United States was placed in a sensitive position in dealing with those who were in powerful position, where they can act more expeditiously .Charles William "America Without The Cold War" This was demonstrated by the performance of George H.W. Bush's⁵ administration where the hesitation in their performance was obvious, in which it resulted as a sort of vacuum in strategic thinking about the role of The United States of America in the new world, Professor David Abshire believe that this case is considered normal to more to a toughest stage, considering that the end of The Cold War opened a new phase, unlike what was in the past period or unlike the past period, in which the administration of president Bill Clinton⁶, was considered as the first US administration in the period after the Cold War, where they recognized that this stage is not easy one, and may pose a significant turning point in the history of The United States of America, because they have not experienced similar challenges since the late forties to formulate a new foreign policy. With the passage of time communities are changing and the state system is in constant evolution consequently The U.S. had to be careful then before to adjust any instability, and keep a way risks of chaos as well as preserve its interests in the world, because the post-Cold War period granted The United States of America freedom of choice, but what is strange is that the first power in the world was victors and exhausted at the same time which makes it even harder on it, according to H. Kissinger :

“The end of the Cold War has created what some observers have called a “unipolar” or “one-superpower” world. But the United States is actually in no better position to dictate the global agenda unilaterally than it was at the beginning of the Cold War.” (Diplomacy 809.)

⁵ 41stThe United States President, (1989-1993)

⁶ 42ndThe United States President, (1993-2001)

1.2 The Gulf War:

The Gulf War was waged by a UN authorized coalition forces from 34 nations led by the United States against Iraq, due to Iraq's invasion of Kuwait. The invasion of Iraq troops was on August 1990.

After the Iraq-Iran war the Iraqi economy has completely collapsed and the country has become bankrupt, which lead Iraq to ask her fellow counties, such as Saudi Arabia and Kuwait for support to forgive the debt it owned to them, but both countries has refused Iraq's proposal, and said they still wanted payment, which infuriated Iraq.

Iraq assumed that Kuwait was digging for more oil than its allowed Organization of the petroleum exporting countries (O.P.E.L) quota, as a result the oil price decreased consequently Iraq economic issues has become more compounded because they depends on oil as its means of export. Therefore Iraq asked the countries to reduce their quotas to drive up oil price so it could help the Iraqi economy, however Kuwait responded by asking if they could increase their quota by 50%, Iraq become more angry by this move. Finally Iraq claimed sovereignty over Kuwait the issue goes back to the end of the world war one when Kuwait was taken from Iraqi territory by Britain, than after the end of the world war two Iraq gained independence from the United Kingdom and it tried to claim Kuwait back again.

In August 2nd 1990, Iraq took actions to invade Kuwait, back then Kuwait's forces were not ready for this action. Resolution and sanctions were imposed on Iraq by the UN in order to get them to leave Kuwait. Iraq had a limited period until 15th January 1991 to leave the country otherwise military intervention was allowed. Indeed Iraq had not moved out of Kuwait territory. Peter Fitzgerald "War in the Middle East." (1.) President George H.W. Bush saw the invasion as a threat to the region's state-based order as well as to the oil resources on which they depended. H.Fradkin and L.Libby "The Gulf War and Its Aftermath", because "the United States and Britain agreed before on the need to keep the oil fields in their hands" said N.Chomsky, "After the Cold War: U.S. foreign policy in the Middle East" (20.) According to H.Fradkin and L.Libby Bush decided first to defend the Arabic Gulf countries and Saudi Arabia from further Iraqi attacks, then to repel Iraqi forces from Kuwait.

On the August 8th, 1990, president George H.W. Bush had a speech on Iraq's invasion of Kuwait where he said that the US had sent key units of the United States Air forces to take up defensive position in Saudi Arabia, explaining that Iraqi forces invaded

peaceful Kuwait without warning though President Saddam Hussein⁷ assured several countries in the area that there would be no invasion, insisting that Iraqi's move was not justified and it was brutal and outrageous act of aggression. Bush's administration had already drawn a plan to stand up against the Iraqi regime, seeking the unconditional and complete withdrawal of Iraqi forces from Kuwait, they also ordered prohibition of all trade with Iraq, because the country was considered as being rich and powerful as Bush said: "... [Iraq] possesses the world's second largest reserves of oil and over million men under arms."

The invasion of Kuwait by Iraq was not seen as a Middle East or an American problem neither a European one, for Bush it was the world's problem. Immediately after the Iraqi invasion The United Nation Security Council, condemned Iraq, to withdraw its troops from Kuwait, as well as they approved for the first time in 23 years mandatory, sanctions under chapter seven of The United nation, one of these sanctions is limiting Iraq's ability of importing and exporting anything of value especially oil.

The United States was determined to see that these sanctions are effective to make Iraq withdraw from Kuwait; however The U.S. knew that Iraq may not stop using force to advance its ambitions. Therefore President Bush H.W. consulted The King Fahd, to send The Security of defense Dick Cheney⁸ to discuss cooperative measures. The Saudi Government requested The United States' help, The U.S. responded by ordering its Air and Ground Forces to deploy in The Saudi Kingdom.

Both The United States and The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, share a longstanding friendship and security relationship, in which it well allows The U.S. to work side by side with Saudi Forces as well as the other countries to preserve the integrity of The Kingdom and deter further Iraqi aggression. Bush insisted in his speech that United States of America will stand by its friends, and the mission of its troops is purely defensive, moreover The U.S. well do the best they can to deter Iraqi aggression as well as enforce The U.N. sanctions.

The Gulf War ended, and The U.S. President declared the liberation of Kuwait from Saddam Hussein regime, he considered this victory for every country in the coalition, and each of its members could agree upon the objective of ejecting Iraq from Kuwait. The coalition was highly successful at forcing Iraq out of Kuwait, However U.S. goal was not

⁷ The Iraqi President . (1986-2006.)

⁸ The U.S. Secretary of Defense, (1990.)

achieved so far because Saddam Hussein was still alive, President Bush hoped that Hussein would be overthrown during the war.

Nevertheless, according to Kevin Woods and Mark Stout, Saddam Hussein viewed the Gulf War as a victory for Iraq, because U.S. forces had stopped short of entering Iraq and threatening his regime. Carl Von defined war as “an act of force to compel our enemy to do our will.” That can be applied on Saddam Hussein when he attempt to assassinate former president George Bush H.W. in 1993 and his plan to reinvade Kuwait in 1994, if that can prove anything it will prove that Bush administration failed in its strategy. Bush administration condemned The United States to a long term presence in the gulf in order to contain Iraq. All sanctions imposed on Iraq had served as a rallying cry for jihadists such as Osama bin Laden against The United states and its friends in the area. Mahnken, Tom. "The Gulf War in retrospect" (2.)

1.3 9/11 Event and Bush Administration

September 11, 2001 was a day that marked the history of the United States. Terrorists, encouraged by the Islamic extremist Osama Bin laden, used hijacked airplanes to destroy the World Trade center in New York City and deeply damaged part of the Pentagon in Washington, D.C. The attack claimed more than 3,000 civilians and service personnel, and also had an effective impact on U.S. policy.

September 11, had changed the American foreign policy, a global war against terrorism has created guidelines for U.S. policy makers according to Alexander Moens professor of political science at Simon Fraser University, Canada The President George W. Bush had to turn American power into a revolutionary direction, in the same way as President Harry Truman had to stop communism and Ronald Reagan⁹ had to explain to the American people that the Soviet Union was “evil”

Under the secretary of defense in March 2005, Doglas Feith told a conference at Harvard University that 9/11 attacks had given an opportunity to “reexamine” U.S. Iraq policy as a result the invasion of Iraq in 2003 led by George W. Bush’s administration was due unresolved problem that were inherited from his predecessors George H.W. Bush and Bill

⁹The United States President, (1981-1989)

Clinton. Kiyoshi Aihara, "Consequences of The 9/11 Terrorist Attacks on U.S. Middle East Policy."

According to Richard N. Haass, President, Council on Foreign Relation, the decision to attack Iraq in March 2003 was discretionary, stating that it was a war of choice, because there was no reason that the United States attack Iraq 17 month later nor was the reason preempting the use of weapons of mass distraction. For Kiyoshi Aihara Iraq had to give up its WMD in exchange for lifting the economic sanctions that had been imposed by the U.N on April 3, 1991, Saddam accepted the resolution, and the (UNSCOM) the United Nation Special Commission started its inspection in Iraq, strangely, Saddam never showed the International Community any prove of having destroyed his WMD. However, at the time the U.S. led invasion in March 2003, Charles Duefler, chief U.S. weapons inspector for Iraq WMD reported to the U.S. congress on October 2004, that Saddam Hussein possessed neither chemical nor biological weapons and was not trying to reconstruct his nuclear programme because he has already destroy all his chemical and biological weapons sooner after the 1991 Gulf War.

In January 2001, George W. Bush started his first term with attention to Saddam. On the 21Th of November 2001, 72 days after the terrorist attacks and the Taliban regime crumbled in Afghanistan, President Bush directed secretary of defense Donald Rumsfeld to begin planning the war with Iraq, indeed there are several reports prove that Bush and his advisor got more interested in Saddam Hussein, according to Richard Clark, a National Coordinator for Security and Counterterrorism, when Bush took office his aides had not much interest in Ben Laden, preferring to speak about Saddam Hussein at every opportunity, furthermore Paul O'Neill revealed that the president was interested in military option in order to change the Iraqi regime when he chaired the National Security Council meeting for the first time on January 30,2001.

On October 1998 Clinton signed the Iraqi liberation act, which stated that the United States should back up efforts to take off Saddam's regime, however the liberation act did not include military operations, nevertheless George W. Bush never ruled out to overthrow Saddam's regime by force, because he was considered as a threat for the United States interest. (1-10)

On June 17Th, 2004 George W. Bush stated to reporters after a cabinet meeting at the Waite House that:

“[Saddam Hussein] was a threat because he had used weapons of mass destruction against his own people, he was a threat because he was sworn enemy of the united stated of America, just like Al-Qaeda, he was a threat because he had a terrorist connection.” Quoted in “justification for invading Iraq, threat for Saddam Hussein”

For Bush Saddam’s regime supports terror and has plotted to develop anthrax and nerve gas, as well as nuclear weapons for over a decade, for him the Iraqi regime agreed to international inspections, but the inspectors were kicked out, consequently they claimed that Iraqi regime has something to hid. Indeed Kiyoshi Aihara had expressed that judging from top bush administration officials’ comment, it seems reasonable to presume that their main concern was Saddam’s WMD. Sooner after the 9/11 attacks, Bush declared that they will not wait for the authors of mass murder to gain WMD. Despite the fact that NSA Director concluded that there were no certainties about Iraq’s WMD capabilities prior to the 2003 war. Dione Bruson," 2003 Iraq war: intelligence or political failure.", with lack of evidence one can say that Bush administration used the threat of the weapons of mass destruction as an excuse to gain support from the United Nation, because at the time Iraq rejected the inspections though they have agreed on it as mentioned before consequently it was considered as a good reason for the U.S. to justify its invasion and armed conflict.

Charles Pena, MA. Director of defense policy studies at Cato Institute, wrote in December 15, 2003 essay titled "Iraq the Wrong War" where he stated that Iraq possession of weapon of mass destruction is just a fair assumption of the United States, however there is no strong evidence to back up the claim that Saddam Hussein was related to Al-Qaeda and would have given the terrorist group the WMD to used them against the U.S. in contract, evidence suggested that Saddam was a secular fundamentalist, therefore their ideological views are incompatible and different. Quoted in “did Saddam Hussein and his regime pose a threat to the United States and its allies.”

On March, 17Th, 2003 Bush demanded that Saddam Hussein step down from power and leave Iraq within 48 hours under threat of war, but Hussein refused, consequently the Iraq war or the Persian Gulf War started three days later." Aftermath of the Persian Gulf War."

The United States has not been able to convince the world that its invasion of Iraq did more than only removing Saddam Hussein and transfer his location, however their main

argument for the war was destroying weapons of mass destruction and fighting terrorism, for Richard N. Haass the war could have been avoided unlike Afghanistan which started as a war of necessity.

1.4 The Failure of The American Foreign Policy In Iraq And Afghanistan

The Iraq war began on March 19Th, 2003 and still the debate over its legitimacy.

George W. Bush and other supporters of the war agreed that Saddam's presumed possession of Weapons of Mass Destruction as well as perceived connection to Al-Qaida were a great danger to the United States National security, however critics questioned the existence of WMD, and even the connection of Saddam Hussein with Al-Qaeda and Osama Bin Laden, which led some of them to say that U.S. failed in its policy in Iraq and even Afghanistan.

According to Adnan Pachachi a Sunni Arabic political leader who has long played a permanent role in Iraq as a foreign minister before Saddam Hussein rule in Iraq said:

“ the first thing that struck me on my return to Iraq in 2003 was the belief of many Iraqis, especially the young, that the United States' presence, even as an occupying power, would benefit Iraq they were impressed by American achievement, particularly in science and technology. There was hope that Iraq's hard-working people and the country's great natural wealth would, with American guidance and assistance make Iraq one of the most advanced nations in the world”

However, all of those expectations and desires soon vanished, to be supplemented by disappointment, outrage and anger.

There were various reasons which demonstrate the United States failure in Iraq and Afghanistan:

IRAQ:

First, A. Pachachi suggested that failure was due lack of vision of the goals for such an invasion, because the United States came to Iraq without a clear and coherent plan to move the country from dictatorship to democracy. After the war Bush wanted to spare democracy he said in a speech that:

“The failure of Iraqi democracy would embolden terrorists around the world, increase danger to the American people and existing wish the hopes of millions in the region” quoted

in David E. Sanger, “Bush outlines vision for expanding democracy in the Middle East”, Nov. 6, 2003

Sound: Bush administration depended on military option, according to president Bill Clinton the presence of U.S. military forces was excessive in the region, he also told Ibrahim M. Oweiss, a Professor at Georgetown University –SFS in Qatar, that he wish this administration understands the limit of military option, stating that the Vietnam war was an example for which the United States could have learned insisting that what was important is to win peace in the aftermath.

The United States was rushing the war on Iraq on March 19th, 2003, if it would not have been rushed the U.S. may have been able to prove that Iraq does not have weapons of mass destruction, consequently they could have avoided such a war. Affectively, that leads to the third reason with regard the legitimacy of the U.S. war on Iraq, Former Secretary of the United Nation Kofi Anan stated that the war on Iraq was illegal, and it represent a violation of the international low since it represent no threat to the united states and had no link to Al-Qaeda or even Iraq possessing the WMD. President Gereld Ford¹⁰ said: “I don’t think I would have gone to war” he was critical about Bush as well as his vice president Cheney and Donald H. Rumsfeld, he stated that Rumsfeld and Cheney and Bush made a big mistake in justifying going into war against Iraq. For him Bush administration put the emphasis on weapons of mass destruction he said “and now I’ve never publicly said, I thought they made a mistake, but I felt very strongly it was an error in how they should justify what they were going to do” M.Oweiss also mentioned that during the President Gereld Ford’s interview also said” we shouldn’t have put the basis on weapons of mass destruction. That was a bad mistake. Where does Bush get his advice?”

Fourth: reason was that the united states was not prepared to take over the administration of the country neither taking the responsibility of preserving peace and order, A.Pachachi believed that, due to these circumstances the U.S. responsibility is to prevent Iraq from going to chaos and complete anarchy he also explains that nothing was done, and the

¹⁰ United States, President (1974-1977)

occupying troops had to act as policemen, he stated that they used excessive force against Iraqi civilians, and were neither trained nor equipped for such a task.

The fifth reason would be corruption according to A. Pachachi while Iraq had become engaged to corruption after many years of sanctions and mismanagement of their administration, they were not expecting some American officers' and officials' complicity in grasping projects of questionable benefits and legality that cost the country billions of dollars that are still missing.

Finally the foreign minister suggested that the most serious mistake the united states made was to organize the new Iraqi political system on a sectarian basis due to the preconceived ideas that they had about the Iraqi society, in fact that was a fallacy consequently the secular groups did not have the recognition they deserved, as a result the government fall under the influence of religious and ethnic parties where they took full advantage of it internal qualities, and they established a regime that proved over the years to be unable of ruling the country.

Afghanistan:

The U.S. lunched the global war on terrorism in Afghanistan, linked to Al-Qaeda under the leadership of Osama Bin Laden who was using afghan areas Al-Qaeda's base under the protection of Taliban regime. Lahore: Former Punjab Governor "U.S. failure in Afghanistan."

Unlike Iraq the United States had a clear mission and clear objectives. The American government gives an ultimatum to Afghanistan's Taliban government which gathers the following demands:

- Deliver to the U.S. all of Al-Qaeda leaders.
- Close immediately every terrorist training camp.
- Hand over every terrorist and their supporters to appropriate authorities.
- Give the United States full access to terrorist training camp for inspection.

However, the Afghanistan's Taliban government refused the U.S. proposal, as a result President George bush ordered America's 5Th special forces group into Afghanistan in order to destroy terrorists training camps as well as the infrastructure. Godfrey Ganer, "Special analysis why America failed in Afghanistan."

The Punjab governor Lahore, expressed that the U.S. deployed a massive military power in March, 2002 and they were able to install Hamid Karzai¹¹ as the country president. This process was given some legitimacy through a constitutional and follow up elections that returned Karzai despite the process was rigged by Karzai administration, in contrast many Afghans agreed on the fact that the first mistake America made was backing Hamid Karzai as President consequently there were many problems in the country, the Taliban were beneficiary of this situation therefore they started to gain ground in some areas, Pakistan played a major role they supported Taliban by offering them protection and providing them with effective sanctuaries, however Washington was never willing to force Pakistan to stop its support, because if they did it is not even clear that they could have done that without going to war with them this is what the U.S. tried to avoid giving the fact that Pakistan is a nuclear power. Stephen M. Walt "The real reason the U.S. failed in Afghanistan."

Lahore, stated another reason why the United States failed in Afghanistan, it was because many Afghans saw the U.S. and NATO as a foreign invading force, which the Taliban used it as propaganda. Another contributing factor was that the U.S. had a lack of knowledge of Afghani society by the U.S. forces because they had a sectarian and religious differences in the absence of such understanding the Afghani thought that United States came to impose western values.

Finally, Godfrey Garner has said that pumping billions of dollars into Afghan economy that had no idea upon how to deal with it, resulted in bribery and corruption.

Conclusion

Throughout the last decades the U.S. relations have been destabilized by various changes in the world especially after the World War Two and the Cold War. Moreover the U.S. policy started to shift gradually especially after the 9/11 event which was then a turning point in American life. Therefore the U.S. adopted new ways in dealing with unsolved international issues, by making its interests as its major priority starting from the Afghanistan war to the American invasion in Iraq. Despite the fact that none of these wars were litigious, however the only justification was that these countries possessed (WMD) Weapons of Mass

¹¹ Afghanistan, President in December 2001 and in 2002 was approved for two years term, after democratic elections he became the first elected President of Afghanistan in 2004.

Destruction, yet nothing was proved. For some countries like Iran it was a wakeup call as a result the Islamic Republic was determine to never remain unprepared.

CHAPTER 2

THE IRANIAN NUCLEAR ARMAMENTS AND URANIUM ENRICHMENT

The Iranian nuclear program had its roots from the Shah rang. With the return of Ali Khomeini at the hade of the Islamic Republic, Iran become more powerful than ever, ideology had played a major role in building Iranian identity and increasing the growth of nationalism. In this chapter I will look at specific concerns in regard the Iranian nuclear program. First, why Iran want nuclear capabilities, and why seeking them, second, how would it affect the Middle East countries. Finally does Iran’s pursuit of nuclear weapons represent a direct threat to the U.S. security and defense?

2.1 Iran Relations and Its Ideological and Social Structure

2.1.1 Iran-U.S. Relations

In exploring the history of the U.S.-Iranian relationship, one can pass across period of both conflict and cooperation. Since decades Iran is considered as being a powerful nationalist sentiment in a sea of hostile regime, as well as considered as the center of Shiite Islam in a region controlled by Sunni elites that has drive the current leadership to caver out a niche, for Iran as a regional power that have earned respect in today’s globalized world. David E. Williams, Jr. "Iran’s nuclear program: an assessment of the threat to the United States." (4.)

On January 31, 2006 in State of Union, President George W. Bush turned his attention to Iran, where he described it as a “nation now holed hostage by small clerical elite that is isolating and representing its people” worried that “Iranian government is defying the world with its nuclear ambitions” insisting on the fact that the nations around the world have to step up against Iranian regime and not allows them to own nuclear weapon. However, President

Mahmud Ahmadinejad denounced Bush by saying that he is the one whose arms are smeared up to the elbow in blood of other nations. For quarter century, such undiplomatic discourse has defined U.S. Iranian relations. R. Takeyh, (Hidden Iran 1).

2.1.2 Iranian Ideology and Social Structure

According to Skocpol (1997) ideology “idea system deployed as self-conscious political argument by identifiable political actors. Ideologies are developed and deployed by particular group or alliance engaged in temporary specific political conflicts or attempts to justify the use of state power...” quoted in M.Shadmehr “ideology and Iranian revolution” (6.)

State ideology in Iran has trajectory distinct from that elsewhere in the Middle East. Iranian nationalism, in particular, arose during the constitutional revolution of 1906-1911, in opposition to the decaying late-Qajar monarchy, and was appropriated entirely by the state’s modernizers under Raza shah Pahlavi¹² (1925 -1941). Arjomand Said Amir, "The State(s) of Ideology in Iran."

On 2005, Mahmud Ahmadinejad¹³ during a speech at the United Nations call for the “might lord” to hurry the emergence of Imam Mahdi, Shi’a Islam think that the Mahdi will return to rid the world of injustice. Ahmadinejad’s belief made some analysts think that the president was seeking to chaos, by employing religion to achieve his political goal. Ahmadinejad suggested that Imam Mahdi supported the day-to-day operations of his government, Iran’s powerful clerical felt that this sort of condemnation is an insult moreover; the president accused them of economic corruption. Bruno, Greg “Religion and Politics in Iran."

Under Khomeini the Iranian religious and political landscapes were dramatically transformed, which makes Shi’a Islam an inseparable element of the country’s political structure. The concept of *velayat-e-faqih* was adopted by Khomeini as a new form of government in his book 1970 Khomeini argued that the government should be run in accordance to Sharia or Islamic law, for that to happen, an Islamic jurist or *Fiqih* must oversee the country’s political structure. The constitution after the revolution established a

¹²The Iranian king (1925-1941)

¹³The Iranian President (2005-2013)

system of government based on three pillars of power the executive, judicial, and legislative branch; however Khomeini was sitting at the top of the Islamic republic's power structure.

The goal of the Iranian Revolution was to upend the regime of Shah as well as restoring the Islamic ideology to Iranian society. According to Valir, Nasr in his book 2006 "The Shah Revival.", "Khomeini used the emotional power of Shi'a lore and imagery not only to help him to seize control of Iran but to lay claim to Shiism's very soul", but Khomeini dramatically altered the state's political landscape by reshuffling the religious hierarchy, and "made Islam fundamentalism a political force that would change Muslim politics from Morocco to Malaysia" (Takeyh, Hidden Iran 1.)

2.2 The Iranian nuclear Armaments and Uranium Enrichments in Iran

The program of Iran started in 1974 under the Shah regime, but was rapidly suspended due to the Islamic revolution in 1978-1979, however until 1984 Ayatollah Khomeini revived Iran's nuclear weapons program. Lieutenant Colonel Ziv Tsoran. (2-3.)

The Iranian government declared that it is not aiming to develop nuclear weapons. In Vienna, 2005 Sirus Naseri stated at the meeting of International Atomic Energy Agency that supreme leader Ali Khomeini declared that nuclear weapons are forbidden under Islam, the supreme leader of the Islamic republic has issued the fatwa that the production, stockpiling, and use of nuclear weapons are forbidden under Islam and the Islamic Republic of Iran shall never acquire these weapons.

The Iranian president Mahmud Ahmadinejad, in his inaugural said that his government is against weapons of mass destruction and will only pursue nuclear activities in the peaceful domain. "Iran's statement at (IAEA) Emergency meeting."

According to CNN, on 19 February, 2010 Iran's supreme leader Ali Khomeini also said:

"Our religion tenets and beliefs consider these kinds of weapons of mass destruction to be symbols of genocide and are, therefore forbidden and considered to be haram. This is the only way we do not believe in atomic bomb and weapons and do not seek them"

However, critics suggested that "fatwa are issued in response to specific circumstances.....Ayatollah Khomeini modified his position on a number of issues during

his lifetime.” For example on military conscription, women’s suffrage as well as monarchy as a form of government. Eisenstadt, Michael, and Khalaji, Mahdi “nuclear fatwa religion and politics in Iran’s proliferation strategy.” Consequently, Khomeini’s fatwa can be draped because it can be influenced by circumstances and changing conditions.

The International Atomic Energy Agency, reported on November 2011 that “while the Agency continues to verify the non-diversion of declared nuclear material the nuclear facility and LOFs declared by Iran under its Safeguards Agreement, as Iran is not providing the necessary cooperation, including by not implementing its additional protocol, the agency is unable to provide credible assurance about the absence of undeclared nuclear material and activities in Iran, and therefore to conclude that all nuclear material in Iran is in peaceful activities.” This means that there is still some uncertainty about the Iranian nuclear program wither Iran is not working on nuclear weapons.”

The (IAEA) also had reveled information that indicates a possible military dimensions to Iran’s nuclear program where they carried out the following activities that are relevant to development of nuclear explosive devices:

- Efforts, some successful, to procure nuclear related and dual use equipment and materials by military related individuals and entities (Annex, Section C.1 and C.2);
- Efforts, to develop undeclared pathways for the production of nuclear materials (Annex, Section C.3);
- The acquisition of nuclear weapons development information and documentation from a clandestine nuclear supply network (Annex, Section C.4);
- Work on the development of an indigenous design of a nuclear weapon including the testing of components (Annex, Section C5-C12).

Additionally, activities have been identified in the annex, which includes civilian as well as military implication and others related to nuclear weapons. However the reported information indicates that the activities mentioned previously took place in 2003 under structured agenda. Moreover there is also evidence that some experimentations related to the development of nuclear explosive device continued after 2003, and others might be still ongoing. "Implementation of NPT Safeguards Agreement and relevant provisions of Security Council resolutions in the Islamic Republic of Iran." (10-8)

On, 29 May 2015 The International Atomic Agency of Energy reported that,

-On 12 May 2015, the Agency confirmed that 19 fuel assemblies, which had been produced in Iran and which contain uranium that was enriched in Iran up to 20% U-235, were in the core of TRR. On the same date, the Agency observed that the Mini IR-40 prototype fuel assembly was in the storage pool. (For more information see appendix 1)

2.3 The Iranian Intentions from the Nuclear Program

For many years Iran and the United States were close allies, however both countries relationship become destabilized. During the 1960s the U.S. was one of the first countries that supported the Iranian government to begin its nuclear program. In 1968 Iran signed the nuclear non-proliferation treaty (NPT). The U.S.-Iranian relations witnessed a turning point especially after that the Iranian took American diplomats as hostage in 1979, since then their relation has never turned as it was before, such situation created an informal diplomatic relations

For many years Iran allowed inspections of its nuclear program by monitors from the International Atomic Energy Agency. On 2003 Iran admitted that they were secretly enriching uranium, sooner later Iran suspended it enrichment program. However the suspension was not for long time by 2006 Iran began enriching uranium again after failing in reaching a deal with the International community. “The United States and the Iranian nuclear program policy options.” Therefore various countries started questioning the Iranian intention from seeking nuclear weapons.

For the Americans nuclear weapons in the hand of the Iranian regime will have many repercussions for America and its allies, such as Israel. There is no doubt that many senior Iranian leader have over the years, expressed their hat for Israel thus the Israeli Prime Minister Ben Yemin Netanyahu felt it is matter of life and death, and that Israel will be surly destroyed even if Iran get the capability to enrich uranium for peaceful purposes. The Iranian officials have public declared their ire at “Zionist regime”¹⁴, Ayatollah Ali Khomeini once called Israel “rapid unclean dog”, as in the case of Mahmud Ahmadinejad during a speech to

¹⁴ is the national movement of the Jewish people that supports the re-establishment of Jewish a homeland in the territory defined as the historic land of Israel (roughly corresponding to Canaan, the Holy Land, or the Roman-named region Palestine.)

his people the Iranians started to say “Death to Israel”, moreover the biggest Israel’s fear was when Ahmadinejad quoted Khomeini saying that the regime that occupied Jerusalem must vanish from the page of time. “The Truth about the Iranian Nuclear Intention.”

Since decades Iran was and still considered as one of the world’s leading state sponsor of terrorism by its financial and operational support for many years to many groups such as Hezbollah and Hamas, therefore the biggest U.S. concern that Iran could potentially share its nuclear capabilities and technology with these groups because they are asserting its influence in many countries that they are already witnessing a sort of chaos, for example in: Iraq, Syria, and Yemen, as a result their nuclear weapon can easily give them the lead to dominate and destabilize the Middle East. Moreover, Iran seeks to become the indispensable power in the Middle East. Tehran has not abandoned their supreme leader Ali Ayatollah Khomeini’s vision of becoming the dominant force in the Muslim world; Iranian leaders believe that it is their country’s natural right and destiny to dominate the geographical region and the Islamic world. Besides, during the midst of the Iran-Iraq war the Islamic republic of Iran rediscovered an interest in nuclear power, Iran’s vision to nuclear weapons was influenced by the lesson of the war against Iraq on 22nd, September 1980, the war with Iraq served as both warning and lesson, surprised by Iraq’s attack, Iranians resolved never to be caught unprepared again from any future attacks furthermore, President Ahmadinejad has suggested that nuclear weapons would be a legitimate means for protecting Iran from their greatest threat which are Israel and The United States, because they have exposed their intention to destroy the Islamic revolution explicitly saying that Iran had no choice but to continue its nuclear program to aggressively defend itself. lieutenant Colonel Zvi Tsoran. (2-3-5)

According to lieutenant Colonel Zvi Tsoran on 5th, July 2004 Khomeini statement started of new round of warning to Israel so as the U.S. Khomeini warned:

“We the Iranian people, within the border of our country, will cut off any hand that harms our scientific, natural, human or technological interests. We will cut off the hand that is sent to invade and work against our people’s interests. We will do this with no hesitation... if the enemy had the audacity to harm and invade, our blows against it will not be limited to the borders of our country ... if someone harms our people and invades, we will endanger his interests anywhere in the world.”(5-6)

2.4 Iranian Uranium Enrichment and Nuclear Weapon Implication on the Middle East

Iranian's pursuit of nuclear weapons is representing a direct threat not only to the United States defense and security but to the Middle Eastern security as well, moreover it threaten both of the U.S. and Arab countries' interests in the region.

Iran's behavior in the Middle East area has become extremely troubling to many states especially that the region is shaken by crises, and popular unrest. The Arab world shows great concern toward the Iranian nuclear program and their strategic ambitions, which led the world power countries to be more concerned about the response of major countries in the Middle East. Amine, Masoud and Khurshid Khan, Muhammad (30.)

The Gulf Countries:

Iran is suspected in the Middle East as being the country who invested much effort to export its Islamic revolution, and its support for international terrorism, by offering them financial and even military support, consequently Gulf States will think about acquiring nuclear weapons because most of these states are very rich. Moreover, creating an existing nuclear umbrella can be considered as a solution for the Gulf countries such as Kuwait, Qatar, and Bahrain in order to build a strategic alliance with America the same way as the model of NATO. These countries will make sure to provide America with oil and ability to deploy more troops in the countries; in return the U.S. will guarantee their protection.

Egypt:

For many years Egypt was the leader and the most powerful country in the Middle East area. However, the Iranian ambition might lead Egypt to add its voice to these Arab countries calling for the region to be a nuclear free or engaging Iran as a diplomatic allays and try to be a bridge between the west and Iran. Finally getting nuclear weapons, The Egyptian President Mubarak declared that his country seeks for building nuclear facilities for energy needs. This suggested that will have its own nuclear capabilities in the next coming years

Syria:

Syrian regime will surely support Iranian ambition. If Israel attacks Iran, Syria won't hesitate to attack Israel with weapons of mass destruction missiles. Moreover, Syria continues

to help and provide Hezbollah with support and, as a result Syrian plus Hezbollah, Iran will has the power to deter Israel from attacking her nuclear facilities.

Israel:

Israel is most at risk as Iran's leaders have repeatedly declared that Israel "should be wipe from the map" therefore Israel can launch a preemptive military strike, as they did in the 1981 when Israel attacked Iraq nuclear sites. Nevertheless, Iran learned from the Iraqi experience and dispersed the location of its nuclear facilities; moreover many Iran's sites are hidden in the ground. Probably Israel could degrade or delay parts of Iran's nuclear program or Israel could negotiate with Tehran as it did in the past. But the problem is that the Iranians do not believe in Israel's right to live in Israel further the extreme shi'a regime will not open the door for communication. lieutenant Colonel Zvi Tsoran. (7-8-9-10)

2.5 The Threat of the Iranian Nuclear Program on the American Interests

The Middle East is an essential source of energy for the United States and the world. Iran's neighbors were mainly influenced by its military posture that led to increase in arms purchases.

For, many year Iran has been considered as the greatest threat to the American interests and it allied in the Middle East, therefore America felt the need to prevent Iran from achieving a nuclear weapons capability by using a strong sanctions and the threat of military actions. On February 16th, 2012 Suzanne Kelly reported to CNN intelligence that Sen. John McCain said: "the rulers in Iran clearly pose a more direct threat to us than many would have assumed just a year ago," he also stated that Iran has been engaging hostile actions toward the U.S. through killing Americans in Iraq and Afghanistan, moreover supporting terrorism across the Middle East area, propping up Assad regime in Syria, and continuing to pursuit of a nuclear weapons capability and destabilizing the Middle East which could bring of war, if it has not already.

A source by the same ground expressed that top officials in the intelligence community, the Director of National Intelligence James Clapper during his opening remarks to the committee

said: "Iran already has the largest inventory of ballistic missiles in the Middle East, and it is expanding the scale, reach, and sophistication of its ballistic missile force, many of which are inherently capable of carrying a nuclear payload."

The main reasons why Iranian nuclear program is threatening the United States interests are as following:

- Iranian missiles can't yet reach America, however the U.S department of defence reported in April 2012 " with sufficient foreign assistance, iran may be technically capable of flight testing an international ballistic missile by 2015." Analysts are also concerned about the possibility of nuclear weapons arriving to cargo countries at a major U.S. port. Moreover, federally mandated commission to study electromagnetic pulse (EMP) attacks noted the large damage can be caused by a single missile with a nuclear warhead. "The Iranian Nuclear Threat: Why it Matters"
- Iran as a nuclear state would pose a direct threat to American interests and existential threat to Israel. it would likely lead to nuclear proliferation elsewhere in the region and around the globe while fundamentally altering the strategic balance of the Middle East."The Iranian Threat, Chapter 4"
- Iran has intimidated and threatened key Sunni countries, such as Saudi Arabia and the Gulf states, by supporting shi'ite uprising as a result it threaten the U.S closest ally.
- Iran seeks for controlling the "Black Gold Triangle" in Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Kuwait, and Qatar, which hold over 50% of the world's known oil and gas reserves.
- Iran is working side by side with North Korea to develop nuclear weapons and long range ballistic missiles.
- Military experts have analyzed tests that show that Iran is focused on detonating nuclear weapons at high altitudes, which can destroy the electric grid of target countries. Further Iran could use such weapons to just blackmail Sunni countries and even westerns
- The risk of these weapons falling in the hand of terrorists, knowing that Iran is the number one to support terrorist organizations in the Middle East area. Abramowitz, Kenneth S."15 Reasons Why Iran is an Existential Treat to Western Civilization."

Conclusion:

Iranian nuclear program is obviously a program whose aim is to develop nuclear capabilities. For decades it was hidden and kept secret.

The Iranian ideology has played a major role in building such powerful nation, led by Ayatollah Ali Khomeini the supreme leader of the Islamic republic who imposed his ideas and principles through which could manage to attract his peoples' intention and grasp support, known as being an extremist personality most powerful countries fears him especially the United States and its closest ally Israel. The U.S. has been concerned with regard the Iranian nuclear program and its implication on the Middle East and how could this program influence the Arab countries, for example: the Gulf States, Syria, and even Israel, moreover it threaten the United States interests in the region, consequently Iran would dominate the region and deter Sunni countries such as Saudi Arabia as well as destroying the U.S. and Israel by a single missile with nuclear warhead. Despite the fact that United States imposed several sanctions on the Islamic republic, they did not succeed in preventing Iran from developing its nuclear facilities therefore the U.S. felt the need to look for different options in how to deal with Iran's government, especially that the Islamic Republic is increasing its nuclear capabilities and developing its missiles side by side with North Korea.

CHAPTER 3

IRAN ALLIANCES AND POSSIBLE OVERTHROWN OF THE U.S. FROM THE MIDDLE EAST

The Iranian threat has become the U.S. major concern, where they found themselves obliged to act alone if necessary by using military option to stop Iran's nuclear facilities; however this tactic may fail, because Iran might potentially use its nuclear capability against Israel an important U.S. ally. In this chapter I will present various options on how the U.S. might deal with Iran as nuclear country in order to decrease tensions between both countries and even Iran's allies, such as Russia and North Korea? And how they would affect on the U.S. presence in the Middle East? Knowing that Iran is seeking complete domination on the area and Russia had a long history with the Middle Eastern countries such as Syria.

3.1 The U.S. Position Toward The Iranian Nuclear Program

During many years Iran was and still be considered as being a state sponsor of terror therefore it could pass nuclear weapons on radical Islamic groups that it support such as Hamas in Palestine and Hezbollah in Lebanon, moreover the neighbor countries like Egypt, Turkey, and Saudi Arabia may feel the need to protect themselves with nuclear weapons, sense Iran succeeded in acquiring them.

Based on the previous U.S. experience military occupation is not the best option, yet their top priority is to end Iran's nuclear program, not to get involved in another domestic affairs, because their aim is destroying Iran's nuclear facilities. Therefore the U.S. has to consider four main options:

Option one, using military actions to destroy Iran's nuclear facilities and damage its nuclear base, to send a clear message to the Islamic republic that United States will act to prevent the proliferation, additionally protecting its ally which is Israel and maintaining stability in the region, moreover launching targeted assassinations of Iran's nuclear scientists, and drone attacks, and cyber warfare.

Option two, will be to use military option to overthrow Iran's government, because as long as the current regime is in power, the world would not be safe because the United States is threatened not only by Iran's nuclear ambitions but also by its actions in the middle. Iran has also used threatening language against Israel, as well as it supports terrorists groups in the Lebanon, Iraq, and the Palestine. Moreover the Middle East region is shaken by the protests of the Arab spring; therefore Iran is seeking to extend its influence. For the U.S. the only way to blunt the hostile intentions of Iran's leader and provide protection for U.S. interests in the

region is to force a total change in the government of the Islamic Republic in order to overthrow this hostile regime and establish democracy in the country, supposedly this is something that Iran's people would support by using special force, covert units in the ground and air raids, as well as encourage other nations to stand by the U.S. and tighten sanctions on Iran to cut off funds that prop up the regime, otherwise the regime will continue to seek nuclear weapons until it is forced out of power. As a world power the United States feels that it has a responsibility to maintain international security aiming to install a democratic government in Iran.

Option three, starting a normalized relation with Tehran. Iran's nuclear program has been a concern for the United States and the rest of the world, but war would not solve the issue therefore the U.S. should to change its language in dealing with Iran, it must use diplomatic and economic incentives to convince Iran's leaders to abandon any desire they have to acquire nuclear programs because threatening Iran by military attacks and covert actions will only intensify the problem between both countries and the Islamic republic would feel the need for nuclear weapons for its own protection, therefore the U.S. should use a "carrots and sticks" approach to diplomacy in which Iran would be rewarded for cooperating with international agreements by incentives like trade agreements, and punishment for non compliance with sanctions, that should target the government and harm civilians as little as possible. Furthermore supporting existing international agreements on nuclear weapons and advocate for more nuclear disarmament and decreasing U.S. stores of nuclear weapons, to show that the U.S. is more engaged committed.

America believes that, Iran's leader will cooperate with the international committee through the following steps:

- The U.S. should stop threatening Iran because it may think it is necessary to develop nuclear weapons.
- As the first world wide super power, the United States has a responsibility to create a more peaceful world, consequently Iran would reduce the need for developing nuclear weapons.
- Most importantly, establish a more positive, mutually beneficial relationship between United States and Iran, in order to avoid war at all cost because the greatest risk today is not that Iran would get a nuclear weapons, but that the United States would be drawn into another costly war, the result would be catastrophic.

Option four, United States should seek new strategies by:

- Begin trade negotiations and be opened on new foreign investment options, furthermore starts a new diplomatic relation with Iran and admit that force would not solve any current or future disputes, most importantly starting gradual lifting of current sanctions.
- The United States believes that it must change its position toward Iranian government and encourage its allies, to do the same, including Israel because by the international law Iran has the right to develop nuclear fuel.
- The U.S. top priority is to make economic health, even if it means trading with repressive governments.
- American government should not meddle in the affairs of other countries.
- United States leaders stated that Iran's leaders are rational. If they acquire nuclear weapons, they will use it.

That being said it may pave the way to achieve the following U.S. goal:

- Maintain the stable flow of oil and keep oil prices low.
- Reduce tensions and avoid conflict that would quickly spiral into a long and costly military engagement.
- Improve U.S. Iranian relations. "The United States and the Iranian nuclear program: policy options."

3.2 The American Sanctions on The Iranian Uranium Enrichment Programme

The history of the American sanctions against Iran goes back to the 1979 revolution and hostage taking; however the international sanction that has isolated Iran began less than 10 years ago. The sanctions were imposed due to various reasons, including proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and its open support for terrorism, and violation of human rights.

A. American sanctions:

The first American sanctions against Iran were when American diplomat was taken as hostage in Tehran in 1979. For Jimmy Carter¹⁵ Iran was considered as a major threat to the

¹⁵ Jimmy Carter (1977-1981)

national security, Foreign policy and economy of the United States, furthermore the President Ronald Reagan¹⁶ added Iran to the states sponsors of the terrorists list especially after an attack by Iran-sponsored Hezbollah in 1983 around 241 U.S. Marines in Beirut were killed. The most important sanctions at that period are as following:

-Under the name of executive orders, 12170,12250, 12211, in November 1979-april 1980, Iran property were blocked and some trade were prohibited including import of all goods from Iran.

- Under the name of state sponsor of terror designation in January 1984, Iran had to banned arms sales and foreign assistance.(5)

B. International sanctions:

In 2003 France Germany and the United Kingdom started negotiating with Iran because the Islamic republic had been secretly constructing a uranium enrichment facility at Natanz and heavy water production plant at Arak. However after the election of Mahmud Ahmadinjad as president in 2005, Iran has ended its suspension of uranium conversion after the collapse of the negotiation. In 2006 the (IAEA) referred Iran to UN Security Council, finding Tehran in noncompliance with its obligations. In the summer of the 2006, the negotiations collapsed once again, and the Security Council adopted the first in a series of sanctions resolution against Iran. The Security Council passed six resolutions targeting Iran's nuclear and ballistic missile programs in the period between, 2006 and 2010. However, the sanctions did not affect the Iranian financial sector.

In 2007 the EU imposed semi-autonomous escalating actions against Iran focusing on its nuclear and ballistic missile program. The European sanctions were targeting Iran's energy and financial sectors which were considered as being the most damaging sanctions in addition to full oil embargo in 2012; the Iranian central bank was frozen by the European Union. One of these sanctions is that,

- Iran had to banned exorte of sensitive nuclear and ballistic missiles technology.

- prohibited financial and technical assistance related to nuclear or missile actives.

¹⁶ Ronald Reagan (1981-1989)

Sanctions relived

In order to relive sanctions imposed on Iran by the UN, EU and the U.S., Iran would need to complete “key nuclear related steps” according to secretary of states John Kerry¹⁷ these steps would take approximately six months or even a year. (6-21.)

The International Atomic Energy Agency on the 16 of January, 2016 has verified that Iran has completed the necessary steps under the Iranian deal that will prove Iran’s nuclear program is exclusively peaceful. “Sanctions Against Iran: A Guide to Targets, terms, and timetables” (3-21)

Since October, Iran has completed the following steps:

- Shipped 25,000 pounds of enriched uranium out of the country.
- Dismantled and removed two-thirds of its centrifuges.
- Removed the calandria from its heavy water reactor and filled it with concrete.
- Provided unprecedented access to its nuclear facilities and supply chain.

Since Iran has succeeded to accomplish the above steps the international community and the U.S. will begin the next phase under JCPOA which means lifting its sanctions on Iran, nevertheless some sanctions will remain in place under the JCPOA and the Iranian deal:

- Sanctions on missiles technologies and conventional weapons
- Terror list sanctions that identify Iran as a state sponsor of terror
- Target sanctions on any connected with Iran’s support of terror
- Authority to target Iran’s development of ballistic missiles
- Authority Iran’s human rights abuses and censorship
- Authority to sanction Iran’s destabilizing regional activities, including in Syria and Yemen. “The sanctions will remain in place under the Iran deal”

¹⁷ 68st John Kerry the United States Secretary of State from 2013 to 2017.

3.3 Iranian, Russian, Chinese, North Korean Allies And The U.S. Relations

After decades, the United States still have a tortured relationship with the Islamic republic of Iran. Thought, with the return of Shah Raza Pahlavi's in 1953, Iran regained its status as the United States ally in the Middle East region; moreover with the U.S. supports Iran become a regional power.

The U.S. was the first country to help Iran gain nuclear technology, in 1967. Iran was supplied by the U.S. with five megawatt research reactor. In 1968 Iran signed the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) and ratified it in 1970.

The United States also supported Iran's plan in building a nuclear energy capacity, according to declassified confidential U.S. government documents the Shah's administration planned to buy eight nuclear reactors from the United States for electricity generation projects and the final written plan of the U.S. Iranian energy agreement was signed in July 1978, seven month before the Islamic revolution. However after the Islamic revolution Brock out the United States lost it closest ally. Furthermore the soviet invaded Afghanistan in the same year; consequently the United States lost its two most strategic intelligence region against the USSR. "Iran Nuclear Program and the future of U.S.-Iranian relations."

The United States is known to have a destabilized relationship full of conflicts with various countries in the world, and it happened that these countries are Iran's closest allies such as Russia, North Korea and china.

1-Russia:

In the past of two decades Iran considered itself to be Russia's partner in time of need, by helping promoting peace and stability in central Asia however in 1995 Moscow signed the Gore-Chernomyrdin¹⁸ agreement, where the Russian government become obliged to stop implementing contracts on exports of military supplies to the Islamic Republic. In the mid of 2000 tensions raised between the united states and Russia where less the Iran's Russia's dialogue started to worm. Moreover Russia intensified contacts with Iran in the military filed as well as tried to compensate for previous losses of Gore-Chernomyrdin agreement. Kozhanov, Nikolay "Policy watch 1930."

Over the past years Iran and Russia have entered a new path of cooperation in military domain in their relations, especially after the world war two and Russian intervention in Syria, where both countries' military forces were planning operations to support Basher Al-Assad's government. In August Iran allowed Russia to send a wave of strategic bombers to Syria from their airbase showing their committeeman to safeguard their mutual interests in Syria, consequently it has caused a serious effect on Europe. Furthermore it has strengthened Assad's hand.

In meeting with Russian president Vladimir Putin¹⁹ in November 2015 the Iranian supreme leader Ali Ayatollah Khomeini, noted that "the long term plan of the united states is against the interests of all nations particularly our two nations, which can be thwarted by close cooperation." This reflects the special relation between Tehran and Moscow, besides it shows how comfortable both countries are with each other especially that Iran is Ideological states, so as the Soviets. Gerammayeh, Ellie and luk, Kadri. "European council of foreign relations".

2-China:

During the renege of Shah Presidency Tehran enjoyed excellent diplomatic relations with certain communist countries such as china. Arvin,Luciano."The Diplomat". According to Joel wuthnow, "Strategic forum, national defense university1" Iran is expected to minimize its

¹⁸ The Gore-Chernomyrdin Commission, or U.S.-Russian Joint Commission on Economic and Technological Cooperation, was a United States and Russian Joint Commission developed to increase cooperation between the two countries in several different areas. Commission was developed by the United States' President Bill Clinton and Russian President Boris Yeltsin at a summit in Vancouver in April 1993.

¹⁹ Vladimir Putin 1999-2008 and 2012 until 2018

uranium enrichment and change its nuclear program in order to remove the international sanctions therefore china is the first country beneficiary of the deal because that will pave the way to greater access to the Iranian market, most importantly in the energy field. Joel Wuthnow stated that “some U.S. analysts also canted that the two countries could forge deeper strategic relations as well as, involving coordination designed to weaken the U.S. influence – or what both states see it as U.S. “Hegemony”- in the region, also Beijing sales an advanced military equipment to improve Tehran’s ability in threatening the United States military forces in the middle east , consequently Washington will probably enforce the remaining sanctions on Iran in order to limit Beijing military cooperation with Tehran.

Iran is the major source of china’s oil supply despite Iran’s international sanctions moreover, china has invested in Iran’s oil and gas as well as they become a market for Chinese goods. After the sanctions relief China and Iran cooperation would increase opportunities for Chinese trade with Iran, though both nations’ relationship remain limited, but still they can pose problem for the U.S. more precisely in the military domain.

3-North Korea:

Iran and North Korea are known as the “Axis of Evil”²⁰ the term was coined by former President George W. Bush in order to describe hostile enemies of the United States.

After the Iranian Revolution in 1979 Iran and North Korea have established a diplomatic relations despite of the same policies differences. Tehran provided Pyongyang with money and economic benefits though north Korea’s arm sales to the Islamic republic were rooted in economics rather than foreign policy, however North Korea arms sales to Iran become fundamental but Pyongyang paid the price of its cooperation with Tehran after that the united states placed North Korea on states sponsor of terrorism list in 1988, and this was considered as hidden message to North Korea for supporting Iran during the Iran-Iraq war.

In the period between 1990 to the early 2000 relations between Pyongyang and Tehran remain warm meanwhile both nations’ relations with the U.S. started to improve, however in

²⁰ “Axis of Evil” The term axis of evil was used by U.S. President George W. Bush in his State of the Union address on January 29, 2002, and often repeated throughout his presidency, to describe governments that his administration accused of sponsoring terrorism and seeking weapons of mass destruction. Iran, Iraq, and North Korea were portrayed by Bush during the State of the Union as building nuclear weapons

August 1998 terrorist attacks on the embassies of the United States in Kenya and Tanzania, the U.S. condemned both Iran and North Korea for the attacks.

North Korea and Iran's relationship continued to be stable; the U.S. Senator Ted Cruz asked the director of National Intelligence James Clapper if the U.S. intelligence community had seen any nuclear collaboration between Pyongyang and Tehran, this question raised also during Obama's²¹ Presidency. Arvin, Luciano. "The Myth of Special' North Korea-Iran relationship"

3.4 The U.S. Concern From Iran-Russia-North Korea Collaboration:

North Korea is Known as being Iran's great ally, decades ago Pyongyang supported Tehran especially during its war against Iraq in the 1980s, where Iran's infrastructure was widely damaged by the Iraqi forces. During the past years of the war Pyongyang brot about 200 to 300 Soviet bullet Scud-Band, Scud-C missiles to Tehran. which then renamed them Shahab1 and Shahab2. Throughout the 1990s. The strong relationship between both countries continued with North Korea where they provided Tehran by training and medium-range Nodong missiles which Iran replaced it name by Shahab-3 who's maximum range was less than 1,000 which than Iran's experts and engineers modified it to create the, 1,600 km range. Ghadr missile, which was tested in 2004. However for the U.S. it was not clear if North Korea is involved in developing the Shahab-3 to finally become Ghadr missile. But what was certain is that some of flight test data were shared between both countries. Michael Elleman on the 22nd September 2016 stated that those who are arguing that Tehran and Pyongyang are working to gather on developing missile are taking into consideration four observations the two of them are due to similarities in the evolutionary version of Iran's Shahab-3 and Pyongyang's Nodong missiles. The third observation is on the solid-propellant technology used by Pyongyang just recently to move its submarine-launched ballistic missile the Kn-11 some argue that this missile is identical to that of Iran, medium-range Sajjil missile, the last point is that North Korea and Iran are working on developing of large rockets in order to launch missiles in very high latitude. Michael, Elleman. "North Korea-IRAN-Missile cooperation"

²¹ United States president, (2009-2016)

As for Russia, for more than two centuries it has never been far from the center of Iranian politics, often as colonial foe and sometime as a convenient ally against a common enemy. Abbas, milani. "Russian and Iranian: An Anti-western Alliance"

In 2012 Russia sets out in of new world order as well as new opportunities, as a result it started to brush up its ties in the middle East which led President Putin to call of Iran Russia's "old traditional partner. Russia resent involvement into the Middle East was due to U.S. bombing Syrian territory in 2014 along with China and Iran in order to destabilize the region. After the U.S. bombing the Islamic republic allowed Russia to strike Syrian territory from its Hanadan air base. as well as Iran supplied groaned troops, and provided high level of training to Syrian pro-Assad forces.

Iran becomes committed and more involved in the area as well as Russia, the two nuclear powers are working in defense of Syrian regime since decades. Assad's regime give the authority to Russia to due to up their own now fly zone with e country at any moment. Mover china has states with the Russian and Syrian for some time, by using its veto power at the U.N security council level in order to block resolutions on Syria, furthermore china has warned the United states against attacking Syria as well as the Islamic Republic, and they have stated that they are looking to join the fight on the Syrian side if they have too. That being said one can resume that the Syrian war left the U.S. with less influence in the Middle East region and lost it control over the Shia-Crescent area as a result it paved the way to Russia and China to smutch it up. Daruis (New Russia-China-Iran Alliance could push the U.S. out of the Middle East.)

3.4 Iran's Deal and North Korea Programme Under Trump Administration

On February, the U.S. President Donald Trump²² said that the nuclear deal of Obama's²³ administration with Iran was "one of the worst deal I've ever seen" during his campaign in 2016 in one of his speeches he declared "my number one priority is to dismantle the disastrous deal with Iran". As well as he suggested that his administration would in force it more harshly, However after Donald Trump took office in January, 2017 tings started to change, just recently the Trump administration took a different line, when Rex Tillerson²⁴ a

²² United states president 2017

²³ United states President 2009-2017

²⁴ United States Secretary of State from 2017

secretary of states have sent a letter to house speaker Paul Ryan that “certifies” Iran is complying with the terms of the deal and even with the terms that place strict limits on its ability to develop a nuclear weapon. Tillerson said: “the deal was working” nevertheless President Trump commented during White House press conference that “they are doing tremendous disservice to an agreement that was signed” he also declared that they are not living up to the spirit of an agreement” and warned that his team is analyzing it “very, very carefully”. Fox News.com “ Iran is not living up to the speret of nuclear deal”

According to fox news on the 20Th of April, 2017, the administration of Donold Trump made it clear that is looking closely at the agreements, Iran’s foreign Minister Javad Zarif²⁵ tweeted “Worn-out U.S. accusations can’t mask its admission of Iran’s compliance W/JCPOA. Obligating U.S. to change its course and fulfill its own commitments” the same source also indicate that Trump talked about North Korea stating that he hopes to address the problem, with China and had told the Chinese President Xi Jinping²⁶ they could “get much better tread deal if they “get rid of this menace”

Bell,Markus and Marco Milani on February,21Th 2017 have expressed that month ago Trump commented “ china has.....total control over North Korea, and China should solve that problem. And if they don’t solve the problem we should make trade very difficult for China.” He also added “we are holding China up, they are taking so much money. They are draining our country, and they’re toying with us with North Korea.

The Secretary of state Rex Tillerson said on Wednesday that the U.S. was looking for different ways to push North Korea to the negotiation table over its nuclear program however North Korea state media later threatened in a very harsh way to launch a “super-mighty pre-emptive strike” that would reduce South Korea and United states “to ashes” "Fox news" April 20Th, 2017.

²⁵ Academic and current Minister of Foreign Affairs. He has held various significant diplomatic and cabinet posts since the 1990s. Zarif is also a visiting professor at the School of International Relations and University of Tehran, teaching diplomacy and international organizations. He was the Permanent Representative of Iran to the United Nations from 2002 to 2007.

²⁶ is the current General Secretary of the Communist Party of China, President of the People's Republic of China, and Chairman of the Central Military Commission

During the conference alongside with Italian Prime Minister Paolo Gentiloni Trump spoke about various foreign challenges including the Syria civil war. According to fox news Italy could play a major role in dealing with Syria, in its capacity as a member of the G7. Russia has been urged to by the G-7 nations to push the Syrian government to end the six year civil war, and put the blame on Bashar Assad's²⁷ military forces for the chemical attack that killed more than 80 people. As a response to the chemical attack Trump Administration decided to launch 59 Tomahawk cruise missiles on Shayrat airfield Syrian base, which caused a total damage and about seven dead. Soldiers from Syrian military forces.

According to Barbara Starr and Jeremy Diamond a CNN, reporters on April 7th, 2017 expressed that Trump condemned the chemical attacks, and said: "I think what Assad did is terrible," Donald Trump's strike was considered as the first direct military action. The president decision was supported however, the Congress cautioned Trump for starting a war without consulting Congress.

Donald Trump decision was a turning point in his position toward whether engaging military action against Assad's regime, because he was against any military intervention in Syria in 2013, notably when criticized Obama's administration when he tweeted: "President Obama, do not attack Syria. There is no upside and tremendous downside. Save your "powder" for another (and more important) day!". Back then the president ordered his lawyers to provide him with a justification that allows him to use military actions in Syria however, the U.S. could not obtain any justification due to Russian and Chinese opposition. In 1925 Syria ratified it Geneva Protocol however it did not ratified the Chemical weapons Convention of 1993 that ban the use of chemical weapons, "but do not authorize countries to attack other countries that violated these treaties. Posner, Eric "The U.S. has No Legal Basis to Intervene in Syria". Therefore Russia declared that what the U.S did is an act of aggression and they have violated the international law. "Fox news April 20th, 2017"

According to Aljazeera on 7th April, 2017 the Russian government declared that "Washington's actions would inflict major damage on US-Russian ties". Further Russia is sticking at it position that the Syrian Army did not possess chemical weapons. Therefore government is responsible for the "alleged chemical weapons attack".

²⁷ Syrian President 2000

French foreign minister has declared that its intelligence services have evidence that Assad's government "carried out the alleged chemical weapons attack on a rebel village" this month in Khan Sheikhun which caused 86 victims. The Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons (OPCW) has stated "it believes Mr Assad's government is responsible for the least attack. However President Bashar Al-Assad has denied every allegation that his government has any chemical weapons he stated that his government surrendered his chemical arsenal to international monitors in 2013." France says it has proof Assad carried out chemical attack that killed 86 victims."

Conclusion

Iran has become a nuclear power that cannot be underestimated. For the U.S. it becomes a necessity to draw a map before dealing with the Islamic Republic to avoid a nuclear war between them, strengthening sanctions was the most suitable solution for now however, Iran can be careless and deal with the sanctions in the same way as North Korea especially that Iran is surrounded by its allies such as Russia, China, and North Korea who have paved the way to Tehran by providing them with international supports, which made the United States furious and afraid at the same time, since Iran and North Korea share a common history in nuclear weapons, and ongoing cooperation which would probably push the U.S. out of the Middle East region, therefore it would lose its domination on the Gulf states and lose its regional interest in the area.

General Conclusion

For many years the U.S. foreign policy has been shaped in accordance to its circumstances. The period of the cold war was considered as a period that marked the United States as the one super power, the Soviet Union had vanished and America became the one leader, however it was in no better position.

The U.S. engagement in the Middle East became more present, due the fact that America stands by its allies such as Israel and Saudi Arabia in order to protect national interests, in the region . After that Islamic republic became the new nuclear power that own a great deal of ballistic missiles and nuclear weapons, Nabors countries felt threatened especially that the majority of the Iranians are Si'its, as well as they seeks to dominate the Middle East. For long time Iran was working side by side with North Korea and Russia, which had given the Islamic republic the push to go further in its nuclear facility program.

The Middle East has become a plays of wars. The U.S. policy had a clear vision about its interests in the area, however the variety of the interests of some countries and with the rise of allies America became furious, therefore it engaged its time in getting in the middle of various countries issues and imposing sanctions, claiming they are seeking international security, critics have suggested that when it comes to WMD all countries that possessed it should be sanctioned which was not the case for America and Israel.

The United States was seen as the same enemy for Russia, North Korea two Iran's great ally. With the current crisis, tensions increased notably in the Middle East. With Russian intervention in Syria things became more complex where Iran allowed Russia to send a wave of strategic bombers from their airbase, on the other hand the U.S. cannot since they do not have any justification for a military assault on Syria as well as they could not obtain the secretary council approval due to the Russian and Chinese opposition. However the U.S. could interfere at the first chance it got when Trump ordered to launch Tomahawk missiles on the Syrian base after its chemical attack, as a result the U.S has broken and ignored the UN rules and strangely this is not the first time but it was rather in numerous occasions starting from Vietnam to Panama, Grenada and Kosovo to the second Iraqi war and the 2011 war in Libya until the 2017 illegal attack on Syria. Based on what has been stated before the credibility of the U.S. seeking international security can be suspicious, however one thing the U.S. has proved is preserving its international interests by using tightened sanctions on Iran

and series of illegal intervention in various countries. That being said, since the cold war peace was not yet achieved, so what would be the world if Russia won the Cold War? Based on what has been stated before the credibility of the U.S. seeking international security can be suspicious, however one thing the U.S. has proved is preserving its international interests by using tightened sanctions on Iran and series of illegal intervention in various countries. That being said, since the cold war, peace was not yet achieved, so what would be the world if the Soviet bloc won the Cold War?

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Appendix 1: Iran Nuclear Program Compliance with International Obligations

Source: International Atomic Energy Agency, Atomic for Peace, “implementation of the NPT Safeguards Agreement and relevant provision of Security council resolutions in the Islamic Republic of Iran” GOV/2015 29 May 2015

<https://www.iaea.org/sites/default/files/gov-2015-34.pdf> Accessed Mars 10, 2017

- As of 13 May 2015, the Agency confirmed that one fuel plate (the same one as indicated in the Director General’s previous reports), containing a mixture of U₃O₈ (enriched up to 20% U-235) and aluminum, remained at the MIX facility, having been transferred from FPPF, and was being used for R&D activities aimed at optimizing the production of ⁹⁹Mo, ¹³³Xe and ¹³¹I isotopes.

-On 15 and 16 April 2015, the Agency conducted a PIV and a DIV at the Bushehr Nuclear Power Plant with the core of the reactor closed and the reactor shut down.

Finally, Iranian and Agency officials held further discussions on the continuation of the implementation of the Framework for Cooperation. The Agency and Iran agreed to continue the dialogue and to meet again in the near future.

- In talks with the Foreign Minister of Iran, HE Mohammad Javad Zarif, and in follow up talks with the Deputy Foreign Minister of Iran, HE Abbas Araghchi, the Director General discussed the need to accelerate the resolution of all outstanding issues related to Iran’s nuclear programme and the Agency’s monitoring and verification in relation to the nuclear-related measures of the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action, when agreed and as requested.

-The Agency remains ready to accelerate the resolution of all outstanding issues under the Framework for Co-operation. This can be realised by increased co-operation by Iran and by the timely provision of access to all relevant information, documentation, sites, material and personnel in Iran as requested by the Agency. Once the Agency has established an understanding of the whole picture concerning issues with possible military dimensions, the Director General will report on the Agency’s assessment to the Board of Governors.

-The Agency continues to undertake monitoring and verification in relation to the nuclear-related measures set out in the JPA, as further extended.

-The Director General will continue to report as appropriate.

The following steps are Practical Measures agreed to date by the Agency and Iran, and to be implemented by Iran, in relation to the Framework for Cooperation from annex 1:

FIRST STEP: Six (Initial) Practical Measures, agreed on 11 November 2013

1. Providing mutually agreed relevant information and managed access to the Gchine mine in Bandar Abbas.
2. Providing mutually agreed relevant information and managed access to the Heavy Water Production Plant.
3. Providing information on new research reactors.
4. Providing information with regard to the identification of 16 sites designated for the construction of nuclear power plants.
5. Clarification of the announcement made by Iran regarding additional enrichment facilities.
6. Further clarification of the announcement made by Iran with respect to laser enrichment technology.

SECOND STEP: Seven Practical Measures, agreed on 9 February 2014:

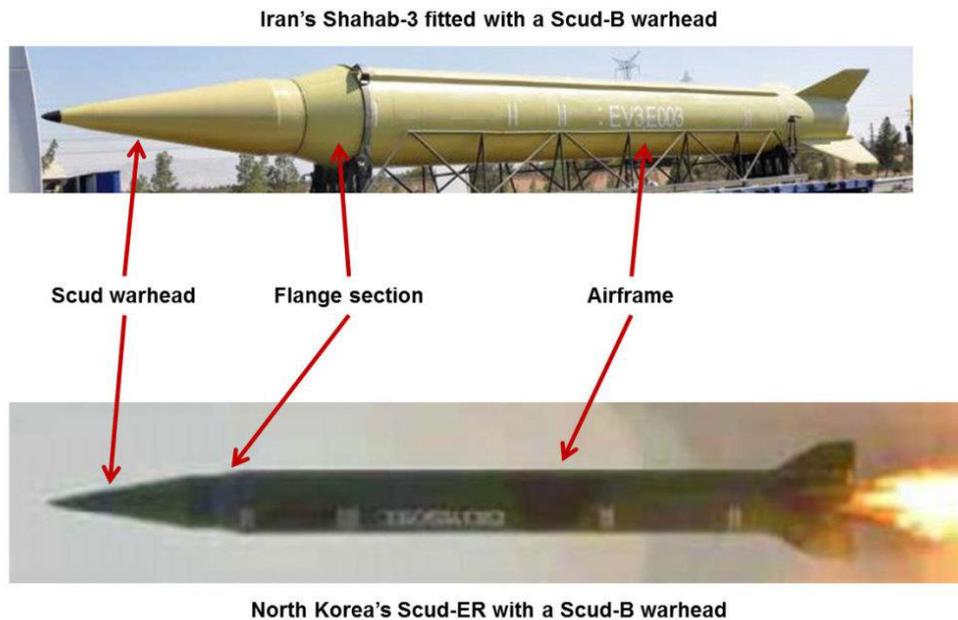
1. Providing mutually agreed relevant information and managed access to the Saghand mine in Yazd.
2. Providing mutually agreed relevant information and managed access to the Ardakan concentration plant.
3. Submission of an updated Design Information Questionnaire (DIQ) for the IR-40 Reactor.
4. Taking steps to agree with the Agency on the conclusion of a Safeguards Approach for the IR-40 Reactor.
5. Providing mutually agreed relevant information and arranging for a technical visit to Lashkar Ab'ad Laser Centre.
6. Providing information on source material, which has not reached the composition and purity suitable for fuel fabrication or for being isotopically enriched, including imports of such material and on Iran's extraction of uranium from phosphates.
7. Providing information and explanations for the Agency to assess Iran's stated need or application for the development of Exploding Bridge Wire detonators.

THIRD STEP: Five Practical Measures, agreed on 20 May 2014:

1. Exchanging information with the Agency with respect to the allegations related to the initiation of high explosives, including the conduct of large scale high explosives experimentation in Iran.
2. Providing mutually agreed relevant information and explanations related to studies made and/or papers published in Iran in relation to neutron transport and associated modelling and calculations and their alleged application to compressed materials.
3. Providing mutually agreed information and arranging a technical visit to a centrifuge research and development centre.
4. Providing mutually agreed information and managed access to centrifuge assembly workshops, centrifuge rotor production workshops and storage facilities.
5. Concluding the safeguards approach for the IR-40 Reactor. For more information see Implementation of NPT Safeguards Agreement and relevant provisions of Security Council resolutions in the Islamic Republic of Iran." 2015 Annex II

Appendix 2: Iran-North Korean military collaboration

Source: <http://38north.org/2016/09/melleman092216/>



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Appendix 3: Tomahawk Missile Strike on Syria

Source : Crypticimages

<http://crypticimages.com/tomahawk-cruise-missile/>

Overview

- **Description:** The *Tomahawk*® Land Attack Missile (TLAM) is a long range, subsonic cruise missile used for land attack warfare, launched from U. S. Navy surface ships and submarines.

click FLAG for weapons **BGM-109 Tomahawk**

