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## **The Pragmatism in Iranian Political Thought and Its Role in Solutions to the Iranian Nuclear Crisis 2005 -2016**

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### ***Abstract:***

*Iran Nuclear Deal in Vienna, On July 14, 2015, has been a quantum leap in the Iran's international relations, which ensured that it would be treated in the same manner as other non-nuclear-weapon States by the international community, this achievement refers to the policy of President Hassan Rouhani and the Iranian Foreign Minister Mohammad Javad Zarif, who persuaded*

*The five permanent members of the UN Security Council plus Germany (P5+1), that there are no solutions and deal without Iran, and it has become major and qualified contributor in any future regional crisis.*

*The study aimed to draw out the Realistic and practical perceptions of Iran's pragmatic which related to the Iranian nuclear crisis.*

*This main purpose is Two Sub Questions for one Question Array , which are considered a problem of study , which was tried to answer it .*

*This study depends on the method of systems analysis and the decision-making approach to achieve the desired results of this study.*

***Keyword:*** *The Pragmatism, Iranian foreign policy, Iranian nuclear program, Five permanent members of the UN security Council plus Germany (P5+1)*

### **1. Introduction**

The Iranian political thought after 1979 based on three basic pillars that affected on its foreign policy administration and its open pragmatic administration related to its nuclear program, which was a source of concern and anxiety to the countries of the Middle East, especially the Arab Gulf States and the Great Powers. These pillars are; the Islamic Republic, neutrality and religious internationalism. These three concepts related to many issues related to the export the Islamic revolution, intervention or Non-intervention in the internal affairs of the states and the relationship with the Royal systems, which considered the most important problems that Iran faced in its policy that described as open from time to time. Its foreign policy characterized by real pragmatism in the eras of Iranian presidents Rafsanjani, Khatami and Hassan Rowhani. Iranian political and diplomatic thought varied between idealism, ideology and real pragmatism. Since 1979, Iran's political decision-maker has suffered from volatility in attitudes, especially with regard to its nuclear program between what is dictated by the national interest and the ideological goals that meet that interest or may conflict with its objectives.

The Iranian rapprochement with the United States of America during the period of Hassan Rowhani was an attempt to activate real pragmatism approach in the international relations. On one hand, it might guarantee Iran avert collapse and break international isolation after the imposition of a blockade on Iran by the United States and Western countries, on the other hand, the United States may avoid the costs of military confrontation with Iran. Iran looked for another method to bring it closer to the United States of America has had only to play on the tendon of cultural convergence as one of the Iranian pragmatism methods. In this sense, we almost pretend that the cultural potentials seek to avoid the war that was at the very least because of The nuclear program of Iran, as well as the settlement of the nuclear program of Iran by peaceful means. Iranian diplomacy was not without periods of rapprochement between Iran and the United States of America after the Islamic Revolution, despite the presence of Iranian hardliners presidents in this matter.

The period of US President Barack Obama (2009-2016) came with the period of President Hassan Rowhani I (2013-2016) in which there was a cultural rapprochement between the two countries in which peace was preferable to war in the logic of dealing with the Iranian issue. However, this period was marred by a kind of default and defects in terms of the controls that prevent Iran from investing rapidly to lift the ban in order to expand its influence in the Arab countries or to expand the process of besieging the reformist movement, in addition to not considering the Arabic viewpoint in Middle East and dealing with the Arabic bloc as if US and Western relations with them will become secondary as the development of dealing with Iran, as well as the lack of clarity of the final settlement project, but the real pragmatism of Iran finally won and an deal was reached in July 2016 with regard to the nuclear program of Iran with the super powers group (5 + 1).

Based on the subject of the research study antits research problem that seeks to answer its questions, and the hypotheses that it aims to select and based on the methods used in it, it has been divided into two topics: First topic: the political pragmatism and the nuclear program of Iran, which discussed through the following two subjects; 1) Pragmatism and Iranian regional interests in Middle East, 2) Iranian presence in the Arabic region.

Second topic: Pragmatism and negotiation diplomacy on the nuclear program of Iran, which discussed the following two subjects; 1) Iranian pragmatism and diplomacy of "carpet weaving", 2) Iran nuclear deal is a victory of the Iranian pragmatism.

In conclusion, the most important results showed

### *1.1. First: Importance of the study*

#### 1.1.1. Highlights the Scientific and Practical Importance of the Study by

1- Contribute to enrich the theoretical side of the field of academic study in the statement of the origins of real pragmatism Iranian thought.

2-To contribute to enriching the theoretical aspect of the academic study of developments of the nuclear program of Iran.

3- To clarify the interactions that accompanied the activity and external behavior of Iran, especially real pragmatism Iranian thought with regard to its nuclear program, as an embodiment of political views on the topics raised on that file, which was one of the most important aspects of external behavior.

4- Shedding the light on the inter-interactions between Iran on the one hand and the super power (5 + 1) on the other hand, and the factors and determinants that ruled it, and clarify whether these relations, especially during the period of Iranian President Hassan Rowhani establish areal pragmatic expediency relationship (pragmatic) between Iran and the West parts, or to establish a state of confrontation in the future, and possibility of talking about future Iranian strategic stage related to the relations between Iran and the West.

### *1.2. Second: Research Objectives*

The aim of this research is to achieve the following objectives:

- 1- Extract perceptions from the realistic and practical Iranian pragmatism in respect of the nuclear program of Iran.
- 2- Extract perceptions about the political relationship between Iran and Middle East Countries, especially the Arab Gulf States, in addition to the Great Powers, particularly the current and future United States of America.
- 3- Determine conditions, means, ways and tools which approached by Iran to convince the international community with its the nuclear program of Iran, through of which it aimed to prove that the nature of its nuclear program is (peaceful) and to strengthen its position in the international system. This gives a clearer image about the Iranian positions toward a number of issues in the region and the impact thereof on its pragmatism thought and the structure of the international system.
- 4- The effectiveness of new developments in the Iranian foreign policy toward its the nuclear program of Iran and how this program can be catalyst and motivation to establish relationships between Iran and the Group of Great Powers (5 + 1), especially the United States of America, accordingly creating new balance in the international and regional system.

### *1.3. Third: Problem of the Study*

This research seeks to analyze the nature of pragmatism in Iranian political thought and its role in resolving the crisis of the nuclear program of Iran and to choses the degree of Iranian realism by concentrating on Iran behavior in the regional and international levels, especially in negotiations related to its the nuclear program of Iran in the last period of 2016 and measure the impact of this behavior on the structure of the current international diplomatic system. Accordingly, the central question of this research can have formed as follows:

- 1- What is the nature of pragmatism in Iranian political thought and its role in resolving the crisis of the nuclear program of Iran?

This central question divided into the following minor questions:

- 1- Does this pragmatism represent the Iranian new strategy?
- 2- Will this pragmatism affect the structure of the regional and international behavior?
- 3- To what extend does the Iranian pragmatism affect the local, regional and international factors and considerations in enhancing or hindering the development of nuclear negotiations?
- 4- Does the Iranian pragmatism have a positive effect on its behavior toward the countries of the region in respect of the nuclear program of Iran?

### *1.4. Fourth: Study Hypotheses*

Starting from questions of the research problem, the following hypotheses have been formulated:

- There is a positive association between Iran adoption the open realistic pragmatic approach and strengthening its diplomatic role within its negotiations with the Great Powers (5+1).
- There is a positive relationship between Iran adoption the practical and realistic pragmatic approach and changing the attitude of the Great Powers toward Iran.
- Arrival of the pragmatic president Hassan Rouhani to the presidency has led to development the Iranian diplomacy in respect of its nuclear program and its successful in the negotiations with the Great Powers (5+1).

*1.5. Fifth: Study Variables*

The most significant variables in this research are the following:

- The independent variable: Iranian pragmatism.
- The dependent variable: crisis of the nuclear program of Iran.

*1.6. Sixth: Methodology of the Study*

The nature of the subject and scope of the study and its related questions required to depend on the following approaches:

1.6.1. Systems analysis approach being interested to analysis of the international relations within international frameworks. Thus, explaining the elements of this approach, its usage necessities and how to use it in the research.

The approach of the international system is appropriate for the subject of this research because it is suitable for analyze the international relations due to its advantages, and in accordance with the research problem which the study interest to answer its questions:

A – The international system is defined as "interactions network between two units or more characterized by some degree of frequency and acute which distinguish it from interactions carried out by one or some or all of these units with other units in its surrounding. The most important characteristic of the system is its structure and the interactions among its parties which can be changed from time to time". (Milled, 1995:40)

The theory that discuss the mechanism of these interactions called System Theory. Both Kaplan and Charles McClellan consider that the objectives of this approach in the analyze process are important to find the laws governing these systems and determine the sources of regularity and reaching to conclusions that relate to the factors of balance and imbalance which govern the evolution of the main and major international systems and its transition from one form to another, and clarify its interact and led to its continuation. George Modelsky adopts the same point of view. (Waltz, 1970: 310)

B- How to use this approach: The approach of the international system in the context of systems theory includes interactions and paths among systems, that made the researcher to use it in this research. in addition to the approach suggestions, based on the fact that the research is concerned with analyze the Iranian pragmatism as a method and behavior in dealing with the Great Powers and the regional countries in respect of its nuclear program, which confirms the interrelationship and interference between the variables of research. From here, the starting point in the study of the Iranian pragmatic approach to resolving the Iranian nuclear crisis, and its impact on the structure of relations and international system, and the nature of international changes that relate to the nuclear program of Iran and how that pragmatism affected on the Iranian reactions, paths and behavior as a nuclear state. (Milled, 1995: 48)

1.6.2. Decision- Making Approach

Approach definition: the approach focuses on the process of political decision-making in foreign policy as a basis for interpreting the international relations and the foreign policy for each country. This definition includes the humanitarian, dehumanizing environments, size of the country, resources, geographic location, the values system, homogeneity between population, national identity, beliefs, feelings, behaviors of the political system, society and the external environment which includes the factors outside the international borders such as actions and reactions of the other countries, geographical scope, countries, societies, cultures, ethnics, factors or economic interests and its role in decision- making, roles and objects. (Mokalad, 1982: 38)

*B – Approach Elements*

Approach of decision- making is divided into internal environment (internal framework), where includes humanitarian and non-humanitarian environment, society, population, size of the country, resources, geographic location, the value system, homogeneity of population, public cultures, national identity, beliefs, feelings and practical pragmatic behavior of community and system. The external environment includes the factors outside the country such as indirect actions and reactions of the other countries, the geographical scope of the countries, societies, cultures and ethnic, economic factors, directions of value system in the society and process of decision-making. It also includes flow of clear and accurate information for decision-making roles and objects. In other words, one of the elements of this approach is concerned with the realistic and practical manner (pragmatism) through which we can achieve a reasonable realistic working format among several competing realistic alternatives. All of decisions aim to achieve specific objectives or to avoid unwanted- results. (Robison, 1996:188).

*C – Approach usage*

The process of decision-making in Iran is considered as an integrated collective process and obtaining a particular decision represents the peak of interaction which is carried out on a number of organizational levels which have complex dimensions (Tames, 1987:837). This approach being represents an explanation for some external phenomenon that have been applied using revised, realistic and practical pragmatism by Iran during dealing with major power in respect of its nuclear program of Iran, the impact of both Iran internal and external environments in nuclear decision-making and the impact of the public value system in Iran's decision-making. Also, it explains the level of the interactions at the regional, international, national and internal levels to empower the Iranian decision maker to take the appropriate and correct decision.

*1.7. Seventh: Limitations of the Study*

The year 2005 determined to be the beginning of the research period, and the end of the period considered to be 2016.

Justification of choosing 2005 is that this year constitutes the actual beginning for the emergence of the nuclear program of Iran which has really taken over meetings of Great Powers and has since this year constituted a source of security and economic concern to the Great Powers, especially since the future of the regional security in the Middle East is very important for these powers, which is considered one of the largest locations in the world in terms of the political and media focus due to the developments on the ground and that is why they chose this year in particular.

Justification of choosing 2016 as the end of the time period, because this is the end of latest developments in respect of crisis of the nuclear program of Iran as this period has witnessed signing the Iran nuclear deal with Great Powers (5+1) in July 2016, and also witnessed the American election, won by the Republican president Donald Trump, who was considered a martinet in respect of the nuclear program of Iran, and opposing the Iran nuclear deal with the Great Powers.

### 1.8. Eighth: Definitions

The scientific methodological requires the definition of the following key concepts:

In this area, the following concepts standing out:

#### 1.8.1. Pragmatism

A – The nominal definition: this is approach aim at giving explanation for more problems and concepts not by its conformity with the external reality, but by following its results and actual impact. Pragmatic philosophy is not interested in ending up with certain philosophical results as far as it is interested in the philosopher himself, because (philosophy is not a fixed set of beliefs or specific principles except for its approach, because it is only an approach or method of research.

B – the operational definition: a school and political thought, - based on the positive and utilitarian results, the obtained benefits affecting the behavior of thought, values and the other standards positively. It is one of the philosophical foundations, on which the American political and strategic thought and the contemporary and subsequent American policies had been built. It governs the American internal and external policy at home and abroad and focuses on the good and positive ideas provided by the individual and the system (Al- issawi, 2011:2).

#### 1.8.2. The Nuclear Program of Iran

A – The nominal definition: An Iranian project to acquire the nuclear energy, which started before the Iranian revolution of 1979, then has escalated at the turn of the third millennium triggering the concern of the west accusing Iran of pursuit to possess nuclear weapons (www.aljazeera.com/ 3/12/2005).

B – Operational definition: the strategic fact of the nuclear program of Iran represented in the strategic perspective of Iranian thought because of its need to nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. This program had started after II world war. Iran needs nuclear energy to deter threats of America. Accordingly, Iran aimed to continue its nuclear program which is turned to a crisis since 2002.

That because, in this year, established two new nuclear facilities in Arak and Natanz areas for uranium enrichment. This crisis raised during 2005 because of Iran sought to own nuclear weapons without the knowledge of The International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) and violated the obligations of Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and International Nuclear Safeguards Treaty. There are economic and political motives allowed Iran to continue its nuclear program, which constitutes crisis for Great Powers and some Western countries that leads to negotiations between Iran and Great Powers or what it called (5 + 1) on 14 July 2015 in Vienna (Al-Hamd, 2015: 131).

### 1.9. Ninth: Previous Studies

#### 1.9.1. Eisenstadt, Michael (2011) (9), The Strategic Culture of The Islamic Republic of Iran Operational and Policy Implications, Middle East studies, mesy monographs, No1, August

This study refers to the Cold War between Iran and the USA, the elements of Iranian power to confront USA deterrence force, scenarios of supposed American attack on Iran if persist its foreign policy positions in Middle East and nuclear program. The study also shows the issue of ethnic tensions inside Iran, interpretation of the Iranian behavior in the international field and how to make-decisions in the Iranian political. Finally, the study puts the first steps on the way to understand the Pragmatic strategic culture of a state surrounded by ambiguity to make its motives and actions are very difficult to understand. This study called for further research on this subject, although the study is an important point to start.

#### 1.9.2. Al-Rawi, Riyad (2006) Study, the Nuclear Program of Iran and its Impact on Middle East

The purpose of this study is to explain the nuclear program of Iran, its objectives and impact on Middle East. Based on the that the final objective of the nuclear program of Iran is peaceful focusing on three positions related to the crisis raised because of this program which are; Iran, IAEA and the USA. This study specified one chapter on the impact of the nuclear program of Iran on Middle East. The study concluded that this program, despite incomplete its technical aspects and the controversy about its objectives it will have a serious impact on the region if showed that it involves good intentions.

### 1.9.3. Mrs. Zeinab Khalid Abdulmoneim Study (2016), the Nuclear Program of Iran and the Political Future of Middle East (2013-2016)

This study discusses one of the most important issues facing our Arab world, where it deals with the impact of the nuclear program of Iran on the political future of Middle East, this nuclear program has become a concern of the whole world and huge concern to the countries and people in the region. The study also aimed to find out the results of Iran nuclear deal on Iran's foreign relations and the impacts that may result from the deal on the issues of the existing and potential conflict in Middle East.

The results of this study show that Iran heavily relies on its regional project on a range of geo-ideological and security bases to manage the Iranian strategic deployment in Middle East. In the years since 2003, Iran has worked to link the countries and the movements that compatible with Iranian ideology with its strategy directly. Especially in Iraq, Syria, Yemen, Lebanon and Bahrain. Nuclear program of Iran, from which Iran's military capabilities formed, still the highest ceiling of Iran's strategic project toward Middle East, therefore Iran used pragmatic method later in negotiation process with Great Powers, especially (group 5 + 1) which signed a deal on 14 July.

#### ➤ First topic: Political pragmatism and the nuclear program of Iran

The reality of the nuclear program of Iran lies in the strategic dimension of Iranian thought away from media announcements because the need of Iran to nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. The reality of the problem represents on the Iranian strategic vision to itself, its regional characteristics and the nature of the international system linked to USA -Iran relations. Kenneth Polk "Former Director of Gulf Affairs, US National Security Council, and the strategic researcher" said that, Iran could not trust in USA. The Iranians did not forget the role of the American intelligence in stepping out the regime of Muhammad Mossadaq and appointing Mohammad Reza Shah of Iran on 1953, in addition to supporting Saddam Hussein during Iran-Iraq War. He added "the situation of Iranians is not different from the role of Britain and Russia that occupied Iran in 19<sup>th</sup> and Mid of 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. The Persian problem is the Iranian need to own nuclear bomb to defend itself and use it as a deterrent method (Hyagna, 2007: 12).

Iran has completed 85% of its first nuclear reactor when the Iranian Revolution broke out in 1979. It was planned to start its production of electromagnetism power in 1981, but the German company: Kraftuk Yunwin Electronically, which started to build Bushehr Nuclear Power Plant has stopped to complete both Bushehr Nuclear Power Plant so the work after settling the Iranian revolution slowed down until the fighting intensified during the Iran-Iraq war, where Iraq has bombed both reactors in 1987. As a result of the Iranian war with Iraq, Iran continued on 1996, after contracting Soviet Union to restore both nuclear reactors, which began their production in 2006 after the Iranian opposition unveiled on 2002. Iran also began to build itself-designed reactor by capacity of (40 MW) near the facility of Arak. The Iranian argument to establish these nuclear reactors is to use it for peaceful purposes such as scientific researches and radioisotopes for medical and agricultural purposes, as well as it works with natural uranium available in Iran.

This introduction leads us to study the following two pivots:

First: Pragmatism and Iranian regional interests in Middle East.

Second: The nuclear program of Iran 2005-2016.

#### → First subject: Pragmatism and Iranian regional interests in Middle East.

The changes and transformations in Iranian foreign policy based on the pragmatism summarized in the Persian term (Maslehat), which means in Persian (Expediency Discernment Council of the System).

In fact, the pragmatism makes everything possible in Iranian diplomacy and interests as long as they are comfortable, in fact, the pragmatism is in Iran's national interest and based primarily on the interests of the nation, which means that Iran's relations with neighboring countries can lead to the stability and reflects positively on the Iran's foreign interests. Iran witnessed in 1997 when the pragmatic reformist president Mohammad Khatami elected. His vision of Iran's relations with the world based on the dialogue and the understanding rather than the tension and the confrontation. This was the result of the radical change that was caused by Ali Hashim Rafsanjani, called the "Fox of Iranian Politics" since the beginning of 1989 who established the so-called method of strategic dialogue in the Iranian diplomacy (Ziyud, 2017: 132).

Period of the President Mohamed Khatami characterized by economic and social reforms and the strengthening of the law. Reformist President Mohammad Khatami was a realistic president who focused his foreign policy on divarication, confidence building and comprehensive development since he took over the presidency in 1997. He focused on Recognition the environment in which Iran lives like neighboring countries, and the purpose behind it, as he says, in order to Iran to recognize its friends and enemies at the internal and external levels. (Abdel-Sadiq, 2003: 19).

Ali Hashemi Rafsanjani is the leader of Iran's pragmatism, where headed Expediency Discernment of the System several times. In 2007, he elected as Chairman of the Council of Experts which is assigned to choose the Supreme Leader of Iran while remaining Chairman of the System Diagnosis, Rafsanjani did not take the path of separation with the regime like Hussein Mousavi, who was forced by the Iranian authorities to house arrest in his home because of leading demonstrations in 2009 in protest against the victory of Mohammad Ahmadinejad in the elections. He faced some harm from the Iranian authorities because of his opposition to the conservatives, and because of real pragmatism situation, he was excluded from running for president elections in 2013. However, he responded by supporting the arrival of Hassan Rowhani, who is affiliated to the pragmatic reformist movement in 2013, and was in favor of the nuclear deal with the Great Powers, which led to lifting of the sanctions imposed on Iran.

Despite the political differences between Rafsanjani and the supreme Leader Ali Khamenei, Rafsanjani remained admired and respected in the Iranian regime, which made Khamenei describe Rafsanjani at his death in 2016 as a friend on the struggle (Bahrani 2009: 131).

Ahmadi Nejad, who was considered affiliate to conservative hard-liners, had his own views on processing Iran's foreign policy issues, especially with neighboring countries. He also tried to return the Islamic revolution to its early days. Since taking over the presidency, Iran has taken steps against the outside world and specifically with the Western powers, and at the internal level was expected to solve the economic problems and executive more youth projects, despite the international siege, but it has achieved some internal achievements, but unlike Hashemi Rafsanjani, who restored what was destroyed by the Iran-Iraq war, which established the reconstruction project and reform of the economic situation, and Mohammad Khatami, who was practical and pragmatic also in establishing the dialogue of the civilizations. He was able to dismantle Iran's international isolation and reduce international criticism of the nuclear program (Abdul Hassan Yasser, 2015: 64).

President Hassan Rowhani presented the (other face) to Iran, which wants to create a real openness in contrast to former President Ahmadi Nejad, who had publicly threatened the removal of Israel. However, this tone of Iranian political discourse failed in the pragmatic Rowhani discourses who call for openness, it has a clear support of Supreme Leader Khamenei related to the nuclear program of Iran and the negotiation with his foreign minister, Muhammad Jawad Zarif (the open pragmatist) with the Great Powers, the so-called group (5 + 1) ([www.themiddle-east.com](http://www.themiddle-east.com), 6/2/2014).

When considering the personality of the pragmatic Iranian president, Hassan Rowhani, he is distinguished by the political experience. He was elected in 1980 as a member of the first parliament and remained a member for 20 years consecutively. He participated in various parliamentary committees, he worked as deputy Speaker of Parliament, and the Chief of Defense and the Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, and he gained legislative and diplomatic experience. He was also a member of the Supreme Defense Council during the Iran-Iraq War and Commander of the Iranian Air Defense from 1986-1991, Deputy Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of Iran 1988-1989 and thus gained military experience. President Rowhani has experience in the National Security Council, where he appointed as the representative of Mr. Khamenei, who chaired it for 16 years between 1989-2005. He is also one of the few figures who have combined between legislative and executive positions ([www.alamaar.com](http://www.alamaar.com)).

It is clear from the above competence, ability and skill of President Rowhani in the Institutional field as well as his extensive political, strategic and negotiating experience in addition to his vast scientific experience, where he combined between the religious and academic study, since he holds a doctorate degree in 1999, in addition to his fluency in many languages such as Arabic, English, German, French and Russian, which enabled him to access a lot of research and studies, especially in the political and legal fields ([www.gcu.ac.uk](http://www.gcu.ac.uk), 2013).

One of the factors that forms its real pragmatism personal is his negotiable experience, as he was the secretary of the Supreme Council for National Security for 15 years, this council considered as one of the most important institutions at the level of decision-making in Iran. Previously, this position held by the Iranian President Hashemi Rafsanjani and President Mohammad Khatami. He appointed as senior nuclear negotiators in a critical time and sensitive circumstances, where the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) escalated its rhetoric towards the nuclear program of Iran coinciding with regional changes and raising of George W. Bush administration. He led the Iranian negotiations with the European Troika countries (England, France and Germany) about the nuclear program of Iran in a critical period from 2003 to 2005. This period witnessed Invasion of Iraq, after Iraq occupation and Bush's threat to strike Iran and described it as axis of evil. However, President Hassan Rowhani gained patience in international negotiations from the story of weaving the Iranian carpet and the Iranian industry, which educated many generations to be patient to reach to the results ([www.gcu.ac.uk](http://www.gcu.ac.uk), 2013).

→ Second subject: Iranian presence in the Arabic region:

Iran has been in sporadic times in its history, especially under presidents Rafsanjani, Khatami, and current president Hassan Rowhani, embraces real pragmatism thought. This approach has emerged in the face of the liberal institutional thought, which sought to frame the international cooperation under pluralist development, while real pragmatism was preferred the military power and the interests of individual states as a determinant of the factors governing the movement of international relations. The real thought established based on several assumptions, the most important of which is that the state is the main actor controlling the international relations. It is characterized by the rationality that makes it determine its interests in response to the power structure in the world system, which, in its view, is chaotic, that required countries to rely on themselves to achieve their own security. Countries seek to achieve its security by exploit all material sources of their actual and potential strength, especially military forces which is, in view of real pragmatism, the most important dimension in the power of the state, where the importance of other physical elements is as important as the military dimension (Abu Laila, 2012: 13).

Most of Realism thinkers used the power concept in the meaning of resources of state power, which has broadened to include various resources like population, military expenditure rate and geographic location while this concept may be narrow to others to be limited to only one materialistic item. This simple perspective of power developed into two sides; first one: Roaznow's contribution who distinguishes between power possession which he expressed it by Capability term which means possession of power components and the ability to use it to achieve specific goals which was expressed by the influence or effect term. If the power defined by the Real Pragmatism thought as the ability of the state to control the state's actions to achieve the required results, the mere possession of power by the state is not a sufficient indicator of ability to change the behavior of others (Abu Layla, 2012: 14).

So, Iran, especially during the era of president Hassan Rohani and in the light of negotiation about its nuclear program, adopted the real pragmatism approach. That we see him used the ability of Iran to control its actions to achieve the required results during its negotiation by its Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mohammad Javad Zarif, with the Great powers (5+1).

The Iranian presence in the Arab region was permanent especially in the Arab Gulf Region. We can see that Iran returned strongly to the Arab political scene after the American occupation to Iraq in 2003. This return associated with raising Arab concern of the Iranian political presence followed by security and economic presence in the Iraqi political scene. There is no doubt that this presence preceded by a presence in the Lebanese political scene, as well as the building of the strategic relationship with Syria, understanding the nature of the role and the Iranian presence in the Arab political scene. Development is worth considering the following data: (Zuwairi, 2015: 39).

First: the Iranian political presence based on the investment in conditions formed by data, various variables and other actors but not by only Iran. The presence in Lebanon relied only on the international recognition of sectarian diversity and each party has its extension abroad.

Second: about Iraqi case, the Iranian presence developed on a basis of facts formed by the international community encouraged and blessed establish Iraqi constitution allowed sectarian basis. All of these matters marketed by the idea of the Shiite majority versus the Sunna minority.

Third: about Yemeni case, the Iranian presence related to the role played by the previous Yemeni president, Ali Abdullah Saleh, in its development between Houthis and Iran based on using Houthis as an extortion tool against kingdom of Saudi Arabia and its alliance with The Yemeni Congregation for Reform associated with Muslim Brotherhood against him.

Fourth: about the Iranian presence in the Bahraini political scene, it depends on the relation with Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and the trials of sectarian identity which serve the political regime inside Iran.

Fifth: Iran, to be present in the Arabian political scene, it takes in its consideration the political geography and the geographic distance, far or near, from Iran. The Iranian presence in Iraq varies from Syria, because Syria is not neighboring Iran so the Iranian effect on Syria is less than its effect on Iraq (www.mzeiri.2009).

Sixth: the Iranian presence is different because of difference of time context and events and political variables, where the time context is decisive factor to understand the Iranian role in the Arabian political scene, so that the Iranian role in 2003 varies from 2011 during Arabian Spring Events because of the Arabian division about the Iranian role in Arabian policy.

It is noted that the Arabian attitude toward Iran was strict before 2003 but after 2003, the attitude of many Arabian governments was positive and flexible especially its attitude towards the resistance against Israeli and its protest against United States of America. There are some Arabian countries have different attitude and against the Iranian intervention in the Arabian countries, such as; KSA, Egypt and Jordan which their attitude was close to the Arabian general opinion (Zoghpy,2013: 120).

The nuclear program of Iran awaiting the Israeli- Palestinian negotiations and establishing Palestinian state and results of Arabian Spring to form international general opinion especially in Europe and America in order to deal with the nuclear program of Iran, where Barak Obama states that in the presence of Israeli general opinion during his first official visit to Israel in 2013 which witnessed settlements that were not in Arabian countries' consideration. This matter reflected on the American- Arabian relations, where it associated to that despite the European criticizing position from overthrow the Arabian Spring and its position against settlement. The truth was that Europe is not able to exit from the American axis strategically as various studies indicted in that field (Hyagna, 2014: 63).

From another side, Saudi-Iranian conflicts helped Europe to guarantee its interests that it depends on the Iranian petroleum, so this will lead to, in case of succeeding the overthrow on the Arabian Spring, retract the role of Turkey in the regional issues in an official level but its smooth power will increase in the future in a popular level, which take a strict position against this overthrow (Hyagna, 2014: 63).

#### ➤ Pragmatism and negotiation diplomacy on the nuclear program of Iran

Since appointment of the Iranian President, Hassan Rohani, who believes in the real practical Pragmatism to achieve Iran's interest in bringing it back to the international arena and to remove it from its isolation and economic crisis and to reach to satisfactory solution to all parties on its nuclear program which will only be by understanding with the United States of America, which he described it as the Chosen of the world (www.mehrnews,2013).

Thus, we see that Rohani's declaration indicates that he adopts the pragmatic approach in solving the Iranian political and economic problems with the international society. Furthermore, this indicates that the nature of the Iranian orientation in his reign about the future of Iran relationship with the United States of America which is the main anchor the light of the nuclear program of Iran program.

It is noted that, the president Rohani, tries through adoption the real practical pragmatic approach to move within the empty space between the two main currents of the Iran revolution fundamentalism and reformism tries to reconcile between the two currents, this movement defined by Rohani as moderate current. In the cultural part of this moderation, he seems closer to the reformism which believes in Pragmatism to solve the Iranian problems with the international community. At the same time, he is keen not to provoke the conservative fundamentalists through conservative speech.

Returning to Rohani's culture, we find that he does not use in his speeches terms, political and western intellectual terminologies such as; democracy, religious reform and modernity but we find his speech is full of its contents and meanings. He expressed that through

his support position to freedom of women clothes, internet, youth, publication and writers. He is in contrast to Ahmadi Nagad, who relied upon preaching the Mahdi to market Iran externally.

Thus, Rohani sees that the Iranian culture is able to highlight the positive image of Iran in the world, which translated by the Iranian minister of Culture, Ali Ganiti, when said, "The Iranian art is the best ambassador to Iran abroad".(www.asiran.2013 )

It is noted that, Rohani followed the culture as a practical approach in the foreign policy to improve Iran's image around the world, and to repair what Ahmadinejad's policy has done to Iran at the international level and to solve the nuclear program of Iran crisis through Fasting the pace of rapprochement with the West in general and United States in particular. Rohani's chancellor, Muhammed Ali Nagfi, chief of the Cultural Heritage Foundation, said "cultural diplomacy can treat the deterioration of relations between Tehran and Washington." (www.tasnimnews.com/4/10/2013).

Given the members of the government of Hassan Rawhani, we see that the government was the most preceding pragmatic government since Iranian Revolution (1979). Given the members of his government, we see that most of his government's members have gotten Doctorate from United States of America and they are more than the members of the Barack Obama's government. He represents Mohammad Javad Zarif, Minister of External Affairs. For example, (www.theatlantic.com /3/12/2013).

Returning to Iranian Minister of External Affairs, Mohammad Javad Zarif who adopted the pragmatism to solve Iranian Nuclear Crisis, we see that he made expandable relationships among American scientific and political elites throughout his scientific and occupational stay in USA since 1976. He expressed that in (Multi-Track Diplomacy) book where he expressed expandable and network understanding for international diplomatic business in which the diplomatic mechanism is used to all possible path and details for ensuring and defending national interests. (Zarif, 2013:35)

Whoever observes and monitor Zarif's statements and his works sees his adoption of pragmatism for his approaches to diplomatic performance and the establishment of real external relations with Iran. This introduction invites us to discuss the following two focal points:

→ First subject: Iranian pragmatism and diplomacy of "carpet weaving":

The true pragmatism is referred to the meaning of the work and the deed which its meaning is related to its results and practical effects resulted in and not giving up to the reality complications as it is related to the hope which generates through deed, practice and practical reality (AL-Khazalah, 2015:371)

This is what Iranian President Rawhani and his Minister of External Affairs, Mohammad Javad Zarif believe and it appeared through the negotiation about nuclear program of Iran. He was an example of patience through (Diplomacy of Iranian Negotiation with Great Powers) (1+5). This patience is related to (Iranian Hand-made Carpet) deal which prepares generations starts with grandfather and does not end with descendants where some studies suggest that the first carpet which was discovered in the world was backdated to the ancient ages in Iran. Some people says that it is backdated before 500 BC. (Abdul Hussein, 2015:147). The hand-Made carpet may take many years to be made and it reveals Iranian Patience and its transfer from social perspective to diplomatic perspective. It added the negotiation characteristic to the Iranian Culture nature and Islamic Identity where Islam shaped one of the basic fundamental principles for Iran and its external political behavior and still main factor of Iran's regional policy and success in some of Islamic countries.

The Iranian negotiations are usually carried out according to intellectual perspectives on the history of the carpet industry in Iran in an attempt to explain the psychological explanation of the strategic dimension which the Iranian negotiator has in terms of physical and psychological ability to be able to get the planned demands and the use of maneuver tactics by different and multiple methods in which Iranian strategic planning is made and this dynamic process reflects on Iranian negotiator documents for more than thirty years. The western negotiator can hardly understand the Iranian negotiator's swinging between maneuver and argument for preserving its national rights.

Later in 2013, the pragmatic president, Hassan Rawhani has said in the conclusion of his first speech before United Nations General Assembly in New York a poem of the poetry of Ferdous Iranian poet, he said: "Do your best in doing good, you saw how winter brought spring" (Rawhani, 2013:2). There is not enough room to stand up enough with this saying, but the common and prominent significance is the spring, which necessitates many partial semantics, including emission, living and greenery and overcoming the pain of winter and preparing for the summer and harvest season and this shows a clear indication of the policy of the realistic pragmatism. In a related context, the Iranian Minister of External Affairs, Mohammad Javad Zarif said that the Geneva Convention is a first step towards a comprehensive solution for the Iranian nuclear program and also confirmed that Iran continues to enrich uranium for peaceful purposes and new measures will not be imposed gradually on Iran in return. The current risk will be decreased. It focused on Iran's right to enrich according to Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. About this matter, he said: "We have entered into the convention in good will and the other party has to prove this in return". (Abdul Hussein, 2015:225)

From the tours in Paris in 2003 to Vienna in 2015, the slogan of the peaceful nuclear right on the drafts of negotiations and final minutes with the needle of weaving Iranian carpets skilled and convinced Minister of External Affairs, Mohammad Javad Zarif (5 + 1) that Iran will not acquire one nuclear bomb and not even for production extracting a deal from countries with a total of more than a thousand nuclear bombs.

We noted that the Iranian negotiator, Mohammad Javad Zarif with his methodology and his pragmatic could advise the west not to threaten Iran and firmness was replaced with leniency or with the meaning of flexible diplomacy which is instructed by the supreme leader Khamenei as Vienna Convention has been entered into after years of monitoring and delay which are imposed by the difficulty of negotiations but it has been resulted of signing a good deal for all eventually or as described by Mohammad Javad Zarif , it is a good historical deal for both parties (Ismail Mohamed, 2010:3)



The complicated negotiations have continued for 22 months between Iran and Great Powers, which resulted eventually in entering into nuclear deal between them in which red Iranian lines have been drawn after the international ban procedures have been cancelled. The most significant terms of the deal are as the following: (Bakeer, 2015:5)

- The Great Powers recognized the Iranian peaceful nuclear program officially and respect the rights of Iranians to practice within the international treaties.
- United Nations shall recognize officially that Iran is a power with nuclear technology and has a peaceful nuclear program including the full cycle of the fuel and enrichment.
- The ban decisions imposed by International Security Council on Iran shall be cancelled all at once and essential transformation for how Security Council emphasis with Tehran.
- Releasing Iranian monies and revenues seized abroad which are amounted tens of billions of dollars because of the ban.
- Contrary to the primary Iranian demands of the other party, all nuclear institutions and centers will continue their activities after failure of the enrichment procedures ban.
- Maintaining Iranian nuclear structure without removing any centrifugation device.
- IR-40 heavy water reactor will still produce and it will have developed.
- Iran shall enter global marketplace of nuclear materials, especially the strategic producers of enriched Uranium and heavy water after 35 years of ban.
- The economic and financial ban on banks, financial, petroleum, gas, traditional petrochemicals and transportation sectors all at once since the commencement of the deal.
- The ban imposed on producing Iranian ballistic missiles shall be replaced with ban on producing nuclear weapons with missiles only as Iran has never produced them and never included them in its missile program.
- Weapons ban imposed on Tehran shall be cancelled and be replaced with some limitations and canceling the ban completely after 5 years.
- Ban of purchasing civil planes shall be cancelled and Iranian air fleet shall be updated.

Overall, the Iranian negotiator has reached to this deal after with his pragmatic (Carpet Weaving) diplomacy and through the adoption of Iranian Minister of External Affairs to the pragmatic methodology as the western view to Iran has turned from threatening international peace security with this deal to point of convergence and international cooperation in the context of international standards.

→ Second subject: Iran nuclear deal is a victory of the Iranian pragmatism

On 14 July 2015, Great Powers (5+1) especially USA have reached to a deal about Nuclear program of Iran after long negotiations where this deal has limited Iranian nuclear ambition and limited the nuclear program significantly through spreading long-term control system. It also saves Iran from economic sanctions imposed on it internationally and the deal includes many issues, most notably: ([www.aljazeera.net/19/7/2015](http://www.aljazeera.net/19/7/2015)):

#### 1- Uranium Enrichment:

- Iran shall undertake using centrifugation devices of the old model (IR-1) to enrich Uranium for ten years and during this period, number of centrifugation devices will be determined in Nvanz reactor by 5060 devices.
- Iran has been using centrifugation devices of the model IR-4/ IR-5/IR-6/ve in research and development process during the next ten years.
- Tehran shall never be able to enrich Uranium with more than 3.67% over 15 years in Nvanz site, so it shall be able to enrich Uranium in Fordo reactor which will be turned into a reactor for Scientific Research.
- Iran's uranium enriched stockpiles over the next 15 years shall be set at 30 kg and not exceeding 3.67%.
- Russia will supervise securing nuclear fuel.

#### 2- Reactors operated with heavy water:

- IR-40 heavy water reactor, which operated with heavy water, replaced to be operate with light water.
- IR-40 heavy water reactor will be converted into peaceful aims reactor for scientific research and will not exceed 20 megawatts.
- Iran shall not build reactors operated with heavy water over the next fifteen years.

#### 3- Depleted Fuel:

- Iran will not practice any activities related to the fuel over the next fifteen years except for producing Radionuclide battery.
- Iran shall undertake signing the Additional Protocol of International Atomic Energy Agency on Inspection and giving permits for inspection at any time.
- Iran committed to sign on the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) Additional Protocol concerning (intrusive) Inspection and giving permits for inspection at any time.

#### 4 Monitoring the Deal:

- IAEA will charge with monitoring all Iranian nuclear sites on a regular.
- Acceptance of Iran the limited access of IAEA inspectors to non-nuclear sites with a military nature in case of there are doubts about its work nature.

#### 5 Sanctions Lifting:

- The parties shall undertake, against Iran commitment, to lift all sanctions on Iran, including sanctions imposed by the United Nations, and the United States and the European Union and not to impose any new ban against Iran.
- All parties shall undertake to respect the terms of the deal and not abuse it.

- Maintain of the ban of weapons import for an additional 5 years and 8 years for ballistic missiles.

About the international attitude of the deal, the United States welcomed the deal, which President Obama described as an opportunity to be seized, and that the deal prevented Iran to acquire nuclear weapons ([www.france.240com / ar / 14/07/2014](http://www.france.240com/ar/14/07/2014)).

As for Iran, President Hassan Rowhani expressed the pleasure of the deal. The president said, "I am happy because today we reached a new summit after 24 months of talks ([www.bbc.com/14/7/155](http://www.bbc.com/14/7/155)).

In addition, Russia, France, Britain, Germany, the United Nations, the European Union and Turkey also welcomed the deal ([arabic.cnn.com/15/7/2015](http://arabic.cnn.com/15/7/2015)).

In another context, Israel considered the deal a historical mistake of the world, and its Prime Minister, Benjamin Netanyahu said that this deal will allow Iran to continue the approach of aggression and terrorism in the region. ([arabic.cnn.com/15/7/2015](http://arabic.cnn.com/15/7/2015)).

The Arab countries welcomed the deal, including Saudi Arabia, UAE, Qatar, Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Iraq, Syria, the Palestinian Authority, Lebanon, Egypt and Jordan ([arabic.cnn.com/15/7/2015](http://arabic.cnn.com/15/7/2015)).

Iran reached to that by its diplomacy (carpet weaving) which concentrate on patience in the negotiations to reach a final deal, where the Iranian President Hassan Rowhani and The Foreign Minister Mohammad Javad Zarif succeeded in making the practical pragmatic approach in negotiating with the Great Powers (5 + 1). Iran was able to ensure its vital interests in the region and at the same time terms of the deal show that the Great Powers were aimed to secure the interests of the West and Israel Particularly, with regard to the potential nuclear bomb that Iran could soon own it, this means that it is not about the original concern about the role and policies of Iran in interfering in internal affairs and its threat to the security of the GCC countries and the Arab states, as happened in Yemen, Iraq and Syria. The deal does not include any assumed change in Iran's policies except for the nuclear file. This, of course, does not eliminate the great effect of such that deal and its applications and follow up its evaluation jointly between Iran and the Great Powers on Iran's future behavior, and its international role in the region. Iran played a major role in the American war in Afghanistan and Iraq, and still maintain US interests in the region practically and realistically.

## 2. Conclusion

Who follow the Iranian foreign policy and its pragmatic thinking towards solving the crisis the nuclear program of Iran, noted that the policy and thinking were based on the patience, which the Iranian foreign policy makers tried during the period under study, headed by Iranian President Hassan Rowhani and Foreign Minister Mohammad Javad Zarif and they hold the stick from the middle to persuade the Great Powers. (5 + 1) to agree to settle the issue the nuclear program of Iran in a smooth and simple way, using diplomacy with all its tools and temptations to reach to the deal, in which Iran found that it is the only victor.

In summary, President Rohani's pragmatism has succeeded in getting Iran out of some of its international isolation and achieving some goals.

Through follow-up and analysis of all the steps taken by the Iranian political decision-maker, we reached to the following Results:

- 1- Centers of thought and decision in the United States of America and the West have a spread satisfaction that the dispute with Iran is political and not cultural, for that, culture should be the gateway to ensuring the interests of America and the West with Iran, the Iranians from this point, whether from inside and outside the regime are convinced to varying degrees and from a different points, Pragmatism as approach is the most influential factor in dealing with the United States and the West. Both the Iranian and the Western sides are starting from a theoretical reference and with accelerated pragmatic steps framed by the idea of conflict and cultural and civilizational scramble, which concludes that survival and influence will ultimately remain for the fittest.
- 2- The pragmatic policy under President Hassan Rowhani and his Foreign Minister Mohammad Javad Zarif provided a solid ground for the Iranian and the Great Powers to reach a political consensus in relation to the Iranian nuclear file in July 2015. Notably, that the two parties tried in the past to take advantage of this policy to make the success of rapprochement between them, but their attempts failed, and we have noticed before and after the revolution.
- 3- Iran's strategy under President Hassan Rowhani on the policy of continuity depends on pragmatism practical approach, entailing no change in policies with changes in management and government, as happens in many countries of the world. Therefore, there is no radical change in the foreign policies of countries in the event of a change of leadership. Iran adopted the pragmatic approach in a spiritual era in dealing with the following issues as well as the issue the nuclear program of Iran.
  - a- To consolidate the Iranian file in the region with Syria, Iraq and Lebanon, especially with the changes in the region.
  - b- Iran's foreign policy Adopted to provide diplomatic solutions to the regional crises.
  - c- Deal with the Palestinian issue.
  - d- Relations with Western countries and attempts to restore relations with the European Union in a spiritual era, and the United Kingdom in particular.
  - e- Follow the open-door policy and realism, especially after the nuclear deal with the Great Powers, in particular with regard to the continuation of direct dialogues between Iranian Foreign Minister Mohammad Javad Zarif and his American and British counterparts. As well as the nature of the regional changes after the mapping of the Geneva/ two and the relations between the Great Powers.
- 4- We cannot take our eyes off the fact that there is a real pragmatic change in the era of under President Hassan Rowhani in the orientations of Iran's foreign policy. The features of the change have been manifested in the Iranian foreign policy tools towards providing a great role to Iranian diplomacy and to build strategies and practical and realistic goals.
- 5- Iran seeks to under President Ruhani and after resolving the crisis the nuclear program of Iran, and through the pragmatic approach to work to resolve the thorny issues such as:
  - a. Relations with the West in general and the United States in particular.

- b. Relations with the Gulf states and Saudi Arabia in particular.
  - c. The need to focus on common understandings with neighboring countries, and to find common interests and confront threats.
- 6- Iranian President Rohani and the Foreign Minister Mohammad Javad Zarif believes in Pragmatic Diplomatic work and necessity of adopting a flexible approach in disengaging of the external crisis to overcome international economic pressure on Iran, with considering the foreign policies are the reflection of domestic politics.

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