



Obama Doctrine and Iran's Nuclear Program

Dr. Nabel Ashraf Anwar*

Kirkuk University- College of Law and Political Science

Article Info.

Article history:

- Received 7. April. 2020
- Accepted 16 September. 2020
- Available online 29. September. 2020

Keywords:

- Obama Doctrine
- USA
- Iran
- Nuclear Program
- International Studies

Abstract: Iran's nuclear issue has been one of the core issues of International politics. Concurrently, the issue of survival of the State of Israel and the threat perception of the US allies in the Middle East pushed Washington to attenuate Iran's inchoate nuclear policy. Incubus period during Obama administration even brought about erratic companionship between Israel and Saudi Arabia. This asymmetry-in the span of mere years- has rekindled long-simmering protectionist impulses and Trump administration elected. A new page began being written on the Iran's nuclear issue.

* **Corresponding Author:** Nabel Ashraf Anwar, E-Mail: nabel.dmeral@uokirkuk.edu.iq, Tel:006947706705964, **Affiliation:** Kirkuk University - College of Law and Political Science

عقيدة أوباما والبرنامج النووي الإيراني

م.د نبيل اشرف انور

جامعة كركوك / كلية القانون والعلوم السياسية

معلومات البحث :

الخلاصة : كانت قضية إيران النووية واحدة من أهم المعايير الأساسية التي رسمت مسير السياسة الدولية. في الوقت نفسه، فإن فكرة المحافظة على إبقاء دولة إسرائيل وإدراك التهديد الذي تشكله بعض الدول الحليفة للولايات المتحدة، دفعت واشنطن إلى التقليل من شأن سياسة إيران النووية، حتى أمست أشبه بالكابوس- وذلك أثناء إدارة أوباما- تسببت في إيجاد علاقة غير منتظمة بين إسرائيل والمملكة العربية السعودية. إلا أن هذه التفاوت لم يستمر طويلاً، فقد أعيدت دوافع توفير حماية طويلة الأمد إلى انتخاب إدارة ترامب، ومنها بدأت صفحة جديدة حول قضية إيران النووية.

تواريخ البحث:

- الاستلام : 7 / نيسان / 2020
- القبول : 16 / ايلول / 2020
- النشر المباشر : 29 / ايلول / 2020

الكلمات المفتاحية :

- عقيدة أوباما
- الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية
- إيران
- البرنامج النووي الإيراني
- الدراسات الدولية

Introduction

Iran's nuclear issue has been the core of US policy more than a quarter-century. The core of the issue is that the United States would take any economic or military measure to hinder or block out Iran acquiring nuclear weapons. Iran was considered as one of the "axis of evil" sponsoring terrorism and seeking weapons of mass destruction. Not only the USA but also other neighbor countries have felt the anxiety arising from Iran having a notorious revolutionary story in 1979. This country has been and still is regarded as a country not only revitalizing the sectarian ideology among Muslims as well as seeking hegemony but also establishing a nuclear facility to enrich uranium for nuclear weapons under the name of peaceful energy production.

The Middle East has always held a special place for the USA due to its rich natural resources (although it is estimated that The United States will overtake

Saudi Arabia to become the world's biggest oil producer no later than 2020¹), its strategic position (air and ground bases) and the survival of the State of Israel. After the invasion of Iraq, without considering Iraq's balancing power against Iran, Tehran found a fertile environment to de facto increase its influence as the Iraqi government became a quasi-satellite. According to many critics, the American wave in the Middle East has moved toward an end because of the expansion of other states with its inability to act unilaterally².

The volatile nature of the Middle East and the shifty reputation of the United States following the Iraq confrontation have forced the new president to ensure implementing essential changes in the region. He was well aware of the negative perception of the inhabitants in the region against the USA and concentrated on a new beginning towards the Muslim world.

Under the Obama administration, the world has witnessed some new policies meant the collapse of almost the entire old order. Obama's hesitant policy towards Iran's influence and the abandonment of America's traditional Sunni and Israeli allies as well as the recently concluded agreement became a high-water mark for the new foreign policy. The reason behind selecting the Republic of Iran is that it has a considerable influence in the present-day Middle East where none of the presidents has paved the way for Iran to extend its will on the region since 1979. It is a failed policy according to many critics and yet its consequences are still shaping the Middle East almost in an unrealistic way.

¹ "U.S. to become biggest oil producer – IEA," CNN Money, (published November 12, 2012), accessed December 6, 2019, <http://money.cnn.com/2012/11/12/news/economy/us-oil-production-energy/index.html>.

² Prifti, Bledar, *Us Foreign Policy In The Middle East* (USA: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), p.113.

In this paper, steps taken towards the nuclear issue of Tehran still occupying the agenda of the international arena is evaluated. The study has sought to answer the question of why Trump administration goes harsh on Iran by focusing on the previous President Obama's administration. Specifically, the questions of political change of the USA towards the region, how Iran takes advantage of the situation and what benefits or threats the P5+1 agreement offered is analyzed. The paper will only be limited to the issue of the nuclear question by touching on historical and political contexts.

In the first chapter, the political history of Obama's Doctrine and what sort of geopolitical changes have risen soon after this politics will be mentioned. In the second chapter, how the Obama administration attempted to inoculate his newer vision into the Middle East and exposed how his administration dissenting from others concurrently having negotiations with eternal enemy Iran. It is the reason for raising trepidation among Americans traditional allies in the Middle East. In the conclusion, how Trump government reacted this negotiation and further moves will be analyzed in the framework of new geopolitical realities.

First Section: Obama doctrine and its repercussions?

The World has witnessed the inauguration of a first black president who was different from the previous administrations not only because of his skin color but also because of the way he viewed the foreign policy towards the Middle East, especially after his second term. He has symbolized a remarkable change compared to the Bush administration whose actions led to resentment, abomination and animosity. According to the Obama doctrine, the USA would not use its essential income unless the hostile forces fake a direct safety threat to the USA. It does not only mean reducing its material presence but also stepping back and

loading the responsibility to the formidable allies. Obama formulated a new national agenda that the United States would no longer fight great counterinsurgency wars and would mostly rely on the military force of allies (It is because he demanded cooperation between Turkey's land forces and American air forces against the threats in the Middle East). With this policy, as he indicated: The US will approve many agreements and revolve to global organizations more often to manage universal crises and safety concerns such as nuclear weapons, prior to rotating to conventional friends and allies. On the other hand, the US will assert mediation or soft power tools like foreign support to encourage its goals in order to downplay armed might³. The best outline of the doctrine may have been achieved in a talking in Tobago and Trinidad in April 2009 when he stated US would get out to other states like 'an equal partner' somewhat as the 'exceptional nation' which had held closed⁴ many times before. In addition to this, Obama had recognized the rise of the other actors such as China, India, and Iran.

He frequently emphasized the 'diplomacy' for solutions to regional problems like in Iran, Pakistan and other places. He took over a financial ruin which was the reason why he sought a new policy causing the US foreign policy to rely on shared interests with other nations. He also claimed that the Bush administration and his neocons aided and abetted the emergence of the intensified mistrust and hostility between America and Muslim societies. The Cold War legacy, Israel and the conflict with terror debilitated the American position in the region and contended with the damage the US policies reasoned in the first place

³ "Defining the Obama Doctrine, Its Pitfalls, and How to Avoid Them," [The Heritage Foundation](http://www.heritage.org/global-politics/report/defining-the-obama-doctrine-its-), (accessed December 06, 2019), <http://www.heritage.org/global-politics/report/defining-the-obama-doctrine-its-> p. 1.

⁴ Corey Lewandowski: With UN Speech, We Have The trump's own words, The Hill, (accessed December 06, 2019), <http://thehill.com/opinion/white-house/351424-corey-lewandowski-with-un-speech-t>, p.1.

as emphasizing that there would not be a war any more with Islam⁵. Obama, during his presidential campaign especially almost his half year in office, saying again his promise to reach out to Muslims, changing their bad awareness of the US⁶.

The other important aspect of the doctrine was to prevent any state from adding its name to the nuclear club especially in the Middle East where the countries are so sensitive to other actors' capacity. His prominent speech in Prague regarding the elimination of nuclear weapons and disarmament brought him the Nobel Peace Prize. Even before his term, the nuclear puzzle of Iran remained in the dark. Iran's nuclear developments –especially those **clandestine sites were being exposed- were a source of suspicion in the** international arena. The question of how long will it take Iran to have full capacity to build a nuclear weapon was always on the agenda.

Second Section: The Obama Doctrine towards Iran

Obama has spread on an effort to refresh the relationship of US with the Muslim world- with old allies, adversaries and civilizations- after the notorious damage caused by the Bush administration in the Middle East. President Obama was elected as the sixth US president since 1979 who was confronted with the annoying dilemma of how to shape US foreign relations with Iran. Following his striking foreign policy, either Obama would revive the relations with Iran while building up new political ground to settle down the story of Iraq or he would keep Iran alienated, which might cause Tehran to choose perpetual warfare approach against the US and its allies. Following the experiences in same countries (Iraq and

⁵ “Iran's Nuclear Deal and the Obama Doctrine– Analysis”, Foreign Policy Research Institute, (accessed December 06, 2017), <https://www.fpri.org/article/2016/03/irans-nuclear-deal-obama-doctrine-analysis/>.

⁶ Singh, Robert, *Barack Obama's Post-American Foreign Policy The Limits of Engagement* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2011), P.51.

Afghanistan), Obama enthused his strategies away from strength nasty regimes from side to side the armed authority to go down in line by US's interests⁷.

Obama did not deny that Iran has attempted to increase its influence in the region or support terrorist organizations against America and Israel or other American allies since 1979. Nevertheless, most probably because of what Obama had lived in Indonesia where he experienced Salafi ideology split the country into pieces, he always remained distant from Saudi Arabia. However, his vision revolved around Saudi Arabia and Iran needed to share the Middle East. As Jeffery, Goldberg wrote in the *Atlantic*: Obama deal as scorns with traditional Sunni supporters in the area, he undoubtedly saying that he has to treat Saudi Arabia as an partner. However, Obama⁸ viewed it as Iran becoming a growing authority whereas Israel and the Sunni countries were not⁹. "It was said in 2005, wherever Iran goes in the Middle East, it faces the United States...however, after 2007 wherever the US goes, it faces Iran¹⁰. According to him, the rivalry between the Iranians and the Saudis, has assisted to supply proxy conflicts in same countries Iraq, Yemen and Syria, needs us to say to our friends also to Iranians that they require to find a good way to contribute to the neighbourhood some cold

⁷ "Iran's Nuclear Deal and the Obama Doctrine– Analysis", Foreign Policy Research Institute, (accessed December 06, 2019), <https://www.fpri.org/article/2016/03/irans-nuclear-deal-obama-doctrine-analysis/>.

⁸ Kerry's statements to the contrary are merely acknowledgements of domestic political realities. The outcome of this incident concerning Iran's test launches, far from a humiliation, is an anticipated result of the Obama Doctrine. ("Iran's Missiles and the Obama Doctrine", Middle East Forum, published (April 6, 2016, accessed December 6, 2019), <http://www.meforum.org/5943/iran-missiles-obama>

⁹ "Iran's Missiles and the Obama Doctrine," Middle East Forum, published April 6, 2016, (accessed December 6, 2019), <http://www.meforum.org/5943/iran-missiles-obama>.

¹⁰ Prifti, Bledar, *Us Foreign Policy In The Middle East* (USA: Palgrave Machmillian, 2017), P. 154.

peace...which is in the interest neither of the United States nor the Middle East¹¹. Therefore, the American policy towards Iran became focused on four approaches. Either Washington would impose diplomatic and economic sanctions through UN or it would strike which would probably result as a regime shift or it would use political instruments to contain Iran and finally the last approach would be the engagement. Obama preferred the latter because he believed that without Iran, it would not be possible to remarkably stabilize the region in Syria and Iraq, where there is a fight against ISIS¹². From this perspective, the President emphasized the importance of escaping ‘the trap of the past’ as a surrogate for the settlement of the *nuclear dispute*¹³. Many times, Obama affirmed during his campaign and after taking office to reverse the 30-year hostility between two states but the wishes to modify were diminished in the position quo during the term of President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad. New diplomatic efforts were not that successful due to the mutual suspicions, political incompetence and domestic and international oppositions. Despite all initiative efforts, Washington-Tehran relations remained at the same point (Due to new sanctions, accusations and waste of time) for over three decades.

“One of the more significant policy shifts was the willingness shown by the new administration to negotiate directly with the Iranian regime without pre-condition. The most difficult issue to resolve in any future negotiations would be Iran’s ability to enrich uranium and thus potentially master the complete nuclear

¹¹ “What's On Obama's Agenda For The Saudi Arabia Summit?”, Frontline, (published MARCH 29, 2016) ,accessed December 06, 2019.
<https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/frontline/article/whats-on-obamas-agenda-for-the-saudi-arabia-summit/>.

¹² “Externalizing The Burden Of War: The Obama Doctrine And US Foreign Policy In The Middle East”, Chathamhouse, (accessed December 06, 2019).
https://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/files/chathamhouse/publications/ia/INTA92_1_0.

¹³ Karsh, Efraim, *Israeli History, Politics and Society* (London: Routledge, 2013), P. 121.

fuel cycle.¹⁴” His willingness to talk directly to Iranians was the cornerstone in finding a diplomatic solution to the crisis. A groundbreaking initiative from the US took place when, in March 2009, Obama recorded a Nowruz video by using his new face as a functional diplomatic instrument and addressed the Iranian people and he also sent a letter to Ayatollah Ali Khamenei to alleviate the relations. Although it was criticized mostly by other allies, Obama’s open-hand policy yielded in Tehran. Iran demanded assistance from the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) to replace the fuel for its Tehran Research Reactor (The USA provided the reactor for Iran in 1967 mutually with boiling cells for the creation of medicinal isotopes and 5.58kg of very much enhanced uranium fuel¹⁵). This process was taken into consideration along with the mediation of Iran (Featured a rare bilateral meeting with US officials), America, Russia and France. However, negotiations failed due to Iran’s domestic opposition and Mollahs’ mistrust in the West.

Nevertheless, it was realized that Iran was developing a secret-uranium enrichment base at Fordow which was a breach of the Paris Agreement of 15 November 2004 and the following agreements. US President Barack Obama declared that: Tehran's assessment to put up a clandestine capability stand for a direct confront to the essential compact of the "global non-proliferation regime"¹⁶. Moreover, United Nations Security Council Resolution 1929 was adopted on June 9, 2010 (There was an attempt to solve this enrichment problem with the initiatives of Turkey and Brazil in the same year. However, it was not accepted by the

¹⁴ Simpson, Kumuda, “*U.S. Nuclear Diplomacy with Iran From the War on Terror to the Obama Administration*” (London: Rowman & Littlefield, 2016), P. 91.

¹⁵ “Tehran Research Reactor,” NTI, (accessed December 06, 2019), <http://www.nti.org/learn/facilities/182/>.

¹⁶ “Iran Primer: The George W. Bush Administration”, PBS FRONTLINE, (published Nov. 3, 2010), <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/tehranbureau/2010/11/iranprimer-the-george-w-bush-administration.html> [<http://perma.cc/8BMLJHXM>].

international arena). The resolution aimed to bring back Iran to the negotiation table or at least stop the advancement of the program by imposing sanctions on those directly or indirectly supporting Iran's nuclear program. The policy was constructed over the two possible outcomes. It would make Obama the leading character for finding the solution of the most constrained problem due to the diplomacy affairs. If not, the administration would justify imposing new severe sanctions. Sanctions above continued over the next two years through the endorsement of EU countries (After *en masse* storming the British Embassy in Tehran) which disrupt the political economy of the government.

President Obama's second term was perceived as another chance for the implementation of the negotiations. It raised hopes because there was no concrete success in the first term even if there was an implementation of a wide array of sanctions against Iran. Washington and Tehran held secret talks to settle the disagreements on the nuclear question from March to September 2013. President Hassan Rouhani was announced at the UN General Assembly in New York in September 2013 and he has regarded the progress as a constructive posture. Who would have thought that these secret talks would open the door for the forthcoming negotiations after the new presidential elections in 2013 in which Hassan Rouhani was elected. New traffic of exchange based on tacit admission of foreign ministers after the historical phone call between the counterparts took place. By this way, to limit Iranian regional influence and reintegrate it into a moderate position, Obama has chosen to include Tehran into the system.

The secret talks stimulated other talks, which ended up with an interim agreement in November 2013 by the similar actors that are presently parties to the

agreement: US, China, France, Britain, Russia, EU plus Iran.¹⁷ The interim agreement—the Joint Plan of Action—was signed in Geneva.¹⁸ It was supplied for a short-time suspension in portions of Iran’s nuclear program in replace for reduced economic sanctions as the countries go on to work on the way to a long-term agreement.¹⁹ It was concluded on July 14, 2015, known as the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA) by the actors called P5+1. Iran pledged following a peaceful nuclear agenda in return of lifting the sets of international sanctions imposed since 2006. Iran agreed to suspend specific nuclear activities and delayed its aims to acquire nuclear arms for at least ten years. Moreover, Iran agreed on extracting the current low-enriched nuclear fuel out of the country, not producing uranium and not constructing uranium facilities.²⁰ In response to the diatribes, he stated that the alternative would endanger the interests of the US. It is more than one hundred pages long with five annexes; a number of observers have pointed out that the rank of minutia also its detail in this agreement is unprecedented regarding other nuclear nonproliferation agreements during the past²¹.

In Washington’s viewpoint, the Tehran started to operate anti the recent political-security trends in region, being traditional one way with the US’ rule for

¹⁷ “World Powers Reach Nuclear Deal with Iran to Freeze Its Nuclear Program”, WASH. POST, (published November 24, 2013), accessed December 6, 2019, https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/nationalsecurity/kerry-in-geneva-raising-hopes-for-historic-nuclear-deal-withiran/2013/11/23/53e7bfe6-5430-11e3-9fe0-fd2ca728e67c_story.html [http://perma.cc/8FLK-FA3E].

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ “Deal Reached on Iran Nuclear Program; Limits on Fuel Would Lessen With Time”, N.Y. TIMES, published July 14, 2015, (accessed December 6, 2019), http://www.nytimes.com/2015/07/15/world/middleeast/iran-nucleardeal-is-reached-after-long-negotiations.html?_r=0 [http://perma.cc/S2KM-9VQN].

²¹ “The Experts Assess the Iran Agreement of 2015”, (Bulletin Atomic Scientists published July 14, 2015), accessed December 6, 2019, <http://thebulletin.org/experts-assess-iran-agreement-20158507> [http://perma.cc/Y7TX-5PSV].

many years. For instance, Tehran cooperates as opposite position in the US move toward the Arab-Israeli conflict with approves the Lebanese Hezbollah which the US designates as a terrorist group or supports Bashar al Assad's regime in Syria in which Washington goals to defeat. Furthermore, in Yemen Tehran pursues its self-governing strategy to create a comprehensive administration, which is anti the interests of United State' regional ally²².

From the point of the White House, the agreement has always laid well beyond only limitation Tehran's nuclear capability. It entailed a geographical alteration in the Persian Gulf, in which it had sought to reintegrate Iran into the system as a peaceful state²³.

Conclusion

After this humble research tour, we can determine the conclusions of this study and came out with the several main factors which affected the relations of two countries besides nuclear fear. One of them was Iran already having an important military capacity that could easily threaten the geostrategic interest of the US in the region. Secondly, the states in the region perceived Iran to expand its power on the region at the expense of any other since its capacity was a threat US too. Thirdly, the lost stability because of Iran's ambitions in the region could affect other regions like a domino effect. However, Tehran's nuclear plan was the main central matter that worried Obama's government schedule. Washington, because of its weakened prestige and Iran's expanded influence, was aware of that.

²² "Obama And Iran," Iranreview, (published December 13, 2015), accessed December 06, 2019, <http://www.iranreview.org/content/Documents/Obama-and-Iran.htm>.

²³ "Agents of Their Own Destiny," *Wall Street Journal*, (published September 25, 2015), accessed December 6, 2019, <https://www.wsj.com/articles/agents-of-their-own-destiny-1443136416>.

Furthermore, in order to maintain its regional influence in the region Washington had to prevent actors rather than Israel to acquire the nuclear weapons.

During the Obama era, it was not possible to view a comprehensive policy even though in contrast to many difficult decisions contradicting with one another, the administration inherited eight years of political agenda mostly being deeply occupied with Iran's nuclear program and its regional influence. Unlike previous presidents, Obama believed in the smart power in which the states use both soft power (Especially with the implementation of diplomacy through institutions) and hard power (Mostly military tools and economy)²⁴. In his inauguration, he indicated that, "If countries like Iran [were] willing to unclench their fist, they [would] find an extended hand from us²⁵" and during his reign, he imposed economic sanctions. The situation in the Middle East was also important for regarding the implementation of the policies. Iran is a country, which has effectively administered to relay its security and geopolitical interests to its foreign policy standards. As aforementioned, Iran was not only present in Iraq or Syria. Other allies of the USA have been anxious about the growing threat of Iran. Therefore, instead of confronting with Iran, Obama changed the long-determined policy against Iran and managed to pull inside of the international system pledging to lift economic sanctions that ruined the Tehran's political economy.

It is clear from the study, the nuclear agreement conducted under the control of big countries became a solid nuclear arms control achievement in which Iran's

²⁴ Brandon M. Boylan, "Moving beyond Coercive Diplomacy: A New Policy Approach toward Iran's Nuclear Ambitions," (accessed December 7, 2019), <https://jpia.princeton.edu/sites/jpia/files/2009-5.pdf>.

²⁵ "Iran: Obama Must 'Unclench' America's Fist," CbsNews, (published January 28, 2009), accessed December 06, 2019, <https://www.cbsnews.com/news/iran-obama-must-unclench-americas-fist/>

rupture-out time will be increased to that year²⁶. The agreement also allowed Iran to re-engage to the international arena both economically and politically. On the other hand, the agreement did not solve other problems such as the situation in Syria. In fact, Iran's regional supporters plus hegemonic actions throughout substitutes such as: Hamas and Hezbollah which is related with militias in both countries Afghanistan and Iraq²⁷. Furthermore, the treaty permits Tehran for carrying on in order enriching the uranium for non-military reasons which meant that Iran might maintain its nuclear program. Limiting the agreement for fifteen years and taking permission to inspect nuclear sites are the pitfalls of the agreement.

Indeed, not only Obama but also other actors were under criticism by especially those scared of Iran²⁸. He also assured that the deal includes a "snap back" provision, in case Iran does not meet its obligations, much more sanctions would back be slapped against the Trump administration²⁹. He highlighted that a diplomatic solution is an instrument that keeps Iran from obtaining nuclear weapon otherwise there would be a fighting in the ME. Iran is upholding its commitments according to the report of International Atomic Energy Agency which reveals the success of the diplomacy. He added that our allies are opposing the situation in the Middle East where Iran supports violent proxies, but the challenge might be still

²⁶ Milena Sterio, "President Obama's Legacy: The Iran Nuclear Agreement?," Case W. Res. J. Int'l L., 2016, 69.

²⁷ Thomas H. Henriksen, *American Foreign Policy in the 21st Century* (California: Hoover Institution Stanford University, 2001), P .292.

²⁸ "Obama Makes His Case on Iran Nuclear Deal", (NewYorkTimes, published July 15, 2015), accessed December 6, 2019. <https://www.nytimes.com/2015/07/15/opinion/thomas-friedman-obama-makes-his-case-on-iran-nuclear-deal.html>.

²⁹ "Obama is marking the first anniversary of the Iran nuclear deal with a warning to Trump," (Business Insider, published Jan. 16, 2017), accessed December 7, 2019, <http://www.businessinsider.com/ap-obama-issues-warning-on-1st-anniversary-of-iran-nuclear-deal-2017>, p.1.

not as good as in the case Iran were also on doorstep with constructing a nuclear weapon³⁰ after President-elect Donald Trump vowed to walk away or to renegotiate it. Finally, the long-debated deal must be approved by the U.S. Congress which seems to be contentious. Already, there had been many other critics emerging. House Speaker Boehner has already issued a statement indicating that he will clash a terrible treaty which is wrong for their state safety³¹.

The study reached a set of results, the relationship between Tehran and Washington is more complex than ever. On the one side, there is a multilateral agreement. It is an agreement that Iran relies on, but on the other side, the US does want to decertify it or at least to include its ballistic missile program which threatens US allies. It is one of the contemporary challenge international actors confronts, and it is not likely US Congress will reject to certify the agreement that is accepted by UN and EU members. The Middle East takes new shapes according to complicated, multilayered, conflict-based and unprecedented relations. Moreover, this deal is one of the parts of it.

One of the significant point concluded from the study, Obama's policies to tone down the rhetoric of pervious President's era and focus more on humanitarian issues; while Trump's "Ameican First "stance clearly present to the world that they are like two rival sculptors who end up working on the same status. The Iran's nuclear issue will take much more time of experts of International Relations concerning the new developments such as

³⁰ "Obama: Iran deal makes the world safer," *Israelnationalnews*, (published January 17, 2017), accessed December 6, 2019, <http://www.israelnationalnews.com/News/News.aspx/223394>.

³¹ "6 Things You Should Know About The Iran Nuclear Deal," *NPR*, (published July 14, 2015), accessed December 7, 2019, <https://www.npr.org/sections/thetwo-way/2015/07/14/422920192/6-things-you-should-know-about-the-iran-nuclear-deal>.

negotiations between Gulf and Israel, security of Eastern Mediterranean gas filed and lastly and most importantly with the China's stance on this issue.

Bibliography

1. Bledar, Prifti. *Us Foreign Polcy In The Middle East*. USA: Palgrave Machmillian, 2017.
2. Boylan, Brandon M., "Moving beyond Coercive Diplomacy: A New Policy Approach toward Iran's Nuclear Ambitions," accessed December 7, 2019, <https://jpia.princeton.edu/sites/jpia/files/2009-5.pdf>.
3. Business Insider. "Obama is marking the first anniversary of the Iran nuclear deal with a warning to Trump." Published Jan. 16, 2017, accesses December 7, 2019, <http://www.businessinsider.com/ap-obama-issues-warning-on-1st-anniversary-of-iran-nuclear-deal-2017-1>.
4. Cbs News. "Iran: Obama Must "Unclench" America's Fist." published January 28, 2009, accessed October 06, 2019, <https://www.cbsnews.com/news/iran-obama-must-unclench-americas-fist/>.
5. Chathamhouse. "Externalizing The Burden Of War: The Obama Doctrine And US Foreign Policy In The Middle East", accessed December 06, 2017, https://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/files/chathamhouse/publications/ia/INTA92_1_0.
6. CNN Money. "U.S. to become biggest oil producer – IEA." Published November 12, 2012, accessed December 6, 2019, <http://money.cnn.com/2012/11/12/news/economy/us-oil-production-energy/index.html>.

7. Euro Asian Review. "Obama and Iran." published October 12, 2015, accessed October 6, 2019, <http://www.eurasiareview.com/12102015-obama-and-iran-oped/>.
8. Foreign Policy Research Institute. "Iran's Nuclear Deal And The Obama Doctrine–Analysis." Accessed December 06, 2019, <https://www.fpri.org/article/2016/03/irans-nuclear-deal-obama-doctrine-analysis/>.
9. Frontline. "What's On Obama's Agenda For The Saudi Arabia Summit?." Published March 29, 2016, accessed December 06, 2019 <https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/frontline/article/whats-on-obamas-agenda-for-the-saudi-arabia-summit/>.
10. Henriksen, Thomas H. *American Foreign Policy in the 21st Century*. California: Hoover Institution Stanford University, 2001.
11. Iranreview. "Obama And Iran." published October 13, 2015 , accessed December 06, 2017, <http://www.iranreview.org/content/Documents/Obama-and-Iran.htm>.
12. Israel national news. "Obama: Iran deal makes the world safer." published January 17, 2017, accessed December 6, 2017, <http://www.israelnationalnews.com/News/News.aspx/223394>.
13. Karsh, Efraim. *Israeli History, Politics and Society*. London: Routledge, 2013.
14. Kumuda, Simpson. *U.S. Nuclear Diplomacy with Iran From the War on Terror to the Obama Administration*. London: Rowman & Littlefield, 2016.
15. Mecklin, John. "The Experts Assess the Iran Agreement of 2015", BULLETIN ATOMIC SCIENTISTS, July 14, 2015.

16. Middle East Forum. "Iran's Missiles and the Obama Doctrine." Published April 6, 2016, accessed October 6, 2019, <http://www.meforum.org/5943/iran-missiles-obama>.
17. New York Times. "Obama Makes His Case on Iran Nuclear Deal." Published July 15, 2015 Accessed December 6, 2019 <https://www.nytimes.com/2015/07/15/opinion/thomas-friedman-obama-makes-his-case-on-iran-nuclear-deal.html>.
18. New York Times. "Deal Reached on Iran Nuclear Program; Limits on Fuel Would Lessen With Time." Published July 14, 2015, http://www.nytimes.com/2015/07/15/world/middleeast/iran-nucleardeal-is-reached-after-long-negotiations.html?_r=0 [<http://perma.cc/S2KM-9VQN>].
19. NTI. "Tehran Research Reactor." Accessed December 06, 2019, <http://www.nti.org/learn/facilities/182/>.
20. NPR. "6 Things You Should Know About The Iran Nuclear Deal." Published July 14, 2015, accessed December 7, 2019, <https://www.npr.org/sections/thetwo-way/2015/07/14/422920192/6-things-you-should-know-about-the-iran-nuclear-deal>.
21. PBS Frontline. "Iran Primer: The George W. Bush Administration." Published Nov. 3, 2010, <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/tehranbureau/2010/11/iranprimer-the-george-w-bush-administration.html> [<http://perma.cc/8BMLJHXM>].
22. Singh, Robert, *Barack Obama's Post-American Foreign Policy The Limits of Engagement*. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2011.
23. The Heritage Foundation. "Defining the Obama Doctrine, Its Pitfalls, and How to Avoid Them." Accessed December 06, 2019, <http://www.heritage.org/global-politics/report/defining-the-obama-doctrine-its-p>.

24. The Hill. "Corey Lewandowski: With Un Speech, We Have The 'trump's own words." Accessed December 06, 2019, <http://thehill.com/opinion/white-house/351424-corey-lewandowski-with-un-speech-t>.
25. Wall Street Journal. "Agents of Their Own Destiny." Published September 25, 2015, accessed October 6, 2019, <https://www.wsj.com/articles/agents-of-their-own-destiny-1443136416>.
26. Washington Post. "World Powers Reach Nuclear Deal with Iran to Freeze Its Nuclear Program", published November 24, 2013, accessed October 6, 2019, https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/nationalsecurity/kerry-in-geneva-raising-hopes-for-historic-nuclear-deal-withiran/2013/11/23/53e7bfe6-5430-11e3-9fe0-fd2ca728e67c_story.html.