



تداعيات انسحاب الولايات المتحدة من الاتفاق النووي الإيراني على العراق: (دراسة لتقييم الجوانب السياسية والأمنية)

د. جبار حسن سعيد

جامعة الانبار- كلية القانون والعلوم السياسية

المستخلص

الهدف من البحث هو لأجراء تقييم شامل لعواقب الانسحاب الاميركي من البرنامج النووي الايراني على العراق ، على اية حال الدراسة اتخذت من العام ٢٠١٣ منطلقا لها ، حيث في تلك السنة ايران سعت الى تفعيل برنامجها النووي، بالإضافة الى ذلك ايران أعلنت بانها تعمل على العمل على مفاعل جديد للطاقة النووية.

أظهرت نتائج البحث بأن المسؤولين الإيرانيون يواصل إنكار أي نية لتطوير قنابل نووية. لكي تتبعد عن التزاماتها، لكن بالأحرى أيران تسعى الى زيادة مخزونات اليورانيوم المخصب التي قد تجعل البلاد أقرب إلى القدرة على القيام بذلك. كذلك أظهرت النتائج بأن أيران اذا امتلكت السلاح النووي سوف تخلق عدم الاستقرار في منطقة الخليج العربي وبالأخص السعودية، الامارات والدول الاخرى.

الكلمات المفتاحية: البرنامج النووي الايراني، قرار الرئيس ترامب، الانسحاب الأمريكي، العراق، العواقب السياسية والامنية.

**Consequences of U.S Withdrawal from Iran Nuclear deal on Iraq:
(A study to assess Political and Security Aspects)**

Dr. Jabbar Hassan Saeed

University of Anbar –College of Law and Political Sciences

Jhs_ss1966@yahoo.com

Abstract

The aim of this research is to make an overall assessment of American Withdrawal from Iranian Nuclear Program and its impacting on political and security aspects in Iraq; however this study took a year 2013, as launching point due to this year Iran retains of its a nuclear program. Besides Iran has also announced that it is working on a new Nuclear Power reactor.

The findings of this research shows that the continuing of Iran's government to reject any intention regarding the developing of nuclear



bombs. But stepping away from its obligations rather Iran seeks to increasing stockpiles of enriched uranium that may will bring the country nearer to possess the ability to do so. The findings of this research also explore that Iran's possession of nuclear weapons, that will create instability in the Arab Gulf region in particular Saudi Arabia, Emerita and other countries

Key words: Iran Nuclear Program, President Trumps Decision, Iraq, America Withdrawals, Political and Security Repercussions.

INTRODUCTION

First of all, Iranian nuclear program is considered one of the most important topics in the field of politics and international relations, due of its risks on many political systems on the Arab region and neighboring countries as well. (Arab Gulf States), in particular Saudi Arabia due to the political and ideological differences among them, that why these countries are always targeted by Iran and the latter tries to impose its dominate over these countries, and other regimes in the region as well. Moreover, Iranian nuclear issue has triggered a wide argument and has acquired increasingly interesting by researchers, scholars and those who interested in the political affairs due to the nature of this issue is to pose the threat to the humanity.

This research will make an assessment about the America withdrawal consequences on political and security situation in Iraq, this research will also explore that the repercussions of American withdrawals that had left its shadow on political process in Iraq, not to mention that the fact is the destabilizing of security in Iraq, in which Iraq became an area of conflict between America and Iran, that reflects negatively on security statues in Iraq following to the American withdrawals from Iranian nuclear deal.

1.1. Research Aim and Significance

The rationale underpinning this research is to address the consequences of U.S withdrawal on Iraq, The reasons for conducting this research.

are to inform action, gather evidence, and contribute to developing knowledge in a field of study. Also, in order to give the reader more understand about the consequences and the impacting of Iranian nuclear program at levels political and security in Iraq, as the



rational of research them is to filling the gaps in knowledge that we cannot find in other researches, in other words, in order to identify the gaps in the literature and emphasize why it's important to address those gaps.

1.2 THE AIM OF STUDY

The main aim of this research is to assess the overall state of political and security situation in Iraq after of U.S withdrawal, while the specific research objective is to focus on the negative aspects have had left by American and Iranian tension on Iraqi land against Iraq.

1.3. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This study aims to fill the gap in the understanding about the negatives impacts of U.S withdrawals on Iraq. However there are American concerns from Iranian has a nuclear program, that this may enable Iran to play an influential role in the region, and at the same time, as is to pose a threat to the National Security to the neighboring countries of the region and also the American presence in Iraq as well, this will be answering via the following research questions:

The main research question is that, "*what are the repercussion of American withdrawals from Iranian nuclear program on the whole situation in Iraq?*". This is sub-divided into two specific research questions: *To what extent the impact of U.S withdrawals from nuclear deal lover the political scene in Iraq.* And *to what extent can the impact of U.S withdrawals had casts a shadow over the security situation in Iraq*

1.4 HYPOTHESIS OF THE STUDY

The study seeks to prove the following: the U.S withdrawals from Iranian nuclear deal had left serious consequences on political and security aspects in Iraq, indeed any solution to settle the matter of Iranian nuclear program will need to curb the role of Iran in the Arab region via either the direct military attach, or, to put Iran on economic sections list, This conclusion will be asserted by the findings of this research. This research will consist of four main sections. The first section highlights on a study a historical background in the context of research. The second section highlights on President Trump's decision to back out of the Iran nuclear. The third section aims consequences of U.S withdrawals on political and security aspects in Iraq. The final section will present the key conclusions and some findings of the research concerning that the American and Iran tense on Iraqi land.



1. Background in the Context of Research.

In this regard, it must be emphasized that the nuclear program dates back to the era of Asha 1950, however this that program had originally supported by the US government at the time, and the US also offered of its assistance technology on the Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, also known as Mohammad Reza *Shah*. (1). In return the US puts of its condition is that a program should utilize for the peaceful purposes, Iran had signed on a cooperation agreement with the United States of America in 1957. Besides the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), also been signed by Iran and has adopted by the United Nations in 1968, to became an effective treaty in 1970 (2).

Not to mention, that the Iranian Atomic Energy Organization (IAEO)¹, had been founded during the ear of the Shah, Mohammad Reza in 1974, and he announces that establish of 23 nuclear reactor plants for the next future , anyhow with the commencement of Iranian revolution in 1979, which led to the breaking of Iranian-American relations, for this Iran stopped the work of nuclear program.(3).

During, the Iranian-Iraqi war between 1980 - 1988, most of nuclear reactors were damaged by Iraqi air strikes, for this reason Iran government at the time had decided to shut of its a nuclear reactors for several years.

Earlier to 1992, Iran called for the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), inspectors visit suspect sites, in response the IAEA announced that activities were consistent with peaceful purposes (4). However Iran partially resumed operate at the Bushehr nuclear reactor in 1995 after signing of its agreement with Russia. In response to this the United States tried to pressures on countries in order to break these attempts, and it presses potential suppliers to stop nuclear cooperation with Iran for example, China and Argentina. (5)

The Atomic Energy Organization of Iran (AEOI) is the main Iranian government agency responsible for operating nuclear energy and nuclear fuel cycle installations in Iran. AEOI was involved in formerly undeclared nuclear activities including enrichment facilities at Fordow and Natanz. Paul Kerr, "The Atomic Energy Organization of Iran: What Role?", Arms Control Association, , Accessed Date, March, 2020, <https://www.armscontrol.org>¹



A report, issued by the IAEA in 2003 states that Iran's has violated of the agreement to suspend enrichment activities. In 2004 Iran had to stop uranium enrichment program, as result of pressures from France, Germany, Britain, however in 2005 Iran resumed that the, uranium enrichment and Iran reneged on its promise to allow the Atomic Energy Agency of carrying out inspections.

As, a result Iran's passed its matter to the UN Security Council, and in 2006 the UN Security Council demanded that Iran suspend its uranium enrichment activities and sanctions were imposed after its refusal, and during 2007 to 2011 the sanctions imposed by the Security Council on Iran were expanded and allowed Inspecting and seizing shipments. (6).

In addition, Iran's favored that to restore of the negotiations at the beginning of 2013, which it considered by Iran was the only way to diminish of the sanctions that taken against it, however the five countries in the Security Council, have been participated in the negotiations such, France, Britain, Russia, China and Germany (5 + 1).(7).

Following, the success of the Geneva Agreement in implementing its aims which embodied that the five powers have reached a new agreement stipulating that Iran reduce work in the nuclear program. In return for the abolition of the sanctions imposed against Iran, and Iran allowed the International Energy Agency to conduct the inspection of nuclear sites and allow it to conduct its research for a period of ten years, the agreement obtained on the approval of most of the countries of the world excepted Israel that stood opposed for this agreement because it doesn't allows Iran to possess of the nuclear weapons, in other words it to pose a threat to the Israel National Security in the Middle East region. This treaty however entered into force till US President Donald Trump came to power in 2016. (8).

2.Trump and the Iranian Nuclear Deal.

In May 2018, The U.S. President Donald Trump announced that a full withdrawal from the Iran nuclear deal or what the so called " *Iran deal*", and he imposed a new sanctions on Iran (9). Rather, Trump made his statement after Iran's announced that it had exceeded the level that agreed on in the Uranium Enrichment Agreement, as the agreement provides a specific amount of uranium enrichment in return



of lifting the sanctions were imposed on Iran and resume of exporting its oil, but the announcement. of the US President Donald Trump, by withdrawing from a nuclear deal which added a new sanctions on Iran, that had affected significantly on the Iranian economy, such the decline exchange rate of the local currency, not to mention foreign investors stayed away of completing projects in Iran, this that had affected negatively on some imported products (10).

Nevertheless, the US president Trump, in a speech at the White House, stressed that the continuing of dealing with Iran is as "catastrophic" and he says also, "If he allows for this agreement to continue, that means there will be a nuclear arms

race in the Middle East region," stressing that "the agreement did not limit Iran's activities to destabilize and support terrorism in the region. (11).

The New York Times, referees that Trump's step perhaps it came after an Iranian response, as Iran may resume its nuclear weapons program, in order to curb the US role in Syria, Iraq, Yemen and Lebanon, as its regional influence in the region is increasing, however, the US president accuses Iran's government of providing material and financial support in order to implement its terrorists and extremists activities in reference to Hezbollah, which dominates on Lebanon.(12).

3. Consequences of US Withdrawal on Iraq

Admittedly, that the US withdrawal from nuclear deal had left serious cosequences on both the political and security scenes in Iraq, the following part went to give the reader as better understanding regarding the most developments of the political events in Iraq after the America withdrawals from the Iran nuclear deal .

3.1 Political Consequences

The truth that the assassination of Qasem Soleimani inside Iraq, means that Iraq considers as an important part for both parties American and Iranian, that made Iraq as a theater for the confrontation . Not to mention that, Iraq is an important from Iranian perspective on security in the region, for all these reasons Iran seeks to connecting the Iraq and other countries that serve the Iranian project based on the spread of revolutionary Islam,. (13).

As, the majority of people in Iraq and other countries like Washington and even Israel were not wants to defend of Qassem Soleimani, and even they didn't condemn his killing. He described as



was a terrorist man; not to mention that Soleimani accused also was involved in planning and killing of the civilian people; not only in Iraqi, but also in Syrian, Lebanese, Yemeni, and American blood by.

Therefore, Some reactions issued from inside Iraq, for example, the Grand Ayatollah Sayyid Ali Al-Sistani, who described the American strike as a "*brutal attack*" and "*violation of Iraqi sovereignty and a violation of international conventions*".(17). Also, the Islamic Dawa Party in Iraq led by Nuri al-Maliki called on the Iraqi government. "*to reassess relations with the American administration*". (18).

The question arises, what are the consequences of America-Iran tension on the political scene in Iraq?

Following, the killing " Qasem Silimani" together with the commander of Popular Mobilization Forces Abu Mahdi al-Muhandis. Iraq could be described as a theater of a direct confrontation between the U.S and the Iran.. in this regards, in interview with Iraqi expert , Azet A-Shabander on Sunday 24 March, 2020, in his speech to Al-Tiaghier channel, stated that "*as the Killing of Soleimani in Iraq has left its impacted on political scene in Iraq*".(19)

Some believe that tension between American and Iran in Iraq had let its shadow on political scene, one important thing is the political division among the Iraqi political blocs that have been at the highest levels, in which the political blocs cannot reach on consensus to change the government instead of adel abdul-Mahdi government. Due the regional intervention in Iraqi political affairs, namely Iran dominate over the political scene . In this regards, an Iraqi expert, believe that this in an interview with the Arab DW, "*Iranian intervention in Iraqi political affair has fragile the political process ,*" by influence on some politicians who their affiliated belong to Iran ". (20)

While, the program's demonstrations in Iraq has started fourth month ago, and numerous numbers have been killed in clashes targeting of activists have not been able to prevent the demonstrators from taking to the streets and sticking to their demands. But the recent escalation between America and Iran inside Iraq has diverted some attention from the movement's demonstrations, particularly after the targeting of the American. Embassy by armed groups (militates) that their affiliates pro- to Iran. Honestly, the killing of Soleimani led to tense of situation which opened up to possible scenarios. (21).



Question has been raised about the demands of the demonstrators.

As, the largest number of demonstrators gathered in Baghdad , Tahrir Square, their demands are the reforms and to end the corruption. Despite the Iraqi security forces have utilized tear gas and fired water against the protests however the demonstrations have spread over the southern provinces.

One important thing is that the demonstrators.

reached to cross barriers on a bridge important near to green zone buildings. (21) *"Our blood, our souls, sacrifice for you Iraq"*, these are the slogans of the demonstrators. The truth that the relation between security forces and protests became more tense after the killing of the Iranian commander **Soleimani**, Honestly, the majority of activists have been pleased with the response of the general commander to Soleimani's killing as they believe that Soleimani was one of the murderers of protesters. However, most of Shia protestors who have taken the streets to criticism government corruption, note to mention as they calls for to end the Iranian interference in Iraqi affairs , in which made clashed with the pro-Iranian faction forces that were aimed to the continuing of Iranian dominate over the Iraq political scene (22)

As, Iraq has witnessed a tension between American and Iran influence but this that do not reaching at the level of conflict. This conflict was not on the agendas of American president(Joe Biden), rather as he established his campaign on his disagreed to go to the military confrontation anti-Iran, in other words, Biden administration *doesn't* favor to go to the escalation to face Iran especially the dealing with its nuclear program (23).

Due to the pressures that on Iraqi parliament by some of the political blocs that were their loyalties Or political affiliated belong to Iran, they have agreed a voting session on a draft law includes withdrawal of American bases from Iraq. The head of Iraqi Center, Al-Hashmi, believe that, *"it is difficult that a draft law to get on an approval by the Iraqi parliament's*. He explains that, saying, *"I expect that many Parliaments will not attend, or in case everyone will attend to a session, not to vote in favor of the resolution, because the Sunnis and Kurds in Parliament are opposing of the American withdrawal and there a part of the Shiite as well"*. Al-Hashmi also argues that in case,



if the project is approved by Iraqi parliament, rather the law "will not be binding on the United States because it opposes of the agreement that reached by two sides , in this regard, which sets a condition for its withdrawals from Iraq. (24).

3.2 Security Consequences

Admittedly, the security situation has become more tense in an environment in which the United States and Iran have pressed each other's influence within the Iraqi depth, which has become an arena for engagement. This pressure resulted in targeting Iran, through its supporters in Iraqi namely Kata'ib Hezbollah's, to a US military base in the city of Kirkuk, killing Iraqi and American soldiers, and at the same time American forces replied via targeting the headquarters of the Popular Mobilization Forces in Anbar western of Iraq. In which at least 25 have been killed by the American airstrikes, and of about 55 wounding,. (25). which Tehran met with support for the storming of the American embassy in in Green Zone in Baghdad on December 31, 2019 by the elements of Hezbollah. (26).

As, the security situation in Iraq has also affected due to the escalation of intention between Iran and America on Iraqi arena, which negatively reflected on progresses of security pathway in Iraq just a few, after the targeting of some armed groups were belonged to Hazib Allah in western of Iraq by the America Air strikes, at the time Iraqi official says a number of Iraqi militias have been killed in the strikes,(27),some of them are elements in the "popular mobilization Forces". The Iraqi armed factions with responded to attack that targeting of America Embassy in Baghdad, which it was one of the targets that targeted by armed factions (militias), that supported by Iran, while the second event is that the killing top Iranian commander Qassam Slomini in Iraq .as his assassination happened in the Iraqi arena with the references that this carries, whether in terms of event or timing, or in other conflict arenas. Indeed, this that inflamed the situation and led to the escalation of operations that happened in Iraq by both sides by targeting the forces of the two parties, in addition to indirect operations to liquidate and restrict Iran's agents In Iraq, Syria, Lebanon and Yemen, all these had left its impacted on the security situation in Iraq.(28)

Not to mention is that the escalation influence of Iran in Iraq via its supporting of the militates that their loyalties belonging to it, in



which that led to the absence role of Iraqi government to take its responsibility in protecting the sovereignty of Iraq of interferences in particular Iranian interference, via their arms in Iraqi namely militates dominate over the political affair. (29)

4. Conclusion

Overall, Iran has to pose an imminent threat to the American presence in the Middle East region in general and Iraq in particular, these are signs witnessed after the events of September 11, 2001, as a result of doubts about Iran's involvement in this incident, not to mention that, Iran confirmed that in a formal recognition letter in its assistance to Al Qaeda groups.

Nevertheless, the American withdrawals from the nuclear deal with Iran had justified by the president Trump that any attempt of Iran to the possession of nuclear weapons will create instability in the Middle East region. In particular to "*Israeli National Security*", therefore there concerns by Israel to obtain on a direct attack by nuclear weapons from Iran that was because of the opposing in the ideological, values and interests among them.

The findings of this research shows that the unwilling of the United States in entering in a military confrontation with Iran. Rather the US realizes that the role of Iran's in the region as a military ability, besides that, it considers Iran as the biggest oil producer in the Middle East after Sadia Arabia and Iraq, in which the global economy depends on. Not to mention the fact is that the entering into a war means that the United States to withdraw its forces from Iraq, which hinders its interests and plans in the Middle East in general and Iraq in particular.

Also, the research results found that the American withdrawals has had a negative impact on the political and security levels in Iraq, on the political level, admittedly Iraq after the American withdrawals witnesses what the so-called *a political division* amongst the political blocs that conflicting on power and the resources which led to postpone reform of the government due of the Iranian pressures on the leaders of these blocs to elect a prime-minster who in line with its policies, rather Iran seeks to influence and/or control on the political Iraqi affair through of their allies in Iraqi government in particular after the Americansanctions that enforced against Iran. in other words Iran tries to exploit of Iraq as is a place for clash with the US the sake of to curb of the economic sanctions, therefore all these variables had left its



shadow on political affair, the evidence is that the dominate of militates not only on the political decision, but also on the economic resources of the country.

Notes

1. Al-Nuaimi, *Ahmad Nouri "Iranian Foreign Policy 1979-2011"*, Dar Al-Jinan for Publishing and Distribution, Sudan-Khartoum, 2012, pp. 329-37.
2. Mark Habeeb, (2018), *Scenarios for US-Iran relations*, AW the Arab Weekly , may 2018, available at the link: <https://the arabweekly.com/scenarios-us-iran-relations>, accessed Date, 3 February, 2020.
3. Khaled Al-Tayeb.. *What are the main implications of the September 11 attacks on US policy?* Monte Carlo International agency. (2014)
4. **"Developing a National Framework for Managing the Response to Nuclear Security Events". 978-92-0-105519-4. Soils Newsletter Vol.42 No.2, January 2020.**
available at the link.
<https://www.iaea.org/Publications/Documents/Board/2007/gov2007-58.pdf>, accessed date, 5 April, 2020.
5. *"Trump announces America's withdrawal from the nuclear deal and threatens economic sanctions"*, CNN Arabic, May 8, 2018, available at the link: <https://arabic.cnn.com/middle-east/2018/05/08/congress-trump-pence-nuclear-deal>, Accessed 5 March, 2020. See also, *"A History of Iran's Nuclear Program"*, Iran Watch, 2016, <https://www.iranwatch.org/our-publications/weapon-program>, accessed date, 4 March 2020.
6. "Security Council Demands Iran Suspend Uranium Enrichment by 31 August , Or Face Possible Economic , Diplomatic Sanctions, Resolution 1696 (2006) Adopted by Vote of 14 - 1 (Qatar), SC/8792 31 j 2006, a4 A, 2020.
7. IAEA Board Report:" *Implementation of the NPT Safeguards Agreement in the Islamic Republic of Iran*", 18 November 2005..
- 8 . ibid,. op,cit.
9. *"What is the status of the Iran Nuclear Agreement"?*, Council Foreign Relations, January 7, 2020. Available on the following link, accessed 20, January, 2020.
<https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/what-status-iran-nuclear->



agreement?gclid=EAIaIQobChMI2KaApKe66AIVSrDtCh0HWgR7E
AAAYASAAEgLBVvD_BwE

10. "A History of Iran's Nuclear Program", op, cit.

11. Abdle Bary Atwan , *So if Trump dared to cancel the nuclear agreement with Iran? And why* Prince Al-Faisal **surprised us with his opposite advice? What will the Iranian reaction be,**

12. Zeynab,. Malakoutikhah, (10 September 2018). "*Iran: Sponsoring or Combating Terrorism?*". *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*: 1–27. doi:10.1080/1057610X.2018.1506560. Archived from the original on 12 September 2019.

13. "*Iraqi Shiite militia supporters attack US embassy compound in Baghdad*". France 24.

31 December 2019. Retrieved 31 December 2019.

14. Abdul-Zahra, Qassim. "*Protesters attack US Embassy in Baghdad after airstrikes*". *Associated Press*. Retrieved 31 December 2019, available at link: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JuFLbJJckn4>, accessed Date, **February 5, 2020.**

15. "*U.S. Strike in Iraq Kills Qassim Suleimani, Commander of Iranian Forces*", "*The Washington Post*" **Published Jan. 2, 2020Updated Jan. 7, 2020** . accessed Date, 2 April, 2020.

<https://www.nytimes.com/2020/01/02/world/middleeast/qassem-soleimani-iraq-iran-attack.html> , accessed Date: **March 2, 2020.**

16. "*That Stopped Other Presidents From Killing Soleimani: The Iranian general helped get hundreds of Americans killed—through two administrations. Both declined to kill him*". *The Atlantic Daily: Junagarh* 4, 2020. Available at link::

<https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2020/01/why-kill-soleimani-now/604441/>, accessed Date: **February 5, 2020.**

17. *How will the killing of Qassem Soleimani on the situation in Iraq?* DW channel, available at link, <https://www.dw.com/ar/> accessed Date, 12 April 2020, See also, Pelosi says House will vote Thursday on measure to limit Trump's military actions regarding Iran, "*The Washington Post*", Democracy Dies in Darkness, Published Jan. 2, 2020Updated Jan. 7, 2020 available at the link, https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle_east/iran-live-updates/2020/01/08/c835c218-31a0-11ea-9313-6cba89b1b9fb_story.html, accessed Date, 12 March, 2020.



18. *ibid*,. op.cit.
19. Interview with Iraqi politician, Azet A-Shabander, on Sunday 24 March, 2020,.
20. Interview with Iraqi expert, (anonymous) with the Arab DW, on Thursday 23 April, 2020.
"US embassy attack: Protesters withdraw after standoff in Iraq", BBC NEWS, 1 January, 2020. Available on the following link, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-50966958>, Accessed, Faburary5, 2020
21. *ibid*, op,cit.
"Iraqi Reactions to Soleimani's Assassination". Policy Analysis – Fikra Forum
22. David Pollock, available at link ; <https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/iraqi-reactions-soleimanis-assassination>, Accessed Date, 4 April, 2021
23. Iraq's Impossible Choice between Iran and America, THE CENTUYRY FOUNDATION-SITE BY AREA 17, Available at link; <https://tcf.org/content/commentary/iraqs-impossible-choice-iran-america/?agreed=1>, Accessed Date, 1 April, 221.
24. Interview with Iraqi politician, (Azet A-Shabander), 2020, op, cit.
25. *"Iraq base attack: Coalition and Iraqi troops hurt as Taji targeted again"*, BBC NEWS, 14 March 2020, available at the following link, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-51890492>, accessed Date, 3 May 2021.
26. *"Trump accuses Iran over storming of US embassy compound in Baghdad"*, The Gardenia, Tuesday 31 December, 2019, available at link, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/dec/31/us-embassy-stormed-in-baghdad>, accessed Date, 4 April, 2021.
27. *ibid*, op. cit.
28. **SHELLY KITTLESAN**, *"A Powerful Iran-Backed Militia Is Losing Influence in Iraq,"* <https://foreignpolicy.com/2020/05/11/a-powerful-iran-backed-militia-is-losing-influence-in-iraq/>, accessed Date, 4 April, 2021.
29. Sarah Graham-Brown, Intervention, Sovereignty and Responsibility, JSTOR journal, No 193, available at Link, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3013416>, accessed Date. 3 May, 2021.



List of Information

English Books

"*Iraqi Reactions to Soleimani's Assassination*". Policy Analysis – Fikra Forum David Pollock, available at link ; <https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/iraqi-reactions-soleimanis-assassination>, Accessed Date, 4 April, 2021.

ShELLY KITTLESON, A Powerful Iran-Backed Militia Is Losing Influence in Iraq,

<https://foreignpolicy.com/2020/05/11/a-powerful-iran-backed-militia-is-losing-influence-in-iraq/>, Accessed Date, 4 April, 2021.

Sarah Graham-Brown, Intervention, Sovereignty and Responsibility, JSTOR journal, No 193, available at Link, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3013416>, accessed Date. 3 May, 2020.

Arabic Books

Al-Nuaimi, Ahmad Nouri, 'Iranian Foreign Policy 1979-2011', Dar Al-Jinan for Publishing and Distribution, Sudan-Khartoum, 2012, pp. 329-37.

Atwan, Abdle Bary, So if Trump dared to cancel the nuclear agreement with Iran? And why Prince Al-Faisal **surprised us with his opposite advice? What will the Iranian reaction be,**

Al-Tayeb, Khaled. (2014). What are the main implications of the September11 attacks on US policy? Monte Carlo International .

Qassim, Abdul-Zahra, (31 December 2019). "Protesters attack US Embassy in Baghdad after airstrikes". *Associated Press*. Retrieved 31 December 2019 .

Zeynab,. Malakoutikhah, (10 September 2018). "Iran: Sponsoring or Combating Terrorism?". *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*: 1–27. doi:10.1080/1057610X.2018.1506560. Archived from the original on 12 September 2019.

Website

Developing a National Framework for Managing the Response to Nuclear Security Events. 978-92-0-105519-4. Soils Newsletter Vol.42 No.2, January 2020.

available at the link. <https://www.iaea.org/Publications/Documents/Board/2007/gov2007-58.pdf>, accessed date, 5 April, 2020.



"Trump announces America's withdrawal from the nuclear deal and threatens economic sanctions", CNN Arabic, May 8, 2018, available at the link: <https://arabic.cnn.com/middle-east/2018/05/08/congress-trump-pence-nuclear-deal>, Accessed 5 March, 2020. See also, "A History of Iran's Nuclear Program", IRAN WATCH, 2016, <https://www.iranwatch.org/our-publications/weapon-program>, accessed date, 4 March 2020.

IAEA Board Report: "Implementation of the NPT Safeguards Agreement in the Islamic Republic of Iran", 18 November 2005.

"Iraqi Shiite militia supporters attack US embassy compound in Baghdad". France 24. 1 December 2019. Retrieved 31 December 2019.

"Iraq base attack: Coalition and Iraqi troops hurt as Taji targeted again", BBC NEWS, 14 March

2020, available at the following link,

<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-51890492>, accessed Date, 3 May 2020. .

"U.S. Strike in Iraq Kills Qassim Suleimani, Commander of Iranian Forces", "The Washington Post" Published Jan. 2, 2020 Updated Jan. 7, 2020 . accessed Date, 2 April, 2020.

<https://www.nytimes.com/2020/01/02/world/middleeast/qassem-soleimani-iraq-iran-attack.html>

Trump accuses Iran over storming of US embassy compound in Baghdad, The Gardenia, Tuesday 31 December, 2019, available at link,

<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/dec/31/us-embassy-stormed-in-baghdad>, accssed Date, 4 April, 2021.

Shabander , Azet , interview, Sunday 24, March, 2020,..

(anonymous), interview, Thursday 23 April, 2020, the Arab DW.