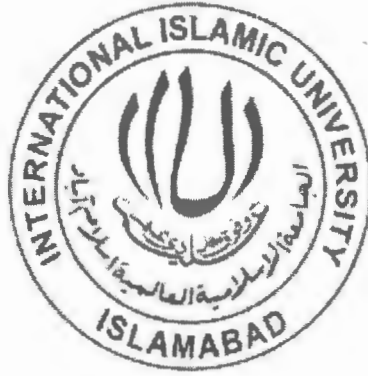


**IRAN'S NUCLEAR POLICY IN AHMADINEJAD ERA AND THE  
US RESPONSES**



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MS International Relations

13-FSS/MSIR/F13

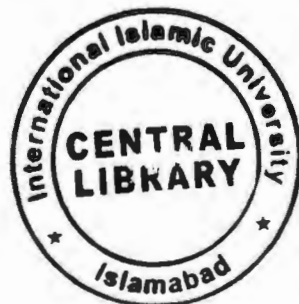
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2016**



Accession No

714-16800

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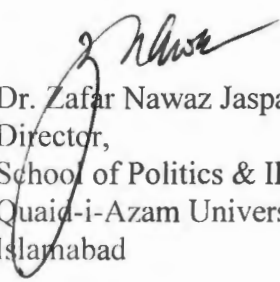
## Certification

Certified that contents and form of thesis entitled "**Iran's Nuclear Policy in Ahmadinijad Era and US Response**" submitted by M. Mubasher Farid Reg. No.13-FSS/MSIR/F13, have been found satisfactory for the requirements of the degree of MS International Relations.

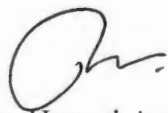
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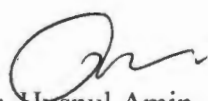
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## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENT**

All praises for Almighty Allah, who enables us to know about certain unknown things in the universe and helps us to overcome a lot of difficulties. All respect for Holy Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) who clearly mentioned the difference of right and wrong path, to ensure the success in our lives.

I am deeply indebted and wish my utmost appreciation and gratitude to my supervisor Dr. Amna Mehmood for his encouragement, technical discussion, inspiring guidance, remarkable suggestions, keen interest and constructive criticism which enabled me to complete this research study.

I cannot find proper words to express my heartiest gratitude to my Loving Parents, Brother, Sisters, nephew and niece whose chain of prayers, cooperation have created incredible impression in my life.

In the end I am again much thankful to Almighty ALLAH who enabled me to complete my research work. Alhamdulillah.

Muhammad Mubasher Farid

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## ABSTRACT

Iran's nuclear program had alarmed the international community in the 1990s, but it came to the forefront of international security concerns in 2000. Although Tehran still maintains that its nuclear program is for peaceful purposes, in the recent past it has admitted to possessing enriched uranium as part of its uranium enrichment program, which has unnerved the international community in general and the United States in particular. Iran's nuclear program was conflicted issue since Islamic revolution of 1979. Iran has visibly increased its work towards developing a nuclear program just after the US invasion of Iraq in 2003 and Afghanistan in 2001. Iran had spiritual conflict with Israel that from Islamic revolution it wanted to wipeout Israel from Middle East. Israel has also conflict with Iran as both fought a war and creation of Hezbollah by Iran. Due to increasing US influence in the region, Iran wanted to secure itself from US sudden invasion on Iran on the basis of nuclear weapon. Iran said on many times that US would bear the cost if it attacked on Iran. Iran would have the capacity to hit the US allies or interests in the region. Iran's nuclear program got rapid phase in Mahmoud Ahmadinejad government. During his government, he was not obeying IAEA rules of inspections and gradually increasing enriching processes. The US and UN were implementing sanctions to halt Iran from going to nuclear state. Ahmadinejad era of Iran was much important as sanctions were increasing but Iran was not ready to go back from nuclear inspiration. That was alarming to many because Iran's ambitions for its nuclear program were unclear and whether it was on a quest for nuclear weapons was unknown. The Iranian government is largely anti-West, anti-Israel, and with the downfall of Iraq, was in a position to spread its influence throughout the Middle East. This study examined the evolution of the Iranian nuclear program especially during Mahmoud Ahmadinejad era. It discussed the Bush and Obama policies on the developing nuclear Iran. Iran's nuclear deterrence was based on increasing US role in Middle East and existence of Israel. It was difficult for Iran to continue its nuclear program without foreign aid and declining economy. Iran was unable to continue its nuclear program with US and UN sanctions and at last to get negotiations leverage maintains its nuclear inspiration.

## List of Abbreviations

AEOI	Atomic Energy Organization of Iran
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CISADA	Comprehensive Iran Sanctions, Accountability and Divestment Act
CNS	Center for Nonproliferation Studies
CRS	Congressional Research Services
CTBT	Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty
DM	Deutsche Mark (German Currency)
EU	European Union
IRGC	Iranian Revolutionary Guard Corps
IAEA	International Atomic Energy Agency
IUST	Iran University of Science and Technology
NCRI	National Council of Resistance of Iran
NIE	National Intelligence Estimate
NPT	Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty
NWS	Nuclear Weapon States
OIC	Organization of Islamic Cooperation



PTBT	Partial Test Ban Treaty
SNSC	Supreme National Security Council
TNRC	Tehran Nuclear Research Center
Uf6	Uranium hexafluoride
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
WMD	Weapons of Mass Destruction
WTO	World Trade Organization

# MAPS

Map page

39

# CHAPTER NO. 1

## IRAN'S NUCLEAR POLICY IN AHMADINEJAD ERA AND US RESPONSE

### 1.1. INTRODUCTION

The United States was helped Iran to start nuclear program in 1950s. It was initiated with idea of the atom for peace program. The nuclear nonproliferation treaty (NPT) was signed by Iran in 1968. That treaty investigates nuclear proliferation activities and works for the prevention of spread of nuclear weapons. The nuclear proliferation program of Iran was helped out by the US until Islamic revolution of 1979. Iran's nuclear program was halted during Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini regime but after his death, the nuclear program course was revised.

Mahmoud Ahmadinejad era considers as the peak of nuclear issue of Iran. When he elected in August 2005, then Iran resumed its nuclear production at Isfahan (Lindsay and Takeyh 2010). While International Atomic Energy Agency seals were removed from nuclear sites. The international and domestic criticism was ignored by Ahmadinejad. Though answering criticism, Ahmadinejad said that nuclear technology is essential for our developing economy and energy needs (Lindsay and Takeyh 2010).

The criticism and contradictions was not hurdle in Iranian nuclear ambition. In 2006, Mustafa Muhammad Najar, the Iranian Defense Minister stated that "Iran needs energy and being a signatory of NPT has a right to develop nuclear capability for energy needs. Since the fossil fuels are going to run out, Iran needs nuclear energy to replace" (Malam and Esmalian 2007). That phenomenon was against the UN peace resolutions, as Iran was violating NPT assumptions and did not compliance with IAEA safeguard agreements.

It was the responsibility of major powers especially big powers and UN peace forum to stop Iran from enriching uranium and destabilizing situation in Middle East. So, the United States (US) and United Nations (UN) applied sanction including all types of trading, labeling Iran's army as terrorists, freezing state and individuals assets of Iranian in European countries. It was all due to Iran change its policy of nuclear capability and started enriching uranium. Ahmadinejad took people's favor by campaigning economic developmental schemes during election campaign but failed to do that. All European countries were against Iran and stopped trade with Iran. It was all due to Iran violate the Non Proliferation Treaty (NPT) and disturbing the peace scenario and creating arms race in high volatile region of Middle East.

Iran had three potential enemies Iraq, Israel and US. The conflict between Iraq and Iran was from the day first due to territorial conflicts. They were fought the bloodiest war from 1980 to 1988. Both states were trying to dominate the region. Israel was another rival in the region since 1947 after its creation. The rivalry between Israel and Iran was intensified due to Iranian support of Lebanon in Lebanon-Israel war and creation of Hezbollah. The Iran's nuclear program was launched as deterrence against Iraq and Israel nuclear capacity.

The third major rival was US In 1979, The US backed government was overthrown and Islamic state of Iran was established. In that new Islamic State, Iranian elected president by direct elections and legislation. The final decision about government activities were taken by the Islamic clerics of Iran. Both states had not cordial relations since Islamic revolution in Iran till that day because there were many issues between Iran and US. Iranian nuclear program was more vital in Iran US relations because US have reservations on proliferation activities and wanted to stop nuclear enrichment plant immediately. But Iranian officials stated that the nuclear

program was only for civilian and energy purposes. Iran had not military purposes in its nuclear enrichment facilities.

Iran was continuing its nuclear program but with a slow pace till 2000. The US administration adopted aggressive foreign policies toward Iran since 2000 due to have increased security threats. Iran from the day first announced that its peaceful nuclear enrichment program was working under terms and conditions of NPT. One opinion from critics that if nuclear program of Iran was peaceful one then why did not Iran obtains enriched uranium from other countries rather than enriching itself.

The Iran was labeled as state sponsor of terrorism by the US because helping fundamental Islamic groups like Hezbollah and Hamas. Iran had been contradicted over human rights violations like Iran's presidential election contest in 2009. The US was involved in two neighboring states of Iran; Afghanistan and Iraq. The US administration claimed that Iran supported insurgents against US troops in both states, Afghanistan and Iraq. Israel is ally of US in Middle East. The American was too much anxious about its ally security. The economies of western countries and the US were also depending on Persian Gulf oil. So they did not like to make crisis for their economies.

## **1.2. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM**

The specific kind of Iranian foreign policy had been enormously affected on region and international politics. The US was adopting the policy of deterrence against Iranian nuclear program. Since 2000, the nuclear program of Iran was under strict observations due to its gesture towards nuke. The international community was reservations on unclear enrichment of Iran. While the UN and veto power states were applying strict sanctions against Iran in case of

enriching uranium. The question was that how the issue of nuclear weapons did more intensify and follow by the both states in their relations?

### **1.3. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY**

This study would be able to know the importance of nuclear program for Iran. It would be able to know the Iran's nuclear development in different regimes. It elaborates how Iran's nuclear program became more intensified in Mahmoud Ahmadinejad government. It would distinguish Iranian stand about its nuclear program that either it was peaceful or for military purpose. It would also evaluate the sanctions which faced by Iran on Nuclear enrichment aspirations. This study would explain the effects of US and UN sanctions on the economy of Iran and its nuclear program.

### **1.4. OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY**

The study had analyzed the nuclear enrichment program of Iran. It discussed the nuclear issue during Mahmoud Ahmadinejad and also explained the intensification of nuclear program in his era. It explored the type of relationship between the US and Iran regarding nuclear issue. It judged the IAEA inspections and international pressure effect on Iranian nuclear program. It explained sanctions effect on nuclear program of Iran.

### **1.5. RESEARCH QUESTIONS**

1. How did Iran develop its nuclear enrichment program in different eras of Government?
2. What was the policy of Mahmoud Ahmadinejad on nuclear program?
3. What was the policy of IAEA and the US about nuclear program of Iran?

4. What were the western states' responses especially the United States on nuclear weapon ambition of Iran?

## 1.6. LITERATURE REVIEW

The lot of literature is available on Iran US relations in post-revolutionary era. The nuclear power ambition was also important element in Iran US relations since 90's. It is still a burning issue between Iran US relations. The literature is also available on Iran US relations regarding nuclear issue in form of books, articles, archives, interviews, etc. A brief discussion on literature is given below.

In an article "Taking on Tehran", Kenneth Pollack and Ray Takeyh discussed the Iran's nuclear program and explain Iranian leader's policy on it. Iranian nuclear program is controversial in world and western states have more reservations on it. This is not essential to solve for cordial relation with European countries but also with Arab states. Each leader is ready to continue its nuclear program but how did they make balance between nuclear ambition and economic needs. However, this is an important issue which writer missed to discuss (Pollack and Takeyh 2005).

Ray Takeyh's book entitled *Hidden Iran: Paradox and Power in the Islamic Republic* can be considered important regarding today Iran. It is written in post 9/11 situation which can easily elaborate Iranian foreign policy with Arab countries, Israel and U.S. He also discussed the political and social situation in Iran. This book has not taken much focus on Iranian nuclear program as compared to political and social (Takeyh 2007).

Lubna Batool thesis entitled *The Traditionalist-Reformist Conflict and Its Impact on Foreign Policy* discussed the difference between the traditionalist and reformist behavior among Iranian leaders. She explained each Iranian leader either traditionalist or reformist and how were they

pursue their policy with other countries. She gave brief view of post Iranian revolution, Imam Khomeini era, Rafsanjani period, Muhammad Khatami and Mahmood Ahmadinejad government regarding relations with U.S, Israel, nuclear issue. Her focused was on traditionalist and reformist leaders' policies in different eras but she had little touch on nuclear issue of Iran. She had not made an elaborative discussion on Iran's nuclear program in Ahmadinejad era (Lubna 2011).

Saira Khan in her book *Iran and Nuclear Weapons* explained the reasons that why Iran still stuck to its nuclear program and what are the reasons on which Iran did not roll back its nuclear program. According to her, first Iraq factor, second Israel presence in Middle East and third U.S as the sole dominating state in the world. She explained that Iraq factor comes to an end after Iraq U.S war in 2003. Israel is supported by U.S so the major foreign policy dilemma exists between Iran and U.S. The latter has not good relations with Iran after Islamic Revolution. U.S is more conscious to Iranian nuclear program. Saira Khan explained all this in the context of protracted conflicts in a less hostile regional environment. Her work is not more concise on Iran U.S relations regarding nuclear issue and her work provides a lot of information about Iranian nuclear program and its regional importance. Meanwhile, she dismissed hyper tension between Iran and U.S during Ahmadinejad era (Khan 2010).

*Checking Iran's Nuclear Ambitions* is edited by Henry Sokolski and Patrick Clawson. Sokolski worked as the executive director of the Non-Proliferation Policy Education Center. The deputy director of the Washington Institute for Near East Policy and senior editor of Middle East Quarterly was Clawson. Clawson had profound experience on Middle Eastern politics and also gave policy suggestions to protect U.S interest in Middle East. Sokolski, well known by his nonproliferation knowledge like proliferation issues in world and how could protect the whole



world from proliferation issues and what were possible solutions. This report contains analytical work of different writers on Iran's Nuclear Ambitions. It has many policy suggestions that how we can contain Iran from its nuclear program and if Iran made nuclear weapons then how could be protected and must not go in terrorist's hands. The writers told the UN and U.S want to make it model for violating NPT and IAEA rules. This report focused on policy options regarding U.S towards Iran. However the writer ignored the ground realities on the basis of which Iran was going to make nuclear program (Sokolski and Clawson 2004).

Mojtaba Mahdavi in his article "Iran It's The Geopolitics, Stupid!" explained the P5+1 formula on Iran nuclear program. He demonstrated Iran's relations with U.S and policy towards Syria with its geopolitical situation and restrains. He tells us how ideological and pragmatic approaches effects foreign policy of Iran. He elucidates U.S is affected if it expanded hands towards Iran in case of existing anti Iranian alliance with Israel and Saudi Arabia. He did not explain the implication for U.S (Mahdavi 2013).

Some writers connected Iran nuclear program with security risks in region and some are considered it as a cause in deteriorating cordial relations with U.S. So this work would be valuable for Iranian nuclear program and the U.S response on it.

## **1.8. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

Research methodology is a combination of those techniques and methods which are followed by researchers for the purpose of information gathering, assessment of collected data to develop arguments in the support of the hypothesis for the formulation of a theory and also to testify the prevailing theories. There are different forms of research methodology but our focus will be on use of historical, analytical and comparative approaches of research. The research methodology

was based on traditional historical approach. The descriptive and analytical style was used to examine the dynamics of Iran's nuclear program and U.S responses. Since it is a case study, it used books, journals, magazines, and newspaper articles, book reviews, and net archives for justifying research topic.

## CHAPTER NO. 2

### HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF IRAN'S NUCLEAR PROGRAM

#### Historical Background of Iran's nuclear program

During 1950s, Iran started its nuclear technology and science association. It was the time when the US had good relations with Iran and supporting its economy, military and technical assistance for nuclear technology and science. It was the period when the US wanted to spread nuclear technology. While the Britain and Canada was dynamic in that field. Though, when US companies entered in the market, there was an uncertain situation (Howard, 2004). The Atomic Energy Act was approved by the US congress in June 1946, which banned any American cooperation with other countries regarding nuclear technology and transfer of nuclear materials. Thus, an amendment was passed in 1954. On 8th December 1953, the US President Dwight Eisenhower postulates the idea of 'Atoms for Peace' which gave the way for such advancement. The US and Iran cooperated between each other on civil uses of nuclear technology in connection with Eisenhower doctrine. It was all due to extending relations between the US and Iran in 1957 (Ozcan and Ozdamar 2011). Both states agreed to cooperate in peaceful uses of nuclear energy and made an agreement for future cooperation. It was in support of Eisenhower's peaceful atomic energy uses. According to agreement, the US would have planned to invest in Iranian nuclear technology and promoting civil nuclear industries like health and medicine. That agreement would open the doors for the US to develop peaceful nuclear program in Iran (Rajaei 2004).

## **2.1. NUCLEAR DEVELOPMENT DURING SHAH GOVERNMENT**

In 1959, the first Nuclear Research Centre was constructed at Tehran University under Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi Government. The Shah government started negotiations with US officials for the purchase of a 05 megawatt (MW) thermal research reactor. Since its inception, the basic nuclear science and technologies were studied in that center. Only the post graduate education was confined for nuclear research (Howard, 2004). In the beginning, the development was not in full boost until in 1967 when the United States supplied 5 megawatt thermal research reactor to Tehran Nuclear Research Center (TNRC). The supply of 5 MW thermal research reactors was sponsored by Atomic Energy Organization of Iran (AEOI). The nuclear nonproliferation treaty (NPT) was signed by Iran on 01st July 1968 (Sahimi 2003).

### **2.1.1. Boost in establishment of nuclear reactors**

In 1970, the Iranian government was encouraged by the US to enlarge its non-oil energy resources. According to Stanford Research Institute, Iran was insisted by the US to start nuclear research reactors to overcome its energy deficiency in future. The US companies had great interests to invest in nuclear energy projects of Iran (Poneman 1982). The deep roots were laid in building of these reactors and developing nuclear program during the Shah government. Through these reactors and development of nuclear program, The US would have its own interests in the setting of the price and supply of oil towards US. The Shah government was ready to develop and motivated to produce 23 nuclear power stations together with US across the country (Bosworth n.d).

### **2.1.2. President Jimmy Carter and Gerald R. Ford Policy on Iran Nuclear Program**

The US president Jimmy Carter followed the policy of collaboration with Iran in its nuclear field. On 31st December 1977 and 1st January 1978, in his visit to Tehran, President Carter accomplished a new agreement at that occasion. The nuclear energy agreement of Iran and US was signed on 10th July 1978 in Tehran. According to agreement, the Iran would be supported with nuclear energy and its administration in transfer and installing of equipment and material by the US. The important thing was that Iran would not be treated discriminatory on approval and transfer of nuclear fuel. (Kibaroglu 2007).

A directive was signed by the president Gerald R. Ford in 1976 under which US gave a plutonium extracting technology and reprocessing unit to Iran. The agreement was started to provide assistance in the field of nuclear energy and administration of exports. For Uranium extracting Iran depended on the delivery of American technology and the US helped Iran in searching material (Soltanieh 2003).

### **2.1.3. France and Iran Nuclear Program**

The contract was signed with French company Framatome by Iran to build two 950 megawatt pressurized reactors at Darkhovin site, on Karoon River. The contract was canceled due to Islamic revolution in Iran. The Prime Minister Mehdi Bazargan withdrew from contract with French company on the construction of pressurized reactors (Gelb 1982). The Shah government was considered as the peak of nuclear development in Iran. Iran was processing its enrichment plants not only with the help of the US but others European countries help also like France, Britain and Germany. The US, German, French, Britain, Russian and Chinese companies were working on different nuclear sites in Iran with the perspective of peaceful use of nuclear energy.

## **2.2. NUCLEAR DEVELOPMENT DURING IMAM KHOMEINI ERA**

After Islamic revolution, the nuclear program of Iran was stopped due to lack of interest by the new Iranian leadership, Ayatollah Khomeini. As Iran is existed on the sea of oil and gas resources, so the quest of nuclear energy was unrealistic according to Ayatollah (Naji 2008). The nuclear program was halted when Imam Khomeini said against nuclear weapon and declared it as haram (Malam and Esmalian 2007). The German contractors were compensated with six billion Deutsche Marks (DM) for shutting down its activities on nuclear sites. But some leaders were not ready to stop nuclear technology program of Iran. So they worked for the nuclear program as it was prohibited by the governing body of Iran (Naji 2008).

The founder and first president of the Atomic Energy Organization of Iran (IAEO) was Dr. Akbar Etemad. Once he stated plutonium can be extracted by using fuel and chemical agents during experiment at TNRC. The Bushehr-1 was 90 percent completed with 60% of its equipment had been installed, while the Bushehr-2 was 50% completed at the time of Islamic revolution (Klyuchanskaya 2010). The first nuclear site, Bushehr project was closed because the revolutionary government decided that Iran did not need nuclear energy. The new government stated that it has cheap energy resources and need not costly project of nuclear energy (Sick 1988).

### **2.2.1. Iran-Iraq War and Ayatollah Khomeini Rethinking about Nuclear Program**

During Iran Iraq War, Iraq stroke at the Bushehr site and bombed six times which damaged the whole core area of reactors (Sciolino 1988). However, during these attacks, main equipment was saved like steam generators and pressure vessel. During the Iran-Iraq war, at last Iranian

leadership realized to restart its nuclear technology and energy program. The war was also provoked the Iranian leaders to the consideration about nuclear energy technology.

The destruction of Iraq war changed Islamic government stance on its nuclear technology program. So supreme leader, Ayatollah Khomeini decided to resume nuclear program. The revolutionary government called Dr. Frereidom Fesharaki who was the administrator of enrichment program during Shah Era to re-establish nuclear sites and build nuclear bomb for Iran. Khomeini asked Fesharaki to take responsibility of nuclear bomb for Iran. Fesharaki left for abroad to call back other Iranian scientists but did not come back because the fear of prosecution by Iranian leaders. Ayatollah Khomeini arguing for nuclear bomb tills his death in 1989 because of clandestine nuclear program of Iraq. The former scientists were not ready to start nuclear program due to threats from neighbor countries and within country. The US was also created hurdles in reactivation process of nuclear program of Iran for many years (Naji 2008).

The nuclear program of Iran was less concerned by many reasons as the resistance from state leaders, less involvement and interests of western in supporting Iran for nuclear technology, missing of nuclear scientists and less threat perception from Iraq as Israel destroyed Iraq's nuclear facilities in 1981. However on many grounds, the nuclear program was started again by Iran in mid 1980s. Leonard S. Specter, the Deputy Director of the Center for Nonproliferation Studies wrote that "there is evidence about Iran's reception of assistance from Pakistani nuclear scientist A Q Khan in 1985, though it was not until the death of Imam Khomeini in 1989 that Tehran's efforts reached critical space" (Maleki 2006).

### **2.2.2. US Role in Reacquiring Nuclear Technology by Iran**

In fact by bearing the Iran-Iraq war devastation, Imam Khomeini reviewed his saying on atomic bomb and refocusing on nuclear program. He was fully supporting nuclear program to get deterrence against clandestine nuclear weapon program of neighbors. According to Analysts' views, Iraq's clandestine nuclear weapons program and increasing US role provoked Iranian to restart nuclear research projects (Rajaei 2004).

The US was feeling fear from the gradually nuclear development program of Iran. It was scared that Iran did not use nuclear technology for right purpose and propagating that Iran was developing nuclear weapon which would be fear for whole world. According to the Congressional Research Service (CRS), Iran was using nuclear facilities to develop a weapon. Iran was increasing its work on nuclear program like enrichment plants, Uranium Mines, Conversion sites, and a research reactor. The three thousand scientists were working at the Isfahan Nuclear Technology Center which was mainly suspected Iran to have nuclear weapons program there (Mohaddessin 2006).

### **2.3. NUCLEAR DEVELOPMENT DURING RAFSANJANI ERA**

After the death of Imam Ayatollah Khomeini in 1989, Ali Khamenei became the supreme leader of Iran. In 1989 elections, Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani was elected as president of Iran. He was too close to Imam Khomeini and his revolutionary movement. He was considered as reformist leader in Iranian leadership. His policies were less conservative as the previous one. Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani decided to get nuclear technology in Iran. He said Iran must have defensive and offensive arsenals. He was thinking about nuclear weapon equipped Iran. Rafsanjani was the important member of clerics and too close with Imam Khomeini. He was also the planner of



nuclear program of Iran (Mohaddessin 2006). In 1988, Rafsanjani spoke to Iranian parliament as speaker that “chemical and biological weapons are like atom bombs for poor man and easy to produce and we (Iran) at least have it. Although the use of these weapons is inhuman but they teach us that international laws are just scrap of paper as the super powers are not considered to be abiding by them” (Venter 2005, p. 253). The Iranian nuclear scientists were called back by Rafsanjani government from all over the world. Iran made agreement with Russia for safe transfer of nuclear technology. In 1991, Ayatollah Mohajerani stated that Muslim countries must have nuclear capability because enemies’ countries have it (Mohaddessin 2006).

According to Iranian officials, Iran’s population was increasing rapidly and its energy resources were decreasing which may drag it towards 1970s. By seeing that chronic situation, Rafsanjani government was worked for other energy resources where nuclear energy program got importance. He started reconstruction and developing plans for nuclear energy projects. So, Iran restarted its nuclear program for obtaining electricity for its own use and exporting purposes (Hiro 1985).

### **2.3.1. US and CIA Views on Restarting of Iranian Nuclear Program**

On 2nd February 1999, the Director George Tenet of Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) announced that Iranian leaders were decided to get Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) which was important for defense. Iran was giving priority to have it (Venter 2005).Rafsanjani era was considered as reconstruction and chain process in nuclear development of Iran. As Iran was signed an agreement with Russia, so nuclear technology was no more problem for Iran. The Bush administration position was also miserable to deal with Iran as compare to Iraq and North Korea (Hashemi 2009). The US policy towards Iran was more rigid than that of North Korea.

## **2.4. NUCLEAR DEVELOPMENT DURING KHATAMI ERA**

The president Mohammad Khatami was more open towards western countries as compared to Rafsanjani government. His first term was considered as developing cordial relations with western and Arab countries. Khatami had less concerns over nuclear program that he said that no one had permission to go forward in nuclear capability. But Supreme leader, Ali Khamenei cleared while addressing Iranian ambassador that it was strategic error if Iran went back from nuclear aspirations. Iran was also developing missile technology alongside with nuclear weapons so that weapons could be transferred in case of war.

### **2.4.1. Development of Iranian Missiles System**

Ali Shamkhani, the defense minister of Iran tested Iran's made missiles in 2002. Iran had got the capacity to build 1500km range missiles (Shahab III, IV) to deliver nuclear bomb said by Abbas Mohtaj, the navy commander in February 2003 (Howard 2004).

On 26th September 1998, Shahab III was first time presented in annual parade on which Imam Khomeini's quotation was printed "U.S cannot do a damn thing and Israel must be wiped out from the face of earth" (Howard 2004). It was the time when Khatami government re-establishing nuclear aspiration and zeal of its nuclear weapon was showed. "Iranian ballistic missiles capabilities have been increased and country has become a major missile power in the region" said by Iranian Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC) Commandant General, Rahim Safabi (Hashemi 2009). Its neighbors were feeling discomfort by increasing strategic unbalance in the region.

#### **2.4.2. National Council of Resistance of Iran (NCRI) report on Iranian Nuclear Development**

The nuclear program of Iran was started in 1980s in post-revolutionary era, but it was continued and suspended till summer 2002. Then nuclear program speeded up by clerical leaders. The nuclear sites were revealed by the National Council of Resistance of Iran (NCRI) in August 2002 which shocked the international community especially the US. Meanwhile, the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) inspected nuclear sites. But Iran denied from uranium enrichment and started negotiation with IAEA to get time in shifting enriched material at safe place. Iran was announcing that its nuclear enrichment was only peaceful purposes and did not have much enriched materials which were against NPT assumptions. Iran was increasing its nuclear program budget from 200 million dollars to 800 million dollars according to NCRI report. China had also exported 1.8 tons of nuclear materials to Iran secretly. Rafsanjani who was foreign minister during Khatami government was more lenient towards western states and the US. So, Rafsanjani gave consent to the additional protocol to the NPT (Maleki 2006).

The nuclear program of Iran was under strict obligations from the international community because Iran was not showing flexibility on nuclear issue. Iran was opening diplomatic channels but without discussing the nuclear issue and continuing its nuclear program without bothering international pressure.

#### **2.4.3. Iran's Nuclear Program without worrying international criticism**

Iran was refocusing on its nuclear program without bothering international criticism. Iran never left the inspiration of nuclear Iran and illicitly doing its job with the help of China, North Korea, India and Pakistan and those other countries who wanted Iran as nuclear weapon state in future.

Iran was giving scholarship to their students for Russia, China and western countries to study nuclear technology and came back Iran to run its own nuclear technology program (Lindsay and Takeyh 2010). However, IAEA and Iran relations were going critical because IAEA found Illicit Weapons of Destructions (WMD) program of Iran while visiting nuclear sites (Ghani 2006).

However, Iran was continually claiming that its nuclear program is peaceful one and tried to come up its energy needs by using nuclear energy. But Iran had changed its mind regarding nuclear program after Iran-Iraq war. On many times, Iranian leadership invoked in favor of nuclear bomb and had given statement against 'Atom for Peace' treaty. The events after event, Iranian leadership were more focusing on national interests where nuclear program was special position. After 9/11 event and Bush declaration of 'Axis of Evil', Iranian nuclear strength was firming. The nuclear weapon program was most important element in Iran's foreign policy reported by CIA in 2002 (Mafinezam and Mehrabi 2008).

## **2.5. NUCLEAR DEVELOPMENT DURING MAHMOUD AHMADINEJAD ERA**

Mahmoud Ahmadinejad was elected as sixth president of Iran. Ahmadinejad followed a rigid policy domestically and internationally in foreign policy with other countries. Ahmadinejad rejected the United Nations demand to stop enrichment of uranium. He was deliberately opposing the racist campaign of Holocaust and anti-Semitism against Jews. He was pursuing the world without Zionism and America (Alexander and Hoenig 2008). The U.S officials were more careful regarding US and feeling the threats against Israel as Israel already asking US to check Iran's nuclear aspirations. The Bush administration was asking UN to put rigorous sanctions against Iran and adopting a provoking policy towards Iran (Katzman 2009).

Mahmoud Ahmadinejad era was considered as the peak of nuclear issue of Iran. When he elected in august 2005, then Iran resumed its nuclear production at Isfahan. Iran removed IAEA seals and ignored all international and national criticism. On international criticism, he said that to meet the growing needs of energy, nuclear technology was essential. Our nuclear program is peaceful and according to the terms of NPT (Lindsay and Takeyh 2010).

### **2.5.1. Contradictions over nuclear bomb explosion date**

Iran worked for the technological breakthrough of Uranium enrichment during 2005 and 2006. The nuclear program was considered as the nation's pride and unity by Ahmadinejad. In 2006, Ahmadinejad announced that Iran was able to enrich uranium for the first time and Iran would be join nuclear club soon. Iran was resumed its negotiations with EU members in 2005. Similarly, IAEA visited nuclear sites. Iran gave unconditional protocol to IAEA inspector whom praised it. According to CIA report, Iran had needed ten years to complete its nuclear weapon program. Similarly, Sylvan Shalom, Israeli Defense Minister said that Iran can make nuclear weapon on short notice. Iran got time under both stated enmity on nuclear program of Iran (Maleki 2006).

### **2.5.2. Russian re-engages with Iran on nuclear issue**

In September 2008, the Russian company restated that it would finish the work of reactivation of nuclear sites at the end of 2009. According to Iranian officials, the Darkhovin project will be operational by 2016 and plans to generate 360MWs. Iran wanted to build nuclear energy program to diversify its energy needs and turned towards India, China, North Korea and Pakistan for nuclear technology and assistance (Rajaei 2004).

The US officials had less concerned with Russian work at Bushehr. In 1995, an \$800 million amount contract was made for renovation of nuclear power plant. Russia would like to give Iran

reprocessed nuclear material which could be used directly in plants. So Russia Insisted Iran to sign an agreement under above assumption. Both states signed agreement on 28th February 2005. It was anticipated that the plant would be operational in 2007 and insisted on Iran to meet the terms of UN resolutions. The plant which was started in 2009 was delayed by Russian for broader nuclear agreements. The plant was inaugurated on 21st August 2010 and fueling was completed by 25th October 2010. The IAEA reported that the nuclear reactor stopped its working due to continue cooling pump problem. It began limited operations on 08th May 2011 and was linked to Iran's power grid in September 2011. As part of that work, almost 1500 Iranian nuclear engineers were trained by Russia (Katzman 2011). It was cleared that Iran had not alleged nuclear weapons program because its nuclear program was working to produce electricity and for civilian use only.

Iran rejected all contradictors on its nuclear program and did not give any response to US and Israeli statements on nuclear program of Iran. In 2006, Iranian Defense Minister, Mustafa Muhammad Najar stated that "Iran needs energy and being a signatory of NPT has a right to develop nuclear capability for energy needs. Since the fossil fuels are going to run out, Iran needs nuclear energy to replace" (Malam and Esmalian 2007). Ahmadinejad condemned any killing of innocent civilians on his inauguration address. The Iranian was extremely firm with its nuclear program as it was gradually grasping condition from the world super power. The international community was conscious about gradually developing nuclear program of Iran. It was due to bold statements of Iranian leaders on nuclear weapon and not compliance with the assumption of NPT and safeguard agreements of IAEA. There were two major reasons behind the scene; one that if Israel or other neighboring state attacks it, Iran would defend itself and second was to make its greater role in Middle Eastern region.

A peaceful nuclear energy program became matter of dispute between Iran and international community. The Iranian peaceful nuclear energy program altered into nuclear bomb program due to US policy in Middle East. The US did not bear friend to become foe as in case of Iran. The Iranian presidents altered their position towards nuclear aspiration by seeing increasing influence of US in the region. Iran went forward towards nuclear enrichment by fighting ten years war with neighbor, Iraq and another permanent threat from Israel. After collapsed of Saddam government and end of Taliban regime, the Americans presence in Iraq and Afghanistan, and Israel permanent ally of US was major actors in reactivating nuclear program. It was only for deterrence against US policies in greater Middle East. It was only defensive purposes against Israel monopoly and increasing devastation activities in Islamic states.

## CHAPTER No. 3

### MAHMOUD AHMADINEJAD AND IRAN'S NUCLEAR POLICY

#### 3.1. MAHMOUD AHMADINEJAD

The sixth President of Islamic Republic of Iran was Mahmoud Ahmadinejad. He was a longtime member of the Iranian civil service and served as mayor of the city of Tehran prior to his appointment to the Presidency. He was active in politics from his early age. He was also the part of Islamic revolutionary movement by which Grand Ayatollah Khomeini got power in Iranian politics. The Islamic Association of Students was founded by Ahmadinejad in Iran University of Science and Technology (IUST). The reports of his direct involvement in the 1979 attack on the US embassy in Tehran and the planned, simultaneous attack on the Soviet embassy had been disproved by many eyewitnesses, including former hostages. Nonetheless, Ahmadinejad activities during that period remained ambiguous and his involvement in specific acts of terrorism, while speculated upon, remained unverified (Alexander and Hoenig 2008).

During the Iran-Iraq war, Ahmadinejad joined the Special Forces of Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC) voluntarily (Profile: Mahmoud Ahmadinejad2010). While serving in the IRGC, Ahmadinejad worked in the intelligence and security apartments before becoming one of the senior officers of the Special Brigade of the Revolutionary Guards. While serving on that position, Ahmadinejad was stationed in Ramazon Garrison, which was reported to have been the headquarters of the Revolutionary Guards' Extraterritorial Operations (Profile: Mahmoud Ahmadinejad2010).

In addition to his military background, Ahmadinejad has a long history of civil service. In 1993, he served as cultural advisor for the Ministry of Culture and Higher Education. From 1993 to 1997, he was working as governor-general of Ardabil province. In 1997, Ahmadinejad received



his PhD in civil engineering and traffic transportation planning from the Iran University of Science and Technology. The Tehran city council was elected Ahmadinejad as mayor of Tehran in April 2003. During his mayor, he changed many previous policies which were taken by his preceding governments. He was more reluctant in pursuing liberal governments' policies. He wanted to promote traditionalist culture with Islamic features. He remained on that post until 2005, whereupon he was groomed by the conservative establishment for the upcoming presidential elections (Alexander and Hoenig 2008).

### **3.1.1. Elections of 2005 and Ahmadinejad manifesto**

Early indicators of the 2005 elections did not favor Ahmadinejad, a hardliner conservative, who trailed the moderate favorite, Ali Akbar Rafsanjani, in all public opinion polls. After taking second place in the initial ballots, however, he proceeded to win the runoff elections by a wide margin. Many analysts believe his victory was due, in part, to his image as a working class reformer unblemished by the corruption allegations hampering more elitist candidates, including the moderate Rafsanjani (Warner 2005).

Ahmadinejad grasped whole nation by presenting his manifesto clearly. He said discrimination, poverty and corruption are the major issues of our society and we will fight against all of them collectively. Previous governments were less concerned for societal issues but these issues were the core problems of society. Moreover, Ahmadinejad made reforms for women's rights. He elected three women for his cabinet. Ahmadinejad was the first president who chose women in his cabinet (Milani 2009).

During Ahmadinejad first presidency, he blamed previous governments for social injustice which were sacrificed for economic development. He said Iran could get prosperity by going back in early days of revolutions. In twenty five years of reformists' government, Iranian faced poverty,

concentration of wealth and power, corrupt bureaucracy. He announced many times that he would be the real freedom fighter for people against social evils. He said no one would think about the peoples' life of Iran. Each political party followed the power politics and got position for his own prestige not for Iranian people. By getting fame in 2005 presidency, he got nomination for 2009 presidential election from his party also (Naji 2008).

### **3.1.2. Conservatism of Ahmadinejad**

Ahmadinejad applied traditionalist approach in Islamic republic of Iran as he was famous for it in his mayor-ship. He was focusing on welfare of people and equal distribution of wealth among the working class. He was emphasizing on Islamic codes of life and working for the regional dominance in the field of military and culture of Iran. Thus, he was applying traditionalist behavior towards Iranian nuclear program, denying Israel existence and spreading Shiiaism in all over the Middle East, particularly in Syria, Lebanon and Iraq, and other small Islamic states in Middle East. He had clashed on numerous occasions with the international community, which accused him not obeying the NPT and of publicly denying the occurrence of the Holocaust. While he faced significant criticism both at home and abroad, he was still supported by the higher echelons of the Iranian government establishment, together with Grand Ayatollah Sayyid Ali Khamenei and many members of the Revolutionary Guard Council.

### **3.2. AHMADINEJAD POLICY TOWARDS ISRAEL**

“The oppressing regime in occupied Palestine is the most important obstacle, and causes the Islamic nation collective concern. Judicious removal of this fear [i.e. Israel] will pave the way to the appearance of Islam's power in successful management of global [matters]. It is unnecessary to point out that there is no logical way to recognize this false regime. The acceptance [of the existence] of [this] oppressing regime means making humanity despair of attaining viable peace

and tranquility, and giving a seal of approval to oppression, arrogance, and domination. The only way which is both the wise way and is compatible with the international rules is the return of the Palestinian refugees, [and] the holding of a referendum with the involvement of all the original Palestinians, including Muslims, Christians, and Jews, in order to determine the type of regime in all of Palestine, whose capital is holy Jerusalem” (Alexander and Hoenig 2008, p. 34).

“There are also some countries that claim to be democracies and supporters of freedom and human rights but which keep silent when this regime [Israel] bombs Lebanon in front of their eyes and slaughters people in their houses” (Alexander and Hoenig 2008, p. 32).

Ahmadinejad followed the animosity policy towards Israel as he started his first presidency. He was considered as radical leader in Iranian leadership after Khomeini. He also promoted the idea of world without Zionism. The government high school organized a conference on world without Zionism and called President Ahmadinejad as guest of honor. On that occasion, Ahmadinejad said “the days of Israel are numbered now and there is a war under way between ‘the world dominating powers and Islam. He said that three hundred years ago the dominating powers established Israel in the heart of Islamic world. He further stated that students should believe in the possibility of a world rid of evils of US and Zionism” (Sturm 2008).

On 8<sup>th</sup> December 2005, a two days’ summit of Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) was held in Mecca. Ahmadinejad was participated from Islamic republic of Iran. During that meeting, an Arabic channel made interview of Ahmadinejad on anti-Israel pronouncement. Ahmadinejad said that we want Israel should be wiped out from the land of Palestine. If Israel relocated in Europe we would recognize it and made relations with it. He added if Germany and Austria was responsible for Holocaust and massacring of Jews then why did not Israel establish in those lands? On what reason Palestinians are paying the cost of Holocaust. He cleared his position

about Israel by saying that he is not raciest or anti Holocaust as pronounced by the western media (Sturm 2008).

Later in December, Ahmadinejad demonstrated that Holocaust considered above all holy things by Europe. So, Europe is denying our God and prophets indirectly. If the denial of Holocaust is punished then the person who denies God and prophets must severely punished. Ahmadinejad denounced on many places that Israel should be placed in Europe or America and the problem of Palestine should be solved according to the people of Palestine (Strum 2008).

These comments about Israel and Holocaust were widely condemned by international community especially European. They tried to create strong resistance and put a resolution against Ahmadinejad government by making collation with Russia and China also in the UN. All reformist leaders and some conservative leaders were also speaking against Ahmadinejad hardline policy. "The Jewish community leaders did so on this occasion, condemning Ahmadinejad's questioning of the Holocaust and warning that it could encourage an upsurge in anti-Semitism" (Axworthy 2013, p. 390).

### **3.2.1. Israel directly affect Iranian nuclear program**

Ahmadinejad foreign policy towards Israel directly changed the international community behavior. Ahmadinejad Pronouncements affected nuclear program of Iran and negotiation process. As the negotiations on nuclear project of Iran was becoming political not diplomatic. The negotiations were going tough due to Ahmadinejad's Israel policy (Ansari 2007).

Iranian nuclear program was aimed to defend its potential threats like Iraq and Israel. Iran was threatened by the increasing presence of American forces and role of Israel. Israel and the US made alliance against Iran and using malfunction like promoting sectarianism in Middle East. Ben Eliezer believed that "Iran is more dangerous than Iraq". While the former U.S. Vice-

President John McCain said "it is U.S. responsibility to save Israel." So it cleared that Iran was the real threat for US interests in Middle East and Israel because Iran had extremist policy towards Israel (Mearsheimer and Walt 2007).

During 2010, Ahmadinejad stated that the 9/11 2001 incident was designed to involved in Middle East affairs as after Holocaust, Israel was created in Palestinian state. It showed the Ahmadinejad harsh and rigid policy towards Israel (Strum 2008).

### **3.3. AHMADINEJAD AND IRAN'S NUCLEAR POLICY**

"They ask us why we have started [nuclear] research. Our reply is that there is no limitation to research. There are no limits imposed on research in the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty or in the Additional Protocol. Nor have we made any such commitment" (Alexander and Hoenig 2008, p. 35).

After the death of Ayatollah Khomeini, Ali Khamenei became the supreme leader of Iran and he restarted Iranian nuclear program under the government of Rafsanjani. Before Rafsanjani era, Ali Khamenei was also keen to restart nuclear program of Iran. The nuclear program of Iran was started with the overt and covert help of other states like North Korea, China and on somehow Pakistan. Iran was sending its students to Russia and other western states through scholarship for the nuclear studies. Iran was also called them back through conferences and seminars and urged them to work at Iranian nuclear sites (Naji 2008).

Iran was started its nuclear program with the help of the US and western states during Shah Regime. Iran had deep reservations with the US because the US was directly involved in overthrowing democratic government in Iran before Shah Era. After Islamic revolutions that relations were worse due hostage crisis and gradually blaming each other for certain situations. So, Iran had not cordial relations with western states and they were not ready to work with

Iranian scientists on nuclear program. The first nuclear site which was established by German company was not ready to rebuild after the destruction made by Iraqis Jet. At last, in 1995 Iran made contract with Russia to resume work at Bushehr (Naji 2008).

Iranian was ready to suspend its nuclear program till the election of 2005. The talks between Iran and EU-3 were going well. Both parties were satisfying from the negotiation agenda. But the issue was that if Ahmadinejad elected in runoff election of 2005 then it would possible that Iran changed its stand on nuclear ambition. In 2005, Ahmadinejad elected as president and started criticizing Hassan Rohani as secretary of the Supreme National Security Council (SNSC) and its negotiation team and work. He wanted hard line policy during negotiations with EU and said "A popular and true Islamic government...will quickly change that" (Naji 2008, p. 122).

Ahmadinejad said on many occasions that Iran would not stop its scientific program on any cost. He cleared his stance by saying that "I don't agree with those who say the nuclear issue has created a crisis for the country. What crisis? Nuclear technology is our right and no one can deprive us of it. We have come so far, and, God willing, we will need just one more push" (Mousavi 2005, p. 538). That nuclear policy of Iran frightened international community. Ahmadinejad did not left diplomatic ways to handle nuclear issue and told that we would collaborate with EU-3 negotiation team if the terms of negotiation were rational.

### **3.3.1. EU-3 proposal and Iranian arguments**

The Islamic hardliner and some conservatives wanted to start nuclear enrichment. As Ahmadinejad took oath, Iranian official asked IAEA to remove seals from Isfahan enrichment facility. So that Iran could start its nuclear business. Similarly Iran started work on Natanz which was highly sensitive uranium conversion plant. However, the EU-3 members were working on the final agreement and did not finish the final formula still. The EU-3 ambassadors rushed their

work for the final proposal. In a few days, the Framework for a long-term Agreement was delivered by the German, French and British ambassadors. The proposal laid the formula of the long term energy solutions and cooperation, promotion of trade and investment, helping to make Iran member of World Trade Organization (WTO). But all these promises would come true if Iran came back from its nuclear weapons ambition. According to the Ahmadinejad government, the proposal was the biggest insult for the people of Iran and government (Naji 2008, p. 124). The Iranian government officials clearly rejected the EU-3 formula for the future solution of nuclear issue.

### **3.3.2. Continues change in negotiation head and stuck of nuclear crisis**

Ahmadinejad rejected soft policy of Iran on its nuclear aspiration. He from his presidential campaign was criticizing negotiation team of Iran. The secretary of Supreme National Security Council (SNSC) of Iran and negotiation head, Hassan Rohani left his position due to continues criticism and did not favoring negotiation process. Ahmadinejad wanted a team who was clear about Iranian nuclear program, brave and unbendable on its nuclear enrichment. So Ali Larijani took the position of secretary of the Supreme National Security Council and head of negotiation team. He criticized Hassan Rohani to suspend nuclear enrichment program before. He explained the EU-3 agreement as "like getting sweets in exchange for a polished pearl" (Baztab 2004). Larijani also resigned in 2007 due to Ahmadinejad behavior towards negotiation process. Saeed Jalili became successor of Larijani as head of negotiation team.

The EU-3 ambassadors failed to solve the issue because continues disruption of Ahmadinejad government in negotiation process. The IAEA was continually claiming that Iran was not giving full access to its nuclear sites and if it continued the issue would be referred to UN. But Iran did not compliance with IAEA and the Iranian nuclear issue would be referred to UN. After that the

US directly involved in negotiation with Iran. The five permanent powers of UNSC plus Germany in 2006 made a foreign minister level negotiation team to deal with Iranian sloppy nuclear program. The rapidly change in negotiation head cleared that Iranian were in problem and did not focus on its nuclear issue that either to solve or continue it.

### **3.3.3. Ahmadinejad speak in UN General Assembly**

Now the nuclear issue became more intensified and international community had more reserves on nuclear ambition of Iran. The Iranian officials rejected proposal and the negotiations process was come to an end because EU-3 members were not ready to negotiate with Ali Larijani, a hard liner. In September 2005, Ahmadinejad went New York to attend the United Nations General Assembly. He said before the meeting that he had a new proposal to reduce nuclear issue. Ahmadinejad restated while addressing General Assembly that the nuclear program of Iran was peaceful. He cleared on international forum that if pressure continued then we could thought about nuclear weapon. The label of nuclear weapon program of Iran was propaganda nothing was true about it, Ahmadinejad added. If someone tried to impose their will then Iran might increase its focus on nuclear issue (Naji 2008).

Ahmadinejad made promises that they would share nuclear information with world. But latterly he denied and told they would share information with Islamic countries only. He also suggested that Iran and South Africa would work together on nuclear program on Iranian soil. The international community appreciated Iranian stance. However, after a few months Iranian government took over the nuclear program and expelled all South African technicians from the nuclear enrichment sites. Ahmadinejad met with Turkish Prime Minister, Tayyip Erdogan but did not share the nuclear information and did not extend their talks to solve the issue. Similarly, Ahmadinejad and Khamenei met with Kuwaiti and Sudan's envoys respectively to share nuclear



knowledge, technology and experience but did nothing. That was clever nature of Ahmadinejad on its nuclear enrichment program which made it conscious in the eyes of world (Naji 2008, p. 127).

### **3.3.4. Israel role in preventing nuclear program of Iran**

On 11th April 2006, Gholam Raza Aghazadeh, the Director of IAEA said “Iran had successfully enriched Uranium by using domestic developed technologies and confidentially. Iran would use nuclear capability for peaceful purpose” (Mafinezam and Mehrabi 2008). As Iran was claiming that its nuclear program was only for peaceful purposes but its neighbor felt insecurity from the running of Iranian nuclear program. However, Iran had not territorial conflict with any state after the end of Saddam regime in Iraq but conscious about the Israeli nuclear facilities. While on international forum, Israel was propagating that Iranian nuclear program was hazardous and its military was controversial in the region (Delpech 2006).

In 2006, Israel warned US that military attacks would be the last option to halt nuclear program of Iran and Israel was going for it. But the US administration with Cheney, Rumsfeld and senior military commanders pulled back the idea of military attacks against nuclear facilities as they had experienced during war on Iraq for weapons of mass destruction (Axworthy 2013).

In 2008, the Talks between the IAEA and Iran were resumed and Iran announced that it would enrich uranium up to 20% for medical use only. In May 2010, Iran made a deal with Turkey and Brazil for the uranium enrichment to the grade of 20%. It meant that Iran had not needed more enriched uranium. But it was not implemented and in November 2010, IAEA expressed “Iran had enriched 25.1 kg of uranium to the 20 per cent level at Natanz” (Axworthy 2013, p. 386). From 2010 to 2012, many nuclear scientists and individuals were assassinated which were

linked with nuclear program by any sort. They were killed by terrorist attacks and Iran alleged that these attacks were pointed by Israeli and American intelligence.

Similarly, a computer virus called Stuxnet was used to halt Iranian nuclear program through software. It would work and stop nuclear enrichment process and damaged on some context. It was assumed that Stuxnet was made by Israeli and the US government collectively (Axworthy2013).The issue of nuclear weapon was more popular during Ahmadinejad government. He also made it controversial internationally. Ahmadinejad government could get leverages by making negotiations on it, but on many time he left the negotiations. Ahmadinejad would continue negotiations without stopping nuclear development. But how would it possible under strict investigation of IAEA and world powers. He always followed his rigid and conservative policy to make himself popular domestically and internationally.

### **3.3.5. Sanctions against nuclear program of Iran**

To halt the nuclear program of Iran, the UN Security Council passed six resolutions and wanted from Iran to suspend its nuclear enrichment. These sanctions were related to arms embargo, freezing of assets, and prohibition of nuclear material supply. Similarly many countries approved sanctions unilaterally, like UK banned the supply of dual use goods and trade restrictions, Israel denoted it as enemy country and stopped all types of business and trade. The US sanctioned the economic activities of US companied in Iran and Iranian companies in US. The US Treasury bank stooped trading with Iran and suspended all economic deals with Iran (Axworthy 2013).

But on the other hand, the states like China and Russia were not sanctioning Iran and trading such goods which were banned by other major powers for higher profit. But, sanctions were played its role because Iran had close ties with US and western countries. Iran was using many products of US especially the IT products and maximum oil revenue. So, Iranian economy was

facing adverse situations as inflation, decreasing value of Iranian rial and increasing level of unemployment. Those were the severe condition for Iranian economy and government since Islamic revolution because Iran had not faced such strict sanctions before while pursuing nuclear program (Axworthy 2013).

### CHAPTER NO. 04

## INTERNATIONAL ATOMIC ENERGY AGENCY (IAEA) AND IRAN'S NUCLEAR POLICY



Source: Fedration of American Scientists Graphic (2009); Eeli Polli

#### 4.1. NON PROLIFERATION TREATY (NPT) AND IRAN

Justice is nothing but the advantage of the more powerful, a quotation by Plato (Dillon and Gergel 2003, p. 205). Delivering a same perception, the Greek historian Thucydides argued that the increase in Athens powers caused the war between Athens and Sparta but Athens got the favor of balance of power. After World War II, The campaign started to implement a nuclear nonproliferation regime which incorporates nearly 30 most important transnational agreements. This regime process was started after the Antarctic Treaty of 1959. There are many pillars like Limited Test Ban treaty, Chemical Weapons Convention and Biological Weapons Convention of 1963, 1993 and 1972 respectively. These were important treaties and conventions on NPT based (Masri 2010). Including all treaties on nonproliferation, the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) of 1968 has special position in international agreements on nonproliferation. This nonproliferation treaty had ratified by 164 states till April 2012 (Masri 2010).

The main aim of nonproliferation treaty is to check widen of nuclear bomb technology and development. It encouraged the nonviolent uses of nuclear technology. The additional objective of treaty is to make disarmament of nuclear weapons especially, and others weapons generally (Riet 2015). Five permanent members of UN Security Council were recognized the NPT as China, France, Russia, Britain and US on 1992, 1992, 1968, 1968 and 1968 respectively. These are also called Nuclear Weapon States (NWS). According to the agreement of these five NWS, they will not shift nuclear explosive weapons or nuclear technology (Yudin 2013).

#### **4.1.1. Iranian commitments regarding nonproliferation treaty**

The Middle East security realization integrates the necessity for organizing a nuclear free region. This has been the long standing goal of the people of the Middle East to establish a region where security and stability will strengthen. The global politics and nuclear security agenda were much influenced by nuclear program of Iran. During 1957, Iranian nuclear program was launched for peaceful uses of nuclear energy. Iran joined International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) in 1958 (Lee 2010). In 1968 the 5 MW research reactors were established by the US in Tehran University Research Centre. During 1973 oil crisis, all oil producing countries were getting high revenues. Like other oil states, Iran was also enjoying large oil revenues. At that time, each western state wanted to have good relations with Arab countries especially Iran. So, the US, Germany and France were helped Iran in its nuclear energy program. After Islamic revolution in Iran, its nuclear program was stopped by its Grand Ayatollah Khomeini. But it was restarted during and after Iran-Iraq war.

Iran obligated to follow these NPT assumptions:

- Iran is a member of NPT since 1968 and ratified at 1970.
- Iran has an authentic safeguards accord with the IAEA that intensified in 1974.
- Iran has the membership of the Partial Test Ban Treaty (PTBT), which banned volatile nuclear testing in environment and surface.
- Iran signed Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) but did not ratify.
- Iran signed but not approved the IAEA's Additional Protocol to the Safeguards Agreement at the end of 2003 (Carranza 2006).

- Iran engaged in an agreement with EU-3 countries Britain, France and Germany decided to postpone all actions related nuclear proliferations

After signing NPT, Iran obligated that it would not produce or attain nuclear armaments or additional nuclear volatile devices. In the same way, Iran would not try to find or acquire any support for nuclear armaments and nuclear technology. Similarly, the NPT treaty includes an Escape Clause article X of the NPT described that every member of the treaty can withdraw from the treaty if someone thinks according to international behavior the treaty minimizes state interests (Lee 2010). Owing to that article, North Korea had withdrawn itself from the NPT. Iran nuclear program was violating IAEA rules as NPT signatory. It was developing nuclear weapons program which not allowed under NPT. But Iran had right to develop nuclear program for research and nuclear energy.

When George W. Bush took oath in 2001, the perception was that the non-proliferation and the matter of the nuclear weapons were changed. There were a number of factors in that transformation. The difference between the non-nuclear and nuclear weapons of mass destruction (WMD) came to an end. The chemical and biological weapons were being perceived in conjunction with nuclear weapons (Calamita 2009).

#### **4.1.2 Iranian peaceful nuclear program under obligations of NPT**

In 2002, International community had much concerns over nuclear program of Iran when it was exposed to run uranium enrichment and heavy water production at Natanz and Arak respectively by its opposition group (Ozcan 2009). Under article IV of NPT, each state can develop its own nuclear fuel cycle but according to the observance of its safeguard agreements. Therefore, Iran

emphasized that the getting of nuclear technology is its absolute right under NPT (Masri 2010). Iran was constantly arguing that it is following NPT and enriching uranium according the safeguards of IAEA. Iran stated that its enrichment program is to meet the need of its civilian nuclear energy program, which is its right; not a violation of the NPT.

In 1995, Etel Solingen narrated that Iran threatened to withdraw from the NPT because of implicated US violations of Article IV granting members full access to materials and equipment, technological and scientific help for peaceful purposes during extension and review conference of NPT. In 1995, Iran's stress upon its professed right to adopting of peaceful nuclear technology was likely no fluke (Ford 2005).

The basic concern of international community was that Iranian nuclear program had affiliation with its defense policy. But Iran negated international stance and stated Iran's defense is not dependent on its nuclear program (Yasmin n.d). In 2003, an Iranian government official restated that "we consider the acquiring, development, and use of nuclear weapons inhuman, immoral, and illegal and against our basic principles" (Saquassoni 2005).

#### **4.1.3. IAEA reports and UNSC response on Iranian nuclear program**

In November 2003, Mohamed ElBaradei Director General of IAEA said that Iranian had continually and over an extensive era did not meet to its safeguards obligations. It also failed to declare its uranium enrichment program (Bergenas 2010). After about two years diplomatic efforts of EU-3, Iran for the interim suspended its enrichment program. The IAEA governors found in a rare divergence decision with 12 refraining that these malfunctions comprise non-cooperation with the IAEA safeguards agreement (Joyner 2011).



On 24th September 2005, the decision of the IAEA was most important diplomatic development to pronounce that Iran did not in compliance relating to its compulsion as a signatory of the NPT. That decision gave the push to deliberation of Iran's weapon program by the UN Security Council and replicates curiously close European-American cooperation. India voting in favor of that resolution also surprised Iran, while Russia and China did vote in favor, passively supporting the shift. That move gave a toughening response to Iranian intention to develop nuclear weapons (Steinberg 2005).

#### **4.1.4. NIE judgments over Iran's nuclear program**

The National Intelligence Estimate (NIE) of US declared Iranian uranium enrichment was stopped in mid-2003 and that it had remained closed till mid-2007. However, The NIE's Key Judgments demonstrated that Iran had actually covered uranium enrichment plants. In 2003, those aspects of Iran's nuclear weapon program had not already been disclosed to the press and become the main concern of IAEA investigations (Kerr 2009).

The US indirectly participated in negotiations with Iran and tried its best to modify Iran's nuclear program. These negotiations were important as Iranian nuclear technology was discussed and international reservations were listening. The EU-3 members were asking Iran to overcome terrorist support, stop nuclear enrichment for regional security and promote democracy in Iraq. The EU-3 negotiation members would try to talk with Iran on trade cooperation if Iran ready to solve the above issues (Perkovich 2005). But talks with EU-3 which started in 2003 were not solved the nuclear problem. After the UN involvement in 2006, the P5+1 started negotiations with Iran on its nuclear issue.

#### 4.2. FUTURE OF NUCLEAR NON PROLIFERATION TREATY (NPT)

The NPT is under risk by observing continues progress of nuclear program of Iran. According to Iran, its nuclear program is under the restrictions of NPT. This will be alarming situation for international community especially for UNO to prevent nuclear proliferation by the signatories of NPT. If cases like North Korea which tested nuclear bomb and Iran which trying to get nuclear capability continues, it will made treaty worthless. There was not only the issue of nuclear proliferation of Iran but Iran was also rejecting international rules and regulations regarding nuclear enrichment. So, the international community would make Iran as a model for those who rejected NPT rules (Kam 2008).

According to the description of the NPT, states have right to get uranium enrichment and plutonium separation capabilities by following the IAEA safeguard obligation. States nuclear technology could be used only for peaceful purposes like energy, medical treatment etc. Under this case, all nuclear states have duty to supply nuclear materials and technology not only to Iran but other NPT signatories' state also. Similarly, it stated did not compliance with NPT and IAEA assumption then NPT must put strict actions if any state not obeying its duties and going towards nuclear bomb (Perkovich 2005).

Similarly, every state must be treated equally under the umbrella of NPT. The international community should take same steps to nuclear proliferators. It is either Iran or Israel must be banned to proliferate. It is better for the region. When the powerful and five recognized nuclear states did not make balance with states while delivering nuclear technology then the cases like Iran and North Korea rise.

### 4.3. THE INTERNATIONAL ATOMIC ENERGY AGENCY (IAEA) SAFEGUARDS AND IRAN

The International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) is an organization developed for world peace. For well over fifty years, the IAEA has been committed to the accomplishment of the revelation 'Atoms for Peace'. It is worldwide organization serving as the watch dog of nuclear materials and technology. It promotes worldwide nuclear safety and security. It provides assurances that nuclear materials and facilities are used for peaceful purposes only under its verification system. The states have safeguards accord with IAEA by signing NPT, If the states having not nuclear weapon status are not comply with the treaty then safeguard agreements will have permit the IAEA to observe nuclear materials and facilities. All that is done to make sure that state parties are not sidetracked for military purposes (Kerr 2009). The agency has limited authority of inspections and monitoring of nuclear facilities. The IAEA has ability to investigate underground nuclear activities and facilities which are called Additional protocols to IAEA. The IAEA safeguard accords increased the agency ability to inspect certain facilities. By this process, state parties are obligated to provide additional information (Kerr 2008).

According to American Machine and Foundry (AMF) Company, Iranian first association with nuclear technology was started in 1950's when US supplied 5MW research reactor at nuclear research Centre of Tehran University. In 1974, Iran had made two major developments regarding nuclear program: firstly it established its own Atomic Energy Organization of Iran (AEOI) and secondly Iran signed safeguard agreement with IAEA (Tocha 2011).

#### **4.3.1. IAEA report about clandestine Iranian nuclear plants**

The proliferation process of Iran moved toward the crisis in mid-2002, when a declaration came that Iran is working at two previously unknown nuclear development facilities at Natanz and Arak with heavy water production plant. A rebellious group exposed "Iran had been functioning for years to build a 50,000-centrifuge uranium enrichment plant secretly" (Peterson 2010). Iran's nuclear program became suspicious by the IAEA toward the end of 2003.

The IAEA reported that Iran had engaged in highly enriched uranium at one of its nuclear facilities and complained that Iran had not fully informed and reveal of its nuclear program to inspectors. Highly enriched uranium is not necessary element for promoting nuclear power; however, it is a decisive factor of nuclear weapon. In accordance to the terms of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), enriching uranium is not prohibited but enriched not more than required limits.

In June 2003 report, The IAEA raised many questions, which pointed out some areas of distress. First, Iran would provide the Agency more information on its laser enrichment program and centrifuge enrichment program. A comprehensive chronology and narrative of development and research efforts would help the Agency to validate whether it is conceivable or not. In June 2003, The IAEA asked Iranian to resolve all safeguards issues declared in the report and determine to main concern: launching of nuclear arsenals into enrichment plant of Natanz and Signing the unconditional Additional Protocol (Saquassoni 2003).

"The IAEA has demanded Tehran to give additional information relating to process in which it acquired a document describing the procedures for reducing uranium hexafluoride to uranium

metal and machining, enriched uranium metal into hemispheres, which are components of nuclear weapons (Kerr 2009).”

Iranian officials and experts have frequently clear perception that in accordance with the Iranian agreements with the agency safeguard Accords, the beginning of nuclear material into a facility was only duty bound to reveal nuclear activities earlier to six months. This point was taken from the 42 article of safeguards agreement of Iran. Concerning secret nature of the facility, Iranian officials adopted the argument that Tehran was not formally duty bound to unveil it to the IAEA (Kerr 2009).

#### **4.3.2. Paris agreement and Iran’s behavior over nuclear process**

In June 2005, Paris Agreement between Iran and EU-3 was made which supported Iranian peaceful nuclear energy program for peaceful uses like energy, medical treatment and agricultural development with guarantee of reducing nuclear enrichment. But Iran rejected that agreement (Katzman 2006).

On 24th September 2005, the IAEA board announced that Iran is not obeying NPT. Iran must obey the Paris Agreement; otherwise the issue would be referring towards UNO. In April 2006, the IAEA stated that Iran had plenty of converted uranium. That converted uranium was enough for almost 10 nuclear bombs. Russia gave a proposal that Iran did not enrich uranium at its own but Russia would provide enriched uranium to Iran for its domestic use. The American administration also liked Russian proposal. The proposal was rejected by Iran (Katzman 2006).

### **4.3.3. Removing of IAEA seals and UNSC resolution**

On 3<sup>rd</sup> January 2006, Iran had announced that for research purpose it was going to start uranium enrichment and afterward IAEA seals were removed from nuclear plants. On 4<sup>th</sup> February 2006, the Board of IAEA passed a resolution to inform the UN Security Council. After the vote, Iran stopped the permitted international IAEA inspections and the IAEA authority was doubted that it had eliminated some monitoring equipment. On 29<sup>th</sup> March 2006, the Security Council statement gave Iran limited time of thirty days to close down its nuclear program and acted upon the IAEA requirements. If Iran did not submit then the Council will undertake additional measures. According to 28th April 2006 IAEA reported, Iran had not met the terms of Security Council statement. According to the Chapter 7 of UN Charter (international peace and security), the UNSC would approve punitive measures against Iran if it did not meet the international requirements of nuclear proliferation. However, Russia and China was not agreed for these measures. So reservations by states put back agreement. Simultaneously, a letter from Ahmadinejad to President Bush was rebuffed by the Administration that described that Iran would not motivate to new nuclear proposals (Katzman 2006).

### **4.3.4. Iran's unexpected behavior with IAEA**

On August 2007, Iran and the IAEA established a plan to elucidate the exceptional questions concerning Iranian nuclear program. Iran kept the view that it had not engaged any program on nuclear weapons. Regarding these issues, a series of discussions had had carried by Iran and the IAEA, another meeting was held on August 2008. Iran offered some related information about these issues to the agency. Iran's plant of heavy water production had main concern. In June 2009, the Director of IAEA, ElBaradei stated that according to indication of satellite imagery,

the plant was being operated since February 2009. In August 2009 a report was presented by ElBaradei that Iranian gave more access to the agency regarding discussion on this issue and information, location and persons identified in the documents (Kerr 2009).

In November 2008, ElBaradei described that the agency inspectors viewed 60050 liter drums during the October inspection of Iran's nuclear weapon facility. That facility was not observed before. The agency reports of 18<sup>th</sup> February 2010, 31<sup>st</sup> May 2010, 06<sup>th</sup> September 2010, 23<sup>rd</sup> November 2010 and 25<sup>th</sup> February 2011 pointed out that Iran had not adequately addressed IAEA on its nuclear program. Iran might have a nuclear weapon program. Many times the agency reported that Iranian documents demonstrated the possibility of Iranian military attachment with its nuclear facility. On 21<sup>st</sup> February 2011, interview of Lally Weymouth with the agency Director Yukiya Amano stated that Iranian officials were determined to get WMD. But the IAEA reports continued to maintain that yet there is no evidence about Iranian nuclear program that it enriched uranium to that extent to make nuclear weapon (Katzman 2011).

#### **4.3.5. Increase in Iranian nuclear plants without noticing IAEA**

In July 2011, Iranian notification was presented to the IAEA that it had intention to install its new centrifuges generation IR-2M and IR-4 at nuclear enrichment sites of Fordow and Natanz. Later in August 2011, Fereydoon Abbasi the head of AEOI declared that we need it for medical purposes (Katzman 2012). On 8th November 2011, IAEA report stated that Iran had sufficient enriched uranium. It might be sufficient for two nuclear weapons. Mostly Iran's enrichment had been less than 3.5% - 5%, at this level which is permitted for only civilian uses. Iran had also enriched additional 20% for its medical uses. The IAEA demonstrated that Iran could enrich uranium at higher levels. According to 8th November IAEA report, Iran has 160 pounds of 20%

enriched uranium. So it was evident that Iran had not such a stock pile of nuclear material which was used for nuclear weapon (Katzman 2011).

From 29-31 January 2012, the letters were exchanged between Iran and IAEA, both parties were to negotiate on IAEA investigations to check the militarily proportions into Iranian enrichment sites laid out in November 2011 IAEA report (Davenport 2012). On 30th August 2012, The IAEA reported that Iran was increasing centrifuge plants at Fordow nuclear site and producing more 20% enriched uranium which was in surplus for its Tehran research reactor. On 16th November of 2012, The IAEA report stated that Iran was also increasing its enriching plants at Natanz facility (Davenport 2013).

On 3rd June 2013, Yukiya Amano Director General of IAEA said “the agency talked with Iran over clarifying the possible military dimensions of Iran's nuclear program which had not made any progress” (Davenport 2013).

The IAEA had not achieved any finding of cold tests are experienced, especially visiting on prescribed nuclear sites. The making of nuclear weapons needs mastering of conventional high volatiles and techniques relating to enriching nuclear material and making of bomb. The IAEA had not found any techniques from Iranian nuclear sites. The International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) had no authorized evidence to conduct low or high conventional material tests.



## CHAPTER NO.5

### THE UNITED STATES POLICY ON IRAN NUCLEAR PROGRAM

#### 5.1. THE UNITED STATES (US) AND IRAN

Since 1979, the relations between Iran and the US were not good as before the Islamic revolution of Iran. During Shah Government, Iran was the big ally of the US. But the gradual increase in the influence of the US in Iran domestic affairs made US unbearable for the people of Iran like over throwing of democratic government in Iran. That US attitude made the grounds for Islamic revolution in Iran. However, nuclear episode became the toughest one in both states relations. Iran wanted to continue its nuclear program for nuclear weapon but the US wanted to stop it for global security and increasing terrorism exporting habits of Iran. Iran was important country in Middle East which has second largest oil and gas deposits (Efferink 2015).

The US is the biggest economy in the world with sole super power status. Energy resources are important to continue economy work properly. The energy resources basically shape the US policy towards Iran and other Middle Eastern states. According to the geopolitics, the US wanted to get hegemonic role in Middle East by isolating Iran and putting pressure through Israel. "The geographer said that the US would like to isolate Iran for two reasons: American interests in controlling energy resources and the need to maintain authority by punishing the Mullahs" (Mercille2015).

The US is the sole super power in the world and US did not like obstacle in its interests to accomplish. Iran was contradicting US policies towards Middle East especially towards Iran. The US has not only energy issue with Iran but also have nuclear militarization of Iran. It was

unbearable from the US administration that Iran neglected IAEA inspections and NPT obligations. Because if Iran started its self-supported nuclear program then many states in the world and in Middle East will start its nuclear enrichment by overcoming NPT. It was threatening condition for the US interests in Middle East and its allies (Barzegar 2011).

The causes of US and Iranian rivalry were the past nature of US and Iranian relation and the level of blame that would be assigned to each side. That competition was aggressively played out across the Middle East and beyond. It might involve major military risks and threats to the flow of global energy export and the global economy. It also seemed like that Iran would constantly engage the US in a regional and global competition for power (Bahgat 2007).

#### **5.1.1. Major concerns over nuclear program**

Numerous concerns were associated to the harsh Western posture towards Iran but the main focus was to halt Iran from pursuing its nuclear capabilities, Irrespective of the Iran's assertion the ambition for Nuclear was absolutely for peaceful purposes. The American was also wanted to stop further enrichment of nuclear in Iran (Lawrence 2009).

The US could not accept an Islamic independent political, economic and military strong state in Middle East. The US wanted to make Iran dependent on all above issues and pronouncing that Iran cannot make nuclear weapon independently as Iran has not foundation of its nuclear proliferation program. The US wanted to prevent Iran from going towards nuclear weapon was four ways process: sanctions, disruption of nuclear industry in Iran, destabilization and lastly the militarily war.

Firstly, the US will put sanctions so that Iranian people create pressure on the government to stop nuclear enrichment for better economy. In case of sanctions, Iran will remain alone in international scenario. As the world is global villages how can a state survive without relations with other states? Secondly, the US will put cyber-attacks on its nuclear enrichment and stop its nuclear processing process by spreading computer viruses. The US put many cyber-attacks and hijacked many Iranian nuclear pages and scientists email address. Thirdly, the destabilization was made by giving funds to opposition group and people to topple that Islamic regime and created a democratic system in Iran. Lastly, if all options will failed, the military war used as a last option to destroy all nuclear sites and create a big lose for Iran (Gowans 2010).

The United States and its supporters blamed Iran for sponsoring terrorism. These blames and complaints, including the risk of nuclear materials and weapons falling into the hands of terrorists, were put doubt on the rightfulness of Iran obtaining nuclear material and technology. That was another tactic which played by US and its allies to make it away for nuclear proliferation.

Sanctions also played a crucial role in stopping Iranian ambition of nuclear weapon. The UN, US and its allies put tough sanctions on Iran as economical, trade, travelling, assets, and bank accounts in western countries and dual use technology goods which badly affected the official and citizens' lives. All that sanctions were imposed to halt Iran for its nuclear aspiration. The economy of Iran was facing bankruptcies, shortages of usual goods especially goods imported from UK, inflation and lowering of rial day by day (Axworthy 2013).

### **5.1.2. NPT and right of peaceful nuclear enrichment**

As a participant of the NPT, Iran has rights to use nuclear technology for peaceful purposes like to reduce its energy needs. As Iran has already rich country in hydrocarbons energy resources like Oil and Gas then the US and EU could not understand that why did Iran pursue its enrichment program? According to Iranian officials, the nuclear energy will use as substitute in future. Iran's reasoning to generate civilian nuclear power was theoretically trustworthy (Doyle and Kutchesfahani 2006). From Rafsanjani era to Ahmadinejad era, the nuclear issue was considered as the primary issue in Iran. Iranian needed nuclear capability to get supremacy in Middle East after the fall of Iraq. But it is difficult with the existence of Israel. In this way, Ahmadinejad once said "the biggest threat today for the region is the existence of the fake Zionist regime" (Alexander and Hoenig 2008, p. 33).

The International inspection of Iranian enrichment program confirmed that Iran had two facilities; one at Natanz and other at Arak, both were sensitive sites as one use for enrichment of uranium and other use to extract plutonium by using heavy water (Katzman 2009). The criticism on nuclear weapon was rejected by Iranian leaders and answered that Iran has finite oil resources and other energy resources. The nuclear program used to generate power and being a member of NPT (Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty) that enrichment is its right.

## **5.2. THE BUSH POLICY TOWARDS IRAN'S NUCLEAR PROGRAM**

The Bush administration was considered more efficient in public engagement with Iranian since the 1979 revolution. But that was for a short time due to Iranian funding of extremist groups and

revelations of its nuclear facilities which created more tense relations between Washington and Tehran.

The Bush administration would try to adopt a strategic policy on the nuclear issue without going towards military conflict. They wanted Tehran could discontinue its enrichment facilities especially at Natanz which were very important for nuclear weapons grading. If Iran suspended its enrichment, the international community would give relaxation on economic, diplomatic and security issues. The world would support civilian nuclear program of Iran and would give sufficient nuclear fuel to run its enrichment facilities for peaceful uses. Similarly, if Iran opposed the proposal, the sanctions of all types would be tougher and isolate Iran economically and diplomatically (Hadley 2010).

After 9/11 incident, the relations between Iran and the US were cordial once again. Iran also helped US to topple the Taliban government. After a long, the Northern Alliance was activated and supported US in Afghanistan. In December 2002, The US and Iran envoys met at Bonn conference to establish Afghanistan government after Taliban regime. The Iranian supporter in Afghanistan played important role in electing Hamid Karzai as new pro-US president. In 2003, the US and Iranian met again to solve the issue of Iraq after the collapsed of Saddam Hussien regime but the issue were not solved due to discomfort from the Iranian side. Iran was not happy with the gradual increase of insurgency of US in its neighbor. The relations were going worse as the US blaming Iran to send trained militant in Iraq against US army and helping Taliban to fight in Afghanistan. Both sides were miscalculating each other. During that Iran got the time to refocus on its nuclear program due to increase in US presence in the region (Hadley 2010).

### **5.2.1. State Sponsors Terrorism of Iran**

The US was much conscious about the Iranian export of terrorism. Iran was supporting Hezbollah, Hamas and Palestinian Islamic Jihad against Israel during Lebanon war and Gaza attacks. The Bush administration could not left Israel alone. It's the US right to defend it against increasing instability conditions in the region. The US labeled Hezbollah as "A-team" of terrorist groups. In that situation how could US give permission to Iran for nuclear proliferation?

### **5.2.2. Labeling Iran as Axis of Evil**

On State of the Union speech in 2002, President Bush added Iran with the "Axis of Evil" with Iraq and North Korea due their alleged nuclear proliferation activities and links with terrorist groups. That idea of Bush criticized by his administration and internationally because it created anger against US people from Iranian side. It sidelined all efforts to come close Iran and the US (Hadely 2010)

### **5.2.3. Americans stand over nuclear program of Iran**

The IAEA had revealed a report on secret nuclear enrichment that Iran should give additional access to its nuclear facilities especially at Natanz facility. The international community wanted to call off the nuclear program and the EU-3 France, Germany and Britain engaged with Iran for nuclear negotiations. In October 2003, Iranian official were ready to suspend enrichment and ready to give full access to IAEA on its nuclear facilities. The Paris Agreement was signed between Iran and EU-3 in November 2004 in which Iran would implement Additional Protocol of IAEA and EU-3 and US would favor in give membership of WTO and supplying of parts for civilian nuclear program.

When Ahmadinejad took oath in 2005, he rejected negotiation with EU-3 members and restarted work on nuclear program in Iran. He discarded the Paris Agreement of 2004 and said in 2006 that the enrichment process was resumed at Natanz facility. The EU-3 gave another a framework for a long term agreement in which they said if Iran suspended its enrichment then they would give ease to Iran on economic, political and civilian nuclear sanctions. They were also supporting Russian plan that the uranium enriched in Russia and came back to use for peaceful purposes in Iran (Hadely 2010).

#### **5.2.4. US direct participant in talks with Iran**

In 2008, The US administration fully participated with talks to Iran under P5+1 which consists five members of UNSC Britain, China, Russia, France and the United States plus Germany. They offered diplomatic and trade relations, support for the membership in WTO and support civilian nuclear program with transferring of instruments. The talks were not fruitful as Iranian official were not serious. There were many meeting conducting between Iran and P5+1 members but nothing would be finalized. It was due to Ahmadinejad government rigid stance on nuclear program and Iran gradually expanding its nuclear activities (Hadely 2010).

### **5.3. THE OBAMA POLICY TOWARDS IRANIAN NUCLEAR PROGRAM**

President Obama took oath in 2009 and demonstrated his country priority regarding peace in the world and especially in the Middle East. He wanted to get rid of volatile situation created by previous administration. He was going to make such polices through which US could get cordial relations with world countries. Obama cleared that the negative perceptions created distrust among US and Middle Eastern countries while giving interview to Al-Arabiyya. The main

concern of the Obama administration was that to decrease the tough and worse relations among Muslims especially the Iran. He said that the well-being of the Muslim world was his priority in new job (Bettiza and Furtig 2011).

If both states came to know that the worse relations were the cause of bad perception about each other. It could be lessened by thorough knowing of each other. Obama said on the new year of Iran and even the first President who directly called Iranian government and people for “engagement that is honest and grounded in mutual respect.” In June 2009, while speaking in Cairo he said “Washington was willing to move forward without preconditions on the basis of mutual respect” (Limbert 2015).

Obama won the presidential ship by adopting the new strategy of change during his election campaign. When he elected as president he changed the foreign policy of the US generally and the approach towards Iran particularly. Obama administration changed the predecessor policies towards Iranian nuclear program and tried to implement new approach to deal nuclear issue of Iran. As they were known that nuclear program could be the threat for the US interests in greater Middle East. The administration tried to put Iranian nuclear program for peaceful purposes not tried to weaponries Iranian military (Barzegar 2011).

### **5.3.1. Modification of foreign policy of US**

On 24th may 2009, Admiral Michael Mullen (Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff) stated that Iranian was committed to strategic capability of nuclear weapons. To that extent, the Obama administration declared that they would engage with Iran and convince that nuclear weapons were not in favor of Iran and whole region. The US was tried its best to stop enrichment process



of Iran through engagements and giving incentives like up lifting of diplomatic and economic sanctions before directly going in negotiations. Similarly, the UN had also declared that it would suspend all types of sanction if Iran discontinues its proliferation process (Heinrich and Westall 2009)

President Obama was ready to accept Iranian nuclear technology aspiration but he asserted that Iran must obey the responsibilities which Iran signed under NPT. The pressure was increasing from the IAEA because Iran was not compliance with the NPT and violating it. In June 2009, the IAEA reported that Iran was increasing its enrichment level for the nuclear weapon ad that would create race in the region. That phenomenon was troubling the Obama administration and regarded strict actions towards nuclear weapon ambition of Iran (Zarif 2009).

In 2009, Iran needed fuel for its research reactor in Tehran. It contacted with IAEA for fuel. The US and other world powers proposed that if Iran obeyed all international obligation regarding nuclear enrichment then fuel could be provided. The fuel would be enrich at low level in Russia and put in rods in France then supplied to Iran to civilian use. That idea was proposed to involve all major states in nuclear issue and worked for consensus on the solution of that problem. The deal was not gained the required results due to political crisis in Iran. As Ahmadinejad embraced the proposal and said that "We welcome fuel exchange, nuclear cooperation, building of power plants and reactors and we are ready to co-operate"(Limbert 2015). Similarly, Iran did not cooperate with Turkey and Brazil on its nuclear program. In 2010, Turkey and Brazil made a nuclear deal with Iranian official and tried to open doors of talk with Iran. But Iran failed to compliance with the deal in which Iran would get low enriched uranium from Turkey and Brazil.

### **5.3.2. Lobbies and Jews factor in setting US policy over nuclear issue**

It is clear in the world that Israel is the big ally of west in the heart of Middle East and it was created to watch on Middle Eastern states affair. Israel had big problem with the rising nuclear capability of Iran before it, Israel stroke down the alleged Iraqi nuclear facilities. Similarly, Israel tried to destroy Iranian facilities by air strikes but the US administration and military were not ready to cooperate with Israel. The Jews lobby was proactive in US congress. The US foreign policy was much affected by the Jews lobby. The US was not ready to left Israel in that critical situation alone: one side increasing terrorism and greater threat of Iranian nuclear weapons ambition (Sidhu 2009).

In that situation, Obama administration was under pressure because US would want peace in the Middle East without involving itself. Obama adopted engagement policy towards Iran to stop it for further proliferation. The administration called Iran to negotiate on its nuclear aspiration. The lobbies put pressure on Obama and asked him to implement such points: start unconditional negotiations and discuss the crisis created by nuclear program of Iran, use of force must be on the negotiation table or finally put strict economic sanctions. Obama adopted the last point because US would like cordial relations with Iran not the war (Barzegar 2011).

### **5.4 THE UN AND US REPOSE TOWARDS NUCLEAR IRAN**

Iran was bearing international and unilateral sanctions due to its clandestine nuclear weapons program and violating the NPT obligations. Iranian civilian nuclear program was suspicious during 1990s when it was listening that Iran is working on its enrichment facilities. So, Bill Clinton administration put sanctions on that firms which helped Iran on its nuclear arm program. That was first ever sanction which faced by Iran because of its nuclear program.

#### **5.4.1 The UN sanctions against Iran**

The UNSC made some binding resolutions towards Iran for its progress in nuclear enrichment. The UNSC took strict sanctions when IAEA declared that Iran was not obeying its safeguards obligations since 2005. So in 2006, the Security Council approved sanctions on materials and technology used in enrichment, weapons production, and in development of ballistic missiles. The UNSC also blocked financial transactions which would be used in nuclear and ballistic missiles production (Laub2015).

Similarly, during 2007 and 2008, two resolutions were passed to ban no humanitarian financial assistance and were inspecting cargo materials. The UNSC was passed its binding resolution in June 2010 which blocked its oil profits and banking sector for assisting its proliferation activities in Iran (Laub2015).

#### **5.4.2. The EU sanctions against Iran**

The European Union (EU) had implemented sanctions against Iran in line with the US and UN. In 2007, EU froze the individuals and institutions assets which were relating to nuclear program and missile programs. They were also banned dual-use technology instruments. In 2010, along with US Treasury department sanctions, EU also stopped trading with Iranian banks especially its central bank. The European institutions were restricted to not make investment in Iranian energy sector. The EU member states stopped importing oil from Iran while EU exporting approximately 600,000 barrel per day before applying sanctions (Laub 2015).

#### **5.4.3. The US sanctions against Iran**

The US had a long history to put sanctions on Iran. Firstly, the US imposed sanctions against Iran during hostage crisis during 1979-81. The President Jimmy Carter was froze all assets under the jurisdiction of the US. The US labeled Iran as state sponsor of terrorism when Hezbollah

attacked US Marine in Beirut. The US put variety of sanctions on Iran due its alleged nuclear proliferation and abusing human rights.

The Treasury department of the US isolated Iran from international financial system. Under Comprehensive Iran Sanctions, Accountability and Divestment Act (CISADA), the US banned all types of trade in US dollars either from US institutions or other foreign institutions. The treasury department banned on the central bank of Iran and made strict laws to acquire foreign currencies. Iran was to get humanitarian goods or made bilateral trade with oil importers state (Laub 2015).

The US applied extraterritorial sanctions which directly affected its oil export and oil revenue. The sanctions cut off Iranian energy sector investment like equipment of oil refining, activities of oil export, ports operations, and safe transportation of oil export. The decrease in revenue was not only affect economy but also further development of nuclear proliferation. The US had decreased the trade relations with Iran especially the sale of communication instruments and software. The US free zed many institutions and individual assets and banned of traveling for many persons. The US banned and sanctioned on IRGC and Quds force for creating destabilizing conditions in Iraq and human rights abuses in the country and Syria. Under Iran-Iraq Arms Nonproliferation Act 1992, the person or institution which assisted Iran for acquiring and development of nuclear technology and weapons would be sanctioned. The executive orders also banned export of dual-use products (Laub 2015).

#### **5.4.4. US and Iran attitude towards solving nuclear proliferation issues**

The negotiations were deadlocked till Hassan Rohani government. The idea of sanctions was not getting required results. Iran and the US were not any plan to precede negotiations. The p5+1 negotiation were stopped due to inflexible arguments by the both states. Both states did not like

to bow down during negotiations. Each side had rigid stance on its arguments. The Obama administration would like to continue on Afghanistan, Iraq, human rights and common interest's issues rather than nuclear problem. President Ahmadinejad statements on Holocaust, Israel and nuclear weapon capability created deadlock in negotiations (Limbert 2015).

The conservatism and some opponent of Ahmadinejad government did not like that Ahmadinejad government could get credit to solve nuclear issue and expand economy. But the US tried its best to solve nuclear issue with Iran because many issues of US could be solved through the cordial relations with Iran. The safe supply of energy recourses, solving the issues of Afghanistan, Iraq and Syria, protection of US allies and future good relations were the need of international community and whole Middle East region. Similarly, as a sole superpower in the world, the US had responsibility to deter Iran from going towards nuclear weapons. The UN and the US measures were taken to deal for a long time with weapons of mass destruction of Iran (Sidhu 2009).

## CONCLUSION

States can have nuclear technology but only for peaceful purposes and civilian nuclear energy uses otherwise it will be the cause of arms race and war scene among states. First Iran has peaceful nuclear program. Secondly if it has intention to get nuclear arsenal then it is getting nuclear weapon technology for deterrence against its enemies. The security threats emanating from Iraq, with whom it had a proximate and territorial conflict, was the primary reason for Iran's quest for nuclear weapons. When Iran started its comprehensive nuclear program, Israel had felt serious security threats from Iran. As Iran and Israel have a long history of rivalry since Lebanon War. Iran restarted its nuclear program since 1990s but more aggressive on it by focusing increasing role of US in the region. The pace of proliferation was increased due to aggressive policies of US targeting Iran.

Iran started its suspected nuclear program during the Shah government by the help of US. After Islamic revolution it was suspended for a short time and restarted after Iran Iraq war. Under Khamenei and Rafsanjani government, Iran started its comprehensive nuclear weapons program with little chance of military components. Iran was territorial conflict with Iraq and Iraq had also clandestine nuclear development program. Iraq had fought an eight years bloody war with Iran. Israel had also unclear nuclear proliferation program. Both Iraq and Israel was the rival of Iran. Iran's rethinking about nuclear enrichment was the cause of its neighboring states and bloody war with Iraq.

It was pertinent for Iran to have a deterrent capability to avoid strategic imbalance with its rivals and avoid wars in the conflict settings. Since 1979 Iran became engaged in another prolonged conflict, but this time with a superpower, the US, that was not only a nuclear state, but its global status made that conflict asymmetric. The relations with Iran following the first Gulf War were

hostile which were projected by the US's labeling of Iran as a rogue state trying to develop illicit WMDs and missiles and being anti-western due to its nondemocratic political institution. Iran was humiliated and offended by such labeling and felt threatened since it was clear that the US would target these states one after the other. That seriously impacted nuclear program of Iran. Iran needed to acquire a strategic capability as well as elevate its status and get the nuclear deterrence. That corroborates the proposition that weak states in conflicts with global power want to acquire nuclear weapons more for deterrence and status reasons. From 1990 to 2000 Iran looked outside for materials and went to the nuclear black market for obtaining these. Iran also emphasized on its missile program during the period and tested its long-range missiles during the end of the period. However, even during that period, Iran's threat perception from the US was not as Khatami government was helping US in Afghanistan war against Taliban. After the IAEA report about Iranian nuclear facilities, the relations between Iran and US were not good as before. Now, the US administration was following Iranian nuclear program in its relationship.

The US placed Iran in the club of the "Axis of Evil" states that had to be contained to secure the world. The US strategic and security policies including the development of the National Missile Defense System and Nuclear Posture Review have all been designed to combat countries like Iran. Regime change has been a serious goal of the Bush administration. Iran was on the one hand extremely humiliated, on the other hand threatened. For humiliation, it needed to strengthen its position by decreasing the cases of human rights violations and for threat it had to secure itself from attack by the US. The war on Iraq in 2003 demonstrated the US's willingness to attack Axis of states for its own security and economic interests. While Saddam was gone, US presence in the Gulf was more permanent than in the 1990s. Additionally, the conflict with Iraq

had not ended for Iran. Neither did the one with Israel. Rather Israel and the US became the greatest concerns for Iran.

Two states which were defender of each other are now at the bank of war. The US was not ready to go for war with Iran on nuclear issue because it faced tough time on defeat in Iraq. The war will be the devastating consequences for the both states. The military strikes might be the cause of furthering of conflict not towards the solution of the problem. If nationalism was emerged in Iran it will boost the nuclear process in Iran.

The US, UN and EU sanctions played an important role in stopping Iran to go towards nuclear enrichment. It convinced and pressurized Iran to cease nuclear development facilities. Iran was facing dual pressure first from international community and secondly growing domestic stress due to devaluing of economy. So the Iranian leadership was ready to make a deal to decrease sanctions but orthodox opposing that government stance. They did not like that Ahmadinejad got credit of solving the nuclear issue and economy devaluation.

Multiple conflicts made Iran naturally proliferation prone, but a conflict with the global power that had nuclear weapons and which pursued aggressive policies towards Iran made it a condition of determined proliferators and consequently seems to have been one. However, The US could give any chance to Iran to develop nuclear weapons and caused regional instability and fear for US allies.

The international community and the US played its greater role to slow down the process of enrichment in Iran. There should be needed an agreement which was accepted by all parties to P5+1 negotiation team. Iranian role was important in making final and binding agreement. It was not sufficient that Iran said only that its nuclear program was peaceful and civilian purposes. The



international community needed to deter Iran for peaceful region and to stop arms race in high volatile region of Middle East.

The important thing was that for international community that it must watch Iranian nuclear facilities periodically and did not let Iran time to have nuclear enrichment again. According to IAEA reports it was cleared that Iran had not such enrichment for nuclear weapon or have not such technology but if Iran got time and through black market Iran would be able to make nuclear weapons. Those nuclear weapons were not only dangerous for the region but for the whole international community because Iran has relations with terrorist groups like Hezbollah and Hamas.

The nuclear proliferation issue could be solved through negotiation and it would be the best opportunity for Iran by give and take policy. Iranian economy was under inflation and it needed to uplift economic sanctions against it. On the other hand, international community especially the US wanted from Iran to stop enrichment. So that they can save the region and the US allies in the Middle East.

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