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Keele University

Ifeanyi Raymond Okonkwo

Phd Thesis

PETRODOLLAR SYSTEM AND THE US HEGEMONY IN THE MIDDLE EAST: A CASE STUDY OF THE US RELATIONS WITH SAUDI ARABIA AND IRAN

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Abstract

The research explores the relationship between the petrodollar system and the US foreign policy as the global hegemonic power in the Middle East, particularly concerning US relations with Saudi Arabia and Iran. Throughout recent history, the oil-rich Middle East has played a key role in determining US foreign policy as its oil regions account for 65 percent of the world's proven oil reserves and 30 percent of its day-to-day production. The need to control oil outside the US, particularly the desire to control the oil-rich Middle East, has driven the US to get involved in the region's politics. This research aims to utilize the Personality Trait Theory of leadership to examine the role of key American leaders in designing and leading the US policy in the Middle East. The research adopts primary and secondary data collection as its method and fits into the security and statecraft research area.

Research Aims

The study examines the Petro-dollar system and the US hegemony in the Middle East using the case study of the US relations with two main antagonists in the region - Saudi Arabia and Iran.

The research aims are:

- i. To narrate, analyze and explain how the US foreign policy has experienced major shifts over time, first in strong favor of Saudi Arabia, and then to a less extent in favor of Iran.
- ii. To define whether Saudi Arabia is an unreliable ally for the US and if imposing economic sanctions on SA is a justified and productive action.
- iii. To analyze to what extent a mutually acceptable and effective nuclear deal between the US and Iran is an constructive way of de-escalating tensions in the region.

To achieve the above aims, the following research question will form the core of the work:

How does the US use the petrodollar system to establish and exercise hegemony in the Middle East?

This question will be supplemented by additional queires that will help to structure the research.

- i. How did the Petrodollar system emerge and how has it contributed to the US maintaining its global hegemony in the Middle East?
- ii. How have the domestic imperatives within the USA, Iran, and Saudi Arabia shaped these countries' foreign policies to each other, and what role have the domestic considerations played in affecting the tripartite relationship?
- iii. What particular role was played by the institutions that emerged from the Bretton Woods system and in certain Middle Eastern regional agencies in influencing American Foreign Policy in the Middle East?

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Background and Rationale

The area of research is about the evolving state of the UnitedStates' relations with the Middle East in the context of the petrodollar system and the US hegemony. The foreign policy between the United States and Middle Eastern nations has faced many changes, primarily because of the rich oil resources present in Middle Eastern countries. The involvement of many Western nations in the Middle Eastern region seeks to secure the oil in the Middle East to benefit their interests. The beginning of foreign relations between the Middle East and the United States can be traced back to the early 19th century after e establishing the United States as an independent sovereign state. However, the interrelation between the UnitedStates' political and economic interests with Middle Eastern nations became much more expansive after World War Two and the discovery of significant oil reserves in the region. After the Second World War, implementing the Bretton Woods agreement and system and establishing institutions such as the IMF and World Bank allowed the United States to influence the global economy through the US dollar.

The petrodollar system uses the US dollar as the standard currency to pay for oil internationally. In 1945, Saudi Arabia agreed to trade its oil with the US using the dollar as the currency, leading to the implementation of the petrodollar system. After this agreement, countries with rich oil resources were able to accumulate large amounts of US dollars, which couldn't be spent completely. Standardizing the oil with the dollar ensured that oil-producing companies traded the oil in dollars, creating the petrodollar system. This research covered the history of the petrodollar in the context of US Foreign Relations with Saudi Arabia and Iran to understand how the changing political landscape in the Middle East has impacted the system.

Implementing the Petrodollar system has made the dollar a dominant currency globally. With the world depending on oil, oil-trading companies made the dollar the global reserve currency that did not face serious competition. However, changing US relations with Middle Eastern countries, specifically Saudi Arabia and Iran, have threatened the stability of the petrodollar system since its implementation in 1945. This involves the time when the United States sanctioned Iran for refusing to halt its development of potential nuclear weapons. This showcases that the complex dynamics between the United States and Middle Eastern countries have shaped the global economy because it directly impacts the stability of the Petrodollar system. In addition, implementing the petrodollar system within the Middle East gives the United States more influence over global oil trade, ensuring that Western interests are prioritized in the context of oil supply.

This brings us to the research question answered in the thesis: how did the petrodollar system allow the US to establish and exercise hegemony in the Middle East? The research examines the evolution of the petrodollar system and its role in supporting US hegemony. These domestic considerations impact the tripartite relationship between the US, Iran, and Saudi Arabia and the key institutions and regional agencies that have influenced American foreign policy in the Middle East. This includes an analysis of the Bretton Woods agreement and the key institutions that emerged from the agreements in the context of the petrodollar system and US relations with Saudi Arabia and Iran. In this way, the research highlights the role of the petrodollar

system in supporting US hegemony in the context of Iran and Saudi Arabia, tracing the key economic and political developments that influenced foreign relations between the countries.

Hegemony

Hegemony is utilized throughout IR literature to indicate the dominance of one power over another (Diezauskaite & Ilinca, 2017, p. 17). The term is derived from the Greek word Hegemonia, meaning "leadership" (Rathnayake, 2016, p. 251). Hegemons are viewed as preeminent powers that can use their economic and military power to take on governing functions within the international order (Butt, 2013, pp. 578-590; Neuman & Nexon, 2018, p. 1). In the United States, it is often described in popular language as being the "world's policeman" (Davenport and Lloyd, 2019, p. 9). However, it is essential to note that hegemony is not simply related to economic and military might; rather, it utilizes meta-capital, stemming from "highly asymmetric military and economic capabilities" to shape and even innovate other areas of diplomacy, finance, sport, and technology (Go, 2008; 2012; Neuman and Nexon, 2018, p. 2). Therefore, effective hegemonic power over a region in modern times is enacted mainly through soft power and local proteges and actors (Gokay, 2015).

Gramsci defined hegemony as a process of moral and intellectual leadership through which dominated or subordinate classes of post-1870 industrial Western European nations consented to their domination by ruling classes instead of being forced or coerced into accepting inferior positions. This definition avoided using Marxist terminology, such as class, to define hegemony as a form of control exercised by the dominant class. On the other hand, dominance refers to the straightforward exercise of power over others with the help of coercion or force. In this way, the concept of hegemony and dominance is different because the concept of hegemony as defined by Gramsci is interrelated with the concept of state and civil society ends how the dominant class retains power over subordinates with their consent like dominance is focused more on coercion and exercising control over subordinate without any consent. The dominance of one country over other countries due to its high power, technology, and economics is called hegemony. The alternative of hegemony is also called the balance of power system. Here, countries are broken into equal power entities so that a single nation cannot control over the other nation. There are various benefits a hegemonic country can gain after becoming a hegemon. One of the biggest advantages of hegemony is that the country can use the resources of other countries (Bryndin, 2021). It can also help nations develop while working under the hegemony of powerful countries. In the context of the US, they gained power over international organizations, which can double their influence on international matters. The US has high GDP growth plus a well-established infrastructure (Basosi, 2020). They even focus on developing the skills of their people so that they can develop and innovate new inventions for the country to represent at the international level. The US controls vast events and tournaments related to sports or any other field.

There is a big difference between hegemony and empire. In the context of empire, a country rules other countries but does not lose the power of its own country. Still, in the context of hegemony, countries influence other states more to follow the rules and regulations of a hegemon country rather than controlling their territory (Chengu, 2019). Most of the owners and founders of big companies are from the US (add source). They even have the power to set their currency at a standard level where the other currencies' values are measured in terms of dollar value. Hence, they have the power to influence the decisions of the World Bank.

The hegemonic stability theory is one of the most popular IR theories, and it explains the role of the hegemonic state in developing international rules and regulations (Smith, 2022). As per this theory, the global system is more cooperative and stable when a hegemonic country provides leadership over other nations. The same theory suggests that the presence of hegemony can develop a sense of predictability and can help to create good relationships between countries, which can further foster trading activities at the international level (Piper, 2023). On the other hand, the same theory (Hegemonic stability theory) also states that the dominance of a single country over others can convert the matter into controversial.

Hegemony, therefore, is based upon implementing structural power through various means. Power is central to international relations and is defined as the set of characteristics utilized to influence otherparties' actions. There are different categories of powers under international relations, including the difference between hard and soft power, where hard power refers to coercive power, including military strength, and soft power refers to the cultural strength of a nation. Here, this research uses the definition of structural power outlined in Strange (1994, p. 24): "the power to shape and determine the structures of the global political economy within which other states, their political institutions, their economic enterprises and (not least) their scientists and other professional people have to operate." Indeed, the post-WWII world has been characterized by US hegemony within the international order (Burgat, 2023). This hegemony enabled the country to lead on global security and economic frameworks foundational to the international order in the post-WWII era (Layne, 2009, p. 147). Setting these rules has allowed the US to establish itself as a hegemonic force and enforced its structural power by shaping frameworks that dictate how states relate to one another, people, and corporate entities (Strange, 1994, p. 25).

The US administration also established official or formal hegemony in the global financial and economic sector by influencing globalorganizations' weighted voting rules, systems, and arrangements, containing approval from the majority and domestic regulations and laws.

Strange (1986) analyzed international hegemony through four major global structures: security, production, finance, and knowledge. This analysis concluded that the US is a hegemonic power, and this conclusion is shared by several significant current-day works, like Rathnayake (2016), who holds that US hegemony is based upon its overpowering military strength, stable political system, and leading position within the global technological market (p. 251). However, the work of Strange (1986; 1998) is precise: it is not appropriate to prioritize one of these structures over another; this allows it to remain sensitive to fundamental changes that may occur over time within the global political economy. Therefore, the interplay of these structures enables hegemony to remain flexible and long-standing.

Research Aims

Through utilizing the US relations with the main antagonists for regional hegemony in the Middle East, Saudi Arabia, and Iran, as a case study, the thesis aims to look at the petrodollar system in its development period from the 1970s onwards. Key research aims are:

i. To narrate and analyze shifts in US foreign policy in the Middle East over time, how this has impacted its relationships with Saudi Arabia and Iran, and how these two states'

- changing politics and position have been reflected in the shifts in the US Middle Eastern policy.
- ii. To define the central elements of the relationship between Saudi Arabia and the US.
- To examine the allowance of the US establishment and exercise of hegemony in theMiddle East in relation to the petrodollar system

The following research question constitutes the core of the work as it seeks to achieve the aims:

 How has the petrodollar system allowed the US to establish and exercise hegemony in the Middle East?

Supplementary questions to help in the structure of the research are:

- i. How did the petrodollar system emerge in the first place, and how has it contributed to the US maintaining its hegemony in the Middle East?
- ii. What role do domestic considerations and imperatives play in these countries' tripartite relationship?
- iii. What role, if any, have the institutions that emerged from Bretton Woods played in this period of influencing American foreign policy in the Middle East? and
- iv. What other regional agencies influence this policy?

US Hegemony and the Middle East

The US is the perfect example of economic hegemony as it has diplomatic relations with each nation in the Middle East, excluding Iran, with whom connections were detached after the 1979 Islamic Revolution, as well as Syria. The US also has conventional institutional hegemony in the global economic and financial sector by influencing the one-sided voting rules, systems, and preparations of international organizations containing "support by the majority of peopl" among its domestic trade rules, regulations, and laws (Smith, 2022). Hegemony can be understood as the economic, political as well as military preponderance of one state over the other states. It has been determined that various factors are responsible for increasing US hegemony in world politics, such as having high and greater military power. The fragmentation of the USSR left the country as a single superpower and a high power in supplying and delivering international goods.

In the context of the US, their hegemony is divided into different parts for different aspects. Political hegemony is one of them. The US has tried to mold manycountries' political power and point of view for many years. Their main purpose is to promote democracy and human

rights. The US interferes in othercountries' internal matters (Koruzhde & Cox, 2022). They enter the matter of other countries with the name of "promoting democracy" but practice a "Neo-Monroe Doctrine." The US also exercised double standards for international rules. They are very concerned for their self-interest, and because of this, they exit the international treaties and consider their domestic laws and regulations above the international laws.

In the context of the Middle East, the interests of the US have been about ensuring the free flow of oil from the Gulf, guaranteeing the survival and security of Israel, and limiting the influence of the former Soviet Union after the Second World War. These areas provide US political strength by countering the influence of Russia, another great power. In addition to this, it also aids the country in establishing a stronghold over oil supply on a global level. The domestic interest of the US in the protection and stability of Israel has also been a critical factor in driving the US foreign policy and interference in the regional politics of the Middle East.

In the context of military hegemony, the history of the US is always characterized by expansion and violence. The US has around 800 military bases and 1,73,000 troops across 159 countries. The technological power of the US military is highly advanced and helps the country develop in the context of defense. They even provide their military troops for other countries' security (Yomi et al., 2023). For example, they highly invested in the safety and security of Afghanistan from terror attacks by sending a huge group of military individuals to Afghanistan. This benefited them in various ways; they could control the decision-making power of other countries, plus they could even use their resources for a longer time to train and develop their military forces in new places (Pichitkanjanakul, 2019).

US hegemony has been impacted by constant tension within US foreign policy between a liberal approach to pursuing commercial and financial interests and a realist approach regarding political and military national interests (Strange, 1987). Scholars differ on the precise nature of these interests. For instance, Rathnayake (2016, p.252) holds that US involvement in the Middle East is largely motivated by three main interests: securing Arab-Israeli peace, preventing regional conflicts, and supporting U.S.-friendly nations. Conversely, Wood (2019, p. 167) holds that US interest in the region is aimed solely at serving its state interest and increasing the US sphere of power. However, these two aspects can co-exist as the maintenance of proxies and allies in the region (including through the securing of Arab-Israeli peace and preventing regional conflicts is a way to increase the US' sphere of power as well as serve its own interest US influence grows while national interests and stability are protected by promoting peace between the Arabs and Israelis and preventing regional wars).

The Cold War's macro-narrative has arguably set the tone for modern American involvement in the region (Wood, 2019, p. 171). Therefore, US partnerships in the Middle East became so-called "lynchpin partnerships" to maintain the hegemonic order and US power in the region (as well as around the world) (Mastanduno, 2019, p. 479).

The 1980s saw numerous researchers hold that US hegemony was on the decline; however, Norrolf (2010) maintains that structural elements of power mattered over and beyond static indicators and that this was especially true of interactions between states and financial markets (Norrolf, 2010, p. 18; Wincoff, 2020, p. 210). The US, she argued, has a superior technology sector, dominated services, and its currency was strong within the international market; therefore, US hegemony would be lasting (Cohen, 2008, p. 76). Continual US hegemony four decades after Strange proposed these ideas upholds their strength. The US remains dominant and strong in many areas, but China is a growing military and economic challenge. China is currently vying with the US in the high-tech sector; for example, China is now leading the way in EVs. Additionally, US dollars lost ground from nearly 80% of world trade in the 1980s to roughly 50% in 2020."After the First World War, the dollar looks awfully like sterling" remarked David Bloom, head of HSBC's currency division, in June 2009.

Various countries are highly influenced by US economic hegemony. They set the Bretton Woods System after World War II. Their currency is considered standard, meaning othercurrencies' values are measured in dollars. They influenced the world to form the international monetary system centered around the US dollar (Kamel and Wang, 2019). The US has 85% of voting rights for international matters, especially economic and financial matters. The US is collecting "Seigniorage" by taking advantage of the dollar status, which helps it control various international organizations. It is also considered that the main reason for uncertainty and instability worldwide is the hegemony of the US dollar (Berthonnet & Bracarense, 2022). At the time of the COVID pandemic, the US injected trillions of dollars into the global market. This further forces other countries, especially emerging countries, to pay the price. The Fed ultimately adopted the Ultra Easy Monetary Policy in 2022. Consequently, the interest rate is aggressively raised, such as creating havoc in the global market and devaluing the value of other national currencies, like the euro.

The US is one of the nations whose name is associated with technical predominance. They have such cutting-edge technology that they supply other nations with the necessary equipment and tools to establish their technological monopoly. Nonetheless, China manufactures 60% of shoes, 70% of mobile phones, and 80% of air conditioners worldwide. Almost half of the items

produced worldwide are now produced by this "Factory China" However, the United States has started a"30" probe to support the growth of Japan's semiconductor industry. The main reasons for helping Japan are to interfere with their decisions, impose retaliatory tariffs, and influence Japan to sign the agreement on US-Japan semiconductor transportation (Reyhani Kolaachaahi, 2022). The US always wanted to become the highest power in terms of technology. If they find any other country developing better technological tools and machines, they try to interrupt them by distracting their economy or any other factor by their power. For example, China is developing fast in terms of technology. The US has made several efforts to lowerChina's economic development, specifically in high-tech enterprises. This includes the semiconductor chip sanctions imposed on China by the US government."The transfer of power from West to East is gathering pace and soon will dramatically change the context for dealing with international challenges -- as well as the challenges themselves" states even Foreign Affairs, a periodical close to the US government, in July/August 2004. Asia's increasing power is already well known to many in the West. But as of yet, this awareness has not been turned into readiness. There's also a risk that Western nations may make the same mistakes they have in the past. Due to this, more than 1000 high-tech companies in China are considered on the sanctions list (Kamal, 2022). They even get control over biotechnology and artificial intelligence companies in China. Even per a few of the records, the US has many hackers who are working for the nation to interrupt the technological development of other countries. They can even digitally assess weakcountries' confidential data regarding technology and growth.

Last but not least, cultural hegemony has also impacted the US growth all across the world. The US mainly promotes its cultural values through its Hollywood movies, which are seen worldwide. The TV shows or interviews with worldwide reach are primarily on American values and culture and their benefits worldwide (Unger, 2019). John Yemma, one of the popular American scholars, explores the weapons of US cultural expansion in his article "The Americanization of the World." John stated that the image design factories on Madison Avenue, Hollywood movies, and production lines of Coca-Cola and metal companies played a vital role in expanding US culture worldwide. American movies occupy 70% of the market share in the entertainment industry (*US Hegemony and Its Perils, 2023*). On 27 December 2022, Elon Musk, the CEO of Twitter, announced that all social media platforms, whether Twitter, Instagram, Facebook, or any other, will only work for the US government to censor content. Even the US played a very important role in controlling the freedom of the press so that they could convey only the information they wanted the world to know (Brodunov et al., 2020). The

US had international issues with Russia, so they restricted Russian Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube accounts. Apple, Netflix, and Google have also removed Russian applications and channels from their app store and services.

Information on the US hegemony indicates that the country is highly concerned about its power and control over other countries (Nitzan & Bichler, 2020). They even made some strategies and plans to lower other economies and then help them to raise so that they can easily gain power over their economies (LeVine, 2023). They believe having power or hegemony over the globe benefits their personal growth. The countries should respect and help each other grow in trade, technology, and economy (Smith, 2022). Leading or controlling the other economy is not always disadvantageous. Still, sometimes it can also help the under-control economy to grow well by using the resources and manpower of developed countries.

OPEC's Oil Embargo and the Emergence of the Petrodollar

The emergence of the petrodollar was, in some ways, an extension of the rivalries amongst superpowers for control of the Middle East following the Second World War and saw the region play host to proxy conflicts throughout the Cold War (including within Yemen (Oluwafemi, 2021, p.103; Marshall, 2016, p. 183). Following the Yom Kippur War in October 1973, the Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries (OAPEC) declared an oil embargo that drove oil prices up 400% (Hughes, 2018: p. 1). This plunged Western nations, including the United States, into a recession whereby worker's wages could not keep pace with the high inflation resulting from increased oil prices (Hughes, 2018, p. 1). The United States, as the Western hegemon, intervened to defend its interests and allies, particularlyJapan's dependence on oil imports and oil-rich US proteges in the Middle East. Furthermore, and perhaps most importantly, it is heavily hypothesized that the nation with control over the Middle East due to its oil, is a global economic and political leader (Hughes, 2018). The petrodollar was a means by which the United States could place itself in a strategic hegemonic position, utilizing the oil economy as a strong basis of its global power. This supports the political economy theory that hegemonic power controls the oil markets in the Middle East (Strange, 1988).

Per the Petrodollar Agreement 1973, the US is considered the highest power in a materialized unipolar world. Petro currency is the term that emerged in 1973 when the US agreed to provide armed protection to Saudi Arabia. On the other hand, the dollar can be recycled into the American economic system by paying US treasury bills and bonds (Lashitew et al., 2020). By 1975, all OPEC members agreed to transfer the oil in US dollars. China is considered the largest

crude oil importer, with 1.76 million barrels per day. They also dealt with Saudi Arabia to offer nuclear missiles and to invest heavily in KSA projects. Recently, Ukraine's President mentioned that the US has a monopoly on international matters, which is unsuitable for other countries (Alvarez, 2023). By 2020, 46% of Russo-China bilateral dealings occurred in US dollars. Almost 90% of foreign dealings of crude oil take place in US dollars all across the world. Since the Bretton Woods conference in 1944, the Petrodollar has also been considered one of the best sources of revenue for a few OPEC members plus some non-OPEC members.

Nonetheless, throughout the past 30 years, there has been a change in the proportional decrease in the use of US dollars in international trade. "Thedollar's status as the global reserve currency is rapidly erodin" (ITM Trading, August 2023). Approximately 88.4 million barrels of crude oil were exported daily in 2020. Some nations consider the petrodollar and cryptocurrency the same as each other's substitute, but these terms differ (Dunson II, 2021). Cryptocurrency is considered decentralized digital money based on blockchain technology. Petro currency has various benefits, such as improving the gap between trade deficits and the source of liquidity and the inflow of foreign capital through petrodollar recycling. On the other hand, there are also various drawbacks to using Petro currency. It can create conflicts between different countries regarding the superior authority given to the US. With the elimination of gold standards, the dollar came into existence. The US held a majority of the gold supply after World War II. In replacement of these gold transactions, Petro currency takes place. The idea of this transaction is dealt with at the 1944 Bretton Woods conference. In 1945, US President F.D.R. conducted a meeting with Saudi King Abd al-Aziz to agree upon the deal (De Falco, 2022). Saudi Arabia agreed to export crude oil to the US in return for some military assistance from the US. They needed their troops to get some training as the US gave to their troops, plus they also needed to buy some weapons in exchange for crude oil. In global markets, the dollar has been the world's well-known currency, but in the current time, its share of international foreign exchange reserves has been falling gradually. According to the IMF's Currency Composition of Official Foreign Exchange Reserves (COFER) data, "The share of reserves held in U.S. dollars by central banks dropped by 12 percentage points since the turn of the century, from 71% in 1999 to 59% in 2021."

The OPEC oil embargo and the development of the petrodollar influenced international financial systems and global geopolitics. 1973-1974 are considered one of the most critical years in international crude oil exchange. During this year, various new international policies and regulations have changed. During these years, only petrocurrency has been popular in the

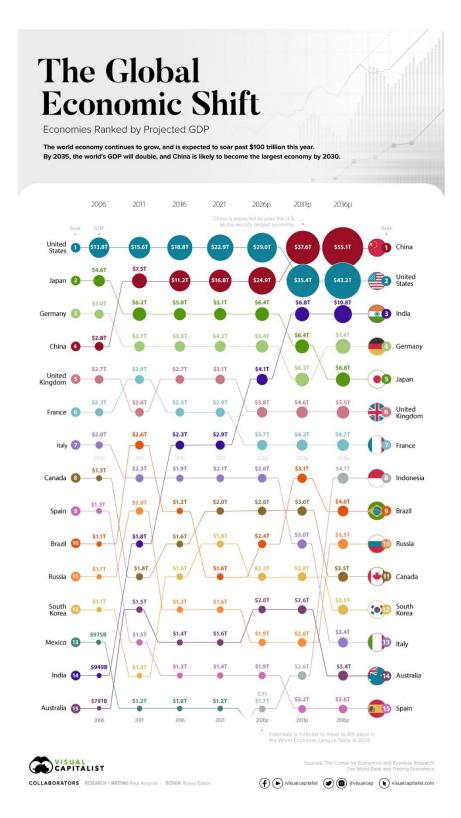
oil industry worldwide. As soon as OPEC was created, the US started bargaining with OPEC members, especially with Saudi Arabia, to set the dollar as the standard value for oil transportation across OPEC members. Their main purpose is that the countries of OPEC can start dealing with the oil in terms of dollars, and for this transaction, they need dollars that they can buy only from the US. Hence, directly or indirectly, the US tries to increase the value of the dollar all across the world (Damodaran, Thakkar, and Aiyer, 2020). Saudi Arabia was one of the nations vying for dominance in the Middle East and was looking to strengthen its leadership role among the countries in the region. Thus, OPEC nations, particularly Saudi Arabia, ask the US for some of its military defense capabilities and security guarantees in exchange for oil.

To exchange the oil, OPEC members ask for the resources they need to develop their countries, such as military forces and security assurance for the US. Hence, this exchange of resources helps various countries to grow well. Positioning dollar currency for oil exchange also helps the US to lower its interest rates and finance its trade deficits. On the other hand, the US also covers its deficit by increasing the prices of goods and services within its nation, called inflation. Petrodollar played an essential role in the US in covering the deficit through inflation (OTTIH, 2022). The US also continues to generate more dollars because it knows that other nations need them in exchange for oil. The agreement of the petrodollar also positively impacted the world, where they formed good relations by exchanging crude oil. Various researchers believe that the US is also seeking to take control of the oil industry to manipulate or influence the nations in the context of resources. In the year 2000, Muammar Gaddafi from Libya and Saddam Hussein from Iraq tried to sell their crude oil while using currencies other than the US dollar (Kadri, 2023). This further impacted their relationship with Iraq and Libya in the early 2000s. During the same year, renewable energy also gained popularity among nations concerned about climate change. Hence, this has become a trend in most countries, including OPEC members. The demand for crude oil has declined daily, further impacting thedollar's value.

In response to the oil embargo of the 1970s, the US used its military power in the form of military protection and arms to states that priced oil exclusively in US dollars and recycled the extra oil proceeds in US government debt securities (Hughes, 2018). This arrangement of the oil embargo communicated the ongoing hegemony of the US through the status of the US dollar as the world reserve currency after Bretton Woods and especially after its decoupling from gold in 1971 (Hughes, 2018). This again stresses the importance of the political economy concerning hegemony and the utilization of economic systems by the United States to build and consolidate

power in the international system. Therefore, by comprehensively examining the petrodollar system and US hegemony, the study will speak more broadly to the political economy and how the US maintains its critical security and hegemony in the Middle East.

Thus, it has been analyzed that, over the last 30 years, even though a large shift occurred in the context of the US's influence as a superpower, it has remained a strong military and political power. On the other hand, the decline in the power of the US has seriously impacted global political power greatly.



Source: Amoros, Rotley and Eason (2022). *Visualizing the Coming Shift in Global Economic Power* (2006-2036p). [Online]. Available at: < https://www.visualcapitalist.com/shifting-global-economic-power/>

From the above graph, it has been analyzed that China is expected to beat the US by 2030. A faster-than-anticipated retrieval in the US in 2021 and China's brawls under the "Zero-COVID" policies have made the nation take the top spot by about two years. This is because China has sustained its positive GDP growth due to the stability in domestic demand. The fiscal and economic policy had largely focused before the pandemic over fears of growing Western trade restrictions. China's economic growth has significantly impacted the global political landscape, sharing a new global power distribution. The country's economic growth, foreign aid provision, and outward foreign direct investment have increased significantly in the last decade, increasing the geopolitical power of the region. Commentators have also argued that the rising economic strength of China can lead to jostling for power between the US and China. This rivalry between the US and China may disrupt the global supply chain, threatening the existing FDI. In addition, the competition between the US and China to maintain political and economic power internationally can produce trade barriers and policy interventions in the context of critical areas of global trade, including oil import and export. The changing power dynamics within the 21st century with the rise of the Chinese economy and its role in global leadership through the development of new institutions such as the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank and regional comprehensive economic partnership along with its Belt and Road Initiative ginger change the world order impacting influence of Western powers including the United States on third world countries. Scholars have also argued that China has become a visible competitor to US dominance in the context of military and economic strength. However, this can create an environment where the bipolar balance of power between the US and China makes a stable outcome with the establishment of global stability in a two-hegemon world similar to that of the US and Soviet Union, where both the global powers were able to establish long term stability a beat with significant tension and minor conflicts.

Rank	Country	Region	Projected GDP in 2031 (in Trillions of USD)
1	China	Asia	\$37.6
2	■ United States	North America	\$35.4
3	I India	Asia	\$6.8
4	• Japan	Asia	\$6.4
5	■ Germany	Europe	\$6.3
6	## United Kingdom	Europe	\$4.6
7	■ France	Europe	\$4.2
8	S Brazil	South America	\$3.1
9	I→I Canada	North America	\$3.0

\$3.0

Source: Amoros, Rotley and Eason (2022). *Visualizing the Coming Shift in Global Economic Power* (2006-2036p). [Online]. Available at: < https://www.visualcapitalist.com/shifting-global-economic-power/>

Europe

10

Italy

Moreover, the above graph showcases that China is expected to increase its GDP to 37.6 trillion US dollars, exceeding the US economy. This projected economic growth of China can challenge US Hegemony in the Middle East. This is also supported by recent involvement in China in the Middle East to enhance its strategic influence in the region. China has established close relationships with many Middle Eastern countries in the past two decades, hoping to develop economic, geopolitical, and strategic influence. In 2016, China expressed its regional interest in the Middle East. China is focused on building the Silk Road economic belt and 21st century maritime Silk Road jointly with Arab nations, establishing a 1 + 2 + 3 operation pattern that involves energy cooperation at its core, infrastructure construction and trade investment being the second wing and supporting technological cooperation including nuclear energy, space better light and new energy as the third factor. These, combined with the growing economic power of China, can create barriers for the US and its allies in the Middle East in terms of securing oil supplies and influencing the political landscape. China can emerge as an option to reduce the political and military involvement of the US in the Middle East, specifically by nations that are prominently anti-American, such as Iran.

China also recently held the China-Arab States and the first China GCC summit, evidence of Chinese involvement in the Middle East, forming strategic partnerships and economic development beyond traditional energy interests. The interest and involvement of China have significantly shaped the foreign policy of Middle Eastern nations and impacted its geopolitical landscape. Now, China has become Saudi Arabia and UAE's largest non-oil trading partner on an international level, and the country is also proposing the implementation of an FTA with GCC members to further China's diplomatic agenda.

The Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), an essential aspect of increasing Chinese global influence through foreign policy, is also associated with the Middle East as the maritime element of BRI or the Maritime Silk Road Initiative (MSRI) depends on collaboration with Middle Eastern countries. The positive reception from Middle Eastern countries towards Chinese involvement can be seen. Still, increased cooperation between China and Middle Eastern countries led to 23% of Chinese BRI engagement within the region, up from 16.5% in the previous year. The increasing influence of China in the Middle East, its growing economic power, and technological self-reliance can counter US hegemony in the Middle East.

Various factors contribute to the effective and complicated relationship between Saudi Arabia, Iran, and the US.

Iran and Saudi Arabia have different religious and political philosophies. The majority of Iran's population follows Shia culture, whereas Saudi Arabia follows Sunni Islam. This conflict of religion between these two nations is always highlighted in international matters.

On the other hand, the relationship between the US and Iran was highlighted in the Iranian Revolution in 1979. Pro-Western Shah ruled Iran with the American administration's backing before 1979. Oil is a major energy source that powers homes, businesses, and transportation. Imports largely meet the energy needs of Western countries. Thus, having steady and reasonably priced oil is essential. Gaining control of oil deposits or gaining entry to oil-rich areas improves national security, economic stability, and strategic power.

Saudi Arabia is the largest exporter of oil in the world. Hence, this is the main reason Saudi Arabia is sometimes seen as the leader of OPEC members. The country significantly impacted the prices of crude oil for OPEC members. Saudi Arabia is the de facto head of OPEC and has the greatest proven oil reserves in the world. Saudi Arabia, the world's largest oil exporter, can

quickly modify its output due to its substantial production capacity. Their choices significantly impact the world's oil supply and, thus, prices. Saudi Arabia can coordinate adjustments in output through OPEC, which will cause volatility in the oil markets. In the last ten years, the nation has been trying to focus on stabilizing the global energy market, which is also the objective of the US. Iran is also one of the most prominent OPEC members, with large oil reserves and potential for production. In 2006, Iran demanded an increase in the prices of oil generated within their economy so that they could develop their economy well. Iran reported a crude oil reserve of 132.5 barrels (2.107×1010 m3). Over the ensuing years, the nation did observe an increase in oil prices due to several variables, such as supply and demand variations, geopolitical tensions, and dynamics of the global market.

From 1987 to 1990, diplomatic relations between Iran and Saudi Arabia were suspended. Iran and Saudi Arabia cut diplomatic ties from 1987 to 1990 as a result of growing hostilities that broke out during the Hajj pilgrimage in Mecca, which led to violence that claimed hundreds of lives. Diplomatic relations were halted for three years as both nations accused one another of mismanaging the crisis. They are focusing well on developing their relationship with each other. Iran's foreign minister highlighted that both countries need to build their relations with each other and share ties with various organizations to enhance their trading activities. Iran and Saudi Arabia's relationship was considered on the right track before 2016. After the year 2016, the relationship between these two countries was impacted negatively due to some internal political reasons, such as the execution of Sheikh Nimr al-Nimr, proxy conflicts, religious differences, and geopolitical rivalry.

Therefore, relationships with these nations are significant to the United States. Saudi Arabia and Iran have recently engaged in talks to reduce regional tensions. However, it is noted that rather than ease tensions, interventions by the United States, Iran, and Saudi Arabia (and Russia), mainly out of economic and oil motives, have instead exacerbated both social and religious divisions in the Middle East (Balaam and Dillman, 2018, p. 21).

US-Iran Foreign Relations

The US relationship with Iran was built mainly from the rivalry for control among global superpowers following the Second World War (Oluwafemi, 2021, p.103). US relationship with Iran has been sought throughout the decades, with bilateral relations beginning in 1933 and formalized diplomatic relations established by the 1952 Mutual Defense Agreement

(Blanchard, 2010). Supporting the Shah of Iran through diplomacy allowed the US to increase its political power within the region; however, this was reversed by the Islamic Revolution of 1979 (Oluwafemi, 2021, p.103). We have governed the rivalry between the two since the 1970s. This rivalry was greatly expanded in the years after the 1979 Iranian Revolution. The 2011 Arab Spring enhanced the existing dispute and converted Iran-Saudi enmity into a regional confrontation (Ahmadian, 2018, p. 133). For instance, the last phase was characterized by the lifting of the US sanctions on Iran by the Obama administration following the nuclear deal of April 2015 (McCain, 2015, p. 3). Many considered the new policies introduced by the Obama administration as an indication of changes in the global political landscape, where the US does not hold significant power compared to the past. For instance, the 2017 withdrawal from the TPP (Trans-Pacific Partnership) was an abandonment of attempts by the Obama administration to further US hegemony to ensure that regional economic strategy was complementing the overall geopolitical strategy of the United States (Mastanduno, 2020). According to academics like Mastanduno (2020), the withdrawal from the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) and the imposition of new sanctions on Iran represent a move away from hegemony and towards "onshore balancing." This action shows a shift in favor of bilateralism and economic nationalism. Countries prioritize their financial interests over multilateral agreements, forming increasingly specialized alliances. A shift in global relations is evident in the rejection of the TPP and the sanctions placed on Iran. This shift prioritizes bilateral negotiations and selfinterest over larger cooperative frameworks, moving away from traditional hegemonic strategies and towards more individualized and self-centered approaches to international policy.

As noted above, the United States has tactically expanded its military presence in the Middle East while working to protect its interests in the region (Rahnayake, 2016, p. 252). This further speaks to the role of critical security in the US's relationship with the region, in general, but also explicitly related to Saudi Arabia and Iran. The combination of policies to protect interests while leveraging the US and US dollar position has contributed to the United States gaining additional strength and prominence in the region. The focus on these two elements (US and US dollar) has also led to changes in relationships between the United States towards Iran and Saudi Arabia. For instance, McCain (2015, p.3) notes that the United States had a well-documented and direct relationship with Iran over the past seventy years; however, this has changed in the post-Islamic Republic era, within which the relationship has undergone several fluctuations.

Therefore, the Alterations to the relationship of the US with Saudi Arabia and Iran have also contributed to Saudi Arabia's looking to Asia for partners to replace Western allies. Azad (2019, p. 139) notes that Saudi Arabia has developed closer connections with the Eastern powers in politico-strategic, military, economic, technological, and cultural spheres, and this approach is also beneficial to Asian nations seeking to expand their interests in important and oil-rich Middle Eastern nations. This again calls into question the state of US hegemony in the region, as noted above. However, it is essential to note that Saudi Arabia utilizes the petrodollar to carry out economic diplomacy (Li 2019, p. 110). Saudi Arabia uses the petrodollar to promote commercial relations, influence world affairs, and price oil sales exclusively in US dollars.

Summary

The research explores the relationship between the petrodollar system and the US foreign policy as the global hegemonic power in the Middle East, particularly concerning US relations with main antagonists for regional leadership, Saudi Arabia and Iran. Throughout recent history, the oil-rich Middle East has played a vital role in determining US policy as the oil regions of the Middle East account for 65 percent of the world's proven oil reserves and 30 percent of its day-to-day production. The need to control oil outside the US, particularly the desire to control the oil-rich Middle East, has driven the US to be heavily involved in the province's politics since the end of the Second World War. This research aims to utilize primary and secondary data collection as its mode and fits into the global political economy and critical security studies research area.

Outline of the methodology

In the current research, the interpretivism philosophy will be implemented to gather data as it helps produce complex research that further provides detailed data analysis. It additionally consists of interpersonal dynamics and social contexts. Along with descriptive research, design is selected to gather the data for a specific group of cases. This research helps the researcher to collect information related to the connection between the US, Iran, and Saudi Arabia policy in a timely and cost-effective manner. Further, an inductive research strategy was applied to study the petrodollar system and the interrelation between the US, Iran, and Saudi Arabia. It helps the researcher to conduct an in-depth analysis to answer the research questions. The Case study is selected as the research strategy to conduct the deep study related to the historical background of Iran's foreign policy, World War I and World War II, the interrelationship between Iran, Saudi Arabia, and the US, and so on, as it was able the

researcher to find out a real life-based solution to solve the complex issues. The secondary data collection method will help the investigator develop their insight by using and reading published articles and information from books, journals, websites, and other sources related to the petrodollar system. The qualitative research method enabled the researcher to learn about various theories to gain a deep understanding of the social and cultural context of the petrodollar. Thematic data analysis enabled the researchers to find better solutions to the research problems. It helped them analyze and examine a large amount of data to meet the desired outcomes effectively. The researcher gathered the data through a non-probability sampling method by choosing many sources to collect huge amounts of information related to the topic to provide relevant and reliable solutions to users.

CHAPTER TWO: REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Theoretical Framework

In exploring the petrodollar system and its role in how the US relates with the Middle East, focusing on Saudi Arabia as a case study, an understanding of specific concepts remains a valuable precedent. Hegemony refers to an environment where an entity, typically a nation or group of nations, dominates influence in a certain area. Some scholars view hegemony as a social control relationship, with hegemonic actors being rulers or leaders over some domain (Chase-Dann et al., 1994). Hegemony is the theory of different dimensions or modalities, such as dominance, power, and leadership. It can be understood as the power and dominance of one country or state over other nations based on exerted force and leader's coercion. In context to the US, it has the power by which the leaders try to dominate other Middle East countries. Hegemony can be termed as the soft power as well as weapons of the US by which the leaders can reach any part of the world lethally as well as accurately. Hegemony is classified into political, military, and economic hegemony. In his world system theory, Immanuel Wallerstein described hegemony as more than mere leadership; it does not meet the threshold of an empire (Hildebrandt, 2009). It is more of an imposition of set rules by one state on the system to create a new political order. The concept of hegemony varies from the ideals of imperialism, which Morgan (2001) defines as total conquest and domination of a foreign territory. Adopting a historical perspective, Prys and Robel (2011) identified some inherent elements that define imperialism. According to the authors, imperialism involves a direct and predominantly coercive control of another state's internal and external sovereignty. In an imperial system, the dominant state dictates the key policy directions of the other state. In this context, hegemony is inclined towards power relations, which deviates from the total domination of an imperial system.

The theory of global governance related to hegemony will underpin this study as it attempts to explain fluctuations within the world order and successive stages that have led to the current oil industry hegemony (Biermann et al., 2002). The concept of global governance emerged after the end of the Cold War when the functional paradigms of the classical realists failed to explain the emerging world order. Global governance refers to interdependent relations and regulations without an overarching political authority within the complex and, to some extent, chaotic international system. Contemplating multilateralism is essential to understanding global governance. Cox (1992) believes the global system has three principal components: the

global political economy, an inter-state system, and a biosphere/global ecosystem. These elements are autonomous while also being interdependent upon one another; in other words, while economic multilateralism is associated with the growth of the capital system and political multilateralism is associated with security, these two elements are also interdependent upon one another (for instance, political multilateralism must maintain and protect the economic (Cox, 1992).

However, Cox (1992) holds that a crisis of multilateralism, particularly shown through the Gulf Crisis but ongoing now in the twenty-first century, has raised multiple questions, including how multilateralism can be reconciled with the hegemony of one powerful state as well as determining the relationship between economic multilateralism and the reality that powerful capitalist states benefit from this international order, and the role that popular movements (like environmentalism) play in multilateralism. These questions persist, especially when discussing issues of hegemony related to the United States (a Western power) within the Middle East. Realism, liberal institutionalism, functionalism, world-system structuralism, and historical dialectic are all part of this discussion by Cox (1992). However, in his neo-Gramscian work, many hold that Cox is overly reliant upon elite views on the political economy and the reduction of Gramsci's conceptualization of common sense (Hopf, 2013). Indeed, for Hopf (2013), it is imperative that elites consider the masses, or they would face daily resistance to the power; in other words, mass common sense can be an obstacle to elite hegemonic power.

As noted throughout the Background and Rationale above, the theory of the political economy, underpinned by the work of Susan Strange, is also a key theoretical element of this work (Rosenau, 1992). For Strange, the regime theory is overly reliant upon states and is biased toward maintaining US hegemony (Cohen, 2008). Again, the four key power structures are essential here: security, production, finance, and knowledge (Strange, 1988). However, financial access is the most overlooked channel of power. Since the 1970s, the global market has gained significant power, leading to a dangerous gap between it and the power of nation-states. At the same time, Strange considered states inflexible and limited to their territorial boundaries. Markets could operate more freely and create uncertainty within a chaotic environment (Strange, 1988). The development of the petrodollar in response to the rise in oil prices after the Yom Kippur War illustrates how the markets can be manipulated.

The failure of realism to explain the emerging world order (and security within this), as noted above, upholds a critical security approach, which seeks to utilize critical theory to widen the focus of approaches to security (Browning, 2011, p. 238). This melds well with the political economy approach by Strange, which holds that power (hegemonic and otherwise) exists beyond the confines of more traditional power paradigms, focused upon nation-states, and instead lies in systems that extend beyond states (Kutting, 2007, p. 54). Therefore, discussing the political economy of critical security is increasingly important within an increasingly interconnected and transnational world, especially related to economic and political activities and their connections (Strange, 1994; Beeson, 2008, p. 58).

Post-War Historical Analysis of US Foreign Policy in the Middle East

Foreign policy is an important concept in the international system. Charles Hermann considered a foreign policy to be concerned with the behavior of the state towards the others. More specifically, Hermann considered foreign policy a discrete, purposeful action shaped by political-level decisions by individuals or groups of persons (Bojang, 2018). From this conceptualization, foreign policy can be contextualized as the behavior of states toward others. George Modelski, on the other hand, conceptualized foreign policy as a system of activities adopted by communities to alter the behaviors of other states and to adjust their own activities in the international environment. At the center of this understanding is that foreign policy considers ways states tend to change and facilitate a change in the behaviors of other states. The national interest mostly drives the behavior change. Foreign policy differs from international relations. The latter mainly denotes the international system's interaction and power dynamics between states and non-state actors. In most cases, foreign policies shape the interactions between states' interactions. International relations can be explored from multiple dimensions, including collaboration, trade, diplomacy, and environmental matters.

As per the perception of Al Sarhan (2017), the objective of assuring safe access to oil resources in the Middle East region, mainly in the Arab oil-rich states, has been prevalent in US foreign policy ever since oil was discovered in the region. This can be traced back to the pre-World War era when US foreign policy was influenced by the growing strategic importance of oil for industrialized nations and the US emergence as a major player in the global oil market. The benefits of accessing oil resources in the Middle East included energy security, military strength, and economic growth. During the early 20th century, before the war, major US companies such as Standard Oil, which later became Exxon, played an essential role in exploring oil resources in the Middle East. This economic interest associated with oil in the

Middle East affected US foreign policy as the government had to protect American Investments in the region, including infrastructure and oil reserves, which required stable political and economic environments to flourish (Hollick 2017).

In this relevance, it has been identified that in the early 19th century, the petroleum sectors succeeded worldwide, particularly in North America and Europe. During the time of war, primary global powers such as Britain started to arrange oil as an essential military asset; current fighting produced a continuous requirement for oil along with its secondary petroleum-based goods that were a requirement for airplanes, submarines, ships, tanks, along with lubrication of contemporary rifles. Following the war, numerous Western businesses enlarged joint franchises in the Middle East, particularly in Bahrain, Iran, Kuwait, and Saudi Arabia (Scott and Rosati 2020). In 1948, ensuing American demands, many firms were established to increase the accessibility of oil resources and ensure that American oil demands were fulfilled. Bussinesses transported oil to United States shorelines, which played a critical role in developing the post-war American economy. Growth in the American economy in the post-war environment further increased energy demands in the region. The United States started looking for substitute sources of oil out of the country to fulfill its own future needs. This encouraged United States firms to pursue businesses in Iran and Kuwait and other oil creators in the state (Schultz 2017).

According to the viewpoint of Sarhan, 2017, the Middle East was very eye-catching to both the United States government and American petroleum firms in the post-war environment due to its verified long-term oil funds. Arab oil reserves were exposed to possibly have much more than the initially expected 60% of the oil reserves worldwide. Moreover, Iraq, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, and Abu Dhabi influenced above 50% of the recognized reserves among themselves only (Friedrichs and Tama, 2022). To confirm this, high-quality Middle Eastern oil was recognized to flow easily of its burden. This condition is permissible for ample inexpensive manufacture prices; in the Middle East, per-manufacture containers range between \$0.10 and \$0.22 in contrast to \$0.39 in Venezuela, along with as much as \$1.51 per container in the United States. This is a significant alteration when it originates to the extremity line.

According to Cammett et al. (2015, pp. 103-120), Powerful governments in the West have tried to gain control over Middle East territories since the discovery of large oil reserves in the region. This has caused global conflicts and influenced international political alliances, creating

changes in the International order. It is also important to understand the concept of international order in this context to evaluate how International world order directly influenced relations between US and Middle East countries, specifically Saudi Arabia and Iran. International order can be defined as regularized exchange practices among discrete political units that recognize each other as independent (Waltz, 2010. p. 50). This definition can be used to analyze how international relations in the Middle East have always been under the influence of International order and the struggle of Global powers to exercise control over the region's oil resources.

Bretton Woods

The worldwide financial system was designed with gold as the primary currency centered around the sterling, allowing Great Britain to serve as the global monetary manager fifty years before the start of World War I (Igwe, 2018, p.105). Working class militancy was at the centre of the breakdown of the gold standard. Most regions stopped offering free gold convertibility, and the US imposed an embargo on gold exports. In addition, the US saw economic expansion as a result of World War I from 1914 to 1918, which increased the nation's might within the framework of the international order (Broadberry and Harrison, 2005, pp. 215-260). British and American officials were forced to plan for post-war monetary alternatives at the start of WWII due to the challenges of recreating the global financial system following World War I (Chhibber 2022). Most post-World War II monetary accords were concluded by a fixed exchange rate of \$35 per ounce of gold due to the Bretton Woods conference. The implementation and upkeep of a fixed exchange rate system based on the US dollar and gold were within the purview of the IMF. The US's strength in the post-war world not only helped the country become the focal point of international economic decision-making but also aided in developing war-torn countries like the IMF and IBRD. Under American direction, the IMF carried out the post-war restoration, fostering the expansion of the leading European economies impacted by the devastating conflicts (De Groot 2019). The system worked effectively for the first 20 years, but by the late 1960s, the burden of the primarily American obligation was too much. Amidst the increasing disparities between the United States' gold reserves and debt levels, President Richard Nixon terminated the worldwide convertibility of US dollars into gold in August 1971. This signaled the end of the Bretton Woods system's gold standard component (Robinson, 2013).

James Chen (2022) states that the United Nations Monetary and Financial Conference in 1944 saw 44 countries negotiate the terms of the Bretton Woods Agreement. This agreement was named for the location of the meeting, which took place at New Hampshire's Bretton Woods.

According to this agreement, the US currency is based on gold, and the value of all other currencies is fixed on the US dollar. Approximately 730 participants attended the Bretton Woods meeting, representing 44 different countries at that level of representation. The primary goal of this agreement is to promote a global economy where every country will grow at its best (Kirrane 2018).

The Bretton Woods Agreement also establishes the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. The 1970s saw the end of this accord. Richard M. Nixon, the US president then, said that gold would no longer be used to exchange US dollars. The World Bank and the International Monetary Fund will continue to serve as the foundation for foreign exchange trading following the termination of this agreement. These two international organizations work to give developing nations the resources they need to grow and reduce poverty, particularly money and finance (King 2022). The Bretton Woods Agreement summit lasted over three weeks, although it had taken years to prepare. The Bretton Woods System is credited primarily to John Maynard Keynes.

Harry Dexter White, an international economist of the US Treasury Department, was also considered the primary designer of the Bretton Woods System. John Maynard Keynes gave the idea of establishing a powerful international central bank called the Cleaning Union, which further issued a new international reserve currency called bancor. Keynes also proposed an interest rate if any country exceeds the maximum amount of money used for the facilities of this system (McKenzie 2017). On the other hand, Harry Dexter White, representing the US at that time for this agreement, states that the US was the world's biggest creditor.

A few years later, all the members of this agreement agreed to set the US dollar as its standard exchange currency. It is also considered that the Bretton Woods System minimizes international currency exchange rate volatility (Van Patten 2022). The creation of the World Bank helped poor and underdeveloped countries to use loan facilities to develop their infrastructure and other developmental requirements.

The World Bank and IMF, two organizations founded in 1945, continue to function and provide the primary support for global economic expansion. The IMF's primary goals are to monitor exchange rates and identify nations that require financial assistance. International Bank for Reconstruction and Development is the original name of the World Bank (Kregel 2021). This international bank's primary goal is to give money and resources to the countries suffering the most from World War II. The IMF, which has over 190 members, still favors the World

Monetary Corporation. They aided nations all around the world by giving grants and loans to governments. In 1971, the US gold supply was insufficient to cover the dollar requirement at the international level. The president of the US asked to devalue the US dollar convertibility into gold. By the year 1973, this system collapsed. After this year, countries are free to use any exchange arrangements for their currency except gold. The Bretton Woods Agreement can be remembered as one of the most important events in the history of the financial world (Helleiner 2017). The system and agreement were closed, but both institutes are still working to help the world develop. Europe was fully rebuilding after World War II due to these two international institutions.

The Bretton Woods Conference, held in July 1944 in Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, was pivotal in establishing the international economic system that followed World War II. Representatives from 44 Allied nations met to establish a new global monetary system that would do away with the economic instability and exchange rate swings that had caused the Great Depression and World War II. The meeting led to the founding of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). The IMF sought to promote international monetary cooperation and exchange rate stability by providing member countries with short-term financial support when they encountered balance of payments difficulties (Kurita and James 2022).

According to Robinson (2013), the comparatively youthful and fiscally secure United States of America became a welcome diversion from the world's previous hegemon, the war-torn and insolvent Britain. This explains why the US is keen to participate in international economic negotiations and significantly influence international political and economic ties. Then, in July 1944, 44 heads of state from all the Allies met in Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, to decide on a new world economic system. The World Bank, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, or IBRD, and the IMF were established due to the Bretton Woods Conference (Lagarde 2019).

The Petrodollar Historical Context

The events of the 1970s, most notably the OAPEC oil embargo of 1973–1974, shaped the petrodollar system's historical background. OPEC members at the time enforced an oil embargo on nations that supported Israel in the Yom Kippur War, led by significant Middle Eastern oil producers. As a result, there was a severe spike in oil prices and a worldwide oil scarcity. The embargo had a significant impact, emphasizing OPEC members' economic might as well as

how dependent the world is on oil. However, rising oil prices and inflation also presented a significant economic challenge for the United States and other Western nations. In response, the US government entered into talks to come to an agreement that would eventually form the foundation of the petrodollar system with Saudi Arabia and other OPEC members. Members of OPEC agreed to price and sell their oil exclusively in US dollars under the terms of this agreement.

The US won the negotiation to use the dollar as the value of trade for crude oil because it had the largest GDP, the strongest military, and an effective marketing system. The dollar's growing value, which occurs daily, is another important factor in nations' decision to use it as a crude oil trade medium. The earliest known instance of repurposing petrodollars dates back to 1974 when the United States and Saudi Arabia struck an agreement to transfer Saudi petrodollars into the US Treasury. Given this illustration, the majority of nations use sovereign wealth funds to invest their petrodollars in bonds, equities, and other financial products.

In 1973, the United States developed the petrodollar system in an attempt to capitalize on the dollar's demand around the world. Saudi Arabia was the first country to sign an agreement stating that all barrels of crude oil bought from the Saudis would be valued in US dollars that same year. This implied that to buy oil from Saudi Arabia, any nation would first need to exchange its currency for US dollars, i.e., build up a sum of US dollars in its foreign exchange reserves. The claim that "whoever controls the global oil spigot can control the global economy" has existed for a while (Harvey 2005: 19).

Consequently, the petrodollar gave the US another facet of its hegemony and a measure of control over this significant international economic resource (Clark 2003). In 1974, an agreement between the United States and the Saudi government was implemented after the Yom Kippur War and the subsequent oil embargo implemented by the Middle Eastern countries. This agreement was signed by Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and the Crown Prince of Saudi Arabia to establish the Saudi Joint Commission for Economic Cooperation (JCEOR) and the US-Saudi Arabian Joint Security Commission (JCOR). This strengthened the implementation of the petrodollar system in the Middle East as the agreement increased economic and military support provided by the US government to Saudi Arabia in exchange for the country utilizing US dollars to price its oil on an international level exclusively. This meant that the import of Saudi Arabian oil was conducted with the help of US dollars. This is a significant factor in strengthening the petrodollar system within the Middle East because,

after the agreement signed between Saudi Arabia and the United States, the remaining OPEC countries also became part of the petrodollar president in 1975. This significantly benefited the US dollar and increased demand because it was essential for purchasing oil from Middle Eastern regions. This gave the United States enormous influence in the area and helped pull the nation out of a severe economic downturn by giving the dollar prestige and strength (Robinson, 2013; Gokay, 2015). Thus, the plan allowed the dollar's artificially high demand to continue in the world economy (Gokay, 2015).

The new petrodollar system was highly profitable for the US, creating an immediate demand for US dollars because of the mounting demand for oil. America's contentious and deteriorating relationship with most of these countries seems quite instructive on the premium that America places on the Petro-dollar system as a significant foreign policy tool. It increased the value of the US dollar as countries worldwide needed access to the currency to purchase oil from Middle Eastern nations, and it kept them as reserves, often in US banks, to buy oil for their country. The petrodollar is considered an essential element of the U.S.-Saudi relationship, with Nixon (2003) remarking: "One of the major things that the Saudis have historically done, in part out of friendship with the U.S., is to insist that oil continues to be processed in dollars." He goes on: "Therefore, the U.S. Treasury can print money and buy oil, which is an advantage no other country has" (Nixon, 2003). Oil and its control, therefore, have remained in the 21st century the focal point of US power, hegemony, and relations in the Middle East.

Iran v Saudi Arabia

As mentioned above, while providing the background and context for the project, the relationship between Saudi Arabia and Iran and the interest in/role of the United States is paramount to this project. Ahmadian (2018) argues that Washington's role has superseded bilateral calculations. The U.S.'s influence in the Middle East was enhanced after WWII when the British withdrawal left America as the only global power to protect the region against the penetration of Soviet power. This occurred shortly after the U.S. became the major international partner of Saudi and Iranian monarchies (Fraihat 2020). Since the oil boom in the 1970s and the simultaneous collapse of pan-Arabism, the U.S.'s involvement and demand increased in both countries. For instance, after the Iranian Revolution of 1979, Washington's conduct in the Middle East increased security support to Saudi Arabia to contain the hostile Islamic Republic of Iran. Such a development has been pivotal to all three countries' strategic decisions shaping their bilateral relationship until the present day.

Tensions and antagonism have characterized the relationship between Iran and Saudi Arabia, mostly due to disparities in religious, political, and geographical reasons. The important details of their connection up to that moment are as follows:

Religious Disparities: The conflict between Shia Islam, which predominates in Iran, and Sunni Islam, which is prominent in Saudi Arabia, is one of the main issues affecting relations between Iran and Saudi Arabia (Nasr and Fantappie 2021). Due to this religious division, there is competition among Islamic nations for influence, and each nation is seen as the champion of its sect.

Geo-political: Iran and Saudi Arabia, two powerful nations in the Middle East, have competed to control the region on a geopolitical level. In crises across the region, including those in Yemen, Syria, Iraq, and Lebanon, they have backed rival forces. This geopolitical competition has frequently worsened tensions between the two nations.

Proxy Conflicts: These have been a common way for Iran and Saudi Arabia's rivalry to manifest itself. For instance, in Yemen, the Saudi-backed Yemeni government has been at odds with the Houthi rebels, who are affiliated with Iran. Similar support has been given to numerous factions in Syria and Iraq by Iran or Saudi Arabia, adding to the complexity of those situations (Litvak 2017).

Competition: Iran and Saudi Arabia are major oil producers in the global oil market. Fluctuations in oil prices and disagreements over production quotas have occasionally strained OPEC's cooperation.

Security worries: Both nations have voiced worries about one another's plans and actions. Saudi Arabia has charged Iran with supporting terrorism and causing instability in the area by using proxies (Soltaninejad 2019). Iran has charged Saudi Arabia with supporting extremism and having too close of a relationship with Western powers.

Diplomatic Relations: Several instances have terminated diplomatic ties between Iran and Saudi Arabia over the years. However, there have also been times when attempts at reconciliation and engagement have been made.

Quinnipiac University professor Mahmood Monshipouri (2002, p.66) argues that the U.S. is the sole hegemonic power based on its military supremacy in the region, guaranteeing the maintenance of pro-Western regimes. He further explains that many of these political powers owe their longevity and prominence to their readiness—albeit implicit—to adhere to the U.S.

agenda in foreign policy. The 1979 revolution disrupted the smooth running of the Iran-U.S. partnership. In 1981, Saudi Arabia and its associates formed the security-fixated Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) in the context of Iran's revolution and the Iran-Iraq War (Fathollah-Nejad, 2017).

Iran and Saudi Arabia have not challenged each other uniformly but have slightly separated the region into two equipped camps based on political and religious philosophy in looking for regional connections and disseminating sectarianism as they remain to deed the region's weak positions in a sequence of substitution wars extending from battles in Iraq to Lebanon. One of the critical foreign policy aims of Saudi Arabia is to decrease its financial reliance on oil, gas, and tourism, which is one of the major foundations for Saudi Arabia after petrol and oil (Moosavian, Ghadbeigy, and Jafari, 2022). The clashes between Iran and Western powers drive Iran to pursue support and an association from Russia to keep its domestic concerns and survive in global politics.

During the conflict that existed between Iran and Saudi Arabia, the whole globe experienced the impact of nations whose desires for hegemony exaggerated all international political interests. In addition, the conflict marked a time when both countries enlarged their armaments and searched for possessions to support their missions and purposes of constant interventions in regional politics. The conflict between two rival countries involves a dominating and powerful rivalry within their ranks. As a result of this unavoidable conflict, the opponents will influentially project their conflicts into the boundary (Abdullah 2019).

9/11 and its aftermath

For the U.S. and its Western allies, regions like the Middle East are some of the world's most strategically important areas since WWII (Logan, 2014; Miller, 2012). Monshipouri (2002, p.66) adds that during the second half of the twentieth century, for the duration of the Cold War, U.S. foreign policy objectives focused on protecting oil sites and supporting Israel and the region's pro-Western governments, mainly to deter, contain, or, if necessary, confront communism (Malley and Finer 2018). Indeed, the U.S.' Middle East strategy has long been focused on supporting authoritarian governments who are allies to the region's Washington policies. On the other hand, since the end of the Cold War, there have been growing anti-American sentiments in the region. After the 9/11 terror attacks in the U.S., Washington turned

towards practicing a firm security approach of intervention instead of maintaining stability in the Middle East (Jou, 2016, pp.128-129).

A tragic turning point in contemporary history was the morning of September 11, 2001. The coordinated terrorist attacks on the Pentagon and the World Trade Center in Washington, D.C., carried out by the terrorist organization al-Qaeda, rocked the whole world (Farhadi 2022). The 9/11 attacks, a series of four coordinated suicide operations employing hijacked aircraft that claimed a staggering number of lives, also marked a turning point in world politics, security protocols, and public perceptions of terrorism.

Understanding the 9/11 Attacks

In the 9/11 attacks, the emblems of American economic and military might were the target of a carefully organized attack. 19 hijackers who had received training and support from al-Qaeda took possession of four commercial aircraft on the morning of September 11, 2001. The World Trade Center in New York City was struck by two of these aircraft, forcing the North and South Towers to come crashing down in a matter of hours (Marzo 2020). While a fourth plane, United Airlines Flight 93, crashed into a field in Pennsylvania after passengers valiantly fought the hijackers, sparing another high-profile target from being struck, a third airliner crashed into the Pentagon, the seat of the US Department of Defense (Laderman 2018).

The main motive of this attack was to target the US, which was associated with the group al-Qaeda. It was the deadliest terrorist attack on U.S. soil in New York City and Washington (Aistrope 2016). Extensive death and destruction have taken place in which almost 2750 people died in New York, 184 at the Pentagon, and 40 in Pennsylvania, and in that attack, all 19 terrorists died. In addition to that, in the attack, almost 400 police officers and firefighters were killed. The attack was executed by one of the strongest terrorist organizations, Al-Qaeda. This organization has a naïve belief in the U.S., and they want to attack the country. One of the members of this group, Abu Walid al-Masri, said that before the attack, bin Laden convinced himself that America was one of the weak countries (Siniver and Lucas 2016). For bin Laden, the United States was most of the vital target, and the critical planner behind this attack was KSM, which is known as Khalid Sheikh Mohammed. In 1996, KSM met Bin Laden in Tora Bora, Afghanistan, and from that, a proposal was made for the attack. In that, they train the pilots, who coach them about the plane crash into a building in the United States. The reason for choosing al-Qaeda is its global reach and strong militants. The plot was one of the strongest plans as it took place globally (Sarker 2018). The meeting was held in Malaysia, coordinated

by the plot leaders in Germany, and the overall money transfer took place in Dubai. The plots are recruited from various countries in the Middle East (Aday 2017).

Following 9/11 and the U.S. invasions of Afghanistan in 2001 and Iraq in 2003, Iran took the opportunity to increase its regional influence among Iraq's Shia-majority population. Saudi Arabia resisted this new reality in Iraq, restraining from re-establishing relations with Iraq until 2015. As the war with Iran during the Bush administration seemed all too a realistic possibility, Saudi Arabia aligned itself with the U.S. (Wight 2017). to counter Iran's growing regional influence (Ahmadian, 2018, p.135). During this time, the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) bloc massively increased its arms imports. In response, Iran escalated its nuclear program and amplified its regional reach to deter potential threats to its power (Nicol 2016). Shortly before the Arab Spring, Tehran and Riyadh competed on three battlegrounds. Firstly, over their influence and presence in the Middle East and the broader Muslim world; secondary, within the rhetorical battle for leading the moral customs in the Muslim world; and lastly, for the acquisition and production of weapons (Rosenberg 2016).

The 9/11 terror attacks had a significant impact on the global economy and political landscape. This is relevant to the relations between the Middle Eastern countries and the US and highlights the interrelationship between global oil trade and politics. This is because, after the 9/11 terror attacks, oil prices surged to \$31 per barrel for a temporary time, creating political instability and uncertainty in the face of the threat of terrorism against Western powers, including the United States (Mirza 2018). At the center of the 9/11 terror attacks was the US oil trade because the New York Mercantile Exchange was located close to the World Trade Centre, resulting in a significant plunge in the stock market and an impact on the oil market. After it was revealed that the terror attacks were planned and implemented by Al Qaeda, the countries in the Middle East which were harboring terrorists were antagonized and increased market concern about the availability of oil from such nations.

The 9/11 terror attacks also created a global economic slowdown with recessionary trends, with demand dropping to a nine-year low, causing prices to fall by 20% since the 911 days. In the aftermath of the terror attack, the largest oil producers, Saudi Arabia and the Russian Federation, were locked in a battle for market share, causing concerns regarding an imminent price war. This economic downfall created concern within the global financial market about the long-term replication of 911 in the global oil market (Utley 2016). Furthermore, the organization of petroleum exporting countries forged a conditional agreement with major

non-OPEC countries to restore order in the oil market by modulating production. This was a significant challenge in the aftermath of the 9/11 terror attacks because many producers within the oil oil-rich countries of the Middle East indulged in quota busting, creating barriers to stabilizing the oil market and bringing the prices to levels suitable to the producers. This also reduced investment in new oil production, with oil prices at a nine-year low following the terror attacks (Cull 2019).

9/11 significantly changed the US Foreign Relations with Iran as the Bush administration was focused on taking aggressive actions against terrorism supported and funded in the Middle East. President George Bush established a back channel with Annan to coordinate the defeat of the Taliban, which was a shared enemy of both countries (Layne 2017). The establishment of this foreign relations agreement helped us target the members of al al-Qaida in Afghanistan who were provided haven in the region. The Bonn agreement was signed regarding the State Building and the repetition of Afghan refugees as the US invaded Afghanistan to take action against the Taliban. This agreement was implemented to secure the foundation for US and NATO State Building efforts in Afghanistan and ensure that terrorist organizations such as the Taliban were not able to expand their influence in Middle Eastern nations (Shipoli 2018). Iran was an essential player in the Reconstruction of Afghanistan and has maintained a sphere of influence to distance the Afghanistan government from Washington.

Despite the collaboration and agreement between the US and Iran to tackle the threat of the Taliban in Afghanistan, the foreign relations between the countries did not improve in the following years of the 9/11 terror attacks. President George Bush described Iran as a part of the axis of evil during his 2002 state State of the Union address, adding Iraq and North Korea, suggesting that these nations aggressively pursue weapons of mass destruction and are significant in exporting terror to the Western world. The president also stated that unelected people in Iran repress the freedom of the Iranian people (Mandaville and Hamid 2018). This address by the president had negative repercussions on the relations between the US and Iran as the Iranian government stopped the secret meetings with U.S. diplomats to focus on defeating Taliban and al-Qaeda within the Middle East and Afghanistan. This showcases that the 9/11 terror attacks further deteriorated Foreign Relations between the US and many Middle Eastern countries, primarily Iran. This negatively impacted the oil trade between the countries in the following years (Lean 2019).

Immediate Aftermath and Global Shockwaves

Global shock, anguish, and bewilderment characterized the immediate aftermath of the 9/11 atrocities. There was a profound sense of sorrow and unification among people all over the world as a result of the loss of nearly 3,000 lives, including civilians, first responders, and citizens from more than 90 nations. The assaults revealed flaws in the American security system as well, which sparked criticism and reflection within the country (Farhadi, 2022).

Immediate Response and the War on Terror

Following the attacks, the US quickly began a worldwide counterterrorism operation dubbed the "War on Terror." Al-Qaeda and other terrorist organizations, as well as the nations that housed and supported them, were the targets of this operation. The invasion of Afghanistan in October 2001, which toppled the Taliban regime that had protected al-Qaeda, was the most notable result of this operation. The war in Afghanistan catalyzed a protracted struggle that would last for more than ten years and had far-reaching effects on the area and the rest of the world (Lee, 2023).

Effect of the attack on U.S

The terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 (9/11) affected the United States in numerous ways that were substantial and far-reaching. One or two important consequences include the following:

- National Security and Counterterrorism: The United States significantly changed its
 national security and counterterrorism strategies following the attacks. To enhance
 government readiness for and reaction to terrorist threats, the USA PATRIOT Act was
 implemented in 2001, and the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) was founded
 in 2002.
- War on Terror: The United States started the "War on Terror" in response to 9/11. This led to the invasion of Afghanistan in 2001 to topple the Taliban regime and destroy Al-Qaeda. Although unrelated to the attacks, the 2003 Iraq War was partially justified on the grounds of preventing the proliferation of WMD.
- Global ties: The attacks significantly impacted American ties and international policy. The United States received a lot of international backing after NATO, for the first time, invoked Article 5 and declared the attacks an attack on all members. The United States formed alliances and collaborations with several countries to combat international terrorism.

- Impact on Culture and Psychology: The attacks profoundly affected American psychology. The terror and trauma of the events influenced individuals and society as a whole. The terrorist attacks also marked a turning point in media and popular culture.
- Aviation Security: Strict security measures were implemented to stop such attacks, and the Transportation Security Administration (TSA) was established, greatly enhancing airport security processes.
- Civil Liberties and Surveillance: For national security, the USA PATRIOT Act
 widened government surveillance authority to include monitoring communications and
 financial activities. This sparked worries about the deterioration of private rights and
 civil freedoms.
- Communities of Muslims and Arabs: Following the attacks, there was an increase in anti-Muslim and anti-Arab sentiments in the United States. Numerous defenseless members of these groups experienced harassment and discrimination.

The U.S. military presence in Saudi territory has also proved controversial. By welcoming the U.S. security umbrella from the petrodollar agreement in the 1970s, it caused regional and domestic criticism of Saudi leaders who have been accused of appearing on the side of the United States against fellow Arab and Muslim regimes (Prados, 2003, p.5).

The U.S. invasion of Iraq

The U.S. invasion of Iraq in March 2003 had less to do with Saddam Hussein's plans for weapons of mass destruction (WMD) or the fight against international terrorism. Many academics now suggest that the invasion was an intention to gain strategic control over the country's natural reserves, with the main aim being to secure the U.S. petrodollar to remain the global reserve currency in the critical global oil market (Ahmed 2003; Clark, 2003; Engdahl, 2003; Hinnebusch, 2007; Nunan, 2003). Before the 2003 invasion, the domestic oil industry in Iraq was wholly nationalized and close to Western oil companies. After the US invasion of Iraq, it became primarily privatized and utterly dominated by foreign firms, specifically U.S. oil companies. Exxon Mobile, Chevron, British Petroleum, and Shell are Iraq's largest oil companies with western headquarters. This can help demonstrate how the search for oil during the oil price increases shaped the entire US invasion operation in Iraq in 2003 (La Prairie 2023).

It is also to be noted that the large-scale oil production by Western companies in Iraq has not benefited Iraq's economy or society. For the next decade after the US invasion of Iraq,

executives of Western oil companies, including Exxon Mobil, Chevron, Conoco-Phillips, and Halliburton, were appointed as administrators of Iraq's oil ministry and became advisers to the actual government (Imane and Kheirour 2020). Western oil companies directly influenced the functioning of Iraq's oil industry, which benefited the Western commercial oil sector, specifically the United States (Yuan, 2023). The destruction and war pillage of Iraq were not solely for extracting its oil resources. Still, the post-war actions of the United States, which favored Western oil companies, showcased that it was a central objective and provided the United States more power over the global oil industry. The long-term legacy of the Iraq war helped solidify the US's power over global oil production because, as of now, the US is still the number one country to export oil from the country (Palani and Fazil, 2023).

The political intricacies of the US invasion of Iraq further moved forward the idea that extracting oil reserves for Western interests was one of the primary goals of this War. Firstly, in 2000, big oil companies, including Exxon, Chevron, British Petroleum, and Shell, invested money in electing candidates Bush and Cheney for office, who had a similar interest in expanding oil extraction for western oil companies (Bojang 2016). This benefited big oil businesses as Bush and Chaney created the National Energy Policy Development Group, which brought together the biggest oil companies in the Western Hemisphere to plot the collective energy future. This task force reviewed lists and maps outlining Iraq's entire oil productive capacity and planned for a military invasion soon (Godfroy and Collins 2020). The task force also agreed that Middle Eastern countries must be encouraged to open up their energy sectors to one-stop foreign investment. This was later achieved by the invasion of Iraq (Israel, 2023).

Clark also suggested that the other reason for the U.S. to invade Iraq may have been the impending phenomenon of Peak Oil. The term indicates the year of the maximum rate of petroleum extraction, after which it is expected to enter terminal decline. The term was mentioned in 1956 when Shell's geologist, M. King Hubber, presented his model for future oil production in the U.S. (Aleklett 2012, p.130). The peak oil phenomenon emerges as concerns about the finite amount of oil in the earth's crust becoming depleted at some point. It became an important talking point during the mid-2000s, with many stating that a decline in oil production is imminent with the continuous depletion of oil reserves worldwide (Alshamary, 2023). Believers of this idea argue that an imminent decline in oil production could have a catastrophic impact on the global economy because it is a crucial energy source that will stop the peak oil phenomena and encourage interest in the development of alternative energy

sources and sustainable practices to avoid the negative impact caused by oil depletion (Dodge 2019).

President Bush took several other actions to strengthen the domestic oil supply, including advocating for opening the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge for oil exploration. The Bush administration also promoted investigations into alternative energy sources, such as the utilization of ethanol, to reduce reliance on oil extraction from unstable areas such as Iraq (Jaramillo 2016). The 2005 energy policy and the Energy Policy Act were also implemented, providing tax incentives and subsidies to encourage domestic oil expansion and production. This also integrates deep-water drilling in the Gulf of Mexico. In this way, it can be seen that President Bush supported the oil industry throughout his presidential term. Despite engaging in a war on Iraq, the politician was also interested in securing the domestic energy supply for oil in the United States (Cordesman 2019). Despite the diminishing interest in the peak phenomenon after the mid-2000s, the fact that oil is a non-renewable energy source that will become antiquated in the future has encouraged increasing investment in sustainable and renewable energy sources (Dunning and Doyle 2018).

Overall, Iraq's USA region significantly impacted global oil production, which favored US interests. Primarily, the war disrupted nationalized oil production in the region, which caused a drop in global oil exports to stop. However, the end of the Iraq war significantly improved oil production because foreign companies such as Exxon Mobile, Chevron, British Petroleum, and others invested in oil production (Robinson 2019). This played an important role in stabilizing global oil markets and made the Middle East an apolitically unstable region, which continued to influence energy supply and prices in the coming decade (Woertz 2023).

U.S.-Iranian Relations

In the middle of the Second World War, in August 1941, Soviet and British troops occupied Iran, with U.S. forces joining later. During the beginning of the Cold War, the Soviet armies looked reluctant to withdraw from Iran. Ahmadian (2018, p. 138) argues that U.S. President Truman's tough rhetoric allegedly contributed to the USSR's ultimate withdrawal from the country, giving Washington some credit with Iran's public eye. The United States utilized diplomatic tension to persuade the Soviets to withdraw from Iran in 1946 per the agreed-upon terms (Valibeigi 2019). This American effort and diplomatic policies seek to ensure that the prolonged presence of the USSR within Iran is eliminated so that Iranian sovereignty can be safeguarded. In this way, the US played an important role in ensuring that foreign powers from Iran were reduced and balanced its wartime alliance with the USSR along with its commitment to uphold Iranian sovereignty (Al 2021). This resulted in the withdrawal of the Soviet Union from the region, giving Iran total control of the region.

However, that positivity, which had shaped the early U.S.-Iranian relations, was ruined by the U.S.-British British-supported coup against the democratically elected government of Mohammad Mosaddegh in 1953 (Roshandel and Lean, 2011, p.123). Cold War interests, as well as concerns over oil extraction in Iran, were the primary reasons for the United States and British British-supported group against democratically elected president Mohammad Mosaddegh. Mosaddegh nationalized Iran's oil industry, which had previously been controlled by a British British-owned Anglo Iranian oil company (Rüland 2023). This threatened western oil interests and led to economic sanctions against Iran. The West was also concerned with the spread of communism in the region and the loss of Iranian oil to Western Western businesses. This encouraged the CIA and MI6 to conduct Operation Ajax, toppling the democratically elected government and installing a more favorable candidate in the Iranian government (Bekkai and Chayma 2020). Following the U.S.-loyal Shah Reza Pahlavi's return to power after the coup, America's (and the West's) image suffered seriously.

This school significantly impacted U.S. oil production in Iran and can be used to showcase the rising power of the United States in Middle East oil production. This resulted in the election of Shah Reza Pahlavi, who was more favorable to Western oil companies, specifically American big oil businesses. Western control was re-established in Iran, benefiting American oil businesses and encouraging foreign investment in the region, including American oil companies (Mallinckrodt 2019). Furthermore, oil production in the region stabilized, and Iran became a significant oil supplier to the West under Sshah's rule. Shah's government implemented partnership policies with western oil companies, including American big oil businesses such as Exxon, ensuring that the US energy supply is dependent on Iranian oil production. The new government favored completing oil contracts with US companies, making Iranian oil accessible to America (Offiler 2021). This increased a steady oil supply during the Cold War era and gave the United States a significant advantage over the USSR in terms of global oil production.

The Iranian revolution of 1979 became the real turning point to start a new and very high level of hostility in U.S.-Iran relations (Ahmadian, 2018, pp. 138-139). The next four decades after the revolution painted Iran-U.S. relations with mistrust, contradiction, and hatred. Tehran's rhetoric suggested that the U.S. sought to isolate Iran and change its regime. Also, Mousavian (2014, p.241) claimed that Iran was on a quest for survival, not expansion. The Iranian revolution Revolution of 1979 was a significant movement in both Iranian and United States history because the US US-backed monarch was overthrown by the Islamic Republic led by Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini (Ali and Al-Hashemi 2021). The primary factors that resulted from the revolution were the rise in anti-American sentiment, religious extremism, economic discontent, and affinity to establish Islamic rule in the region. After the revolution, Iran became an Islamic theocracy, implementing strict interpretation of Islamic law and anti-western sentiment throughout the public and the government.

NA noticeable impact of the Iranian revolution on US-Iranian relations was the hostage crisis that occurred in November 1979. Iranian militants stormed the US embassy in Tehran and took 52 American hostages in exchange for the extradition of Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi. The crisis lasted 444 days and was crucial in creating animosity between the US and Iran. Posters and protesters with anti-American slogans such as "death Death to America" were popular after the Iranian revolution because many Iranians blamed the United States for its support to the oppressive and totalitarian regime of Shah (Ghenabzia and Tamma 2023). The

Algiers accord is An essential factor that can be examined to understand the drastic change in foreign relations between the US and Iran in the aftermath of the Iranian revolution. This agreement was signed on 19 January 1981 between the United States and the nascent Islamic Republic of Iran so that the hostages held by the Iranian radicals at the US Embassy in Tehran could be released. The primary focus of the accords was to ensure that the hostages were released safely. However, looking back at the accords, it is important to note that they significantly impacted US foreign relations, which still impact overall US foreign policy in the Middle East and trade between the two countries.

Under the implementation of the Algiers accord, a special tribunal was implemented to settle hundreds of commercial and trade disputes and unfreezing of Iranian assets. The tribunal is still operative at The Hague. One of the most controversial aspects of this tribunal was implemented in 2016 as it awarded a settlement to Iran for a pre-revolution contract for military equipment with interest accounting for \$1.7 billion. This showcases that the aftermath of the Iranian revolution not only held political significance but also drastically changed the economic relations between the two countries, with the US agreeing to not interfere in Iran's military or political affairs and the United States returning property and assets belonging to Shah and his family to the Islamic Republic. America lost an important ally and source of oil production because of the Iranian revolution, which further reduced US influence in the Middle East. This was a point of concern for the US government as many politicians worried about increased Islamic extremism in the overall anti-American stance of the government.

The Algiers accord worked in the favour of the United States because the US did not lift all of the sanctions and adhere to the non-interference aspect of the accords. This included the Reagan administration funding Iranian exiled opposition groups, which were designated as terrorist lists by the government in Tehran. In the aftermath of the Algiers accord and the Iranian revolution, Iran became the upper state in the global article and economic landscape, isolating the country and making it vulnerable to external attacks. Ever since the implementation of the accords, the US and Iran have been on a collision course, shipping an aggressive US foreign policy on Iran from the 1970s, primarily in terms of economic sanctions. After the revolution, the establishment of Islamic theocracy adopted an anti-western and anti-imperial foreign policy that supported militant groups across the Middle East, including Hezbollah in Lebanon. On the other hand, global isolation has led Iran to become a more self-reliant nation, with the Tehran government using the Algiers accord as a frequent reminder that the United States is legally bound to avoid any interference in its affairs.

Another significant point between US and Iran relations, which came soon after the Iranian revolution, was the invasion of Iran by Iraq. Its neighbor invaded the weak and isolated Iran because of the fears regarding the Shiite revolt against Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein. The war began In September of 1980 and was the most impactful conventional interstate war since the end of the Korean Wars in 1953. The prolonged military conflict was viewed as a no-natural partner situation where America, as both Iran and Iraq, were controlled by brutal dictators. On the one hand, Saddam Hussein had ambitions to become the dominant power in the Persian Gulf and control the region's oil supply. On the other hand, Ayatollah Khomeini implemented a brutal theocracy in Iran, which imprisoned thousands of its citizens. This meant that the United States took the policy of ensuring that neither Saddam nor Khomeini

dominated the region and threatened the oil supply from the Middle East. The majority of the war was going in favor of Iran as the country appeared victorious. Hence, the Washington government decided to support Iraq to ensure that the US was able to influence the results of the Iraq-Iran war to manage the world oil reserves in the Middle East.

Looking back, US support provided towards the Iraqi war effort with economic aid, training, and dual-use technology was not beneficial in the long term because it strengthened the totalitarian leadership of Saddam Hussein. However, at the time, the decision was justified because, in comparison to the Islamic Republic established in Iran, which was extremely anti-anti-American, the option of supporting Saddam Hussein to enhance US influence in the region and ensure a continuous supply of oil was seen as a beneficiary to US interests. The constant usage of chemical weapons by the Iraqi government on both Iran and its Kurdish citizens resulted in the US changing its stands on the Iraq and Iran war. Initially, Ronald Reagan's government sent critical intelligence to Baghdad in 1982. After this, the government tilted towards Iran, sending sophisticated arms to Tehran to free hostages.

By the end of the war in 1987, a total of 250,000 to 500,000 Iraqis and over 1,000,000 Iranians died during the conflict. It is important to note that despite losing Iran during the war, the country continued to fight against US influence in the region. By 1987, Iran was devastated economically and politically, with its cities being destroyed by chemical weapons and economic isolation with minimum oil exports. However, this did not stop the Iranian government from fighting against US involvement in the region, as the country fought against the US Navy in the gulf Gulf and utilized different means to retaliate in Lebanon and other regions. Moreover, Iran expanded the battlefield of the Iran-Iraq war to other countries to exploit security liabilities (Mazur et al. 2021). It is also important to note that during the war, other Middle Eastern allies failed to support the country, including Saudi Arabia, as the country bankrolled Saddam Hussein and advised the United States that the usage of chemical weapons by Saddam Hussein was not a threat and could work to gain a trusted ally.

The war was beneficial for America as it accomplished its primary goal of halting Iran's advance into Iraq and defending its oil reserves in the Gulf. However, the result of the war changed Iran to be a more radical and anti-American country, inciting Iran to acquire dangerous nuclear weapon arsenals in the future. The continued wars between the United States and several Islamic terrorist groups in the Middle East and during Iraq and Afghanistan ruined any opportunity for Iran to create a united Islamic front against Western powers. Aggression from the United States finally resulted in the Iran nuclear deal in 2015. A joint comprehensive plan of action was formed to limit Iran's nuclear program in exchange for sanctions relief (Mingazutdinova 2017). This deal is an anomaly in the overall hostile relations between America and Iran in the aftermath of the Iranian revolution, which continued to this day with limited diplomatic engagement and heightened rivalry among both nations. Despite the ambiguity of the origins of mistrust, the outcome is clear: the two countries have secured rival alliances and engraved conflicting policies with each other in the long term (Mousavian, 2014, pp. 261-262).

The Trump Administration

After Trump came to power, the U.S. seemed to have established a slightly different approach to its foreign policy. Trump administration asserted an integration of economic nationalism

with militarism (Mossalanejad, 2019, p.5). Jou (2018, p.125) argues that Trump preferred commercial divergence to convergence and trusts that more commercial convergence will inevitably result in a downturn and loss of American greatness, mainly because of the relative decline in the U.S. economic power and the rise of new centers of more dynamic production and trade in the current century. That is why Trump was opposed to the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and promoted a kind of economic nationalism.

The U.S.'s ability to manage the complex processes of changing the balance of power in various regions of the world has declined due to its relative decline and the unpredictability of the political and economic situation in the 21st-century world. Along with North Africa's turmoil, the U.S. faces a complex and fast-changing political situation in the southern Gulf region. The political unrest in the Middle East has indefinitely dislocated the U.S.'s plans in the Gulf region. For example, Yemen and Bahrain are hosting the U.S. Navy's fifth fleet's naval bases in the Gulf.

U.S. foreign policy in the initial two decades of this period was noticeable and blemished by several mistakes. Those mistakes cost the Nation significantly, both unexploited wealth and lost lives. Resulting, many persons who voted for Trump did so partially in protest, contrary to the significance of foreign policy faults dedicated by the Democrats and Republicans. Normally, foreign policy is unimportant in central, presidential, or governmental elections. This is partially due to the problems of foreign policy being mainly outside of the concern of the normal elector as well as of the average voter's capacity to influence or understand because of a lack of persons' knowledge in foreign languages, history as well as geography, the incapability of the normal elector to know or influence foreign policy outcomes not in an unresponsive people but in one which proceeds a responsive opinion to foreign matters. That is, electorates normally only react, along with then only unevenly and implicitly, to foreign policy problems.

This clarifies why simple, flawed policies - separateness, tariff barriers, addition to accurate border walls - are demanded by the majority of unaware electorates. They seem like modest solutions to complex problems, but due to the difficult problems, those thoughts are not answers at all. The requirement for professional foreign policy knowledge elucidates why all nations have a specialized political corps, a foreign policy communal. While U.S.-Iranian relations are still hostile, the rapprochement attempts during former U.S. President Barack Obama's term aimed for cooperation, like the period before 1979. The most noteworthy agreement was the May 2015 nuclear deal. However, after Donald Trump emerged as the new U.S. leader, there

was a significant shift in the attitude towards Iran, highlighted by the U.S. withdrawal from the nuclear deal and the imposition of economic sanctions on Iran (Habashneh, 2008, p.11).

The Iran nuclear contract, officially well-known as the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA), is a landmark harmony reached between world powers and Iran, including the United States, in July 2015. In agreement, Iran agreed to pull to pieces much of its nuclear program as well as open its amenities to extra wide global examinations in exchange for billions of dollars value of authorization release. Supporters of the contract supposed that it would help them to prevent a restoration of Iran's nuclear arms package as well as thus decrease the forecasts for a battle between Iran and its local rivals, including Saudi Arabia and Israel. Nonetheless, the contract has been in danger; President Donald Trump extracted the United States from it in 2018. In reprisal for the U.S. withdrawal and for lethal occurrences projecting Iranians in 2020, containing lone by the United States, Iran has recommenced its nuclear-powered events. UN examiners stated in early 2023 that Iran had augmented suggested quantities of uranium to approximately weapons-grade levels, flashing global terror.

The reason behind the tension between Iran and the Trump administration can be divided into three segments:

1. The Iranian nuclear deal: former president Trump suspected that it granted Iran significant gains without restricting its desire to acquire nuclear weapons. It also permitted Tehran to restrict international inspectors to prevent them from accessing suspected places. Iran had before decided to relinquish the growth of nuclear arms as a participant in the Nuclear Non-proliferation Agreement, which has been in strength since 1970. Nevertheless, after the revolution of the Pahlavi dynasty in 1979, influential Iranians surreptitiously followed this technology. U.S. intellect forecasters decided that Iran stopped its exertion on nuclear weapons in 2003 but continued to obtain nuclear expertise as well as technology. Previous to the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action, the P5+1 had been transferring with Iran for years, contributing to its government's numerous enticements to close uranium enhancement. After the 2013 voting of President Hassan Rouhani, who was regarded as a campaigner, the revelries arose in an initial contract with director negotiations for an inclusive agreement. The P5+1 desired to slow down Iran's nuclear-powered program due to the fact that if Tehran is unambiguous to follow a nuclear firearm, it will take at least a single year, providing a domain powers period to retort. Caption into the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action discussions, U.S. intelligence administrators predicted that, in the non-appearance of a

contract, Iran could generate sufficient atomic material for a weapon in a period. Negotiating countries are frightened that Iran's changes to develop a nuclear weapons state are endangered, pushing the section into a new disaster. One worry was that Israel would take proactive military deeds in contradiction of supposed nuclear amenities in Iran, along with what it had in Syria and Iraq, maybe activating retaliations by Lebanon-based Hezbollah or interruptions to the transportation of oil or petrol in the Persian Gulf. Moreover, Saudi Arabia has meanwhile gestured a preparedness to get a nuclear firearm if Iran effectively explodes one.

2. **Iranian ballistic missile system**: Iran kept announcing the tests of its missile systems, which represented the latest model of its ballistic system, so it was able to target the U.S. forces in the Persian Gulf. Iran has the most diverse and most extensive ballistic missile arsenal in the Middle East. It has been determined that Iran has more capable and effective ballistic missiles but fewer in type and number. It has been seen that they acquired it from foreign sources, particularly North Korea. Iran and the Islamic Republic are the nations to develop and generate 2000 km missiles short of first having nuclear arms proficiency. It has been identified that Iran is still reliant on foreign suppliers and vendors for crucial equipment, ingredients, and components. It has the industrial and technical capacity to develop various missiles, including intercontinental ballistic missiles. The military utility of liquid fuel ballistics of Iran is limited due to the lack of accuracy, and these missiles are not probable to be conclusive if armed with chemical, biological, and conventional warheads. Tehran can utilize its missiles as a psychological and political weapon to frighten opponent cities as well as pressure its government—Iran's chase of ballistic missiles before the Islamic revolt. Paradoxically, the Shah collaborated with Israel to create a short-range system; afterward, Washington deprived their appeal for Lance armaments. Well-known as Project Flower, Iran delivered the equipment to the capital and Israel. The kingdom also followed nuclear technologies, signifying an awareness of a distribution system for nuclear armaments. Both plans were malformed after the uprising. In the shah, Iran had the biggest air energy in the Gulf, in addition to the 400 battle aircraft. But Iran's deep-strike ability was tarnished quickly after the stalemate's breakdown with the West's incomplete admittance to maintenance, spare parts, advanced armaments, and pilot training. So Tehran revolved to missiles to compact with an instant war-time requisite after Iraq's 1980 attack. Iran attained Soviet-made Scud-Bs, primarily from Libya and then from North Korea and Syria. It utilized and applied this 300 km (185 miles) array of missiles in contradiction of Iraq from 1985 till the war finished in 1988. During the War, Tehran progressively prolonged its missile collection. It has also greatly financed its businesses and infrastructure to lower dependence on changeable foreign sources. Now, the country can create its missiles, though some main components still require to be brought in from another country. Iran has established that it can also meaningfully enlarge the variety of developed missiles as well as it has completed with Nodong missiles from North Korea that it formerly retitled. Iran's missiles can now hit any portion of the Middle East, including Israel. After that, Tehran recognized the volume to generate missiles to meet the full strategic goals. The ballistic missile plan of Iran has long been a foundation of pressure in Iran's instant region and outside. Given Iran's varied and widespread collection, the ballistic missile plan plays numerous roles: it is a significant component of armed policy, a means of discouragement, and a device of administration. The chief danger posed by the plan branches from its probable link to Iran's nuclear program, and the worldwide communal has accordingly pursued to address it as such. Supply-side limitations, as well as missile barricades, have played a noticeable role.

Notwithstanding efforts to contain ballistic missiles in a contract over the nuclear programme of Iran, Iran's battle was too problematic to overcome. The (JCPOA) took a cooperation method, transferring the problem to a new United Nations Security Council resolution: resolution 2231—and magnificent an 8-year provisional ban. Constant application of the nuclear contract is indistinguishably connected to Iran's ballistic missile program, guaranteeing that, at the smallest duration, Iran does not create and produce a nuclear missile to support the uppermost of a missile. Regulatory Iran's right to use complex goods will also remain imperative, but Iran's development has confirmed the limits of what export or trade controls can accomplish. Other methods, although extensive and difficult, are worth some investigation.

3. **Iran's role in destabilizing the region:** Iran can influence several groups representing an intellectual, political, and military extension. Those include Hezbollah in Lebanon, Houthis in Yemen, and Shiite groups in Iraq, Bahrain, Kuwait, and Saudi Arabia. Therefore, Tehran is fully capable of engaging those groups to destabilize those countries (Nerbin and Sarmadi, 2021, p. 7)

These three segments explain why the Trump administration asserted several foreign policy actions against Iran. Alcaro (2018, pp. 6-9) describes three poles of Trump's actions towards

Iran. The first is "Delegitimation," which focuses on Iran's assistance to terrorism and its ballistic missile system. The second pole is "Sanctions," which imposed economic restrictions on the country. The third, "Containment," sought to encourage the Emirates, Saudi Arabia, and Israeli policies to limit Iran's role in the region.

Iran has a strategically crucial geopolitical position, a "geopolitical pivot," as expressed by Brzezinski (1997, p.40). Starting from the north, it borders the Caspian Sea; from the south, it borders the Arabian Gulf and the Arabian Sea. It is also the center of the world's richest oil regions in Central Asia, which the U.S. and the West sought to control for years (Fuller, 1991). Additionally, Iran has several islands that contain the Strait of Hormuz and the Gulf, including around 9% of the world's oil reserves. Since the 1979 Islamic Revolution, the Middle East has witnessed significant developments since the collapse of the USSR and the emergence of the Islamic Republic in Middle Asia. In addition to the 9/11 attack, the developments led to the war in Afghanistan and Iraq. These occurrences happened around Iran, during which the U.S. successfully blocked Iran after deploying its military bases in Central Asia and established the American fleets in the Gulf region.

The Fluctuating Iranian Foreign Policies

According to Mahmood Sariolghalam, 2018, there was protection happening in Iran, which was against the nation's domestic policies. Since the 1971 revolution, national security policies and the Islamic Republic's foreign policy are the main reasons for this protest. Iran's leaders, including Hassan Rouhani, are involved in bringing new changes and approaches to the nation. The supreme leaders focused on preventing the religious, ideological, and philosophical principles of the 1979 revolution. On the other hand, the institutes of the administration of the President expect to clear the problems and issues of the country which arise on a day-to-day basis. Mohammad Khatami and Hashemi Rafsanjani were presidents of Iran a few years back. They both tried to change this paradigm. For decades, it has been reflected that Iran's foreign policy does not benefit their economy much. Famous leaders state that their foreign policies are much better for fighting internal injustice. This is much more important than creating an economic reputation at the international level. There are four factors in Iran's foreign policy and national security principles. The first one is that presidential power is under a mandatory limit when making decisions regarding foreign policy. The second is that the country should prioritize its national security. Third is Iran's ongoing isolation by the West and its need to keep pushing back. Fourth and last is that Iran's leadership is required to develop to prevent their domestic matters. As per the Islamic Republic's constitution, the power of decision-making should be seen in the hands of the nation's supreme leader. This rule is written in two Articles (110 and 122–126). In the context of Article 110, Iran's primary duty and power is to focus on the policies of the Islamic Republic of Iran. Secondly, the practical and proper execution of these policies is also covered within this article. On the other hand, Article 122–126 states that the president must execute the state's laws first. The president is not given any authority to make policies all alone. Effective and exclusive legal leaders make national security and foreign policy decisions. In other words, when the president and supreme leaders disagree on any foreign policy, the supreme leaders have the right to make policy as per the constitution. Iran's foreign policy is not made for the nation's economic interest. Tehran prioritized national security over the economy and primarily focused on the self-defense of their nation. The leader of Iran's economic independence allows them to combat imperialism and capitalism effectively. The defense and the safeguarding of the Islamic Republic are required to struggle sustainably with the US. Sometimes, Iran acted offensively to discourage direct attacks. During the 1990s, Iran was the nation that focused on enhancing their regional conflicts and involvement with Israel and the US. There is no proof that the US attacked Iran directly. Iran always suffers due to their weak foreign policy. This can be understood in its relationship with the United States where the latter has more influence on the direction of interaction. The weakness of the policy is also founded on the inability of Iran to develop policies that shape its relationship with the US. The US president at that time, Barrack Obama, got to know that Iran was afraid of regime change.

Hence, the president states that the US will no longer interfere in Iran's matter, and even they will also have sought to couch a nuclear compromise. As per the agreement, which is called the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA), Iran and a few other countries, including the US, signed the agreement that Iran would dismantle its nuclear programs and allow for extensive international inspection in exchange for billions of dollars. This agreement was made to mitigate the conflicts between Iran and its rival countries, including Saudi Arabia and Israel. In 2018, Donald Trump, the new president of the US, withdrew the US from this Deal or agreement. One of the biggest reasons for this withdrawal is that Iran is known. For their unethical nuclear power practices all across the world. Hence, this also impacts the image of the US by providing them with dollars in exchange for nuclear power, but Iran misuses those dollars. Hence, they withdraw from this agreement. In the year 2020, Iranians were attacked by a few of the countries, including the US. Iran continues their unethical nuclear activities all across the world, especially with their rival countries. In the year 2023, UN inspectors stated

that Iran had enriched a huge amount of Uranium, an international alert for all countries. Current US President Joe Biden states that the US wanted to come back to this agreement in case Iran comes back to compliance.

While Iran's foreign policy approach has been shifting to meet its regional and global environment, Iran's ideology played a significant driver of its foreign policy and the shifting of domestic dynamics. For example, Barzegar and Divsallar (2017, p.39) argue that the belief that Iran has a global responsibility towards Muslims worldwide and that "Islam would bring victory" helped to export the idea of the 1979 Revolution globally.

As per Albert Smith, 2023, the historical importance and geopolitical status have positioned the nation on a high reputation. The foreign policy of Iran is explained in segments according to the different centuries, which are mentioned below-

Early modern period- Iran is called Persia in its initial formation period. They are under the Safavids dynasty to expand their nation. At that time, the policies were made through a verbal agreement of territorial acquisitions. During the same century, the Safavids allied with Europe to counter Central Asian and Ottoman threats. This will further help the nation lead policy engagement with the West. The colonial period was when Middle Eastern regions were affected by the rising influence of colonial powers, including Britain and Russia. Also, both empires were interested in instancing their influence within Iran. One of the primary treaties signed during this time includes the Treaty of Gulistan, which was implemented in 1813 between Russia and Iran as Persia seeded a wide area of the eastern caucus to Russia. Furthermore, another important treaty signed during this period included the Treaty of Erzurum, which was implemented in 1823. This treaty was implemented in the aftermath of the Turkish-Iranian war, exemplifying the transplantation of the European model of territorial sovereignty in the Middle East. Some scholars also believe it marked the beginning of European colonization, impacting the Middle Eastern region because it resulted in the two leading powers within the miserable East developing specific borders under the pressure of European empires, including Great Britain and Russia. This also counts as a significant turning point in Middle Eastern history, specifically for Iran, as it resulted in the increasing influence of Western powers in the region dictating its borders and politics.

19th century- Colonial Encounters- This is the period when Iran faced their first encounters with colonial powers, including the Russian and British Empires. This is a century where the nation faced various fluctuations within its foreign policy due to wars or internal matters. The primary purpose of Iran during this century is to protect its religion and nation from external threats and keep growing well to protect its security. Many treaties were considered unfair and

unequal at the international level. Counties signed those treaties during this century to show the world they are a powerful country. Iran has always faced problems due to such treaties during this period. This period can be considered a significant time for the oil industry within Iran because it was when oil was first discovered in the region. After the discovery of oil, the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, also known as the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, was fully established by the British government. The British government purchased 51% of the company share in 1914, making it a controlling power within the organization. This showcases how the Western powers attempted to utilize oil resources within Iran as soon as the discovery of oil began. Furthermore, the discovery of oil in Iran also increased the interest of other Western powers in the region, including the United States. The United States was initially seen as a potential protector against the two great powers that impacted Iran during the 19th century, Russia and Britain. During the Second World War, the Russian army needed Iranian land to supply the Russian army against the invading army of Germany. Since Iran had declared neutrality during the Second World War, the Russians replaced the existing monarch with the sun on the throne, introducing American troops to Iran to facilitate the supply that moved from the Persian Gulf across Iranian territory to the Soviet Union. Shah of Iran quoted the United States assiduously during World War 2 as protection against the two great powers that had occupied its country.

20th century- Shifting Alliances- This is the century that is considered a turning point for Iran. This century can be remembered as the most important and valuable change in foreign policy in Iran's history. The Pahlavi dynasty took power focused on modernization power for the nation by having ties and collaboration with other countries, especially with Western powers. The critical factor that increased tension between America and Iran was the hostage situation, where fifty Americans remained hostage in Iran for 444 days from November 1979 until the inauguration of President Ronald Reagan in 1981. This created a negative image of Iranians for Americans, while many Iranians also negatively viewed western involvement in the region. In comparison to the beginning of the 20th century, the war between Iran and Iraq and the role of the United States in this war created animosity and negativity against the country. In the post-war environment, many attempts were made to ensure that US-Iran relations could be improved. However, this could not be achieved effectively because, in any Iran-US rapprochement, Iran would want to see an end to U.S. sanctions against Iran and an end to America's attempt to isolate the country. At the same time, the United States would expect the country to change its stance on Israel and end its support for groups like Hezbollah in Lebanon and Hamas in the Gaza Strip. These demands from both sides have bulleted in negative relations between the US and Iran ever since the Iran-Iraq war. This decision can be considered one of the most important factors for internal dissatisfaction highlighted in the 1979 Islamic Revolution. After this Revolution, the new Islamic Republic adopted anti-Western strategies by aligning with revolutionary movements to adopt a serious and aggressive global position.

War and Pragmatism- After facing the circumstances after the war between Iran and Iraq in the year 1980s, they adopted a new foreign policy to secure their boundaries and maintain security for the resources. They even face isolation internationally. They sought military arms and requirements from various sources. Their main source for this purpose is the US.

Reform and Regional Ambitions- The Iran President 1990 changed Iran's foreign policy once again with his new ideology and beliefs for national security and growth. Rapprochement is the policy followed by Iran during the same year to maintain good relations with other countries worldwide. At this time, they know that if they continue to get isolated and have bad relations with other countries, this can create a significant barrier or obstacle to their growth. Hence, for this reason, they only bring new changes to their foreign policy. They started maintaining good relations with their neighboring countries by exchanging goods and services.

Nuclear deal and regional power plays- In 2015, Iran signed the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA), further considering a change in their foreign policy. As per this deal, Iran is required to exchange their nuclear programs for relief from sanctions. It shows that they are willing to compromise for the benefit of their economy. On the other hand, Iran is also having tension regarding changes and shifts in global politics. Furthermore, it is also important to note that Iran has been continuously partnering with Russia and China, which is considered a significant problem by many U.S. politicians. The joint chief of staff, General Mark Miley, has openly stated that the close relationship between China, Russia, and Iran can be a huge problem for the United States for many years to come. This further showcases the deterioration of the relationship between the United States and Iran. The United States has also launched retaliatory strikes against Iran-backed groups in Syria after a suspected Iranian drone stuck a facility housing US personnel and killed an American contractor (Britzky, 2023). This indicates that despite the end of the Iran-Iraq war, US involvement in Iranian politics, as well as military conflicts in the region between the US and Iran, have not stopped.

As per the point of view of Jonardon Swing, 2021, there are various modern challenges and prospects regarding the current foreign policy of Iran, and a few of these are navigating the aftermath of the JCPOA's breakdown, managing internal matters for reform, understanding and responding the international matters and many others. Iran got a precarious position after getting a deal with JCPOA to remove their sanctions. Iran is in great confusion regarding their

nuclear programs. They thought of conducting negotiations for the JCPOA deal once again to protect their nuclear programs. They thought their decision to share their nuclear power in exchange for removing sanctions might decline their internal growth. Another main factor for continuous change in Iran's policy is their conflicts related to regional conflicts with Yemen, Syria, and Lebanon. Iran also has an alliance with China and Russia, adding complexity to its regional dynamics. Iran is a country that does not face only issues from external matters but also problems from their internal politics and social issues. The young generation is more concerned about economic opportunities and social freedom. Therefore, their demand forced the Iranian government to align its foreign policy with domestic aspirations. The best factor to test the effectiveness of Iran's policy is to check whether Iran's leadership capabilities successfully balance ideological principles and international requirements. It is also considered that the rivalry between China and the US also impacted Iran's foreign policy. They must carefully consider their choice to align with a major powerful country. They choose to align with both China and the US, which can be challenging for them, but it can also be adventurous in how they can benefit from both rivals.

As per the perspective of Allen Ansoff, 2020, various factors can impact the efficiency of Iran's foreign policy. The geographic location of Iran is one of the factors where the decision made by Iran for their foreign policy may get influenced by their neighbouring countries, especially those with whom Iran shares their borders. The good relationship with Pakistan, Afghanistan, and Iraq may have benefited them to grow. For instance, Iran has an influence on Afghanistan has economic, political, military and religious leverage (Nader et al., 2014). On the other hand, the bad relationship of Iran with Saudi Arabia and other countries is also impacting their foreign policy (Jalal et al., 2023). Economic conditions are also considered an essential factor in Iran's policy fluctuations. The desire for their overall economic growth has engaged them to change their policies for greater opportunities to enhance their technology, investments, and many others. Sanctions on Iran also forced them to change their strategies to remove their international isolation. Relational ambitions and security concerns also played a vital role in Iran's policy fluctuation. The country must make themselves the key player in the Middle East. After Iran experienced some political challenges during the 2005-2013 presidency of Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, the Iranian political elites became more conservative in their rhetorical and ideological approaches, which caused further polarization of domestic matters and increased problems in foreign policy. However, Barzegar and Divsallar argue that these elites, despite the militancy of their language, began to blend ideological policies with more strategic and pragmatic aims, explaining the increased presence of Hezbollah in Syria or Iran's

low-profile involvement in Yemen to avoid apparent confrontation with Saudi Arabia. Most importantly, the inefficiency of Ahmadinejad's resolution plan towards economic sanctions led to the stalemate between Iran and world powers, which brought further domestic political hostilities.

During the 2013 presidential campaign, Hassan Rouhani introduced the slogan, "centrifuges could spin, but so should people's lives" (Bozorgmehr, 2015). The statement informed the Iranian voters that it was necessary to balance strategy and resources to increase Iran's foreign policy rationale. Barzegar and Divsallar claim that the public's craving for pragmatism and normality is due to the rapid demographic changes, new developmental demands, and global technological advancement shaping the national character.

The Impact of the Cold War on the United States

Between 1945, when World War II concluded, and 1991, when the Soviet Union disintegrated, there was a time of geopolitical unrest and ideological rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union. The United States was profoundly and significantly impacted by this protracted conflict, which shaped its domestic policies, foreign relations, economy, society, and culture. This essay examines the ways the Cold War affected the United States over multiple decades.

- Military Buildup and Technological Advancements: The United States underwent a substantial military expansion due to the Cold War. Increased defense spending and the creation of cutting-edge weapons, including nuclear weapons, intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs), and defense systems like the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), were prompted by the perceived threat posed by the Soviet Union. This arms race had significant economic repercussions, spurring scientific development and innovation in computer science, electronics, and aerospace. The country's military-industrial complex grew to be a significant economic force.
- Nuclear Arms Race and Deterrence Strategy: A nuclear arms race between the United States and the Soviet Union typified the Cold War era. To discourage one another, both sides developed sizable nuclear arsenals under the doctrine of mutually assured destruction (MAD). As a result, the American population experienced significant psychological repercussions, and nuclear war terror became engrained in culture. Popular culture, drills, and fallout shelters all mirrored this persistent fear.

- Space Race and Technological Leadership: Space exploration was a competition topic between the United States and the Soviet Union. The United States increased its efforts after the Soviet satellite Sputnik was launched in 1957, which resulted in the creation of NASA and the ultimate moon landing in 1969. The space race was a metaphor for American dedication to democracy, innovation, and technological and ideological superiority.
- Containment Policy and Global Interventions: To stop the spread of communism, the United States adopted a policy of containment during the Cold War. This doctrine encouraged American involvement in a number of international wars, including the Korean War and the Vietnam War. These military operations had significant effects locally and globally, influencing public opinion and igniting discussions about the ethical and tactical justifications for such actions.
- Red Scare and McCarthyism: McCarthyism was a period of high domestic anticommunist sentiment that resulted from the Cold War's fear of communism. The witch hunts and hearings led by Senator Joseph McCarthy against accused communists or sympathizers in the government, entertainment business, and academia stifled free speech and civil liberties. False allegations destroyed many lives, and the period brought to light the perils of political radicalism and ideological conformity.
- Economic and Technological Innovation: The Cold War promoted economic growth in the US through higher defense spending and the resulting technological improvements. Technologies created for military use frequently found use in the civilian world, fueling the expansion of sectors like telecommunications, electronics, and aerospace. Inadvertently stimulating innovation and economic growth was the Cold War.
- Proxy Wars and Geopolitical Influence: The US and the USSR frequently fought proxy
 wars in many parts of the world rather than engaging in direct military battles. The
 Soviet Union funded communist groups, while the United States supported anticommunist forces. This geopolitical game-playing affected these regions' internal
 affairs and sometimes gave rise to protracted conflicts that still exist today.
- Cultural and Artistic Expression: The Cold War significantly impacted American
 cultural and artistic expression. Literature, movies, music, and other forms of creativity
 have all been inspired by the threat of nuclear war and ideological struggle. Dystopian
 literature, like George Orwell's "1984," first appeared as a response to concerns about

- authoritarianism and governmental control. The popularity of spy books and movies reflected the era's espionage themes.
- Civil Rights and Social Movements: The civil rights movement and other social justice
 movements in the United States occurred at the same time as the Cold War. The struggle
 of the country for equality and civil rights was juxtaposed with the Soviet Union's antiAmerican racial prejudice propaganda. This increased attention from abroad compelled
 the United States to deal with its internal injustices, resulting in important civil rights
 law developments.
- End of the Cold War and New Challenges: A turning point for the United States was the end of the Cold War in the early 1990s. While the direct rivalry ended with the fall of the Soviet Union, new difficulties arose. The United States had to deal with problems like the development of terrorism, economic globalization, and the requirement to reevaluate its position on the world stage.

The Factors of Improvement

Three main spheres can be linked to the development of Iran's foreign policies. Firstly, it is the country's social and cultural resources at individual, national, and institutional levels. For example, the Iranian middle class, the Shia clerics, and the Basij militia are the three most influential groups today, significantly impacting the country's policy creation.

Iran's foreign relationships and connections are the diplomatic and economic links between the Iranian government and the governments of other nations. Culture and geography are vital in forming and creating foreign policy. From the 1979 Iranian Revolution, the recently formed Islamic Republic, under the governance of Ayatollah Khomeini, intensely overturned the pro-American foreign policy of the previous Shah of Iran, Mohammad Reza Pahlavi (Wang et al. 2016). Meanwhile, the nation's strategies have vacillated amongst the two contrasting propensities of innovatory passion for eradicating Western and non-Muslim inspirations while encouraging the Islamic revolution in a foreign country and logicality that will enhance economic development along with standardization of relationships. Iran's consensual contacts are occasionally contradictory and confusing (Zheng et al., 2022).

It has been identified that various nations and groups have a great impact and influence on Iran's foreign policy. It includes Syria, Iraq, Lebanon, Libya, and Yemen, which are the most important drivers of the country's foreign policy formulation. It has been determined that Religious beliefs and identity influence the approach of Iran to foreign connections, but they

do not prescribe them. It has been seen that religion does not matter in Iran's state-to-state connection. However, it figures more obviously in connection of Iran with non-state groups. Essentialising Iran's Foreign policy as religious complicates more than it exposes related to its behavior. Moreover, the Middle East has developed more denominational relations from the time of the fall of the Arab Spring, as well as Saddam Hussein, which influenced the regional behavior of Iran. Iran's actions in Syria offer the most explicit examples of its religious behavior (Erpen et al. 2018). Iran has simplified the contribution of thousands of non-Syrian Shia militants to aid and defend the government of Bashar al-Assad. Moreover, Iranian leaders pressure the rightfulness of the interference in Syria. Denied any denominational program, the military of Iran and its associates framed their role in the war in noticeably confessional terms (Ziakis et al. 2019). Regional activities of Iran cannot be separated from the detonation of Sunni sectarianism across the Middle East. Iran indicts its Sunni neighbors of subsidiary the increase of Sunni Immoderation as well as feels obliged to counter that performance by replication down on sustenance to Shia partners of its own (Webb et al. 2022).

The middle class comprises around 34% of Iran's population. The influence of the Shia clerics is based on their traditional position after the 1979 Islamic Revolution and their close relations with the conservative segment of society (Aleem, Capretz, and Ahmed 2016). While the Basij's growing military strength reflects its close ties with traditional forces and rich natural resources, the current Iranian foreign policy is focused on the government to meet the demands of its growing population with a more rational and moderate foreign strategy (Aman et al. 2022). It has been determined that the Iranian government needs to consider the issues and demands of the country's Middle-class population while formulating foreign policy. Iran's foreign policy changes reflect extraordinary socio-economic development (Feng et al., 2019).

The foreign policy of Iran is the outcome of various competing factors such as the ideology of the Islamic revolution OF Iran, the Iranian leadership's insight of fears to the administration and the nation, long-lasting Iranian domestic interests, as well as the collaboration of the Iranian administration's many groups and communities (Xiong et al. 2018). Some professionals declare that the objective foreign policy of Iran is to transposal a power construction in the Middle East, which Iran proclaims favors the United States along with its partners such as Saudi Arabia, Israel, and other Sunni Muslim Arab systems. Iran symbolizes its sustenance for Shiites along with other Islamist arrangements as support for the "troubled." It emphasizes that Saudi Arabia is initiating religious rigidities and trying to eliminate Iran from regional matters (Klug and Gramann, 2021). Others understand the foreign policy of Iran

as mainly an effort to safeguard Iran from the U.S. or other exertions to attack or threaten Iran or to alter its government. Its foreign policy strength, otherwise, or moreover, signifies an effort to improve Iran's global status or reinstate a sense of "immensity" suggestive of the early Persian territories. From 2010 till 2016, Iran's foreign policy also focused on diminishing the impacts of global authorizations on Iran (Berger et al., 2018).

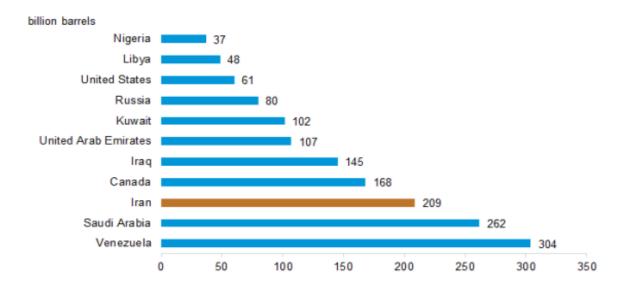
Iran uses a sum of dissimilar tools in following its foreign policy. Some Iranian policy methods_are mutual to most nations: outdated negotiation and public advancement of Iran's morals and interests. It has also monetarily maintained regional legislators and leaders. Other methods Tehran utilizes pose important issues to U.S. policy: Iran delivers direct material and resources backing to equipped teams, some of which use violence to threaten or react against Israel as well as other local rivals of Iran (Stevanato et al. 2019). Its equipped support to Shittedominated associated administrations, like those of Iraq and Syria, has intensified issues from the Sunni rebel community by powering Sunni popular antipathy. Iran is also focused on ensuring that the pressure from foreign sanctions does not harm its national economy, and the country remains allied with important countries such as Russia and China to enhance its economic growth. Iran's Foreign policy also appears to be focused on prompting the strategies and actions of huge powers, like those in Russia and those active in the East—moreover, as associates or rivals of U.S. benefits in that area (Ozek et al. 2018).

The second vital resource affecting Iran's foreign policy is its economy. Every country aims to develop its economy well so they can represent their country at any international event or conference. Several factors could increase Iran's budget, which are mentioned below.

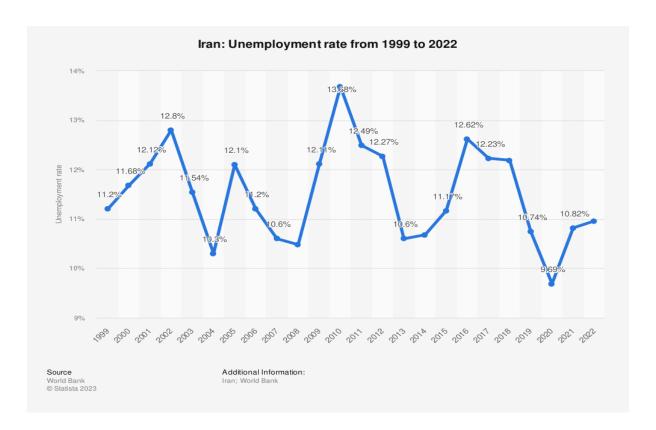
• The lifting of sanctions- The countries lifting sanctions upon Iran are now showing interest in dealing with Iran in exchange for their crude oil and other resources. They are investing in Iran's business to seek growth. The three main effects of lifting sanctions from Iran are the lifting of the EU oil embargo, the decline of Iran's trade cost, and the liberalization of Iran to allow other countries to invest. The nation gains various benefits through the lifting of sanctions. Iran is expecting an almost 3.7% rise in per capita welfare due to lifting the oil embargo and liberalization for enhancing trade practices with other countries. The benefit is only gained by the countries that import the oil. On the other hand, the oil exporters are facing a few challenges for these sanctions. It is analyzed that the oil prices declined by 13% just because excess oil was sold in the global market (Staines et al. 2021). Israel is considered the second-largest economy in the world, which has benefited from the lifting of sanctions on Iran. On the

other hand, the EU and the US also benefited by increasing by 0.5% and 0.3%. OPEC members face losses. The main reason for this decline is the deterioration in trade (Gulati, Sharma, and Gupta 2016).

• Higher oil production and export- As per the OPEC report for 2021, Iran is considered the fifth largest oil producer. They also stood in second place in terms of natural gas reserves worldwide. Iran accounts for almost 24% of oil reserves in the Middle East. According to global statistics, Iran accounts for almost 12% of its oil reserves (*Energy Information Administration*, 2022). On the other hand, due to international sanctions and underinvestment in the oil sector, Iran's crude production declined in 2017. In 2020, Iran's crude oil production reached a 30-year low due to the global impacts of the COVID-19 pandemic. After just one year, in 2021, crude oil demand will rise. In 2021, China will be the country to whom Iran exported their Crude oil immensely. If Iran's sanctions get lifted, the country could sell crude oil at its full capacity, which is expected to be 3.7 million barrels daily (Sun and Huang, 2022).



• Employment rate- It is essential for Iran to enhance their employment rate by following a few of the essential strategies. As per the statistical data, the unemployment rate of Iran was 10.82% in 2020 and 10.96% in 2021. Hence, the 0.15% hike shows they are not focusing on this matter. Their economy is declining in terms of employment rate. The nation's unemployment rate was 9.69%, which rose by 1.13% to reach 10.82% in the next year. There are various strategies to enhance the employment rate of Iran, such as enhancing the literacy rate by investing in the development of schools and universities, increasing the scope for industrialization, and many others.



- Maintain stability for exports and imports- Iran is thinking of stopping exchanging higher levels of uranium in return for currency, especially the dollar. As per the agreement and other deals, Iran must export 5,000,000 barrels of petroleum products daily. Their main purpose could be to sell petroleum products in a limited manner so that they can fill their financial gaps and retain some of their natural resources with them. As per the report, Iran's natural resources are declining quickly, and after a few years, even Iran itself is required to import those resources, which they have in excess at present. Once they reach a good financial level, they are required to exchange their petroleum products with the resources they need for their infrastructural and economic development.
- Optimistic scenario- The most important way for Iran to recover their economy is to return to JCPOA. They can reserve almost \$ 100 billion in hard currency for their economy. Condensating exports and returning to a level of reserving crude oil is helpful for Iran's economic development. The nuclear deals would help Iran develop and maintain the resources to contain the current budget deficit. I can further lower the nation's inflation rate. Iran is a nation that is counted on the list for having a high inflation rate. The nation has a 42.5% Inflation rate in the year 2023. Now, it is expected that the nation could lower its inflation rate through such economic development strategies. They can continue to lower their inflation rate till 2027.

As per the report, the rate of participation of Iran's labor force in the year 2022 is 24.43%, which shows that they are having a hike of almost 0.73% compared to 2021 (23.69%). The continuous development of the labor force can be seen as a good opportunity for Iran to grow. They can enhance their growth through industrialization. They can even provide their labor force to other countries to develop a high reputation.

As per the point of view of Ahmad, 2021, combinations of internal and external forces may impact Iran's economy. Despite the numerous difficulties the nation has experienced over the years, there are a few crucial areas that, if carefully addressed, can support its economic progress. Iran's economy is highly dependent on oil exports, making it susceptible to changes in the price of crude internationally. Diversifying the economy by investments in non-oil areas, including manufacturing, agriculture, tourism, and technology, is necessary for economic improvement. As a result, the economy would become less reliant on oil earnings. Investing in communication, electricity, and transportation networks is crucial for economic development. A more attractive business environment, increased trade, and lower transaction costs can increase productivity. Increasing trade ties and promoting foreign investment can provide the economy with fresh resources, know-how, and technology. This can be accomplished through making the climate more conducive to business, reducing rules, and enhancing transparency. Fostering a trained workforce and fostering innovation can help to generate economic growth by investing in human capital. Technology improvements and the emergence of high-value industries can be facilitated by establishing research and development centers and assisting startups. Improving banking procedures, facilitating SMEs' access to credit, and growing capital markets can strengthen the financial sector and promote investment and economic growth. A more attractive business environment, increased trade, and lower transaction costs can increase productivity. Reforms to the labor market can boost output and provide a more effective distribution of human resources by addressing problems like underemployment, unemployment, and skill mismatches. Improving the effectiveness of state-owned businesses and streamlining the public sector can help to allocate resources better and ease financial strains.

Iran has implemented policies allowing them to achieve their goals in low-cost manner with minimal support from global trade to reduce the negative impact of sanctions. It is the point where the balance among objectives and resources takes place, along with the chief reason why the United States sanctions, in addition to the coercion strategy on Iran, did not work as predictable in limiting the foreign policy goals of Iran. As authorizations supported, the low-priced foreign policy choices turned out to be more positive to policymakers, although

no actual variations to policy goals took place. Iran decided to limit its economic action instead of its foreign policy aims. Nevertheless, it has been analyzed that even discovering an economical solution to achieve foreign policy objectives, like stimulating proxies, does not assure the whole lifting of restraints impersonated by the Iranian economy. Along with the context of Iran, a smaller amount of influential monetary diplomacy interprets to an additional authoritative militarist method.

These options would allow Iranians to incorporate their economic resources into foreign policy goals, including transit and communication services, human rights capita, and an extensive competitive market (Barzegar&Divsallar, 2017, p. 41). The third resource is Iran's military. The modern army comprises unconventional and coercive strategies, which can potentially deter a technologically superior adversary. The Iranian Defense Minister General Hossein Dehghan remarks that military power is the fastest evolving and growing policy resource with the highest objective strategic effects (Dehghan, 2015).

The military of Iran mainly depends on the three core aptitudes, such as ballistic missiles, alternative capabilities consisting of proxies abroad and partners, and naval forces proficient in frightening navigation in the strait of Hormuz and the Persian Gulf. The military structure of Iran is classified into three divisions, with Ayatollah Ali Khamenei as the commander in chief of (IRGC), the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps, the Islamic Republic of Iran Army, and the Basij Resistance Force. The United States determined that Iran has a huge Ballistic missile force in the Middle East along with deliberates its missile arsenal as its primary tool of force projection and coercion. Iranian military policy creates an exclusive mixture of Western (particularly U.S.) military models united with conceptual beliefs, containing revolutionary zeal and martyrdom. Since the 1979 revolution, Iranian military policy has constantly changed and adapted to the government's fluctuating risk observations and regional political growths. Overall, Barzegar and Divsallar argue that integrating Iran's military power into foreign policy is lagging due to a lack of cooperation in civil-military relations. In other words, military force is not under the complete control of the political leaders responsible for foreign policy. Instead, the military is under the power of the Supreme Leader, not the president, diminishing the president's ability to deploy effective strategies that include military intervention.

The military role in Iranian politics appears fundamentally unfamiliar when inspected in contradiction of the conditions of the huge output of works on civil-military associations created in the last four decades on civilizations as different as Zimbabwe and Argentina. Analysis of Iran has expended an excellent agreement of scholarly vitalities. Sociologists,

Historians, and political experts have applied their varied abilities to reach some practical understanding regarding the significance and origins of the Pahlavi reign in Iran, the 1979 Iranian revolution, and the advancement of the Islamic Republic later. Over the past decade, there has been an explosion of works allocating to the practices of the Iranian military throughout the Iran-Iraq War, the post-war transformation plans of the Iranian military force, and Iran's attempts to obtain arms of mass devastation. Moreover, Iran's Foreign policy has been shifting to meet its national and international environment and domestic dynamics. Previously, ideology played an important role as an influencer of foreign policy. For example, the idea that Iran had an international responsibility associated with Muslims, along with that trust, will lead to victory and success. Moreover, it was founded on Islam as its vital reserve. It helped drive a strategy related to the Exporting revolution after 1979, despite some strategic limitations while applied at state connections. Iran met some global and regional challenges, particularly during the presidency of Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, leading Iranian political leaders to be added conventional about the threats of ideological policies. Supreme leader Ayatollah Ali Khamenei suggested that Ahmadinejad not contribute in 2017. Presidential voting is mostly for circumventing national politics and foreign policy separation. It shows a clear example of Iranian political leaders becoming more conventional about such idealistic and rhetorical approaches. The political leaders have started to mix ideological policies with pragmatic and strategic goals. It leads to such things as the presence of Hezbollah in Syria, which is more geopolitical apprehension, or the low-profile contribution of Iran in Yemen to avoid war with Saudi Arabia. The government's incompetence and Ahmadinejad's rule in handling economic authorizations, resulting in a nuclear impasse between Iran and world powers, carried that concern further into national political arguments.

The evolving Iranian foreign policy alignment under the administration of Ebrahim Raisi is marked with the specific goal of transforming Iran into a responsible power that can collaborate to shape the order of the region and inspire stability. During the post-revolutionary, Iran, often known as the modernizing state, it has been identified that the scope and scale of revision Iran looks at today is bound by its security concerns, benefits, and interests. Centre public demands, along with the higher costs of potential conflicts, effectively congealed this pattern. It includes US and Iran connections where authorized collaboration in mutual problems covered the method for Enhancing security in the region.

The meaning of "responsible power" aligns with the ability of Iranian resources. There is harmony among the policymakers of Iran with the nation's hidden resources, population,

social capacity, unique geography, natural resources, soft power, and cultural legacy—Iran justifies being the area's most influential country. Although the available resources may support such a goal, experience shows that regional security and political dynamics will constrain that strategy. For example, the concern of "responsibility" in authority appears as a new thought in Iranian safety arguments; meanwhile, it is an efficient tool to implement strategic restrictions that continuously force back possessions. Iran's method of conducting a fight against the Islamic State in Iraq is an instance in point. Iran presented a great contract of obligation in allotting its military resources to the Iraqi state in the fights of Ramadi, Tikrit, as well as Fallujah, preventing its Shia militia supporters from performing beyond the authority of the state, which will only advance separations in the nation.

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODS

Introduction

Research methodology identifies how the research is conducted and the techniques and procedures used to complete the research. It further includes ways to collect data to accomplish the research. In simple words, it is the blueprint of the whole research, which provides the reader with ideas related to the ways included by the researcher to accomplish the research. It is also called the systematic plan to resolve a research problem effectively (Aguinis and Solarino, 2019). Research methodology is one of the most important parts of research because it ensures valid research and reliability and addresses their aims and objectives. There are various types of research methodologies, such as qualitative and quantitative. The primary purpose of research is not to collect data but to answer those questions that were not answered earlier appropriately.

Research Method and Design

The study utilized a case study approach to explore the petrodollar system and its implications on US relations with Saudi Arabia. According to George and Bennett (2005), case study methodology is a detailed examination of an aspect of a historical episode with the intention to establish or assess historical explanations for the generalizations about the subject matter. The application of a case study approach has the benefit of unearthing additional variables and generating hypotheses related to a particular subject matter (George and Bennet, 2005). Further, George and Bennet (2005) contend that the case study approach leads to the development of typological theories. According to Liamputtong (2020), a case study is an empirical investigation into a phenomenon in its natural environment; therefore, the methodology is suitable for this study as it provides a rational and methodical manner of examining occurrences in the context of data collection, information analysis, and findings presentation (Hennink, Hutter& Bailey, 2020; Liamputtong, 2020). In the context of the study, the choice of case study approach was informed by appropriateness in the investigation of historical experience in a way that aids in generating helpful knowledge. The case study approach offers an opportunity to explore multiple dimensions of the petrodollar system. A case study research approach is utilized to allow the researcher to understand the relations between the U.S., Saudi Arabia, and Iran and the actions taken by the U.S. administration to enhance the petrodollar system and its hegemony in the Middle East.

Creswell (2013, p. 97) holds that a multiple case study approach analyses a real-life current bounded system(s) through time. This research design was the best fit for this study as it will allow for an understanding to form surrounding why certain relationships exist between the U.S., Iran, and Saudi Arabia, as well as the role of hegemony and the petrodollar as such (Ebneyamini and Sadeghi 2018, p.2). Therefore, the multiple case study research methodology will provide a comprehensive and straightforward guide in the data collection and allow for more in-depth creation of a persuasive theory and exploration of the research topic (Brink, 2018, p.223; Gustafsson, 2017).

Research Approach

An inductive research strategy was selected for the study on the petrodollar and the connections between the US, Saudi Arabia, and Iran. This strategy fits with the study's goals, which include delving into the subtleties and intricacies of the petrodollar system and how it affects the interactions between these nations. The petrodollar system, which involves the exchange of oil for US dollars, has significant geopolitical and economic implications. The inductive approach is ideally suited since there is a chance for unexpected dynamics, and it is necessary to find detailed relationships (Fuster Guillen, 2019). This method enables a thorough analysis of particular instances and trends within the framework of the petrodollar system. Furthermore, the inductive approach offers the flexibility to produce fresh insights and ideas because there may not be many complete theories or hypotheses accessible on this particular topic. The research can create a deeper picture of the interplay between economic, political, and social issues within the US-Saudi Arabia-Iran triangle by gathering qualitative data through content analysis, interviews, and observation (Gabbidon and Chenneville, 2021).

Research choices

Choices within the research help carry out the investigation correctly by knowing the types of data that need to be gathered and analyzed within the research. Using this method, researchers carry out a more profound study to attain the aim and objective most effectively. At last, the multi-method also gathers and inspects numerical and theoretical data, but in the multi-method, the investigator gathers the data more than once. This method does not focus on single-time data gathering; instead, it gathers data multiple times. The investigator selects the mono method within the present study, which helps the researcher gather a single data type. The data gathered using this method is qualitative (Lichtman, 2023).

This method assists in understanding the petrodollar influence on the relationship, the effect of the 9/11 attack, hegemony, and Breton wood's impact on the nations. With the help of qualitative data, the bilateral relations between the countries can be acknowledged largely. It helps in collecting statistical data by offering factual information in the right manner. It helps the researcher to make vintage content to gather geopolitical data effectively. It offers more insight into what might help better understand the countries' geopolitical issues (Madondo, 2021).

Research strategy

A case study is the chosen strategy for the current study. This study discusses various cases, such as World War I and World War II, the interrelationship between Iran, Saudi Arabia, and the US, the historical background of Iran's foreign policy, and many others. Hence, this will help the researcher to analyze the research topic in-depth and provide a conclusion. One of the most significant advantages of choosing a case study is that it provides in-depth and real-life phenomena. Hence, it will help to provide reliable and valid data for the current research. This will help the current research to solve complex problems effectively by focusing on the solutions that were taken previously (Moorley and Cathala, 2019).

Data Collection Technique

Secondary research methods, which were applied in this study, confer multiple advantages for collecting current research data. One of the most significant advantages is that it answers certain research questions and helps test hypotheses. The research requires the least time compared to other methods to collect data. Hence, it saves time for the researcher. Another advantage is that it helps to develop the researcher's knowledge about the topic. For example, using published data related to similar research topics will help to analyze the historical background of the topic. Cost-effective is another advantage of the secondary research type where the researcher is required to search the data on internet sources and include them in their research report (Noble-Carr, Moore, and McArthur, 2021). Secondary research helps the researcher identify the research gap at a very early stage so that the researcher can fill the gap, whether it is related to knowledge or accuracy of the report, in a very short period (Noyes et al. 2019).

Secondary qualitative data will be gathered from journal and research articles, books, and book chapters retrieved from credible academic sources such as EBSCOHost, ProQuest, Google Scholar, Sage, Emerald Insight, and Elsevier's Science Direct. Other sources include

government websites, Elsevier's Science Direct database, Spring link database, reputable websites, and official documents. Inclusion and exclusion criteria will be developed to ensure that data is relevant and credible.

Data Analysis

The current theory is related to qualitative research. Hence, the research opted for the techniques from a qualitative approach. As per the current research, thematic analysis is the most suitable data analysis technique. When a researcher analyzes people's points of view to conclude the research findings, thematic analysis is considered a very subjective technique that relies on the researcher's judgment. It is also considered a flexible approach. This means that the data can be interpreted in any way, making it tough to select any data to consider important for the study. Thematic analysis has various advantages, such as its suitability for huge data sets. The interpretation of the theme is having appropriate support of data used in the research (Ravitch and Carl, 2019).

The Taylor-Powell and Rennet (2003) process will be utilized to extract and analyze data from the sources found by applying the above criteria. Therefore, content and thematic analysis of relevant sources gathered through the criteria set forth above will be conducted to allow the researcher to answer the established questions and address the research objectives. Content analysis enables researchers to comprehend context data by subjectively reducing it (Descombe, 2010).

First, a thematic analysis compiled several pieces of evidence from various data sources. The thematic analysis focuses more on patterns, leading to the generation of themes from the collected data (Taylor-Powell and Renner, 2003). These themes will then be categorized and examined to determine patterns and connections between sources, considering both approaches and findings (Taylor-Powell and Renner, 2003). By organizing data analysis in this manner, the quality of the analysis itself will increase as the focus will be on interpreting textual material in reference to this work's exact aims, objectives, and research questions (Auerbach and Silverstein, 2003).

Sampling

In the present investigation, the investigator opted for non-probability sampling. In that case, convenient sampling is used to select various sources at their convenience. The main reason for selecting this is to help the researcher gather data from whatever sources are the easiest for

them to reach and use (Savin-Baden and Major, 2023). To select the sample, the investigator applied the inclusion and exclusion criteria, which are as follows:

Inclusion Criteria	Justification
Sources published in English	Avoids language barriers and potential faults
	in translation
Peer-reviewed academic sources	Ensures the use of unbiased, valid, and
	reliable information related to the topic.
Sources published in the last ten years lack	Ensures that information is as up-to-date and
remarkable insight into the foundational	relevant as possible
nature of the study.	
Information related to the U.S., Iran, and	Ensures that information is relevant to the
Saudi Arabia (Busetto et al., 2020).	research question and aims/objectives.

Exclusion Data	Justification
Sources published in languages other than	Does not meet inclusion criteria 1
English	
Sources that are not academic and have not	Does not meet inclusion criteria 2
been peer-reviewed	
Sources older than 10 years that are not	Does not meet inclusion criteria 3
foundational or otherwise essential	
Sources dealing with issues outside of Iran,	Does not meet inclusion criteria 4
the U.S., and SA.	

CHAPTER 4: DATA ANALYSIS AND FINDING

Theme 1: U.S. Foreign Policy toward the Middle East

Middle East has greatly interested the United States regarding its strategic location in countering U.S. political rivals, strategic economic zone, energy resources for its growing industrial demands since the beginning of the twentieth century, and regional security matters (Dekhakhena 2017). This necessitated The United States of America to develop favorable foreign policies favoring its interest in controlling the region.

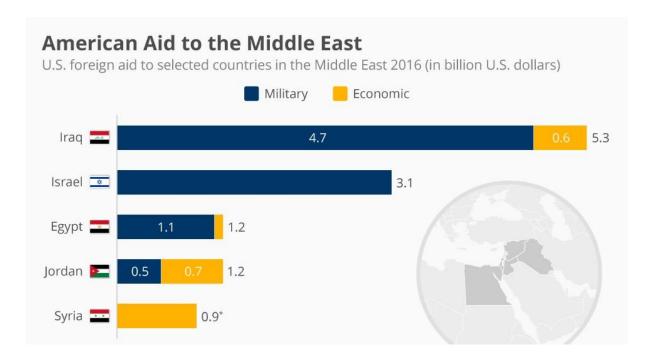


Figure 1 American Aid to the Middle East, 2023

The graph above highlights how the United States made a strategy to aid the various nations of the Middle East. The government made foreign policy, including military and economic aid to various nations such as Iraq, Israel, Egypt, Jordan, and Syria. They provide military and economic aid to this country by investing billion US\$ in it (Sky 2023). It has been analyzed that the United States invests more in Iraq than other countries in the Middle East. Along with it, invest in Syria to develop its economy, not in the military. It dramatically impacts the United States' relationships with the Middle East nations (Makiya, 2023).

Theme 2: The United States Foreign Policy toward the Middle East before World War I

Trade between the United States and the Middle East has existed for over 200 years. The first time Smyrna products, most notably figs, emerged in America was in 1767, which marked the start of trade relations between Boston and the old Turkish City of Smyrna (Al Sarhan, 2017, p.454). Following that, in 1811, an American commercial business was founded in Smyrna, laying the framework for the first American-Ottoman treaty, which was signed on May 7, 1831.

American religious and philanthropic organizations saw the region as an opportunity for spreading Christianity, establishing schools, and providing humanitarian assistance. American religious groups, especially Presbyterians, conducted multiple missions in the Middle East that were both religious, charitable, and medical (Yulianti, Sudirman, and Angela, 2023). The American missionaries in the Middle East appeared as early as 1820 when the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions established the first American religious mission in the region (Barbeau, 2017). American missionaries and philanthropic organizations began going to the Middle East to minister to the population. These humanitarian efforts reflected a desire to bring about social and cultural transformations and served as a soft power tool for the United States (Bevis, 2016). However, these missionaries unsuccessfully persuaded many Muslims and Jews to convert to Christianity. Instead, they influenced and modernized education in the area by founding prestigious institutions like Robert College in Turkey, founded in 1863; Syrian Protestant College, later renamed American University of Beirut (AUB), founded in 1866; Istanbul Women's College, founded in 1871, and The American University of Cairo, founded in 1909. The AUB "became the most exceptional institution of higher learning in the Middle East, at least in some subjects. By the turn of the twentieth century, AUB had become a key location for the emergence and advancement of Arab nationalism. Contributions to higher education made America attractive in the eyes of the local public, and the lack of American political motive reinforced overall friendliness toward American democracy.

The U.S. sought access to Middle Eastern markets and resources as the Industrial Revolution gained traction. (Wen, 2017) The Open-Door Notes, published in 1899 by U.S. Secretary of State John Hay, urged China to have equal commercial rights. Although the Middle East was not directly affected, this program was primarily geared toward Asia. The U.S. administration pushed for open commerce in the region and worked to block European powers from having complete economic dominance (Ikenberry, 2016). This policy position reflected a growing

interest in the Middle East as a potential economic partner and helped pave the way for future involvement.

The early 20th century saw the discovery of oil in the Arabian Peninsula, bringing new economic prospects and geopolitical difficulties to the U.S. (Khalili,2018). Before World War I, American businesses like Standard Oil of California and Gulf Oil Corporation were investigating and investing in the region's oil deposits, especially in Saudi Arabia and Iran. Through diplomatic channels, the US government supported these initiatives and gave American oil corporations political support, laying the groundwork for future U.S. involvement in the region's oil industry.

It is evident that before World War I, American involvement in the Middle East was confined to economic, missionary, and educational endeavors (Hanieh, 2018). After World War I, the Ottoman Empire fell, bringing European influence to the whole Middle East region. The North African republics, Lebanon and Syria were under the French mandate, while Egypt, Iraq, Palestine, Sudan, and Transjordan were under the British mandate. British influence also extended to the Gulf region. In this context, it is significant to note that certain regional states attained minimal independence between the two world wars. European influences were limited until the end of World War II. Arab aspirations to achieve their independence inside a single, undivided nation-state were considerably delayed by European colonialism. The United States, on the other hand, showed little interest in world politics during and after World War I (Al Sarhan, 2017). This was particularly true of the Middle East, where 'isolationism' was a defining aspect of American foreign policy until Japan attacked Pearl Harbour on December 7, 1941.

Before World War I, the United States' Middle East foreign policy was characterized by a blend of commercial interests, geopolitical factors, and limited direct regional participation. The U.S. was concerned mainly with its growth and expansion during this time. Still, it started to notice the Middle East's growing significance due to its advantageous location and priceless resources (Bilgin, 2019). The main tenets of American foreign policy in the Middle East before World War I are examined in this essay, along with the reasons behind the choices made and their effects.

• **Economic Interests:** The United States rapidly industrialized and urbanized in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The need for raw resources and the markets for

manufactured goods increased dramatically. The Middle East attracted the interest of American authorities and businesspeople due to its large oil reserves, agricultural products, and potential as a trading partner (Christison, 2023)). The building of the Suez Canal is one of the most eminent instances of how economic considerations influenced American foreign policy in the region. The canal's opening in 1869 changed marine trade by creating a direct route that slashed travel time and expenses between Europe and Asia (Biden, 2020). The U.S. recognized the canal's strategic value for international trade and worked to guarantee that all countries could access it. The U.S. strongly focused on open access as part of its broader commitment to the ideals of free trade and navigation (Hurewitz, 2019).

Percent of U.S. Population | Rural | Urban | Urban | 100% | 1850 | 1900 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000 | 1950 | 2000

Figure 2 Urbanisation in the US, 2023

According to the above-stated Graph, it has been determined that the United States focuses more on bringing urbanization and industrialization in their nation to bring innovation and foster economic growth. It has been analyzed that from 1950 to 2000, the government of the United States made Foreign policies to bring urbanization in their regions, develop more technology for effective trade in the international market, and enhance their currency value in all global trade markets. This is showcased by the above graph, where there was a significant rise in urbanization from 1950 to 2000, with urban areas accounting for more than 80% of the American population. The US population shifted rapidly from rural areas to urban cities to increase trade in international markets.

- Strategic Considerations: Due to its location at the confluence of Europe, Asia, and Africa, the Middle East has grown in strategic significance. The U.S. considered that the stability and security of this region were crucial to maintaining global trade routes and preventing the supremacy of any one state. This concern was particularly evident against the Ottoman Empire's declining influence.
- European nations fought for dominance and dominion as the Ottoman Empire fell apart.
 The United States tried to prevent any European nation from becoming unduly dominant in the region to avoid disturbing the balance of power and damaging American trade interests. Therefore, the United States backed the "Open Door Policy" to promote equal access and combat exclusive spheres of influence.
- Limited Direct Involvement: Although the US recognized the Middle East's strategic importance, it continued to have a limited direct involvement policy there. Its emphasis on internal growth and historical reluctance to participate in international conflicts partly contributed to this. Instead of establishing colonies or military installations, the United States opted to protect its interests through diplomatic and economic channels.
- Consequences and Legacy: The Middle East foreign policy of the United States before World War I significantly impacted its participation in the region for decades. The emphasis on open access and free commerce has made it possible for the U.S. to maintain a continual interest in maintaining stability and security in the Middle East to safeguard its economic interests. A pattern for the U.S.'s approach to international affairs was also set by its preference for covert military involvement over overt diplomatic and economic engagement. It's crucial to remember that there were issues and disputes with the U.S. policy. Others questioned whether the United States was genuinely committed to its ideas of democracy and self-determination. At the same time, some claimed that the pursuit of economic interests may have disregarded or even contributed to regional concerns.

Theme 3: United States Foreign Policy after World War I

America's and the world's histories underwent a sea change in the years following World War I. As the global order underwent a significant change, the United States faced a challenging situation as it tried to define its place in the world. Following World War I, a complex interaction of domestic politics, economic concerns, ideological considerations, and the shifting dynamics of the international system impacted the United States' foreign policy. The

numerous dimensions of American foreign policy following World War I are examined in this section.

1. Isolationism and Internationalism:

After World War I, there was a period of conflict between isolationist attitudes, which were driven by a desire to avoid becoming involved in further international crises, and the increasing realization that international cooperation was required to prevent future wars. George Washington noted in his farewell speech that the United States has never encouraged long-term alliances. Due to the disappointment brought on by the war's enormous human and financial costs, this isolationist viewpoint gained popularity after the fight.

However, President Woodrow Wilson's desire for a League of Nations may indicate a developing internationalist trend. Wilson thought that international cooperation and diplomacy could end current hostilities. Despite his best efforts, the Treaty of Versailles was rejected by the US Senate, preventing the US from ever joining the League of Nations. This choice demonstrated the widespread opposition to excessive global participation.

2. Economic Interests and Expansion:

After World War I, the United States' foreign policy was significantly shaped by economic factors. Due to the war's disruption of international trade and markets, the United States emerged as a significant economic force with most of its industries intact. The United States followed a strategy that combined isolationism and expansionism to protect its financial interests.

President William Howard Taft advocated "Dollar Diplomacy," which focused on utilizing economic might to increase American influence in Latin America and East Asia. The U.S. wanted to ensure these areas were stable so that there would be hospitable conditions for American enterprises to prosper. To accomplish these objectives, investments in infrastructure projects, loans, and trade agreements were made.

3. The Roaring Twenties and Cultural Diplomacy:

In the United States, the 1920s were a time of cultural dynamism and artistic flowering. Cultural diplomacy offered opportunities to represent American ideas and ideals abroad during this period of affluence and innovation. Jazz music, movies, books, and other artistic mediums are potent showcases for the vibrancy of American culture.

International perceptions were greatly impacted by American culture's appeal, which also affected soft power dynamics. American cultural exports promoted international ties and developed a favorable perception of the nation. For upcoming engagement and cooperation, this cultural diplomacy established the foundation.

4. Rise of Militarism and the Second World War:

In Europe and Asia, totalitarian regimes also rose to power during the interwar era. With a noninterventionist policy, the US first tried to disassociate itself from these events. The drawbacks of this strategy were revealed by incidents like the Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1931 and the rising aggression of Nazi Germany.

In the end, the start of World War II in 1939 forced the United States to reassess its foreign strategy. The threat posed by the Axis powers forced a change in policy toward aiding Allied nations through initiatives like the Lend-Lease Act, even though the United States was still war-weary and wanted to avoid direct involvement. As a result of the attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941, the United States was forced to actively participate in the war, which marked a significant turning point in the country's foreign policy development.

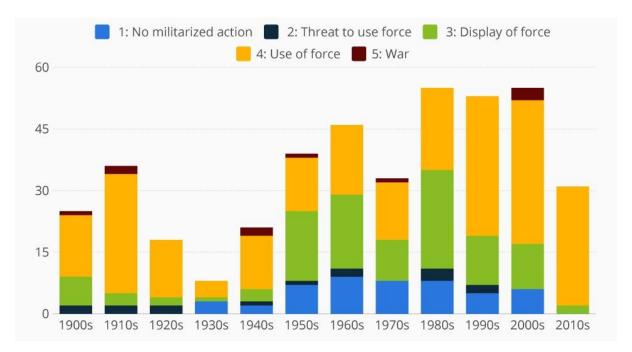


Figure 3 Force and War in the US Foreign Strategy, 2023

It has been analyzed from the above-presented graph: In the 1940s, the US increased its Military force to fight against the War. During the end of the 1940s, the United States was forced to join the war enthusiastically, marking a significant turning point in the nation's policy

formulation. It indicates that between the 1940s and 1950s, the United States military force had to be involved in the war to protect their nation, resources, and population from harm. During that time, the United States displayed and used its military force in War after the Attack.

5. Legacy and Lessons:

The United States' post-World War I foreign policy left a lasting legacy that still affects how it plays a role in the world today. Economic interests, cultural diplomacy's challenges, and the conflict between isolationism and internationalism remain essential factors in foreign policy discussions.

The interwar period's teachings have also influenced later theories of international relations. U.S. foreign policy choices have been influenced by the need to balance avoiding overextension and appreciating the significance of collective security and diplomacy. Additionally, methods for engagement with other countries have been influenced by the realization that economic interests and cultural exchanges may be effective vehicles of persuasion.

Theme 4: United States Foreign Policy after World War II

The above-presented information shows that there was a huge change in the United States' foreign policy after World War II. The United States implements a split personality while making foreign policy; for example, if one plan doesn't work well, they use another one until the problem is solved.

The United States' political involvement in the Middle East increased at the end of World War II. Before then, three indirect occurrences may be mentioned (Kozhanov, 2012). Iran was a transit route for sending Lend-Lease supplies to the Soviet Union from 1941 to 1945. Aramco, the Arabian-American Oil Company, was established in Saudi Arabia in 1938, and America influenced the Arab nationalist movement in the early 1920s through its domestic ideals (Robby, 2020, p.1-32). Since then, the United States has continually focused on the Middle East, which is affected by power movements, oil interests, and the Palestine Question.

As per the information presented in the graph below, it has been determined that from 1941 to 1945, the production of Lend-Lease food in Iran was only 1%. Iran was a transit route for sending Lend-Lease supplies to the Soviet Union from 1941 to 1945

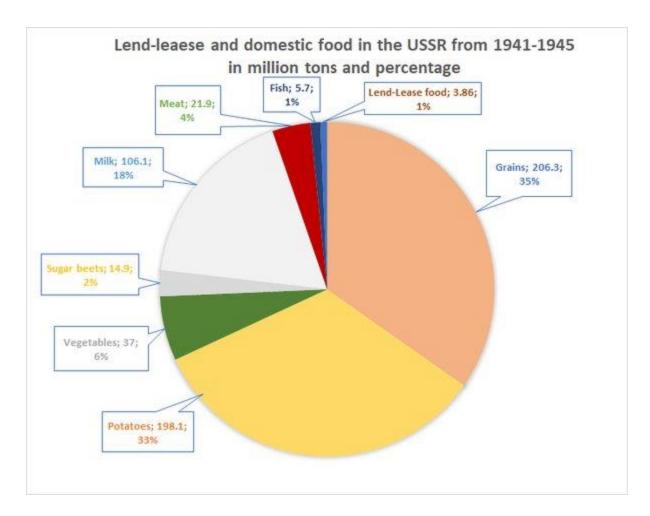


Figure 4Lend-Lease supplies to the Soviet Union from 1941 to 1945, 2023

The United States has long been included in the Middle East, and it grew after the end of World War II. Thus far, compared to Europe, other countries of long-lasting concern, and Asia, where the United States strategies to "pivot" in the coming years, cultural ties and trade relations stay weak, along with the region's military power negligible. During World War 2, the Middle East's vitality supplies and numerous communist-leaning rules concentrated its portion of the US-Soviet chessboard. In 1990, the US prolonged its safety occurrence in the area to encompass Saddam Hussein's Iraq as well as religious administration in Iran. In addition to this, Washington was involved in sustained and energetic, but eventually failed, energy to get about peace among Israel as well as its Arab neighbors.

At the end of the Cold War, a new stability of control was overcome globally. The Soviet Union and the United States appeared as the lone two superpowers worldwide. (France and Britain), the chief European powers tackled extensive economic problems and could no longer play their old prominent roles in the Middle East. In the beginning of the 1940s, President Roosevelt and their government primarily estimated that Britain would stay the country's safety chief.

Though, by the mechanism of 1944, viewers stated, "Soviet strategy in the Arab world seems to be intended at the decrease of the influence of the British in a particular area as well as the achievement of the equilibrium of power." In the mid of 1945, State Department staff analyzed that Britain was not able to keep the Soviet Union as well as understood the United States had the strength to take control of the "development the economic improvement of the Middle Eastern persons" as as "enable liberty from exploitation as well as external interference."

After World War II, the Russian government aspired to expand its authority along its southern border. When Turkey refused to allow the "Red Navy" to pass the Dardanelles, the straits connecting the Black Sea and the Mediterranean, Josef Stalin deployed Soviet troops into Iran and escalated diplomatic pressure. The worst-case scenario was anticipated by American strategists by the fall of 1945. The British openly acknowledge that they can no longer maintain stability in the Middle East without assistance from the United States. The State Department warned the President that "Soviet Russia is showing a marked interest in the area. If the United States does not respond firmly and adequately, another world war may erupt. In response, Washington issued the Truman Doctrine in 1947, indicating that the U.S. would assume Britain's obligation to Greece and Turkey.

In 1969, the US government and President Richard Nixon announced a new foreign policy, in which the United States would afterward support associates dealing with the military threats with military and economic aid instead of ground crowds. They announced the Nixon Doctrine during the Vietnam War, 1954 to 75. Nixon described that the US could not afford to protect or guard their partners completely. The United States resolved to continue to keep all of their agreement responsibilities. They expect their partners to improve their efficiency in their selfdefense and protect them from rivalry significantly. Similarly, they secure US partnerships that it continues to use its nuclear power to protect them from nuclear threats and challenges. Jimmy Carter developed his doctrine and "informed the world in January 1980 that the United States had vital security interests in the Middle East for which it was willing to fight, whether it had reliable partners or not," but after the designated Middle Eastern countries ultimately demonstrated they were unable to fulfil this role effectively. It has been identified that Cather states that the US would engage military force against any nation that tries to gain complete control of the Gulf region. That declaration brought a dramatic shift in United States Foreign policy, which had been focused from the beginning of the presidency of Carter on promoting global human rights and following an agreement with the Soviet Union. Carter's policy and doctrine related to the détente ended in 1979 with the signing of the SALT (Strategic Arms Limitation Talks) and a nuclear arms contract between the United States and the Soviet Union.

Theme 5: The Tripartite Relationship Between the U.S. and the Middle East

The tripartite relationship was a 1950 initiative by three allies, the U.S., Britain, and France, to prevent an arms race in the Middle East. The declaration stipulated that the weapons provided to the Middle East would be for self-defense and maintenance of internal security and should be per the contributions of the recipient nation to regional security. Besides, the supplied quantities of ammunition would not lead to an arms race. The declaration also aimed to block the entry and influence of the Soviet Union into the region (Lucas 1996). Tal (2009) recognizes the dimensions of cooperation, shared interests, controversy, and conflict. Disagreements over the Middle East Policy were more prevalent relative to harmony and collaboration. A study by Hahn (1991) reported that the Tripartite Declaration was no exception from other agreements since, like other Anglo-American relations in the Middle East, it aimed to coordinate the U.S. and Britain's Middle Eastern policy and lower regional tensions. Besides, it served as a tool in Britain and the U.S.'s subtle power against each other in the Middle East.

The worry of Britain was the growing influence of the U.S. in the Middle East, particularly the thought that the U.S. would start selling weapons to countries in the region, an activity in which Britain only had the monopoly. On its part, the U.S. was worried that Britain would endorse an Arab-titled policy, leading to a significant sale of arms by Britain to Arabian governments. Such a move would have made the U.S. compensate Israel (Hahn 1991). The Truman administration was opposed to such a move. Lastly, neither of the two countries wanted France to sell arms to countries in the Middle East and use the opportunity to gain political leverage.

The formulated declaration provides a glimpse into rivalries in the Middle East between Great Britain and the United States. The declaration was not the primary instrument of cooperation, as illustrated by the failure to deal with growing tension between Israel and Arab countries in 1955-1956; instead, it resulted from the Anglo-American struggle over influence. It is essential to analyse the domestic considerations and imperatives that led to the Tripartite Declaration and its collapse.

Theme 6: Domestic Considerations and Imperatives of the Tripartite Declaration

The UN Security Council imposed an arms restriction on belligerents during the 1948 Arab-Israeli war. As a result, Great Britain was forced to stop the delivery of ammunition that Egypt, Jordan, and Iraq had ordered and already paid for (CIA 1948). The embargo was lifted after signing the final armistice agreement in August 1949 between Syria and Israel, enabling the resumption of delivery of arms to Arab states. Similarly, the Security Council accepted the British Chiefs of Staff's recommendation denying Israel the supply of arms. Israel was worried about the continued supply of arms to its neighbors, although its leaders believed that Arab leaders had no intention of rekindling the war. Israeli diplomats opted for two approaches. First was obtaining arms for Israel, and second, the campaign for denial of arms supplies to Arab states. They urged the U.S. to sell arms to Israel and exert pressure on Britain to stop selling weapons to Arab states.

Britain agreed that Israel had grounds for concern, with the Foreign Office acknowledging that Arab states were seriously considering rekindling the war against Israel. Nonetheless, the concerns were insufficient to stop Britain from selling arms to Middle Eastern states because the deal was lucrative and politically too essential to give up (Balfour-Paul 1991, p.15). The arms business enabled Britain to show its influence in the Middle East, particularly in Egypt, where Britain was expected to exit its bases in the Suez area. However, the British were reluctant because they considered the military bases crucial for the Cold War, with its government hoping to use the sale of arms to convince Egypt to approve the continued presence of the bases on its soil. Britain expected to control the way Egyptians used arms, especially preventing them from using them against Israel. Britain used this argument to reject Israel's complaint against them selling arms to opponents in the region.

Washington acknowledged the dangers that arms supply to Middle Eastern states might have on Israel, yet it accepted the strategic reasoning of Britain. In its assessment, there was no immediate danger of resuming the Arab-Israeli war, and believed there was an opportunity to unite all parties in the conflict (Lord Beloff 1986, p.253). The magnanimity of the U.S. was also an outcome of viewing Israel as having military superiority over its neighbors. President Truman and Secretary of State Dean Acheson had concerns about the objections of Israel due to their political influence, particularly about withholding arms from Israel and supplying to other Arab states with the possibility of pushing Israel to obtain arms from the Eastern Bloc

(Freedman, 1978). As a result, President Truman urged political advisors to soften the fears of Israel, although Britain provided the solution by aligning their interests with America's.

The British had held separate talks with the Americans and the French concerning the Middle East since 1949. Michael Wright and George McGhee discussed various issues of mutual interest in the Middle East with Britain and America, respectively. Ernest Bevin, the British Secretary of State, suggested to his French counterpart, Maurice Schumann, that the two countries should hold talks with the U.S. to create a united front shaping standard policy for the Middle East. Such a move would block the encroachment of the Soviet Union in the region. France enthusiastically responded positively to the idea because its interests in the Middle East were high, notwithstanding its declining regional influence since WWII.

The British Foreign Office suggested in March 1950 that the U.S. issue a statement showing that they opposed the use of force among any Middle Eastern state. The statement also highlights the intention of the U.S. to use its influence within and outside the UN to prevent such developments (Hahn 1991). The reason for the suggestion was to allow the Arab King to Annex part of Palestine that his army had seized during the 1948 Palestine War. Britain believed that if the U.S. announced the statement, followed by the King announcing that its defense treaty with Jordan could be enforced to the West Bank, it would prevent adverse interference (CIA 1948). The U.S. accepted the idea, although it was because of the political pressure from Israel and its U.S. supporters who were concerned about the British Arms deals in the Middle East. Besides, America was interested in seizing the chance to deal with another regional conflict (Balfour-Paul 1991, p.17). King Ibn Saud of Saudi Arabia, who was one of America's allies, feared the intention of the Kings in Jordan and Iraq to establish political entities of Greater Syria and the Fertile Crescent at the expense of Saudi Arabia. As such, the U.S. wanted to broaden the relationship by including Saudi Arabia and the Hashemites rather than only involving Israel and Arab states (Tal, 1988, p.20).

The conclusion of the Anglo-American talks led to a decision to state which France would also be part of, with the details of the statement being created in London in May 1950. The details entailed restriction of Britain from selling arms freely to Arab states, assuaging criticism by American Jewry and Israel. It also had an article that guaranteed the security of borders to the region to mitigate Saudi fears about Hashemite expansion policies (Kemp 1967). The clause satisfied the interests of Britain because it was not only about restricting Israel-Arab or Saudi-Hashemite borders but also the border of Jordan. As such, it implicitly recognized Jordan by

America in the West Bank. The final draft of the statement was concluded in a meeting between Acheson, Bevin, and Schumann held on May 23, 1950. The French reaffirmed their position in the Middle East, given that it had undergone severe erosion during and after WWII (Kemp, 1967). After fulfilling the interests of all three major stakeholders, a simultaneous Declaration was made on May 25, 1950, in Washington, London, and Paris.

The three powers manifested the Declaration in their approach to countries in the Middle East with a commitment not to resort to violence against their neighbors. This was a condition for selling arms to the countries, especially those involved in the Arab-Israeli conflict. France sent representatives to Lebanon and Syria, while Britain sent its representatives to Israel, Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, and Saudi Arabia (Freedman, 1978). The countries gave an affirmative response through letters that were sent to Washington, London, and Paris. The primary concern for the countries in the Declaration was the clause about trade in arms rather than the security dimension of the document. Israel did not consider the Tripartite Declaration an alternative to security, with its diplomacy concentrating on attempts to sign a security treaty with the U.S., but in vain, until 1956 (Tal, 1995). On their part, Arab countries re-evaluated their existing treaties with the UK even as Egypt avoided direct security relations with the West, basing the security of the Middle East on the Arab League as sponsored by the Arab Collective Security Pact (Tal 2009, p.181). This was revealed when Egypt abrogated the 1936 Egypt-UK treaty in 1951 and failed to be part of the Middle East Command. The only attempt that was made to invoke the guarantee to borders was when Israel retaliated against its neighbors' infiltration of its territory from Jordan and Egypt. The U.S. and Britain had to decide whether the actions of Israel were actions that called for Tripartite intervention. Although they denounced the attacks, they did not consider them as acts of aggression referred to in the Declaration because Israel had no intention to seize the territory or gain military superiority over its neighbors. As a result, it was decided that the UN Truce Supervision Organization should handle the matter.

Middle Eastern countries expected to gain access to the British and American Arms market through the Tripartite Declaration, although they were wrong. Nonetheless, the Declaration can be interpreted to mean that Only Britain and France were the major arms dealers in the region. However, the involvement of the U.S. was modest, as it supplied spare parts and ammunition rather than aircraft or tanks (Balfour-Paul 1991, p.21).

Major concerns of the U.S. were the challenges the UK encountered when negotiating a defense agreement with Egypt. The fear was that if the talks failed, Egypt and Syria would turn to the

Soviet Union, making the U.S. step up its involvement in the Middle East. George McGhee announced in April 1951 that the U.S. wanted to show its active interest in the region's defense by supplying arms to a few countries. The military grant-in-aid program was launched to prevent Egypt and Syria from going the Soviet way (Lord Beloff 1986, p.254). Washington was worried about Egypt not voting with Western Powers during a UN session discussing China's aggression in Korea, noting that it was a sign that the country was inclining toward 'Neutrality,' a euphemism for communism. The U.S. still believed that the UK was responsible for the security of the Middle East.

The UK could not object to the initiative by the U.S. because it availed over 40 million Dollars in military grants in aid that would be used to buy arms from France and the UK. Despite welcoming the deal, the UK cabinet was concerned about specific points of the American proposal. For instance, it proposed U.S. military assistance in Anglo-Egyptian relations, possible damage to Britain's strategic position, and competition with the British arms industry. The British Cabinet proposed monitoring the activities of the U.S. in the region, leading to the establishment of the Near East Arms Coordination Committee (NEACC) in 1952. However, its existence was a secret (Tal, 1988, p.20). A problem arose when the UK sold arms to Israel, Jordan, Egypt, and Iraq while the three signatories shared the Syrian arms market. The committee later failed to control arms deals in the region after Israel purchased tanks and aircraft from various dealers, including the UK, private American dealers, Italy, Belgium, and Sweden, in 1954. These events led to the violation of multiple articles of the Declaration, with the only article in operation being the sale of arms by September 1955.

Theme 7: Collapse of the Tripartite Declaration

The Tripartite Declaration collapsed in April 1956 after France started transferring large quantities of modern weaponry to Israel, making it irrelevant for Western Powers to control the flow of arms to the region. Several events characterised the collapse. According to Hahn (1991), Inter-alliance suspicions were the reason for the creation of the Tripartite Declaration and its collapse. Egypt signed a pact with Czechoslovakia entailing a supply of arms in exchange for cotton in 1955, and it was about to receive 200 modern T-34 tanks from the Soviet Union and 100 jets. As such, Egypt had drifted from the West since the early 1950s, and the shift continued. France had also agreed to sell six Mystere jets, 30 MX tanks, and 155 mm canons in 1954, showing a shift in the relations between Israel and France, the latter showing a new approach in its Middle-East relations despite being a signatory to the Tripartite

Declaration (Lucas 2014). France also created an alliance with Syria, making its relationship with Iraq, Britain's ally, hostile.

France believed that Britain developed the idea of Greater Syria, which would terminate its influence in Syria. French suspicions increased after the U.S. and UK developed regional security agencies (MEC and MEDO). France established that it had common interests with Israel, although it had a significant setback in 1954 after the Arab League announced its support for Algerian opposition to France. All these activities led France to increase its arms sales to Israel in 1954-55. The arms balance between Egypt and Israel was affected by the Egyptian-Czech arms deal in 1955, which was a significant display of the failure of the Declaration, which was the response of signatories toward prospects of war in the Middle East.

The Declaration lost meaning in 1956 after the U.S. and UK changed their policies toward Egypt in March 1956. The U.S. could not arrange a meeting between Ben-Gurion and Nasser, as the latter had continuing ties with the Soviet Union. Eisenhower revised the Middle East plan to embody the Omega Plan, providing punitive measures against Egypt, such as the cessation of arms supplies and economic assistance. America bolstered its relations with Baghdad and other friendly states, although the plan did not state being closer to Israel. The U.S. did not join the Baghdad Pact or offer Israel security guarantees.

Nonetheless, the U.S. became less impartial and friendlier toward Israel (Lucas, 1996). The official launch of the Omega Plan in March 1956 openly encouraged American allies to supply arms to Israel. The actions of the U.S., Britain, and France contradicted the objectives of the Tripartite Declaration of blocking an arms race in the Middle East as arms were shipped to Israel by France with the approval of the other two signatories to the Declaration. The Tripartite Declaration officially ended after the 1956 war, although the signatories remained committed until 1957.

Theme 8: Origin Bretton Woods System

Implementing the Bretton Woods system was essential in reducing inflation in the United States in the post-war years. This is because countries are very quiet about holding gold reserves to back their currencies. This introduced stability in the overall global trade and provided the United States with an environment for improving its global economic strength. In hindsight, then, you'll page of the Bretton Woods system secured platform through which the United States can make the US dollar one of the most potent currencies in the world. This also provided

the country's trade advantages as the system facilitated international trade since most countries pack their currencies to the US dollar. It helped maintain stability and predictability in exchange rates, encouraging trade between nations and benefitted the United States as a major trading country.

The System was an attempt to strike a balance between the rigidity of the gold standard's fixed exchange rates, which were considered helpful in re-establishing the global trade and financial System, and the increased flexibility nations had used in the 1930s to regain and preserve domestic economic and financial stability. The Articles compromised John Maynard Keynes' British plan and Harry Dexter White's American plan. (Ghizoni, 2013, p.203). The agreement established capital controls and an adjustable peg system based on the U.S. dollar convertible into gold at \$35 per ounce. This agreement provided the United States with global economic dominance, making the US dollar the primary reserve currency in the world and increasing the influence of the United States on the global economy. It is essential to understand the implementation and decline of the Bretton wood system to explain the context behind the introduction of the petrodollar system and the increasing power of the United States in the global oil trade. This is because the strong influence of the United States on the global economy can be traced back to the World War 2 era, as the company maintained economic leadership in an environment where most of Europe was worn out because of wartime conditions.

The Bretton Woods system greatly benefited the US economy, creating international financial institutions like the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. Both institutions still play an essential role in the United States, shaping global economic policies and solidifying its position as a global economic leader in the post-war era and current environment. Apart from the economic influence, the Bretton Woods system also gave the United States political influence over other nations. It was used as a tool for diplomacy and geopolitical purposes during the Cold War Era. This showcase is that the growth of the US economy in the post-war era is directly connected to the establishment of the Bretton Woods system, making the United States an economic, political, and trade power in the West. The agreement gave members independence for their monetary authorities to maintain full employment and exchange rate stability. IMF operations are based on the idea of a credit union where members can withdraw more gold than they were initially allowed.

The Bretton Woods system was not completely functional until over 15 years later. The three major issues of the gold exchange standard during the interwar period: adjustment, confidence,

and liquidity issues resurfaced as it developed into a gold dollar standard (Bordo,2017). The Interwar period Adjustment significantly impacted the implementation of the Bretton Woods system because the economic and geopolitical changes associated with the time between World War One and World War 2 from the 1920s to the 1930s created economic turmoil, including hyperinflation in European countries. Many countries in Europe suffered from the recession, and nations had to pay war reparations and debts to stabilize currency in the region. In addition, political stability during this period, with the Treaty of Versailles imposing harsh conditions on Germany and creating political unrest, negatively impacted interwar trade. Overall, this period can be considered a complex interplay of economic, political, and social factors, creating an environment for another global war. Major economies across Europe had to face significant economic stagnation during the interwar. This negatively impacted the implementation of the Bretton Woods system immediately after the agreement was introduced after the end of the Second World War.

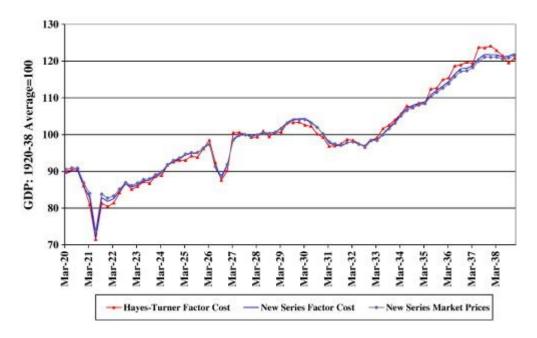


Figure 5: Monthly GDP estimates for inter-war Britain

Source: (Mitchell, Solomou, and Weale, 2012)

The impact of the interwar period on the European economy can be examined by looking at the United Kingdom's economy during World War One and World War Two. The estimated calculation of the United Kingdom's GDP between 1920 and 1938, considering the interwar years three here's Turner factor cost, new series factor cost, and new series market prices, all showcase that the economy suffered a significant decrease because of wartime cost. It is to be noted that from the upper graph, the GDP of the United Kingdom's economy was at its lowest

during March of 1921. This can also be linked with the rise of the Great Depression, as the global economy experienced a severe economic crisis with widespread unemployment from financial instability and a sharp decline in international trade. The Great Depression lasted throughout the interwar years, which can also be seen in the estimated GDP of the United Kingdom, only making a significant improvement after the 1930s. Understanding the interwar years and their economic impact is essential to determine how implementing the Bretton Woods system successfully strengthened the U.S. economy. This is because previous global powers, such as the United Kingdom, failed to achieve global economic growth compared to the United States in the post-war environment.

The Bretton Woods adjustment difficulty resulted from downward wage and price rigidity, which prevented the gold standard's price specie flow mechanism from performing its usual price adjustment. Deficits in payments would, therefore, be linked to recessions and increased unemployment. (Kugler,2020) This was the issue the UK was dealing with as it cycled between an expansionary monetary and fiscal policy and then, in the face of a currency crisis, austerity, or what is known as a "stop-go" strategy. Inflationary pressure will always exist for nations with surpluses, which they would work to prevent with sterilization and capital controls. It is also to be noted that the United Kingdom did not implement austerity-focused policies in the post-World War Two environment and instead focused on establishing a welfare state. This was to support nation-building in the post-World War 2 era using Keynesian economics, developing full employment, improving housing, infrastructure, education, and healthcare, and implementing policies to take a long-term approach to manage and reduce debt.

Understanding the United Kingdom's economy's post-war years and its key economic policy driven by the purpose of nation-building can also explain the significant impact of the Bretton Woods system on improving the strength of the United States on the the global economy. This is because while major European powers such as the United Kingdom were burdened by water depth, the United States was able to act as an ancient strong point in attracting global trade and expanding its economic influence across the globe. Bretton Woods adjustment directly benefited the U.S. economy. Implementing fixed exchange rates, enhancing global trade stability, and preventing competitive devaluations and currency wars all resulted in the dominance of the U.S. dollar. The link between the U.S. dollar and gold, establishing the gold standard link under the Bretton Woods system, further increased the significance of the U.S. economy on a global stage.

Asymmetric adjustment between the U.S. and the rest of the globe was a second component of the adjustment dilemma. The U.S. was the major reserve country in the pegged exchange rate arrangement. Therefore, it was exempt from having to make adjustments for its balance of payments deficit (Bordo, 2017). Due to its impact on confidence, the balance of payments deficit started to worry the U.S. monetary authorities. With increasing deficits, there was a greater chance that official dollar holdings abroad would be converted into gold, which would eventually cause the U.S. monetary gold stock to fall to a level where a run would be triggered (Bordo, 2015). In fact, by 1959, the world's monetary gold stock topped that of the U.S., which was equal to the country's total external dollar liabilities. Foreign monetary authorities' official dollar holdings were more in 1964 than the U.S. monetary gold stock was.

The dollar's function as a source of liquidity for the rest of the world was a further cause for worry. As the French and Germans advocated, a global cash crisis may result from eliminating the U.S. balance of payments deficits. Throughout the 1960s, there was much worry about how to provide this liquidity. The issues were well-represented in Robert Triffin's 1960 renowned dilemma (Bordo, 2019). As a result of the Bretton Woods parties, which were established in the 1940s and undervalued the price of gold, there would need to be more gold production to provide the necessary funds to support the expansion of world trade. The U.S.'s balance of payments deficit, caused by capital outflows, would cover the shortfall. Triffin asserted that if outstanding U.S. dollar obligations grew, they would raise the possibility of a traditional bank run when other monetary authorities decided to exchange their dollar holdings for gold. When the tipping point was reached, the U.S. monetary authorities, according to Triffin, would tighten monetary policy, creating deflationary pressure worldwide (Kregei, 2015). Triffin's idea was to develop a global form of liquidity, like Keynes' Bancor from 1943, to replace U.S. dollars in international reserves.

Theme 9: The Breakdown of Bretton Woods, 1968 to 1971

The surge of U.S. inflation in 1965 significantly affected Bretton Woods' collapse. William McChesney Martin, the chair of the Federal Reserve, had kept inflation low up to that point. The U.S. monetary gold stock and the balance of payments deficit were two other significant considerations for the Fed. The end of the 1960s, as well as the beginning of the 1970s, were a stormy period for the US economy. President Johnson's Great Civilisation law carried about main expenditure plans crossways a wide range of social advantages when the US economic condition was previously worried by the Vietnam War. These rising economic disparities

generate complexity in monetary policy (Gyourko and Berghahn, 2020). The Bretton Woods System was formulated in 1944 AOA (Articles of Agreement) at the international conference held by the US Treasury in Bretton Woods at the Mount Washington Hotel, New Hampshire, during World War Second. It was founded to design and develop a new international monetary order after the war, as well as to evade the supposed difficulties of the interwar period, beggar-thy-neighbor depreciations, protectionism, unstable exchange rates as well as hot money flows (De Groot, 2019). It also wanted to deliver a model of financial and monetary stability to enhance economic growth along with the evolution of international trade.

The scheme was a cooperation among the fixed exchange rates of the gold standard, understood as beneficial to the reconstruction of the network of international finance and trade, along with the more flexibility to which nations had renovated in the 1930s to return as well as preserve financial stability and domestic economy. The above-presented information shows a negotiation between John Maynard Keynes's British plan and Harry Dexter White's American plan. The concession shaped a modifiable peg scheme based on the US dollar exchangeable into gold at \$35 per ounce, in addition to these capital controls (Höpner, 2019). The cooperation provided members with independence and exchange rate stability for their monetary establishments to sustain employment. The IMF was recognized to deliver release for impermanent existing account deficits based on the standard of a credit union, whereby associates could extract more than their novel gold shares. It took nearly 15 years to operate the Bretton Woods system systematically and thoroughly. As it developed into a gold dollar custom, the three enormous difficulties of the interwar gold interchange standard recurred: confidence, adjustment, and liquidity problems.

The problem of adjustment in Bretton Woods Systems reproduced descending inflexibility in prices as well as wages that prohibited the regular price alteration of the gold customary price specie movement mechanism to function. Therefore, payment or budget deficits are related to increasing recessions and unemployment (Alogoskoufis, Gravas, and Jacque, 2023). It is a crucial issue that the UK faces, that exchanged amongst expansionary fiscal and monetary policy, along with that in the time of a currency calamity, severity – a strategy denoted to as 'stop-go.' For nations in surplus or benefits, inflationary burdens will ensure that they might try to block them through purification and capital controls. Another feature of the adjustment issue was unequal alteration between the US and the rest of the globe. In the pegged interchange rate system, the United States assisted as a central reserve nation and

did not have to alter its balance of payments shortfall. It was the n-1th money in the system of n currencies. This irregularity of adjustment was felt aggrieved by the Europeans (Chen, 2021). The United States monetary specialists started to be concerned about the balance of payments deficit due to its consequence on assurance. As authorized dollar obligations were apprehended abroad and attached with consecutive shortfalls, the possibility improved that these dollars would be changed into gold and that the United States monetary gold store would ultimately extend a point small enough to activate a run. Certainly, through 1959, the United States' financial gold stock corresponded overall outside dollar debts or liabilities, and the rest of the world's monetary gold stock surpassed that of the United States. By 1964, authorized dollar debts or obligations detained by foreign monetary establishments surpassed that of the United States financial gold stock.

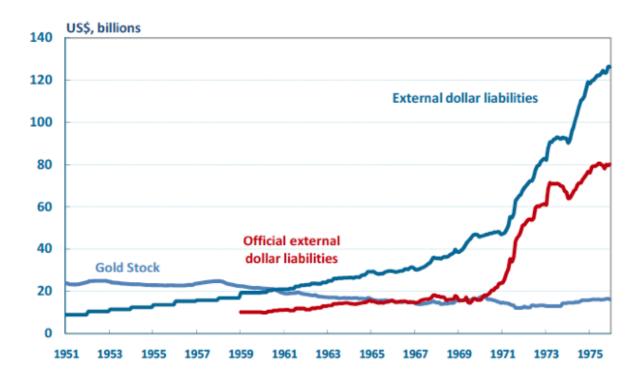


Figure 6US gold stock and external liabilities, 1951-1975

The graph above shows the external liabilities and gold stock of the United Nations between 1951 and 1975. External dollar liabilities, as well as official external dollar liabilities, increased as the year passed. Another source of worry was the dollar's role in giving liquidity and fluidity to the entire world. Removing the United States balance of payments shortfalls (as the Germans and French were influenced) could generate a global liquidity deficiency. There was more worry over the 1960s as to the way thewhichwhich to deliver this liquidity (Zoeller, 2019).

Robert Triffin (1960) caught the issues in their prominent problem. Due to the Bretton Woods members or parties, which declared in the 1940s that they had underrated the value of gold, gold manufacturing was lacking in delivering capital to economics and the growth of international trade. Money outflows from the United States must address the apparent shortfall in t in its shortfall in payments (BOP). Triffin suggested that unpaid United States dollar debts are straddling, which increases the probability of a traditional bank run or operation when the rest of the monetary systems and administrations of the world would exchange their dollar assets for gold. It has been analyzed that, as per Triffin, when the sloping point happened, the United States monetary establishments must constrict monetary policy, leading to an international deflationary burden. Triffin's solution was to develop a form of universal liquidness, like Keynes' (1943) banking, to perform as a substitute for United States currency or dollars in global reserves.

The exchange system was the primary tool utilized by the Federal system to guard the gold store. It was planned to safeguard the United States gold stock by providing a substitute for foreign central banks' transformation of their dollar properties into gold. In a distinctive exchange deal, the foreign central bank and the Federal Reserve would commence instantaneously along with counterbalancing advert and advancing exchange dealings, classically at the equal interest rate and similar exchange rate (Monnet and Puy, 2020). The graph below clearly shows that the Federal Reserve exchange line was greater than before, from \$900 million to \$11.2 billion in March 1962, and the gold gap was finished in August 1971.

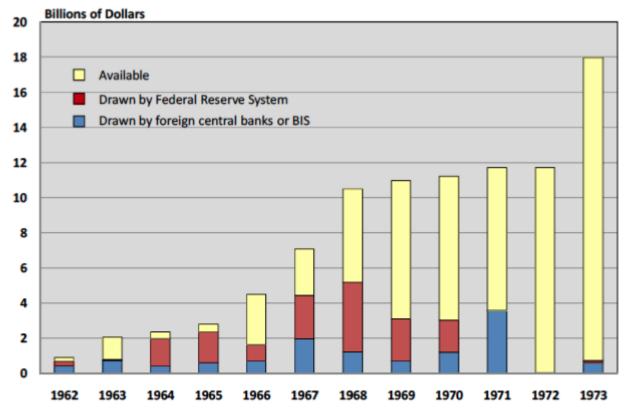


Figure 7Federal Reserve swap lines, 1962 –1973

Source: Federal Reserve System.

The exchanges and supplementary Treasury strategies sheltered the United States gold reserves till the middle 1960s, and they were observed as a prosperous strategy.

The main reason that led to the failure of Bretton Woods was the increase in inflation in the United States, which started in 1965. Till that year, the Chairman of the Federal Reserve, William McChesney Martin, needed to preserve low inflation. In its negotiations, the Served also committed high significance to the (BOP) balance of payments deficit and the United States monetary gold stock. Commencement in 1965, the Martin Federal moved to an inflationary strategy that was sustained till the start of the 1980s, as well as in the 1970s developed recognised as the Great Inflation, which is shown in the below-presented figure-

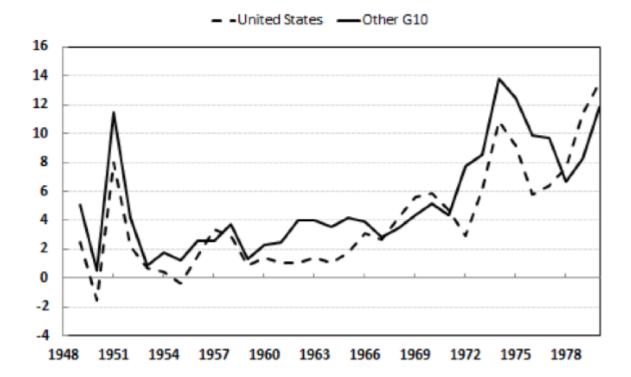


Figure 8Inflation rates

Source: US Bureau of Labor Statistics, IMF (various issues).

The modification in strategy reflected the accommodation of economic deficits replicating the growing expenditure of the (LJGS) Lyndon Johnson's Great Society and the Vietnam War. The Central Reserve moved its position in the mid-1960s not here from monetary convention in comeback to the rising impact of Keynesian economics in the Johnson and Kennedy governments, through its importance on the primary goal of full employment as well as the certainty that the Fed can accomplish the Phillips Curve trade-off among unemployment as well as inflation (Brown, and et al., 2020).

Growing United States fiscal growth led to increasing inflation that spread worldwide over rising United States (BOP) balance of payments shortfalls. This has led to increased balance of payments (BOP) excesses in Germany and other nations. The monetary authorities of Germany (along with other surplus nations) tried to fumigate the inflows but were ultimately ineffective, foremost due to the rising inflationary burden. Later, the devaluation of the sterling in November 1967 caused a burden to be straddled in contradiction of the dollar through the London gold market. In the era of this burden, the Gold Pool was scattered in 1968 on 17 March, and bilateral preparation was put in place. It has been analyzed that in the subsequent

three years, the United States set a significant burden on other monetary powers to catchphrase from exchanging their dollars into gold (Schmelzer, 2020).

The result of interrupting gold convertibility on 15 August 1971 by President Richard Nixon was generated by British and French purposes to transform dollars into gold at the start of August. The United States" choice to dangle gold convertibility was a vital feature of the Bretton Woods system. The outstanding part of the System was the adaptable peg missing in 1973. A foremost cause for Bretton Woods' failure was the inflationary monetary policy, which was unsuitable for the main currency nation in which the arrangement was made. It was formulated based on rules, the most significant of which was fiscal and following reliable monetary policies with the authorized peg. The United States dishonored this rule after 1965.

The end of the Bretton Woods system in 1971 and 1973 led to the universal acceptance by progressive nations of an accomplished fluctuating exchange rate system, which is still with them. Until now, this outcome, as well as at least at the phase, was not unavoidable. It has been analyzed by Despres et al. (1966) in contradiction to Triffin. The continuing shortfall in the United States (BOP) balance of payments was not an issue. All over the world, they willingly maintain dollar reserves due to their valued service movement – the shortfall was demand-determined. It has been identified that, from their point of view, the Bretton Woods system must have continued forever. It is argued that this development was not the situation, but while the equivalence value system ended in 1973, the dollar customary deprived of gold is still in the country (Lim, 2022).

The French begrudged the dollar standard in the 1960s and mentioned it as deliberating "the excessive honour" of the United States, along with a similar argument made by the Central Bank of China Governor in 2010. Nevertheless, the probability that the dollar will be exchanged as the leading global currency in the predictable forthcoming leftovers is remote. The standard of the dollar and the inheritance of the Bretton Woods system will be with the nation and the rest of the world for a long period (Michael Bordo, 2021).

Beginning in 1965, the Martin Fed adopted an inflationary strategy that persisted through the early 1980s and was dubbed the Great Inflation of the 1970s (Blinder, 2023). The change in strategy reflected the accommodation of budgetary deficits, which reflected the rising cost of the Vietnam War and Lyndon Johnson's Great Society. In response to the Kennedy and Johnson administrations' increasing use of Keynesian economics, which placed a strong emphasis on full employment and the idea that the Fed could control the Phillips Curve trade-off between

inflation and unemployment, the Federal Reserve began to depart from monetary orthodoxy in the mid-1960s (Ocampo, 2014). Rising inflation associated with the rising U.S. monetary expansion extended to the rest of the world due to expanding U.S. balance of payments imbalances. This caused the balance of payments surpluses in Germany and other nations to increase. The attempts to sterilize the inflows by the German monetary authorities (and those of other surplus countries) ultimately failed, which increased inflationary pressure.

The London gold market became increasingly hostile to the dollar after the devaluation of sterling in November 1967. A two-tier system was implemented on March 17, 1968, when the Gold Pool was abolished in response to this pressure. The U.S. pressured other monetary authorities over the next three years to forgo turning their currency into gold (Gavin,2018). France and the United Kingdom's plans to exchange dollars for gold in the first few days of August prompted President Richard Nixon to stop gold convertibility on August 15. The U.S. decision to terminate gold convertibility ended a crucial component of the Bretton Woods arrangement. By March 1973, the adjustable peg, the last component of the System, had vanished. The inflationary monetary policy, which was improper for the System's leading currency country, was a significant factor in Bretton Woods' downfall (Gowa, 2019). The Bretton Woods system was founded on regulations, the most significant of which was to adhere to monetary and fiscal policies compatible with the official peg. After 1965, the U.S. broke this regulation.

Theme 10: Impact of the World Bank U.S. Foreign Policy in the Middle East

The World Bank and the IMF played a significant role in the Middle East during the Bretton Wood Systems, enabling the advancement of U.S. foreign policy in the region. Since the conception of the International Monetary Fund, the institution has played an essential role in supporting economic growth and economic stability in Middle Eastern countries. During the 50s and the 60s, the International Monetary Fund implemented policies to influence the economic and geopolitical environment of the region. International Monetary Fund introduced stabilization programs focusing on addressing the balance of payments issues and exchange rates in the context of the Middle East. These stabilization programs were meant to reduce economic challenges for growing countries in the Middle East region and promote macroeconomic stability. It also ensured that international trade between Middle Eastern and Western countries flourished under the the International Monetary Fund economic stability policies IT pro. It provided Western governments, such as the United Kingdom and the United

States, the opportunity to access oil trade in Middle East countries. This is because the IMF implemented trade and stabilization policies to promote liberal business relations between Middle Eastern and Western countries, focusing on reducing tariffs and barriers. In this way, the IMF played an important role in prioritizing Western interests and free trade through their economic stabilization policies implemented in the Middle East.

An example of the International Monetary Fund supporting the protection and growth of Middle Eastern industry with the help of an import substitution industrialization strategy can be seen in Iraq during the 1950s and the 60s. Iraq implemented the import substitution industrialization strategy in the 1950s with the help of the IMF to reduce its resilience to imports and improve job generation. It provides successful results, and you can help the country grow economically. The country implemented high tariffs on imported goods, making it more expensive to buy foreign products, imposed quotas on the amount of imported goods, provided subsidies to domestic industries, made it cheaper for goods production, and invested in domestic industries building factories to support industrialization. This also played a vital role in the oil industry's growth in Iraq as the country was becoming more self-dependent and starting to emerge from colonial influence to take charge of international trade, specifically in the context of oil production.

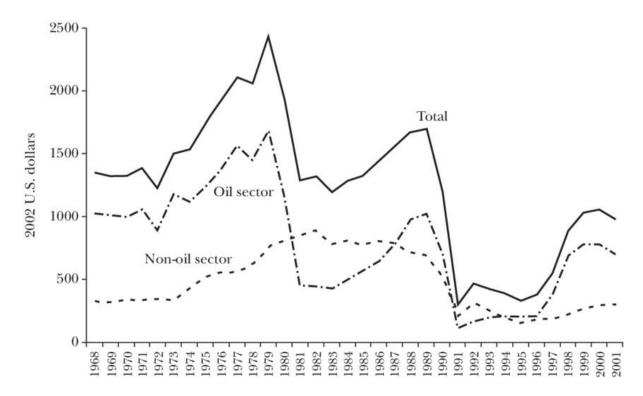


Figure 9: Per Capita GDP in Iraq (1968-2001)

(source: Foote, C., Block, W., Crane, K. and Gray, S. 2004)

From the above graph, it is determined that the non-oil and oil sectors were able to slowly improve with the help of IMF policies, including using Iraq's import and substitution industrialization strategy. IMF was essential in slightly increasing Iraq's GDP between the late 1960s and early 70s. This showcases that the IMF played an essential role in supporting economic development in the Middle East with the successful example of Iraq. Import substitution industrialization also had negative aspects as it prioritized protectionist measures such as high tariff imports to support domestic industries. This can also be linked with the United States' interest in expanding its influence over the Middle East oil industry. This is because governments in the Middle East, such as Iraq, were adopting policies and strategies such as import substitution industrialization to shield domestic producers from foreign competition.

This supported the growth of the regional economy for Middle Eastern countries. However, it was a barrier for Western interests, making it more difficult to access oil trade from Middle Eastern countries in the future. It is essential to understand the economic conditions in oil-producing Middle Eastern countries such as Iraq to understand how the region's protectionist measures and anti-western rhetoric influenced the outlook of major Western powers such as

the United States. It created an environment where oil extraction from Middle Eastern regions became highly significant in pursuing Western interests.

According to the World Bank (2023b), the bank acted as a mediator in the 1950s and 1960s. Its first foray into the mediation role was when it was involved in resolving the dispute between the UK and Iran's oil industry. The Shah of Iran signed a law nationalizing the Iranian oil industry, which the British Anglo-Iranian Oil Company (AIOC) controlled. The World Bank was called upon to mediate by giving its expertise in technical and financial matters in the dispute. World Bank officials led by Robert Garner, its Vice President, attempted to find the middle ground in November 1951 and 1952. Although the mediators were unsuccessful in finding the solution, the terms discussed during the resolution were incorporated in the final agreement in the 1954 settlement.

Nationalization of the Iranian oil industry required intervention from global institutions because it significantly impacted global oil trade. Iran was one of the major oil producers at the time, and nationalization of the industry resulted in a boycott of Iranian oil by the United States and Britain. This boycott resulted in Iran's oil exports plummeting and increased oil prices for consumers across the board. The boycott lasted four years until 1954 when Iran agreed to a new deal with the British government. This deal was completed under the supervision of the IMF, with the new agreement providing Iran control of its oil industry and the British government retaining a 40% share in the company that was created to manage the industry. In this way, it is clear that the nationalization of the Iranian oil industry took away significant barriers from Western countries to the Middle Eastern oil industry. Chiefly, Britain and the United States were crucial governments negatively impacted by rising oil prices and reduced access to Iranian oil.

Besides this, the nationalization of the Iranian oil industry was solved by the creation of OP EC, or the organization of petroleum exporting countries. It was established in 1960 to coordinate the oil policies of its member countries and protect their interests in the global oil market. The formation of OPEC can also be linked with the International Monetary Fund. This is because, during its establishment, the IMF viewed OPEC with suspicion as it was in alignment with oil-consuming industries. The evolution of the relationship between IMF and OPEC can be examined to understand how US influence on Middle East oil production and international oil trade continue to increase after the mid-20th century. This is because, in recent years, the relationship between the two establishments has improved, addressing common

challenges, including implementing stabilized policies for addressing volatile oil prices and oil price fluctuations.

During the early days of OPEC formation, the focus of the establishment was on protecting the interests of Middle Eastern countries, which led to the oil embargo on the United States and other countries that supported Israel in the Yom Kippur war. IMF had to intervene to end the embargo & a cooperation agreement with the OPEC state in terms of cooperation on issues such as oil pricing and financial stability. This point in the relationship between OPEC and IMF showcases that IMF once again offered to select four tensions between Middle Eastern countries that were members of OPEC and Western countries so that stable oil trade could be completed on any international scale. The showcase of the interests of the IMF also shifted towards promoting free trade of oil and ensuring that eastern oil was supplied across the world, specifically Western governments, reducing the possibility of sudden oil fluctuation as implemented by the OPEC during the embargo of the United States. After the Gulf War, the OPEC and the IMF worked together to stabilize the oil market. Afterwards, OPEC and IMF worked together in many instances to ensure that free trade of oil was conducted between OPEC members and Western countries, with the establishments renewing their cooperation in the 20 tens to address challenges affecting the global oil market. The history of OPEC and IMF has showcased that US foreign policy not only influenced political action in the Middle East but also impacted international institutions such as the IMF to regularly intervene in Middle Eastern issues supporting free trade and easy accessibility of oil to Western countries.

The World Bank was also involved in another dispute resolution in Egypt, using its financial and technical expertise. The dispute involved Egypt, Britain, and the United States concerning financing a dam on the Nile River. Black, the bank president, led negotiations to fund the dam, whose objective was to create more water for agriculture and power generation for industries. In most cases, the negotiations were influenced by politics and the exigencies of the Cold War. Egypt leveraged its role as an ally of the U.S. and the Soviet Union on one side of the dispute. At the same time, the U.S. and the UK conducted a cost-benefit analysis of constructing the dam in an unstable region. No agreement was reached in 1956, and parties stepped back from the negotiations. The Soviet Union funded the construction of the dam in 1960. Although the Bank did not find a solution to the problem, it gained significant trust from countries. As a result, the UK sought its aid in resolving claims arising from the expropriation of the Suez Canal Company.

The Suez Canal crisis began when Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser nationalized the Suez Canal, previously controlled by British and French interests. This move was partly in response to the withdrawal of funding by the United States and Britain for the construction of the Aswan High Dam (Aldrich, 1966). Conflict: In October 1956, Israel invaded the Sinai Peninsula, followed by British and French forces, aiming to regain Western control over the canal and remove Nasser from power. The invasion was a military success, but it faced strong international opposition. Under pressure from the United States, the Soviet Union, and the United Nations, the invading forces withdrew by March 1957. The canal remained under Egyptian control, and Nasser emerged as a hero in the Arab world All these efforts of the World Bank in mediation indicate the intention of the U.S. to use the bank to influence its policies in the Middle East (Varble, 2008). After Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser nationalized the Suez Canal in 1956, the World Bank engaged in negotiations to address the financial and economic implications of this move. One of the key issues was the funding for the Aswan High Dam, which Nasser had planned to finance using the tolls from the canal. The World Bank, along with the United States and the United Nations, worked to find a solution that would support Egypt's development while addressing the concerns of the canal's former operators, Britain and France (Varble, 2008). The World Bank's involvement helped to de-escalate the crisis and paved the way for international cooperation in resolving the conflict

The above discussion about international institutions such as the World Bank and IMF influencing international response towards Middle Eastern conflicts showcases that both institutions prioritiZed the interests of Western governments, chiefly the United States and Britain. This is because both institutions were focused on prioritizing free trade and accessibility of Middle Eastern oil, ensuring that any conflict arising between major oil producers in the Middle East, such as Iran, or other countries of importance, such as Egypt, is solved with the outcome supportive better trade between western businesses and Middle Eastern countries. The purpose of the IMF and World Bank on a larger scale is to promote free trade and economic stability worldwide. From this perspective, it is understandable that these institutions were major players in reducing trade conflicts between Western and Middle Eastern countries. However, it is essential to note that the institutions regularly supported Western interests in oil extractions, which created a global trade environment supporting US ambitions to have more influence on global oil trade, specifically in the Middle East.

Theme 11: The Oil Crisis in 1973

Oil Embargo, 1973-1974

It has been analyzed from the source that, at the time of 1973, during the Arab-Israeli war, a major decision took place. The Arab member of the OPEX organization imposed a restriction against the U.S. for the oil. This is because they want to take revenge on the Israeli military in the war. A ban was made in revenge for the U.S. decision regarding the supply of oil, and resupply was to be made for the Israeli Military. This is because they wanted to gain benefits from the peace negotiation after the Postwar era. The Members of the Arab OPEC organization also enhance their restrictions on other nations who are supporting Israel in the war, such as the Netherlands, Portugal, and South Africa (Brew 2019). The embargo made on the countries was for both the ban on petroleum exports and the cut of oil production within the nations.

The 1973 oil shock is also known as the energy crisis, and this period was the skyrocketing era where energy prices increased, and fuel shortages took place (Wright-Maley and Joshi 2016). The main reason why Arabs banned the export of oil production is due to the U.S. support for Israel at the time of the Yom Kippur War. The significant change seen at that time was that the price of barrels of oil expanded in less than a year.

A significant economic shock was also created in the 1970s from this oil shock. The United States is experiencing rapid inflation and stagflation. In addition, another energy crisis was seen in 1979 due to the Iranian Revolution and the overthrow of the Shah of Iran (Zulkifli and Haqeem, 2022). At this time, the oil consumption within the UK was short, and thus, a decade of long struggle was created between the oil-producing countries and the U.S. oil conglomerates in the global market.

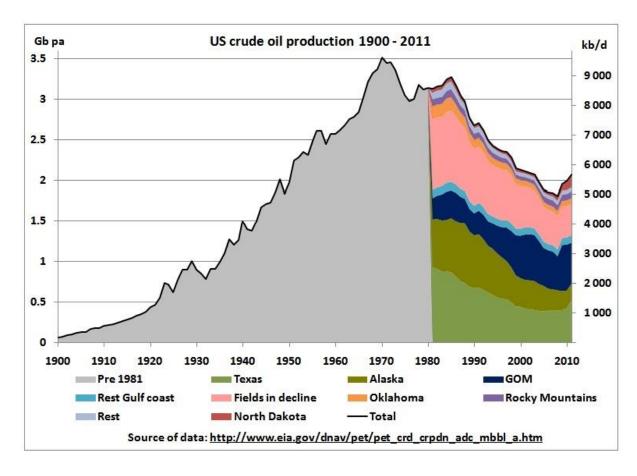
Impact of the Energy Crisis

On the 19th of October 1973, the president of the U.S., Richard Nixon, made a decision taken by him to provide \$2.2 billion in emergency support to Israel at the time of the Yom Kippur War. This support drastically impacts the country's export of crude oil (Haqeem and Zulkifli, 2022). The Organizational of the petroleum Exporting countries thus banned oil export within the U.S. The export of Arab oil within the nation has been shut down, which resulted in a series of cuts on various production activities (Camp 2019).



Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1973_oil_crisis#/media/File:Crude-oil-price-history-chart-2022.webp

It has been identified that before the ban, the crude oil within the country was being imported at the rate of \$2.9 per Barrel. But after that, a significant increase in the rate per barrel increased to \$11.65. This is one of the drastic changes seen by the people of the U.S. at that time because the regular price of gasoline increased from an average of 39%/ gallon to 53 percent per gallon in the year 1974. This is seen as a significant increase as it was an enhancement of 36 percent in less than a year (Nilsson 2016). Apart from this, the people of the U.S. also face various issues like gas shortages, long queues at the petrol pumps, and many more. Due to all these challenges, a hoard of gasoline and other products is created, which worsens the nation's economic condition.



Source: http://crudeoilpeak.info/oil-crisis-1973

The above graph explains that there are various regions within the US where crude oil production occurs. Some are Texas, Alaska, GOM, the declining field, and many more.

Middle Eastern countries that were members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) put oil embargoes on the United States in response to its military support for Israel during the Arab-Israel war (Türk, 2014). The ban also applied to countries that support Israel, like South Africa, Portugal, and the Netherlands. For a long time, the United States relied on Arab oil and had not achieved energy self-sufficiency to match its expanding economy and numerous sectors (Varadi 2016). Oil prices skyrocketed as a result. President Nixon devised plans to reduce oil use by increasing public transportation, instituting rationing at the pump, and preserving the already purchased oil. He also devalued the United States dollar (Brecher, 2022). Despite these steps, the economy deteriorated dramatically due to a large trade deficit. Other Western countries have experienced the same thing (Claes and Garavini). The United States of America opted to take a different approach to dealing with the situation. A

change in foreign policy toward Middle Eastern nations was required (Jackson,2021). The embargo was abolished after Arab leaders and the Secretary General of the United States, Henry Kissinger, reached an understanding over the withdrawal of Israeli forces from the Sinai Peninsula in December 1973 (Krane 2019). Theme 9: Origin of the Petrodollar System and the U.S. Hegemony

Under President Nixon's administration, a sophisticated oil trading system known as the "Petrodollar System" was developed, which tied Middle Eastern oil purchases to the U.S. dollar (Dehnavi 2020). The deal assisted the U.S. in establishing and preserving its economic dominance, geopolitical hegemony, and heterogenic strength in the Middle East. This article will thoroughly examine the petrodollar system's history, how the United States kept it in place, and its role in establishing its economic and geopolitical dominance in the oil-producing countries (Costigan, Cottle, and Keys, 2017).

The petrodollar system was introduced by the United States in 1973, with Saudi Arabia and the United States agreeing to price and trade oil in United States dollars. Any country that purchased oil from Saudi Arabia would have to use dollars. This was beneficial for the United States as it helped the country deal with high inflation, which eroded the dollar value and created global concerns about the United States being unable to maintain the gold convertibility of its currency (Mastanduno 2019). The US economy experienced high inflation, rising to 7.3% annually from 1969 to 1982, which negatively impacted the value of stock and bonds reaching negative in real terms. Other economic factors linked with the adverse economic situation in the United States in the 70s include significant fiscal stimulus via tax cuts and high labor costs (Adnan 2020).

It is essential to understand the economic background of the United States in the 1970s to examine the factors that resulted in the expansion of the United States' economic power to the implementation of the petrodollar system under the Nixon administration (Clementi 2018). One of the primary factors that prompted the introduction of the petrodollar system was the economic contraction of the United States, creating an urgency for the country to deal with the 1970s energy crisis and take charge of oil import and exports in the country and on a global level. Despite solid growth in the 50s and 60s and a reduction in national debt from 109% of GDP to 28% in the 1970s, the country's economic environment was not sustaining (Winsock 2019). This is because the borrowing cost of the United States national tragedy 225 points 4% and 9% between 1970 and 1985. Similarly, the national debt increased significantly, reaching

395,000,000 American dollars in 1975 with an interest rate of 25% and an annual borrowing cost of 6.3%.

1969 was a turning point for the U.S. economy as the inflation rate leased out of its historical sub-3 % range. Buyers of U.S. Treasuries, including banks, insurance companies, and pension funds, had the idea that the federal department could not tighten the country's money supply and was not interested in building the dollar's purchasing power to its previous status (Yom 2020). This environment created a chain effect, increasing the prices of goods, services, and labor across the country. It shocked most Americans because, post World War 2, the inflation period was low and stable. At the same time, recently, it increased to a new height that is even more significant than that previously experienced inflation rate. This never-seen inflation rate and rapid rise in inflation had a knock-on effect, making buyers of fixed-rate treasuries shift their portfolios to inflation hedges like gold and income-producing real estate (Bandeira 2019).

This means that the U.S. economy could not control high inflation despite the borrowing needs of the treasury expanding. This is because most buyers were purchasing non-fixed-rate investments, impacting the United States treasury bonds and increasing pressure on interest rates (Mansbach and Ferguson 2021).

Core Consumer Price Index (Less Food and Energy Expenditures) [Percent Change, year-over-year] 14 12 10 8 6 4 2 1058 1961 1964 1967 1970 1973 1976 1979 1982 1985 1988 1991 1994 1997 2000 2003

Inflation Soared in the Late 1970s and Early 1980s

Figure 10: Consumer price index of US

Source: https://spcfo.com/1970s-inflation-redux/

The above graph shows that the United States inflation rate reached its highest point in 1970, between the ages of five and 19. This also resulted in a higher cost of living for the

average American, reaching 13% by 1979. This negatively impacted the overall value of United States currency, with most of the assets underperforming and tangible bonds suffering as higher yields were eaten up by higher inflation (Gause III 2019). The best-performing asset during the high inflation period of the 1970s was gold and real estate investment trusts, which generated a 31% annual return and 16.3% annual return from 1974 to 1981. This data shows that consumer trust in the U.S. economy and US currency was depleted significantly. Therefore, the Nixon administration had to take crucial steps to ensure that energy sources for the controversy were secured to avoid the energy crisis. In addition, international efforts need to be made to guarantee the value of US currency (Wood 2019). Besides this, the economic environment of the United States was negatively affected by higher military spending because of the Vietnam War, Great Society, social spending programs aimed at fighting property, and the increasing energy costs of the country. The widespread price hikes across the country harmed economic activity in the United States, resulting in unemployment. This did not slow inflation, and the Federal Reserve was seen as incompetent in reducing the soaring prices affecting the United States economy (Wilf 2017). Investment was discouraged throughout the country, and businesses and consumers alike were expecting further inflation and the possibility of a devastating recession since the beginning of the 1970s. The U.S. economy experienced a recession between December 1969 to November 1970 and again from November 1973 to March 1975. This type of uneven economic performance created a negative national outlook toward the growth of the U.S. economy and the strength of the U.S. currency on a global level. Speculations about the United States economy's inability to manage global influence moving forward were being made across the country (Hudson 2016).

The American government made some efforts to limit the money supply by increasing interest rates, with the federal government making some changes to control inflation. Despite this effort, the financial industry could not expand with the advent of new investment and credit vehicles, leading to an increase in money supply measures more rapidly than inflation (Rashdan 2017). The 1970s are considered a period of second stagnation in terms of the country's economic condition. The economic problems, including high inflation, high unemployment, panic about energy sourcing, the dollar's declining value, higher government spending, and jobs going overseas because of deindustrialization in the country, created more pressure on the government to take immediate action, questioning the dollar value. These were the circumstances under which their introduction of the Petrodollar dollar system was constructed (Schutte 2021). It can be understood that adverse economic conditions and the pessimistic

outlook of the U.S. government and investors towards the economy propelled the government to take necessary actions and make the United States dollar a significant player in the global energy business. This supported the country in resolving the energy crisis and helped increase the United States currency value (Massie and Paquin 2019).

Theme 12: Petrodollar

Early in the 1970s, the U.S. economy struggled with stagnation and high inflation. It was necessary to peg the U.S. dollar to a commodity to stabilize it, boost its economy, and inspire trust in countries that heavily depended on the U.S. dollar as a reserve currency. A significant amount of money must be spent purchasing crude oil by countries without enough oil fields (Rasheed, 2023). The U.S. intervened and created a "petrodollar" system, which tied all oil imports from Saudi Arabia and the Middle East to the U.S. dollar (Hancock, 2015). The U.S. government and Saudi Arabia came to several agreements, known as the U.S.-Saudi Arabian Joint Economic Commission, whereby the U.S. would give technological and military support to the House of Saud in return for Saudi Arabia exclusively accepting U.S. money in payment for its oil. This understanding gave the Saudi ruling family the security it needed in a perilous neighborhood while guaranteeing the U.S. a dependable and significant ally in the Middle East, most of which was never broadcast and was rarely understood by the general public (Singh and Yadav 2023). Saudi Arabia is the head of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) and the world's largest producer of crude oil (Nilsson, 2016). It is also the only cartel member without a set production quota, making it the "swing producer" or the one who can alter oil production to create a shortage or surplus of the commodity on the global market. Saudi Arabia effectively controls or can control oil prices (Alshareef, 2023). This was agreed to by OPEC shortly after the agreement with the Saudi government, and ever since, all oil has been traded in U.S. dollars.

No oil-producing countries must purchase and retain enormous stockpiles of dollars (as they do gold) because they cannot buy oil without dollars. As a result, the 'petrodollar' became the de facto replacement for the pre-1971 gold-dollar standard, ensuring a continual demand for dollars whose value was tied to oil via OPEC price standards (Ortiz, 2016). This serves as a critical foundation for the dollar's reserve currency position. The U.S. Treasury can print money and buy oil, which no other government can (Singh and Yadav, 2023). This System of the U.S. dollar operating as the worldwide reserve currency in the oil trade artificially raises demand for the dollar. This enables the United States to print dollars at almost no cost to subsidize rising military spending and consumer spending on imports. The arrangement works effectively if the

U.S. has no strong adversaries and other countries believe in the U.S. dollar. Since the 1970s, this has been the scenario and the critical foundation for U.S. (Alshareef 2023) economic hegemony. This method also allows the U.S. administration to exert firm control over the global oil market.

The dollar's dominance is caused by two other factors: international politics and finance and the size of the U.S. economy. In this plan, the industrialized nations were compelled to buy oil from either OPEC or one of the lesser oil producers. However, they could only do so by setting the oil price and paying for it in dollars, restoring the dollar's status as a critical reserve currency (Bhandari, 2019). A twofold loan was advantageous for the U.S. government. Oil was the first thing the loan was used for (Basu, 2016). Since OPEC used dollars for all exchanged products and services, the government could print dollars to pay for oil without the U.S. economy having to provide goods and services in exchange for the oil. The second instalment of the loan came from all other economies that had to purchase their oil with dollars but could not print money (McFarland, 2023). Those economies had to exchange their goods and services for dollars to compensate OPEC producers for their oil purchases.

The petrodollar system gave the United States more allies who agreed to price their oil in dollars for military protection and weapons (Kamel,2019). This allowed the United States to dominate the Middle East. Additionally, the method aids in streamlining oil supplies, reducing market tensions, and stabilizing international oil prices (Wagdi and HABIB, 2022). The U.S. could dominate its rivals, like the Euro and Yen, in the currency market, which allowed it to dominate the world economy since it was simple to impose economic sanctions on other countries that might threaten it (Siddiqui, 2020). Oil-producing nations in the Middle East benefited considerably since their trade balances tended to be less unbalanced than those without oil, making them more susceptible to incurring foreign debt.

The U.S. dollar's hegemonic position on international markets is firmly based on the country's geopolitical significance and economic factors. The United States today generates dollars while the rest of the world creates goods that dollars may be used to purchase (Rasheed, 2023). The interconnected economies of the globe no longer compete in trade to gain a comparative advantage; instead, they do so in exports to raise the necessary funds to pay off dollar-denominated foreign debts and build up reserves to maintain the value of their home currencies (Siddiqui, 2020). The world's central banks must accumulate and maintain dollar reserves in proportion to the number of their active currencies to prevent speculative and manipulative

attacks on their currencies. The more dollar reserves a country's central bank needs to keep on hand, the greater the market pressure to devalue a particular currency (Wellum, 2022). As a result, there is inherent support for a strong dollar that pushes central banks worldwide to increase their holdings of dollars, strengthening the currency. Dollar hegemony is a phenomenon caused by the peculiarity that essential commodities, most notably oil, are denominated in dollars (Metzler, 2022). Since dollars may be used to purchase oil, everyone accepts them. Since 1973, the United States has demanded the recycling of petrodollars in exchange for tolerance of the oil exporting cartel from countries that produce oil (Torbat, 2020). Due to the dollar's status as the de facto global reserve currency, which accounts for over two-thirds of all official exchange reserves, the United States borrows money from the rest of the world without considering currency reserves (Kruyshaar, 2022). Since capital flocks to the dollar even at low interest rates, the U.S. can fix its rates with little consideration for the impact on its currency. The amount of money moving outside of the U.S. increases the need for Alternatives from the rest of the globe.

The petrodollar overhang presented an extra financial challenge because, unlike Western Europe and Japan, most oil-exporting countries had limited domestic growth and consumption options and could not invest most of this money (Aizenman, 2020). Many of the economies in the region are based solely on rents from oil, which generates most export earnings and state revenues. Despite their vast oil resources, the oil-rich countries of the Middle East still need to diversify their economies (Ortiz, 2020). Western multinational corporations import and control all final manufactured items and financial and high-tech services.

There have been several attempts to divide oil profits among the populace through funding housing, education, and healthcare. However, oil money was mainly used to finance extravagant spending, crime, and heinous waste (Jacobs, 2021). By enticing foreign nations to buy U.S. Treasury bills and bonds, the Nixon Administration 'creatively' reacted, acting as another subsidy for the U.S. economy. Since then, keeping domestic interest rates low has been the U.S. administration's main tactic to deal with its enormous trade imbalances (Wolfe-Hunnicutt, 2021).

The cash balances of oil exporters soon found their way into the U.S.-controlled international banking system, and these petrodollars went straight back into the U.S. economy at zero currency risk. Some of this cash was recycled as loans, with some interest to oil-importing countries, mainly by U.S.-controlled international financial institutions (Rodrik, 2018). This

enabled the U.S. to consolidate its financial and economic hegemony. For a long time, everything worked smoothly. However, the Soviet-controlled socialist bloc economies in Eastern Europe ended, and a new single European Europe emerged (Ndubuisi and Oghoyone, 2022). In the early 1990s, the Monetary Union began to present an entirely new challenge to the global position of the U.S. economy (Rodrik, 2018). A completely new element was added to the global financial system, particularly with the establishment of the euro in late 1999. The euro has established itself as a viable option and the second-most influential currency on the global financial markets in a relatively short period (Fareed, Yaseen, and Ashraf, 2019). Many more nations would have to retain a more significant portion of their currency reserves in euros if a sizable portion of petroleum trading were to be conducted in euros rather than dollars.

The U.S.'s military hegemony allowed it to create advanced ammunition, increase its military expenditure, and amass many troops, which had several effects on neighbouring nations and the Middle East (Nye, 2019). The U.S. has a history of inciting great violence in countries that disagree with its policies (Mbao and Ayodele, 2022). Muammar Gaddafi was assassinated by U.S. forces and NATO after successfully destroying Libya (Hussain, 2022). In addition, the U.S. attacked Afghanistan, overthrowing the Taliban government while slaughtering children and women, displacing residents, and destroying property. Yemen, Pakistan, and other Middle Eastern nations experienced the same problems. Humanitarian calamities result from American military control (Mackintosh and Osai, 2021). Since 2001, the United States has waged wars and conducted military operations in the name of combating terrorism that has resulted in the deaths of almost 900,000 people, 335,000 of whom were civilians, millions of injuries, and tens of millions of displaced people (Hussain, 2022). Over a million people were homeless, and 200,000 and 250,000 civilians died due to the 2003 Iraq War, including over 16,000 killed by American forces.

BRICS (Brazil, India, Russia, China, and South Africa) pose severe challenges to the petrodollar system. These nations have been working nonstop to ensure the Chinese Yuan is used instead of the U.S. currency when trading Middle Eastern oil (Liu, 2022). China is a rising superpower that has significantly invested in technology, high-speed rail, sophisticated manufacturing techniques, and chip manufacturing. China can also provide cheap loans to developing African nations and demand the loans to be settled in Yuan (Gray, 2022). The expansion threatens the dollar's status as a reserve currency. Suppose other nations trade oil in the Middle East using the Chinese Yuan. In that case, the U.S. economy will suffer shocks and

fail severely, losing its position as the world's preeminent economy (Woźniak, 2016). Russia, which has had a rocky relationship with the United States and has been the target of economic sanctions due to the Ukraine-Russia war, has given the Chinese significant support in exchange for military assistance.

In summary, the emergence of the petrodollar system led to the U.S.'s hegemonic ascendancy in the political, economic, financial, and military spheres. It was able to command the oil market, finance Middle Eastern conflicts, and strengthen its currency beyond any comparison (Malhotra, 2019). The U.S. was allowed to apply economic sanctions on countries that disobeyed their policies. New economies and currencies have begun to develop, and the Chinese Yuan threatens the U.S. dollar. Oil purchases and loan payments can now be made in euros and British pounds. This may undermine the U.S. economy and change the country's long-held hegemonic position (Gökay, 2021).

Theme 13: U.S.-Saudi Arabia Relationship

There have been good bilateral ties between the U.S. and Saudi Arabia. The relationship has aided the U.S. in controlling the Middle Eastern countries, obtaining oil for its growing demand for industrial and production processes, stabilizing the region, and stopping terrorism. The United States aided Saudi Arabia's military when it faced challenges at the onset of the Cold War. However, the relationship faced several challenges, including the oil embargos set by Saudi Arabia and Middle East oil-producing nations on countries that backed Israel during Israeli- Arab war (Alden, 2016). This resulted in the 1973 oil crisis. There was a global rise in oil prices. Nations that did not have oil fields, like the U.S., were highly affected. During this period, the U.S. economy nosedived since it could not obtain oil for its industrial process and to meet its energy requirements. It was exposed as a nation dependent on the Middle East and not energy-sufficient (Hybel, 2014).

As per the above discussion, it has been determined that Ensuing acknowledgment in 1931, Saudi Arabia and the United States customary full political associations, with the exchange of authorizations and a selection of the foremost United States representative in 1940 (initially resident in Cairo). Unique role OF Saudi Arabia in the Islamic as well as Arab worlds: it has a stock of the 2nd largest reserves of oil in the world, along with its planned position, plays a most important role in the long-lasting bilateral connection among the U.S as well as the Kingdom (Ahmadian 2023). Saudi Arabia and the United States have a mutual concern about conserving security and stability, in addition to the wealth of the Gulf region, and referring carefully to

various global and regional issues. Saudi Arabia plays a significant part in occupying a flourishing and non-violent future for the region and is a solid partner in counterterrorism and security efforts in diplomatic and military addition to this financial collaboration. Its militaries work carefully with the United States Army and regulation implementation organizations to defend both nations' national security concerns. Saudi Arabia and the United States also adores vigorous education along with cultural links, with 10,000 Saudi students learning in United States universities and colleges and marks of social and educational exchange companies every year (Mousavian 2018). The US also offers developing Saudi leaders and promising youth the chance to familiarize themselves with the United States and its institutes through the Global Visitor Leadership Program and many other interchange plans.

It has been analyzed that the collaboration between the U.S. and Saudi Arabia is a great move. Saudi Arabia and the United States have long-lasting safety connections. Saudi Arabia is the biggest (FMS) foreign military sales customer of the United States, with more than \$100 billion in active foreign military sales circumstances (Hashemi and Postel 2018).

The Saudi Arabia and United States association is constructed on decades of safety cooperation and strong trade partnerships controlled by United States interests in Saudi Arabia's oil. The connection has continued severe difficulties or challenges, comprising the 9/11 attacks as well as the oil embargo in 1973, in which 15 of 19 passenger jet captors were Saudi people. United States management has detained that Saudi Arabia is a severely planned partner in the area. In addition, it has been discussed that connections between the two nations have developed exclusively deep under United States President Donald J. Trump and Saudi de facto leader Mohammed bin Salman, who was raised to crown leader in the middle of 2017. Both leaders tried to counter Iran, Saudi Arabia's foremost local enemy (Pasha 2016). Nevertheless, current activities under the leadership of the crown prince. Mainly, the murder of Jamal Khashoggi, who was a journalist, a pretension new stresses on the association, as various congress members of the United States have called for exhausting Riyadh and reconsidering the connection.

It has also been seen that other programs support educational, social, cultural, and institutional bonds between Saudi Arabia and the United States. The Saudi-U.S. corporation has been entrenched over the seven decades of close cooperation and friendship, improved by chance to have conversations. These are the main reasons for advancing shared acceptance and the longstanding growth of partnerships among their administrations. In collaboration with Saudi Arabia's Government, the US offers technical support in various fields like trade, education,

and economic growth (Bierly 2017). It has been analyzed that Saudi Arabia, which originated in 1932, suggests its origins to a coalition among the Saud family and progenies of spiritual imam Sheikh Mohammed Ibn Abdul Wahab, which adopted traditional Sunni jurisprudence. This deal has been tolerated for many years, prompting the country's foreign and domestic policies. Saudi establishments apply spiritual constraints, rejecting the rights of females they adore in Western republics, and the government supports its understanding of Islamic or Sharia law by backing spiritual schools all over the world. However, it has just raised some limitations, including a prohibition on human rights. Women drivers groups say privileged exploitations persevere (Mohsenifar et al. 2022).

The United States, foremost with its oil industry and then by government contacts, developed a connection with Saudi Arabia's originator, King Abdulaziz Ibn Saud, along with their inheritors, which grew into a close cooperation despite a stark clang in morals. United States trades have been involved in the oil industry of Saudi Arabia since 1933 when the Ordinary Oil Company of California (now Chevron) earned a 6-year franchise to search eastern Saudi Arabia. It completed its first oil finding in 1938. President of the United States, Franklin D. Roosevelt, was familiar with the tactical nature of oil finding. They met with King Abdulaziz on board the USS Quincy in 1945 in Egypt. This solidified the association. Saudi Arabia was legitimately impartial during Cold War II, but it was permissible for the Associates to use its airspace (Cordesman 2016).

It is analyzed that there are Bilateral Economic Relations between Saudi Arabia and the United States, and they enjoy a durable financial association (Dorsey 2016). The United States is 2nd biggest trading partner of Saudi Arabia, and Saudi Arabia is the single largest trading partner of the US in the Middle East. Saudi Arabia is 3rd foremost foundation of imported oil for the United States, on condition that about half a million tubs each day go to market in the United States. Saudi Arabia and the United States have signed a Trade Investment Framework Agreement. Saudi Arabia introduced its Vision 2030 package in 2016, arranging or developing strategies to expand the economy, containing increased investment and trade with the US and other nations (Akbarzadeh 2020). It has been seen that Saudi Arabia has joined various global organizations, including the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the United Nations, the World Bank, and the World Trade Organization (WTO). Saudi Arabia is also a spectator to the United States Organization.

It has been determined that delivering safety for the oil-rich Persian Gulf region has been the primacy of the United States since World War II (Saikal 2016). Companies and firms in the United States were liable for huge quantities of oil produced during the 1970s, even as Saudi Arabia publicly owned its oil industry after the decade. It continued a significant United States alignment in World War II. The US had for numerous years depended on Iran, under the governance or regulation of shah, as a share of a policy "twin pillar" for alleviating the region. However, Iran overturned that method in the Islamic Revolution in 1979, parting Saudi Arabia from the central United States' support in the section for almost four decades.

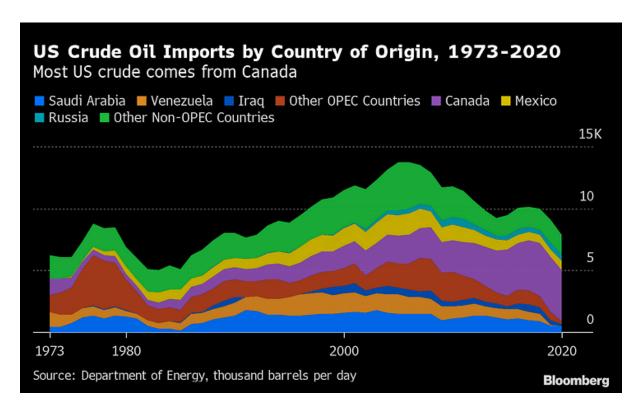


Figure 11 US crude Oil imports by country of Origin, 1973-2020

The above graph shows that Iraq, OPEC countries, and Saudi Arabia remain essential oil import sources for the United States. Notably, other non-OPEC countries, such as Canada and Mexico, have also been crucial sources of crude oil imports. However, the United States has also been acquiring stable oil imports from Iraq and Saudi Arabia, with Iraq being at a higher level than Saudi Arabia in delivering oil imports to the country. Saudi and United States military collaboration emaciated in the 1st Gulf War in 1991, a US-led alliance that excluded Iraqi militaries. Less than a million United States hordes engulfed the region, with numerous centred

in Saudi Arabia. The existence of United States militaries illustrated indignation from Saudi traditionalists along with armored quarrels, which the selected was too obliging to non-Muslim as well as Western interests.

In addition to this, it is analyzed that Saudi Arabia, the United States, as well as Pakistan sustained the conflict with the Soviet employment of Afghanistan that continued from 1979 to 1989. Weapons, along with cash, streamed to the Afghan jihad, which appealed to 1000s of Sunni Muslims from North Africa in addition to the Middle East. Osama bin Laden, who was born in Saudi Arabia and was the son of the originator of a huge construction firm in Saudi Arabia, participated in the jihad in the 1980s (Mossalanejad 2016).

After that, Bin Laden came back to Saudi Arabia in 1990 with close links to the territory's intelligence officers. Their resistance to United States troops in the Middle East placed them at probabilities with the family of the king, who greeted the forces of the United States, which motivated the army of Saddam Hussein out of Kuwait. Bin Laden, who originated al-Qaeda, escaped from the nation at the beginning of 1992 and was exposed to nationality in 1994. From their new address in Afghanistan, where the new leadership of the Taliban sheltered them, Bin Laden allotted a fatwa in contradiction of "People of United States occupying the holy land of the two mosques" in 1996, denoting the Saudi cities of Mecca and Medina (Gause 2016).

The George W. Bush government's exclusive 28 pages from the 9/11 Directive Report powered the assumption that the government OF the United States was layering up proof that Saudi administrators were complicit in the 9/11 attacks (Ghoble 2019). In 2016, the United States Congress conceded law above Saudi as well as President Barack Obama's veto extortions of fiscal revenge, which permits the people of 9/11 victims to charge the kingdom, an exclusion to the standard of sovereign imperviousness. However, legal academics say that complainants will probably be incapable of assembling any reimbursements.

Saudi Arabia is the top terminus for the United States. With U.S. defe nses, weapons deals to Saudi Arabia were estimated to be nearly \$90 billion in 1950. Trump, who was the President, has reinvigorated such agreements. It has been analyzed that they generate less than a million jobs for the United States people; numerous main defense firms have made inferior predictions. Throughout the president's trip 2017 to the kingdom, Trump employed a succession of weapons agreements predictable to around \$350 billion above a period (Cammack 2017).

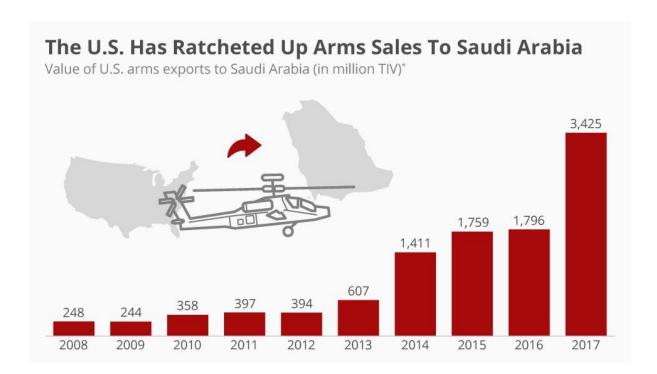


Figure 12The U.S. Has Ratcheted Up Arms Sales to Saudi Arabia

As per the information presented in the above graph, it has been analyzed that within ten years, the United States exports weapons and arms to Saudi Arabia from \$ 248 to 3425 billion. It has been analyzed that from 2008 to 2017, it increased by more than ten times. Also, from 2016 to 2017, it rose by 50 %, strengthening the relationship between the United States and Saudi Arabia (McCarthy, 2018). The presented information stated that in the governance of Trump, the trade among the nation is strengthened along with the United States Support and supply of weapons to Saudi Arabia to protect them from the rivals.

Theme 14: U.S.-Iran Relationship

With the accumulated data from various sources, it has been identified that, for many, there has been a sour relationship between the U.S. and Iran. The differences commenced during the Iranian Revolution in 1979. (Hunter, 2019) Before this, the relationship was smooth during the Iranian Shah era. However, animosity between the two countries broke out when the Islamic regime set in under its leader, Ayatollah Khomeini. The regime was against the infiltration of the U.S. into the region. As a result, U.S. diplomats were held hostage for several hours at the U.S. embassy in Tehran. The tension grew during the Cold War; the U.S. supported Iraq and supplied it with sophisticated weapons to counter Iran's military forces during the Iraq-Iran war. The U.S. alleged Iran's plan to use nuclear weapons and fund terrorism. It imposed damaging economic sanctions and diplomatic isolation. However, there were attempts to amend the relationship and policies during the Obama administration (Tabatabai, 2017). There

were negotiations, and the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA) was signed in 2015. Iran sought to cease making and using nuclear weapons, and as a result, the U.S. agreed to lift economic sanctions and allow diplomats from Iran to interact freely. In 2018, the U.S. left the JCPOA, and the agreements and bilateral ties were strained.

U.S and Iran's relationship from 1953 to 2022:

1953, The CIA Assists Coup: US and British intelligence agencies assist parts of Iran's military in deposing Iran's prime minister, Mohammed Mossadeq. It comes after Mossadeq nationalized the British-owned Anglo-Persian Oil Company, prompting London to force an oil embargo on Iran. The coup returned the Western-friendly monarchy that Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi led to power. The Shah, widely despised by the population, relied on US assistance to maintain power until his overthrow in 1979 (Chaziza, 2020).

1954: Iran Signs Oil Agreement

Underneath pressure from the US and the UK, the Shah signs the Consortium Agreement of 1954, which gives US, British, and French oil corporations 40% ownership of the nationalized oil industry for 25 ye.

1957: Atoms for Peace Program

The United States and Iran signed the Cooperation Concerning Civil Uses of Atoms agreement, which offers developing countries nuclear education and technology as part of President Dwight D. Eisenhower's "Atoms for Peace" strategy. It lays the framework for Iran's nuclear program, which the US later provides with a reactor and weapons-grade enriched uranium fuel. Their relationship lasted until Iran's revolution in 1979 (Moosavian, Ghadbeigy, and Jafari, 2022).

1960: Birth of OPEC

Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, and Venezuela built the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) to compete with the primarily Western businesses. This dominated the global oil supplies and reclaimed control of their local oil reserves. By the 1970s, OPEC earnings had skyrocketed, and the organization had gained significant clout over Western economies. Iran's rising market power makes it an even more important US ally (Fraihat, 2020).

1972: Nixon Visits Iran

President Richard Nixon flies to Iran to ask the Shah for help in defending US security interests in the Middle East, particularly in combating a Soviet-allied Iraq. In exchange, Nixon promised Iran could buy whatever non-nuclear weapon system it wanted. Oil prices rose during the 1973 Arab-Israeli War and the subsequent Arab oil embargo against the US, allowing the shah to purchase more high-tech weaponry than projected, causing concern among US officials.

1979: Iranian Revolution

Amid widespread civil turmoil, the Shah goes to the US for cancer treatment. Grand Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, a Shiite cleric who opposed the Shah's Westernization of Iran, returns to the country after fourteen years in exile. In December, Khomeini takes over as Iran's supreme leader, converting the country from a pro-Western monarchy to a vehemently anti-Western Islamic theocracy. Iran, according to Khomeini, intends to "export" its revolution to its neighbors. Hezbollah is a militant group in Lebanon founded in 1985 and pledged allegiance to Khomeini (Albarasneh and Khatib, 2019).

1979-1981: Iran Hostage Crisis

Extremist Iranian college students abduct 52 Americans from the US embassy in Tehran and demand that the US extradite the Shah. Washington severed ties with Tehran, limited Iranian oil imports, and froze Iranian assets. The hostages were freed after 444 days under the Algiers Accords [PDF], which were signed just minutes after President Ronald Reagan's inauguration and whose 1980 presidential campaign highlighted President Jimmy Carter's refusal to release the hostages. The US agrees not to intervene in Iranian politics as part of the accord.

1980-1988: Iran-Iraq War

Fearing a Shia rebellion against Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein, Iraq invades its neighbour and growing adversary Iran. Even when the CIA discovered evidence that Iraqi forces deployed chemical weapons against Iranians, the United States continued to provide secular Iraq with economic assistance, training, and dual-use technologies until the war ended in 1988. The conflict is estimated to have killed one million Iranians and 250,000-500,000 Iraqis (Behjat and Tarazkar, 2021).

1983: Beirut Barracks Bombing

Two explosives-laden trucks drive into barracks housing American and French Multinational Force in Lebanon personnel, then explode. The attack killed 241 US military personnel, the

highest single-day death toll for the US Armed Forces since the Tet Offensive during the Vietnam War. The attack was claimed by a group named Islamic Jihad, which is widely thought to be a front for Hezbollah. The explosion triggered the withdrawal of US Marines from Lebanon, and the State Department labelled Iran as a state sponsor of terrorism in 1984 (Hoh, 2019).

1985: Iran-Contra Affair

Despite an arms embargo, senior Reagan administration officials began secretly sending weaponry to Iran to secure the release of seven Americans held captive by Hezbollah in Lebanon. After Congress limited additional funding for the insurgency, officials used the proceeds of the illegal agreement to fund right-wing Contra rebel organizations in Nicaragua. Reagan acknowledged responsibility for the situation in a public statement in 1987, and several officials were convicted. For several years, Hezbollah executes two captives and releases the others (Hadzikadunic 2019).

1988: Operation Praying Mantis

In retribution for an Iranian mine that nearly sinks an American frigate in the Strait of Hormuz, the US Navy launches Operation Praying Mantis. Marines from the United States sink a frigate and damage two Iranian oil sites. In July, the US Navy shoots down an Iranian passenger jet after mistaking it for a combat plane, killing all 290 aboard (Shirazi et al., 2020).

1991: Persian Gulf War

The United States is leading a coalition of thirty-five countries to evict Iraqi soldiers from Kuwait, with the Iraqis expected to leave within a few months. The war forces the United Nations to perform intensive inspections to prevent Iraq from restarting its WMD development. Comprehensive sanctions and widespread corruption under the postwar Oil-for-Food Program harmed Iraqis for nearly a decade but failed to remove Saddam. Although Iran declares its neutrality in the conflict, US officials believe it is attempting to replace Iraq as the region's dominant player (Freilich, 2023).

1992-1996: U.S. Intensifies Sanctions

The United States increased sanctions against Iran throughout George H.W. Bush's and Bill Clinton's administrations. Congress passed the Iran-Iraq Arms Nonproliferation Act in 1992, which sanctions materials that could be used to construct advanced weaponry. 1995, the White

House tightened restrictions by instituting a global oil and trade embargo. Non-American corporations investing more than \$20 million annually in Iran's oil and gas sectors are prohibited under the Iran and Libya Sanctions Act of 1996 (Su et al., 2020).

1998-2000: Mini Détente

During the Six-Plus-Two negotiations at the United Nations General Assembly in 1998, Secretary of State Madeleine Albright met with Iran's deputy foreign minister. It is the highest level of communication between the United States and Iran since 1979. Albright recognizes the US role in deposing Mossadeq in April 2000 and calls previous policies toward Iran "regrettably shortsighted," but the US does not formally apologize for the action. Some sanctions imposed on Iran have been lifted (Su et al., 2019).

2001: Bonn Agreement

Following the 9/11 terrorist attacks, President George W. Bush's government established a back channel with Iran to aid in the defeat of the Taliban. This common enemy had provided safe refuge to al-Qaeda militants in Afghanistan. Following the United States' invasion of Afghanistan in 2001, the United States and Iran collaborated on the Bonn Agreement [PDF] on state-building and the repatriation of Afghan refugees (Fan, 2022).

2002: 'Axis of Evil'

President George W. Bush refers to Iran as part of an "axis of evil," along with Iraq and North Korea, in his 2002 State of the Union speech. According to him, Iran "aggressively pursues [weapons of mass destruction] and exports terror, while an unelected few repress the Iranian people's hope for freedom." As a result, the Iranian government suspended secret meetings with US diplomats aimed at apprehending al-Qaeda operatives and defeating the Taliban (Al-Saidi and Haghirian, 2020).

2003: Iraq War Begins

US forces invaded Iraq, claiming to be responding to a danger posed by Saddam Hussein's resurrected WMD programs. Iran supports local Shiite militias in Iraq, some of which assault US forces. Saddam Hussein's dictatorship is overthrown, and he is executed in December. According to a 2019 U.S. Army assessment of the Iraq War, "an emboldened and expansionist Iran appears to be the only victor" in the battle (Alshehri et al., 2020).

2006: Ahmadinejad's Letter to Bush

Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad writes an eighteen-page letter to President George W. Bush, the first from an Iranian leader to a US president since 1979. Ahmadinejad strives to defuse nuclear tensions between the United States and Iran. Still, Iran took no steps to limit its uranium enrichment program, which it claims is for civilian energy production. Separately, in September, the US Congress approved the Iran Freedom Support Act to assist Iranian civil society and promote democracy (Fulton, 2020).

2007: Tensions at the United Nations

During his speech at the UN General Assembly's inaugural session, Ahmadinejad declared the conflict over Iran's nuclear program "closed" and stated that his government would disobey Security Council resolutions calling on the country to suspend uranium enrichment. In a subsequent press conference, he refers to the Israeli government as an "illegal Zionist regime." According to a November National Intelligence Estimate, Iran ceased its nuclear weapons program in 2003 but continued to enrich uranium (Zaccara, 2019).

2013: Interim Nuclear Deal

In September, President Barack Obama has the first direct contact with newly elected Iranian President Hassan Rouhani to address Iran's nuclear program. Two months later, Iran and the P5+1 (the five permanent members of the UN Security Council plus Germany) signed an initial nuclear accord, easing sanctions on Iran. Obama applauds the agreement for closing Iran's "most likely paths to a bomb," while Rouhani hails it as a "political victory" for Iran (Chotiner, 2022).

2015: Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action

The Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA) is reached between Iran, the P5+1, and the European Union over Iran's nuclear program. Iran agrees to several steps in exchange for sanctions relief, including dismantling and redesigning its nuclear reactor in Arak, permitting more invasive verification mechanisms, and capping uranium enrichment for at least fifteen years (Wang, Fan, and Zhou, 2022). The agreement is intended to extend Iran's "breakout time" for producing enough fissile material for a nuclear bomb from a few weeks to at least a year. Many Republican and Democratic politicians are opposed to the agreement, claiming that easing sanctions will strengthen Iran's government and allow it to destabilize the region.

2018: Trump Pulls Out of JCPOA

President Donald Trump declares that the US will leave the JCPOA and launch a sanctions campaign to put "maximum pressure" on Iran. Many arms control experts and European allies have criticized the proposal, while many Republican congressmen, Israel, and Saudi Arabia have applauded it. Iran replies by increasing uranium enrichment, which violates the conditions of the accord. The departure marks the start of the Trump administration's rhetorical and military escalation with Iran (Wang, Su, and Umar, 2021).

2019: U.S. Designates IRGC a Terrorist Group

Trump has designated the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC) as a foreign terrorist organization (FTO). This is the first time the US identified a portion of another country's government as an FTO. Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu had tweeted a week earlier that he had personally requested the relocation. According to Rouhani, the action will only strengthen the IRGC's popularity at home and abroad (Koppa, 2021).

2019: Attacks in the Strait of Hormuz

Two oil tankers are assaulted near the Strait of Hormuz on June 13, less than a month after four commercial ships are destroyed in the exact location. The United States blames Iran for the assaults, labeling it a "nation of terror." In reaction, the US announced the deployment of 1,000 extra troops to the Middle East, and the IRGC shot down a US surveillance drone two days later. In the months that followed, the US blamed Iran for attacks on oil tankers in the region and attempted to seize an Iranian vessel traveling near the British enclave of Gibraltar.

2019: Attacks on Saudi Oil Fields

Drones hit state-controlled Saudi Aramco oil facilities in eastern Saudi Arabia, destroying the country's second-largest oil well and a vital crude oil stabilization center. The attack halts half of the country's oil production and results in an enormous increase in Brent crude prices. Trump approved the deployment of US soldiers to strengthen Saudi air and missile defenses at the request of the kingdom. Yemen's Iran-backed Houthi rebels claim responsibility, claiming Saudi interference in the country's civil conflict, but the US and Saudi Arabia blame Iran.

2019: Protests at U.S. Embassy in Baghdad

In retribution for an air strike that killed militia members, Iraqi demonstrators and Iran-backed militiamen attempted to take the US Embassy in Baghdad. Protesters yell "death to America"

and demand that the US pull its troops out of Iraq. President Trump responds by tweeting that Iran will pay "a very high price" for any lives lost or damage done to US infrastructure.

2020: Killing of Qasem Soleimani

In Baghdad, the US kills Qasem Soleimani, commander of the IRGC's elite Quds Force, in a drone attack. Experts say Soleimani is Iran's second most influential person after Supreme Leader Ali Khamenei. Abu Mahdi al-Muhandis, the leader of an Iraqi militia, is also murdered, along with seven other Iranian and Iraqi nationals. Iran vows vengeance and declares that it will no longer adhere to the nuclear deal's terms. Soon later, Iran accidentally shoots down a Ukrainian passenger airliner while on heightened alert for possible US assaults. It then hits several US bases in Iraq, injuring dozens of US and Iraqi people.

2020: Iran Ramps Up Military Maneuvers

Iran launches its first military satellite, raising fears in the United States about Iran's long-range missile capabilities. Days later, US Secretary of State Mike Pompeo stated that the US remains committed to the JCPOA and will attempt to reimpose multilateral sanctions on Iran through a Security Council resolution. Opponents of the measure, including JCPOA signatory Russia, say that the US abandoned the principles of the agreement when it reimposed sanctions on Iran. Iranian warships threaten US Navy ships in the Persian Gulf, but the US does not retaliate militarily.

2020: Venezuela Oil Shipments

Iranian vessels arrive in Venezuela to deliver oil despite US sanctions on both countries. To prevent trade between Iran and Venezuela, the White House sanctioned five Iranian ship captains engaged in the delivery in June.

2020: Failure to Extend UN Arms Embargo

The Trump administration wants to extend a decade-long UN arms embargo against Iran, which is slated to expire in October as part of the JCPOA. According to the government, Iran violates the agreement and cannot be permitted to replenish its weapons stockpile. A US-backed resolution to extend the embargo fails at the UN Security Council, highlighting a lack of international support for Washington's Iran policy and the US' diminishing clout. The US also failed in its attempt to reimpose international sanctions on Iran through the JCPOA's

"snapback" mechanism, causing it to unilaterally sanction entities previously targeted by the UN and declare that it will continue to comply with the now-expired UN embargo.

2020: Trump's Final Sanctions Surge

Trump escalates his pressure campaign against Iran with a flurry of fresh sanctions targeting firms in the oil and financial sectors, as well as a leading charity and top politicians. The Iranian government's claimed interference in the 2020 presidential election, its suspected development of chemical weapons, and human rights violations committed during a crackdown on protestors in November 2019 are cited as justifications for the latest sanctions by Washington.

2020: Iran Boosts Uranium Enrichment

Following the killing of prominent nuclear scientist Mohsen Fakhrizadeh, Iran's parliament authorized a measure to increase uranium enrichment to 20%, considerably beyond the limits permitted by the JCPOA. It also threatens to expel IAEA inspectors if sanctions on the financial and oil sectors are not lifted within two months. Despite President Rouhani's objections, the law is approved by Supreme Leader Khamenei. Iran accuses Israel of Fakhrizadeh's death, and hardliners claim the US was also involved. Khamenei indicates that relations between the United States and Iran will remain tense under President-elect Joe Biden.

2021: Talks to Revive the JCPOA

The signatories to the JCPOA meet in Vienna to discuss getting the United States and Iran back into compliance with the accord. US and Iranian officials attend the so-called proximity meetings to discuss the timing of a return to the pact. Each side insists that the other be the first to resume its commitments, and both sides endeavor to minimize expectations for immediate progress. Even after an incident at Iran's Natanz nuclear complex, which it blames on Israel, forces Iran to enrich uranium to a new high of 60 percent purity, the discussions continue.

2021: Nuclear Talks Stall After Raisi's Election

In June, hardline cleric Ebrahim Raisi won Iran's presidential election, despite his involvement in a 1988 panel that sentenced hundreds of dissidents to death, as well as his role in the repression of Iran's 2009 Green Movement protesters. Negotiations to resurrect the JCPOA have been stalled for months while Raisi completes his transition to power. The talks will restart in November, with Iran's new negotiators taking a stricter position than their predecessors.

Meanwhile, indicators indicate that the country's uranium enrichment capabilities are improving.

2022: U.S., Mideast Allies Seek to Deter Iran

The United States, Bahrain, Egypt, Israel, Morocco, and the United Arab Emirates (UAE) form the Negev Forum, a regional cooperation framework aimed at deterring Iran, among other non-defense goals. In the same month, the US discreetly gathers military officers from Bahrain, Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates for a meeting aimed at tackling Iran's drone and missile capabilities.

2022: Biden Warns Iran as Nuclear Talks Languish

Negotiations to resurrect the nuclear accord stalled during Russia's invasion of Ukraine, and when they resumed in June, little progress was made. Time is running out to rescue the deal, according to US officials, as Iran gathers enough enriched uranium to power a nuclear bomb, but developing a functional weapon may take months or years. During his first visit to Israel as president, Biden pledged that the US would use "all elements of its national power" to prevent Iran from gaining a nuclear weapon.

2022: U.S. Backs Iran's Protesters, Nuclear Talks On Hold

A wave of women-led protests has erupted in Iran, with many participants condemning Supreme Leader Khamenei and demanding the collapse of the Islamic Republic. Security forces attempt to quell the protests by blocking internet and cellular access and detaining over 12,500 individuals. Over 200 demonstrators are killed. To assist Iranians in accessing the internet, the Biden administration fines organizations implicated in the crackdown while exempting tech companies from other penalties. Meanwhile, the White House indicated that nuclear discussions would be halted indefinitely owing to the protests and Iran's apparent backing for Russia's invasion of Ukraine.

In summary, the United States has been interested in controlling many Middle East countries for a very long period. The policies it imposed on those countries during different periods resulted in varied outcomes. Middle Eastern countries, in turn, have mixed feelings and relationships with the U.S. due to the shift in policies driven by the U.S.'s economic and control interests.

Theme 15: Petrodollar System and the U.S. Hegemony in the Middle East and its Impact on the U.S. Relations with Saudi Arabia and Iran

The petrodollar refers to that situation in which the US dollar is extended to the exporting of oil or oil-exporting nations regarding multinational trade. It arises from the US-Saudi Arabia statement in the 1970s, in which we provided support through weapons to Saudis and, on the other hand, the start of crude oil sales in the US. The petrodollar system emerged after the elimination of the gold standard on the world level. This system is generally denominated through the US dollar. Therefore, the buying power in such a system is related to the inflation and exchange rate of the US in the stock market at a global scale. It is considered the primary source of income and financial conditions for various members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) and non-OPEC oil and gas exporters such as Russia, Qatar, and Norway. (Srivastav, 2024)

The Decline and Fall of the Petrodollar



Source: https://seekingalpha.com/article/4223468-decline-and-fall-of-petrodollar

The various political and conflict movements contributed to the 1973 oil situation. Saudi Arabia announced the oil embargo on the US in the same period in which there was the USA's commitment to Israel in the Yom Kippur War. In such a situation, there is the result of the US rapidly pressuring Israel to undertake the deal at the end of the war and needs to rethink its planning regarding the control of the oil production in the area. Therefore, in 1975, Saudi Arabia and the USA signed a military contract valued at \$2bn. There is a need to understand that there is the undertaking of a deal between the US and Saudi Arabia, protecting the oil fields with the help of the military power of the US to examine whether oil sales are converted or made in the form of US dollars. Thus, the solution is given regarding the irrelevance of the US dollar. Saudi Arabia also makes a strong point regarding keeping oil in dollars with OPEC. There is no replacement for the petrodollar in Saudi after 40 years of comfortable monopoly. China is a challenge to the US. Thus, some changes are adopted by the country, and it is examined that the petrodollar is not as solid as planned, and there is the requirement to state the power or strength of the US. On 29 March, Saudi Arabia decided to become a partner of the Dialogue partner along with the Shanghai Cooperation Organization. On the other hand, the historical bond between the US and Saudi Arabia is undertaken as a small claim on the surface, but it is a massive shift in the future. Saudi Arabia has not yet dropped or eliminated the petrodollar system, and its actions have stated that it may have other options. Saudi Arabia may have been considered the keystone of the petrodollar, too. However, when they start trading oil in yuan, the other members of the OPEC implement the impact of domino and suit. (International News, 2023) Saudi Arabia is considered the biggest oil producer among the top 3 in the world, and Iran has been among the top 10 crude producers.

Theme 16: POST 9/11 ERA

A turning point in U.S. foreign policy, particularly in the Middle East, occurred during the post-9/11 era, which spanned from 2001 to 2008. The terrible terrorist acts of September 11, 2001, caused a seismic shift in U.S. policy toward the area, leading to significant military participation, geopolitical realignments, and a renewed focus on defending democracy and human rights (Cesari 2009). The declaration of a global war on terrorism by the United States in the wake of the 9/11 attacks became the mainstay of its foreign policy agenda. The Bush administration began military incursions in Iraq and Afghanistan based on the concept of war against terror. The Taliban government, which had provided shelter to Al-Qaeda, the terrorist organization behind the attacks, was to be overthrown during the invasion of Afghanistan. According to intelligence reports that indicated the availability of WMDs in Iraq, the main objective was to topple Saddam Hussein's government (Hybel, 2014). These military operations attempted to eradicate alleged threats, dislodge terrorist networks, and advance regional stability.

Law enforcement authorities, military forces, and intelligence services developed common databases to address the threats, conducted joint military training, exchanged military staff, and shared intelligence, operations, expertise, technology, and experience. The powerful and motivating force behind the struggles, the US faces a new set of frightening threats.

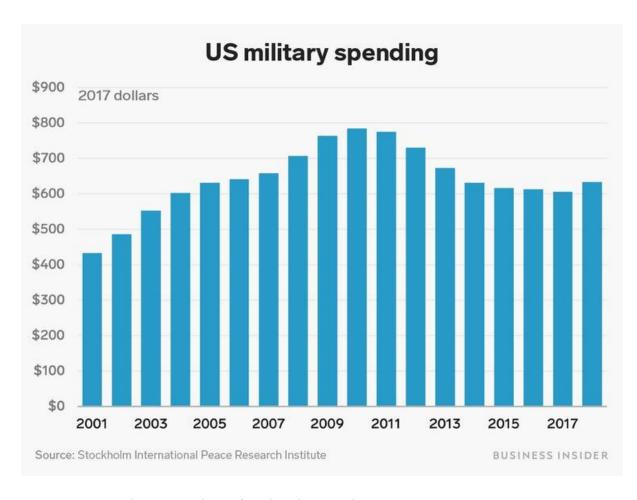


Figure 13 US military spending after the 9/11 attack, 2019

It is analyzed that the government of the United States has made a strategy to increase spending and expenditure on the military or force to protect itself from future harm and threats. From 2001 to 2017, they continuously invested around 500\$ annually to strengthen their military force to fight against war, crisis, or attack. The government organised military training programs and invested more in arms or weapons to fight against regional threats.

Additionally, the US recognised an enthusiastic Branch of Homeland Security that carried its national aptitude and law application units under one canopy. It also effectively pre-empted and prevented attacks in contrast to the U.S. native country by merging threat data and solidifying its counterterrorism abilities to identify and interrupt terrorisations. Furthermore, the United States organised an international counterterrorism campaign by proposing military training and aiding governments, which required the ability to battle their regional and domestic threat networks, groups, and cells. It assembled positions to neutralize as well as penetrate threats. The international war on terror was ended viable. United States allies built abilities to contest the excellence of the ideology of terrorists to match the U.S. supervisory exploration as well as abolish operations.

It has been identified that the counterterrorism reaction to 9/11 progressed in 4 waves: the United Nations-led alliance in Afghanistan pulled to pieces the al-Qaeda as well as Taliban infrastructure in 2001, caught or arrested leader Khalid Sheikh Mohammed in 2003, as the murdered 2011 9/11 mastermind and the person behind the attack, Osama Bin Laden disassembling the bomber reserve in Afghanistan is the place where more than two dozen people or terrorist were training, prohibited uncountable attacks across the world. Moreover, the CIA took ten years to identify Bin Laden, and the United States brainpower determinations armed as well as eradicated terrorist leaders period after period.

In an address earlier in a combined meeting of Congress, Bush summarizes what they pronounce as an international, undecided "war on terror" as well as declares the formation of an Office of Homeland Security to safeguard the United States from forthcoming attacks. They request that the Taliban administration in Afghanistan give up all al-Qaeda fellows on its soil, including Osama bin Laden, as well as notify the globe that "moreover they tie up with them, support them as well as they are with the assassins." The United States administration usages the word "global war on terror" to define its extensive military reaction to the 9/11 attacks as well as its new, comprehensive national counterterrorism actions till the alias is legitimately discharged by Obama.

It has been identified that, after the United States attacked Iraq in March 2003, a severe fault. The excavating of the military of Iraq, as well as the failure of the government, led to the Civil war development of an atmosphere for the increase of al-Qaeda in Iraq. The United States' drawdown shaped the declared Islamic Nation, a program that removed crossways Syria as well as Iraq. Though the Islamic State nowadays is a follower of what it remained in 2015, its philosophy as well as functioning units present a problematic threat to global stability and security.

The 9/11 attacks redesigned the United States' aptitude communal and those of various of its close partners. In the arguments of a previous Central Intelligence Agency posting chief, the previous Central Intelligence Agency undertook a huge revolution—from collecting to chasing. This fresh operation sustained a prominence on dynamic counterterrorism, preserved in the 2002 National Security Strategy of the United States, with its grit to "destroy as well as mess up terrorist administrations of international extent." The universal war on terror needed a modification in reconnaissance aims from traditional national threats as well as their army forces to many additional unstructured terrorist setups. The threat of non-state players required

new methods and tools for surveillance. Led by the US, the post-9/11 world of surveillance structures an accumulative dependence on a new method of description aptitude. This drone quickly became a two-in-one armament for collecting and trapping in its fortified form.

Furthermore, in the post-9/11 era, there was a greater emphasis on fostering democracy and human rights throughout the Middle East. The U.S. administration believed that campaigning for democratic reforms and supporting civil society could address the core causes of extremism and terrorism (Hybel, 2014). Countries notorious for their autocratic governments, such as Saudi Arabia and Iran, were focus locations for U.S. efforts to promote democratic values and human rights (Carothers, 2013). The U.S. pushed for political reforms in Saudi Arabia, urging greater responsibility and political involvement. The U.S. chose a different strategy with Iran, adopting a more aggressive position due to concerns about its nuclear program and alleged support for terrorism.

It has been determined that the United States faces negative responses from different groups because of its efforts to promote or support democratization in the Middle East. Resolute United States support and promotion of Israel expressively emphasizes its adverse image amongst the Arab people. Biden, president of the United States, makes policy to support and encourage democracy and human rights in the Middle East. The Biden administration has continuously supported the development of human rights and democracy within various Middle Eastern nations. This includes the United States government signing the joint statement by the UN Human Rights Council members, which called on Egypt to improve its human rights policies and practices. The Biden administration has also attempted to revive discourse on democratization in the context of Arab governments and has also supported Israel in its right to defend itself during the recent conflict in Gaza. However, the continuous efforts of the United States to protect human rights in the Middle East have met with negative responses and disapproval from the Arab public. This is because many Arab citizens believe that the United States is against the Palestinian cause, supporting Israel in harming the Palestinian population. It is also because many Arabs believe that Israel alone poses the greatest threat to the security and stability of the region, and the United States has been a continuous ally of Israel (Al Talei, 2021).

It has been analyzed that the United States made a new strategy with Iran, and the leaders made a policy to support and ally with the Iranian Public as well as oppose the upcoming threats from the Islamic Democracy of Iran. The policy or strategy states how Washington can organise

various fundamentals of domestic power, providing actionable along with specific recommendations for the applicable assistance of the United States government. The United States would implement a "rollback" policy to strengthen the prevailing weaknesses of the government as well as to support or assist the Iranian public's objective of creating a government that ends the mission for nuclear arms as well as is neither oppressive nor nationally violent. To achieve this, the United States government must take a contact from the playbook of the Leader Ronald Reagan, initially used in contrast to the Soviet Union. At the beginning of the 1980s, Reagan extremely improved their forerunners' restraint strategy by insistent strategies planned to roll back Soviet colonialism. The foundation of their plan was the appreciation that the Soviet Union was violent and innovative up till now within the delicate state that Washington might conquer.

Nuclear realism is blunt. The government quickly prolonged its nuclear-powered program, followed by the voting of President Biden. The majority of the supreme risky steps, containing enhancement to 20% along with 60%, as well as the fitting of hundreds of innovative separators, manufacture of uranium metallic, in addition to the uncompleted production of a new facility which can be Utilised for the nuclear enhancement. As per the approximations, Tehran can "break out" as well as develop four bombs' value of weapons-grade uranium in 16 weeks (Ackerman, 2023).

United States' Iran policy, therefore, requires a trustworthy U.S. military challenge, as well as a conforming change in the U.S. defense position in the Middle East, to discourage the government in Iran from emerging nuclear weapons. Washington also must ensure that the government observes the Israeli military choice as likely and credible.

The United States forces campaign must also weaken the government by supporting the prodemocracy movements in Iran, which empower its citizens to rise against the totalitarian Islamic regime. It must aim at the government's soft underbelly: its huge exploitation as well as abuses of human rights, particularly against females. As the periodic protests show, the gap between the ruled and the government is growing. Numerous Iranians no longer have faith that the "reformists" will be able to modify the Islamic Republic from the inside. Later, in the 2009 revolutions, Khamenei mentioned their administration as "on the authority of a precipice." President Biden must message that the United States will aid and drive the Iranian public to that advantage. Iran plan agreements many actionable suggestions on how to aid the people of Iran and their efforts to attain this objective.

Boosting the failure of a cruelly oppressive government such as the Islamic Republic of Iran will not be predictable or Easy. It will need continued United States force and strong willpower — maybe over an era. Until now, freeing Iran's leftovers is a resolution Washington must not avoid because it is hard. Eventually, it leftovers the fundamental to decreasing variability in the country and the evolving interests of the United States. The Biden government must present Iran with the choice between a new as well as better contract and an inexorable United States pressure movement that consists of the reliable use of the military. The nuclear problem will probably appear great for centuries. Decommissioning burdens must not need forsaking a movement of force.

It has been discussed that to strengthen the humiliation of support for the government's long-term attack programs and to escape the bulk delisting of such armed units underneath an innovative nuclear contract, the United States must discover the applicability of terrorism authorisations according to Decision-making Order 13224 to units at the present topic to propagation permissions for supporting the government's drone, missile, arms, and other long-term exactness attack plans. This would guarantee that if explosion authorizations are raised, these persons and units will stay elected under diverse establishments. Certainly, related proof would have to be proven. Likewise, the United States must discover the applicability of propagation as well as terrorism authorisations to businesses, banks, persons, as well as governments that enable the transmission of these competencies but are not up till now subject to United States authorisations or are consuming bomb companies or facades to evade discovery and description.

The above-presented information shows that the United States must boost its efforts to assist and encourage significant nations to appliance their export mechanism and various other worldwide lawful responsibilities concerning nuclear prevention. Numerous administrations in the Middle East have a scrawny record of applying such responsibilities, containing those needed by UN Security Council Resolution 1540, which is mandatory for all UN supporter states. The United States must raise energies to harmonize with associates on unilateral and multidimensional authorizations as well as other actions in contrast to units supporting the government's missile addition to nuclear plans. The United States must ensure that it has a reliable military choice for averting Iranian achievement of a nuclear bomb, containing by guaranteeing that its arms can finish the nuclear development program of Iran if required.

The United States needs to influence Iran so that it is eager and able to utilize crucial military force to stop the government from raising nuclear arms. The United States must be prepared to implement armed possibilities if prevention fails. Along with that, it has been determined that the United States must send to Tehran that any advances to Iran after attacks on United States militaries as well as interests or from the expansion of a nuclear armament can be compensated by the charges. In the transmission of this message, Washington must discard any discrepancy between the activities of Tehran and the activities of its terrorist deputations.

It has been analyzed that, After the 9/11 attacks, US participation increased even better. The United States excavated counterterrorism collaboration with long-lasting associates like Jordan and Egypt and struggled to find more wide-ranging bonds with previously ignored and oppositional governments such as Libya and Yemen. Most intensely, of way, in 2003, the United States attacked Iraq as, in so exploit, generated a revolution that led to constant United States attendance in the nation till the completion of 2011. Further, just as the United States military deceased Iraq, the pretended "Arab Spring" shivered the country, collapsing long-lasting US associates in Tunisia, Egypt, and Yemen as well as creating civil conflicts in numerous nations, especially Syria. Though the Obama management battled a significant United States military promise in the state, later, in 2014, Islamic Nations in Iraq started attacks against Islamic Government militaries as well as walked up its struggles to work with district associates as well as local partners contrary to the assembly.

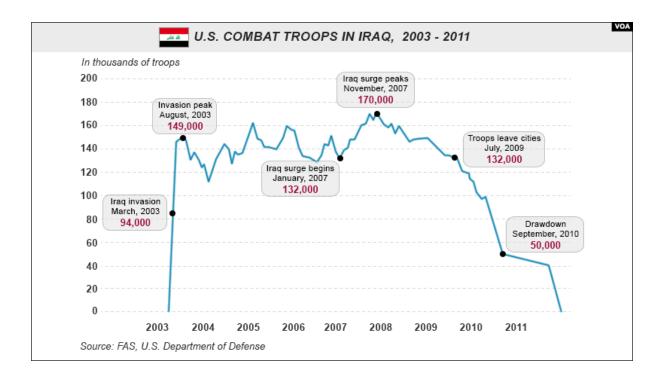


Figure 14Iraq Invasion, Occupation Forged New US War Strategy, 2023

The above-presented graph stated that the United States sent military to Iraq from 2003 to 2011 in different regions to attack the whole nation as well as develop a revolution against it. It has been analyzed that the US Department of defense worked on the revolution program from 2003 till 2011 to bring stability. The US government made a war strategy for the Iraq invasion to increase their control and reduce the threat. They send and employ thousands of Troops in various parts of Iraq to decrease their military power.

However, the United States' involvement in the Middle East during this time was not without controversy. Protracted insurgencies, sectarian conflict, and poor ties with local populations posed substantial hurdles to the military campaigns in Afghanistan and Iraq (Carothers, 2013). The Iraq War, in particular, became very contentious since the lack of weapons of mass destruction called into question the invasion's primary rationale. These conflicts, with reports of human rights violations and the perception of U.S. meddling, fostered anti-American sentiment and contributed to a more complicated and unpredictable regional landscape.

The Government of the United States' confidence that Iraq was emerging (WMD) weapons of mass destruction was founded upon forms that the Central Intelligence Agencies argued could not be confidential. In October 2002, George Bush said, "The stated strategy of the US is government variation. However, suppose [Saddam Hussein] were to fulfill all the circumstances of the United Nations. In that case, the demand, designated in terms everyone

can recognise, will signify that the government has reformed. Likewise, in September 2002, Tony Blair specified, in a reply to a governmental question, that "Government change in Iraq will be a pleasing thing. It has been determined that is not the purpose of their action; the main aim is to deactivate Iraq with weapons of mass destruction. At the end of that year, Tony Blair further detailed, "So distant as the objective, it is demilitarization, not government modification – that is their goal. At present, they have faith in the command of Saddam as a very ruthless as well as oppressive government; they think it does huge harm to the Iraqi individuals, so they have no disbelief Saddam is very corrupt for Iraq. In addition to this, on the other hand, they also have doubts that the tenacity of their challenge from the UN is the demilitarisation of (WMD) weapons of mass destruction; it is not government transformation.

Theme 17: The United States foreign policy towards the Middle East during the Obama administration

It has been determined that Obama released a new video regarding reaching the Muslim world, which contained a message to the people and Iran's government. In 2009, Obama gave a speech in Turkey that was an influencing speech for the Arab government. Obama always believes in maintaining a positive and effective relationship with Islamic countries. In 2009, Obama delivered a speech at Cairo University in Egypt, which was further called "A New Beginning." This speech is about the benefits of maintaining good relations between Islamic countries and the US and promoting Middle East peace. 2011, Obama asked Prince Salman bin Hamad al-Khalifa to come to the US (Krieg 2016). Many media channels questioned the decision of Obama due to the fierce crackdown on protesters in the country. The first speck of Obama was given in 2007 to the Chicago Council on Global Affairs, where he mainly highlighted his foreign policy objectives. Ending the war with Iraq, investing in military power, and many others are Obama's speech's main objectives and critical speech. On 1 December 2008, Obama was nominated for president and chose Robert Gates as his Secretary of Defense. He appointed James L. Jones as National Security Advisor, who will help Obama formulate and maintain foreign policy effectively due to his knowledge and experience in National Security affairs.

On the other hand, Obama also appointed Governor Janet Napolitano as Secretary of Homeland Security. As per Clinton's point of view, the US is required to use different tools in different situations to mitigate the global threat to their nation's foreign policy. The US needs to enhance its military, economic, legal, cultural, and political power (Freedman 2017). Obama Doctrine is the term used to describe the US foreign policy principles under the administration of Obama. He trusted and relied on his two secretaries, John Kerry and Hillary

Clinton, due to their high experience in foreign affairs and economic development. Obama inherited the Afghanistan War, the Iraq War, and also the War on Terror, which already started during the administration of Bush. Obama withdrew the US soldier's power from Iraq in the year 2011, which further generated heat for the global threat to US relations with other countries. They have found that their military power gets enhanced in Afghanistan, and Obama withdraws soldiers from there (Martin 2019).

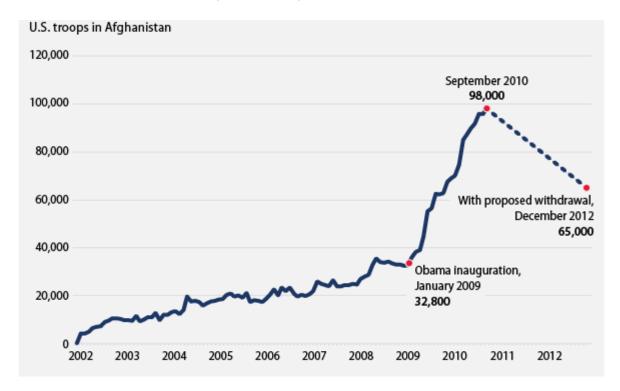


Figure 15Obama withdrawal from their US soldier power, 2012

As per the above-presented graph, it has been analyzed that Obama withdrew their US soldier power and troops in Afghanistan from 2009 to 2010. The Obama Inauguration lasted till 2010, when they took a withdrawal decision at the end of 2012. First, they added military troops to Afghanistan. After that, they identified that the military power in Afghanistan had increased, and then they decided to withdraw the troops and military force (Williams 2016).

In the year 2011, the world's trendiest mission of that time happened, which was the mission that led to the death of Osama bin Laden, who was the most significant terrorist and was also the organizer of the 11 September attack in the US. Drone strikes were enhanced during the Obama administration. Mir-Hossein Mousavi was the former prime minister of Iran in 2009, and Mehdi Karroubi was the former speaker of the Iranian Parliament (Hudson 2016). There was a protest in Iran during their election in 2009. Obama gave in a statement, "Our moral response to the incredible courage that is taking place in Iran and those women and girls who

are on the streets knowing that they're putting themselves in harm's way to speak truth to power. (RAN, 2022)" Obama also highlighted that the Iran government crackdown on the Iranian Green Movement opposition. Obama always gives statements through which the Iranian people get against their country. Once, he said that he was concerned about Iranian sovereignty and did not want to interrupt the internal matters of Iran's political or cultural issues. However, he feels sad about the current situation of the Iranian protest and the people's condition, which he sees on television (Tayyar 2020).

President Obama wanted to pursue something other than an interventionist strategy in the Middle East again. He outlined a plan for achieving mutual respect and collaboration in the Middle East to restore political and social order balance. Diplomacy would be put to the ultimate test under that policy. The U.S. realized it had no chance of righting wrongs or imposing Western values on a different civilization (Haass, 2013, p.57-67). He emphasized that the U.S. must be aware of its limitations and understand that it cannot magically fix every issue in the Middle East with military might (Kamrava 2018). He understood the deeply ingrained cultural and social norms of Arabs, which have molded their political environment following their civilizational ethos. The social structure of the Arabs has historically been tribal, and Obama loathed tribalism to his very core. He claimed that because the Shia-Sunni split was an old problem, he could not resolve it. However, he claimed that reconciliation between these two groups was essential for the region to remain peaceful and prosperous; otherwise, he warned that a proxy conflict would endanger the area. Building reliable diplomatic connections with Iran was crucial to Barack Obama (Hlavsova 2017). Obama recognized the importance of engaging Iran if the U.S. wanted to further its larger colonial objectives in the region. Furthermore, the US administration's "pivot" to Asia increased Iran's geopolitical relevance. Iran played a crucial role in altering the political landscape of the Middle East after Syria and Iraq collapsed (Saltzman 2017). Iranians are blessed with a cultural self-certainty equivalent to that of the Indians and Chinese, making them one of the strongest governments in the Middle East with an imperial mindset embedded in its statecraft since antiquity.

Obama changed his approach to Iran, eventually allowing Washington and Tehran to agree. He emphasized engagement and negotiation rather than pressure and sanctions to persuade Iran to end its nuclear program (Zambakari, 2016). He did not see Iran as a wrong country, and by being completely open with them, he won the respect of the Iranian government. He eventually had Hassan Rouhani, the pragmatic President of Iran, sign a landmark nuclear accord in 2015. U.S. involvement with United Nations Security Council permanent members. The nuclear deal

gained its objective by compelling Iran's leadership to renounce their efforts for nuclear bombs. What previous U.S. regimes could not subvert efforts of Iran's nuclear weapons by threats and heavy sanctions, Obama achieved it through diplomatic outreach. After the nuclear deal, "the cooperation that Iran has shown in decommissioning its enrichment centrifuges, removing the core of its heavy water reactor and shipping out most of its low enriched uranium stockpile has surprised arm controllers. Iran fulfilled its obligations under the JCPOA by removing nuclear material (Tabatabai, 2017). In the meantime, Iran has agreed to an unprecedented inspections and verification regime that makes pursuing a substantial covert program extremely difficult.

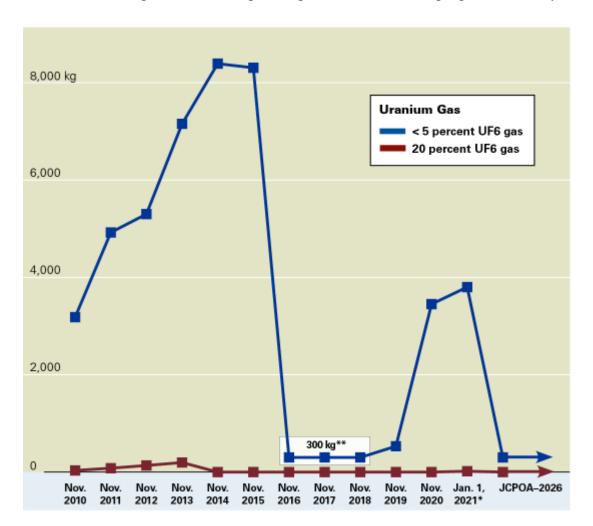


Figure 16Restoring Limits on Iran's Nuclear Program, 2021

As Per the above-stated graph, it has been analyzed that Iran has disassembled two-thirds of its centrifuges and exported 97 per cent of its low-enriched uranium abroad by January 2016. From 2015 to 2016, Iran decided to lower the Uranium by 97% in their nuclear program. After a year previous, U.S. President Obama removed the United States from the nuclear deal in 2015, recognised as (the JCPOA) the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action, and reposed

authorisations on Iran in the desecration of the deal, Iran started to break limits under the agreement. Iranian administrators maintain that Iran will converse with its actions that disrupt the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action and reappearance to a complete agreement if the other stakeholders in the contract fulfill their responsibilities under the agreement (Karlin and Wittes 2019). Destructions Iran of the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action are mainly revocable and could probably be uncompleted in 3 months with enough political power.

Theme 18: The United States Foreign Policy towards the Middle East during the Trump Administration

During the regime of Donald Trump, several foreign policies toward the Middle East were shifted. The U.S. wanted to counter Iran's regional influence, and the U.S. induced policies aimed at destabilizing this influence. Disagreement arose between the Trump administration and Iran over the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA) (Kroenig, 2018). The Obama administration had convinced Iran to stop making and using nuclear weapons in exchange for lifting economic and diplomatic sanctions. However, Trump insisted that some areas were not adequately addressed, such as Iran's support of terrorist groups and the ballistic missile program, therefore bleaching the JCPOA agreement (Lynch 2016).

Most Arabic countries frowned on the Donald Trump administration's move to recognize Jerusalem as the capital city of Israel. Despite this issue being considered the last final concern to be solved by the two constantly fighting nations, Israel and Palestine, Trump made his recognition in the incubation stages of his administration (Erdoğan and Habash 2020). Demonstrations were experienced in the Arab states that did not support the move. They claimed the move threatened the peace between the two countries (Thompson 2018).

Trump made substantial efforts to maintain the U.S.'s long-term ally, Saudi Arabia, by creating favourable foreign policies between the duo (Albasoos, 2021). Trump pledged support for Saudi's military and sold them highly precision military equipment; he advocated the Saudi military march in Yemen despite its devastating civil deaths and violation of human rights. Additionally, he supported the Saudi-Qatar blockade that impacted the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) negatively. The Trump administration adopted a more transactional and erratic strategy in the Middle East (Beeson, 2020). These strategies had beneficial and harmful effects on the region's stability and long-term prospects for peace, even while they attempted to reduce Iran's influence and enhance connections with some regional allies.

From the above information, it is analyzed that in 2017, the new president of the US announced the modification of the foreign policy and trade of the US, which further helped the US mitigate their trade deficits by rebalancing their alliances (Yom, 2020). Trump is an aggressive leader who always believes that it is the right of a nation to put their interest first, then anything else. He also mentioned in his speeches that he would stand against terrorism and make strict policies against it. It is seen that Trump is not much interested in maintaining a good relationship with Islamic countries. He had always tried to neglect such matters. His unwanted will toward Islamic countries is seen in his many interviews (McKay 2019). On 23 January 2017, Trump withdrew the US from the Trans-Pacific Partnership, which was made under the administration of Obama. On 27th January 2017, Trump signed an agreement that banned the six Muslim nations from traveling to the US for 90 days. After a few days, the president added two more countries to the list (Ronaldo et al., 2020).

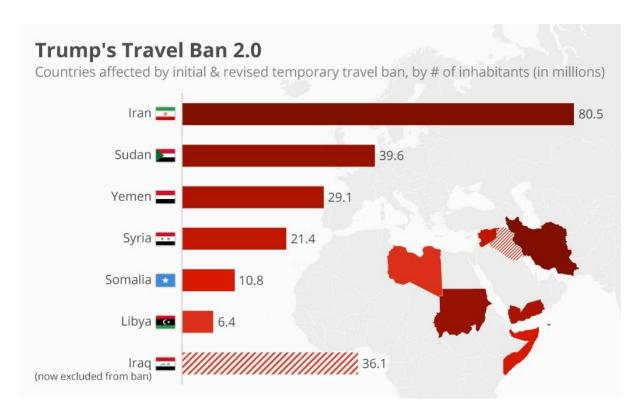


Figure 17Trump Signs Revised Travel Ban, 2017

It has been identified that in the above-presented graphs, United States President Donald Trump has contracted a reviewed travel prohibition or ban on people from Majority-Muslim nations in Africa as well as the Middle East. They signed the 1st such declaration after January, which was unsuccessful in the Law Court of Integrity (Freedman 2017). The reviewed ban now permits Iraqi people as well as green card containers along with double citizens from the

leftover six nations, which the prohibition still put on, to enter the U.S. New migrants and immigrants from those nations, which Donald Trump believes risky, are still striped for minimum 90 days (Altunişik, 2020). During the same week, Trump signed two more orders, the first being to direct federal funds to construct the wall along the Mexico-US border. The other one is sanctuary cities, which are not receiving federal grants. 7th April 2017, Bashar al-Assad, who is the Syrian President, ordered the use of chemical weapons for the attack against civilians.

On 18 May 2017, Robert Lighthizer, the US trade representative, intended to modernize the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). They wanted to renegotiate the agreement again (Gause 2018). The other members of this NAFTA are Mexico and Canada, which further help the US address their trade deficit in goods by restoring manufacturing jobs and many others. Israel, Saudi Arabia, Italy, and a few other selected countries are considered the first countries where Trump traveled in his presidential administration (McKay, 2019). He also attended a summit that took place in Riyadh, where other Arab-Muslim countries also participated. At this summit, Trump delivered a speech to call Muslim nations to come together to stand against terrorism (Nasr 2018). Trump also addresses the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) heads of state and government in Brussels, where he calls each member of NATO to contribute fair shares to the alliance. During the same year, Trump attended a meeting called the Group of Seven (G7) in Italy. In this meeting, Trump joins a joint declaration on fighting protectionism (Marko 2019). On 17th June 2017, Trump announced that the US would withdraw from another agreement signed by Obama called the 2015 Paris Climate Accord. As per this agreement, the US limits its carbon emissions for the construction industry, further harming American workers (Farouk 2019). Trump is making decisions rapidly because he only thought about benefiting the economy of the US about twice, withdrawing from the agreed elements, where the US had to compromise somewhere for global development or the development of other countries. He only focuses on promoting US development (Bafoev, 2019).

On 5 June 2017, the US stepped forward to maintain a good relationship with Qatar by welcoming the move against terrorism. Trump also announces a reduction of the restriction of trading activities between the US and Cuba by reforming rules and guidelines for both nations to trade with each other (Barnes and Barron 2018). The Trump administration also reduced the number of US embassy staff by half of the number in Havana. He also attended a meeting in

Germany where 20 more global leaders participated. At this meeting, he met with Russian President Vladimir Putin for the first time. Trump also warns North Korea to stop them and threatens to launch ballistic missiles into the waters around Guam (Mathews, 2021). He also gave a speech against terrorism in Afghanistan. He announces to provide more troops for the US to Afghanistan for their national security from terrorism. By mentioning the violation of the spirit of the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action to Congress (JCPOA) agreement, Trump was no longer interested in rectifying Iran's compliance (Viveash 2021). He does not withdraw US participation from the agreement but asks Congress to deliberate by imposing again on sanctions. It was also analyzed that US President Donald Trump made various decisions regarding foreign policy in 2018. Trump announced the creation of an independent space force, a new brand for the US Armed Forces. The Trump administration officially moved the US embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem (Therme 2018).

On 18 May 2018, Trump announced withdrawing the deal with Iran from the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action, also called the Iran Nuclear Deal. This happens due to the missile test of Iran even after getting warnings from the US (Postel and Hashemi 2018). In December 2018, Trump had decided to withdraw all the US troops from Syria and half of the troops from Afghanistan. For this purpose, Trump asked the Pentagon to develop a highly executive plan. In the year 2018, Trump ordered three facilities in Syria to the US military, which is linked to the chemical weapons programs by Bashar al-Assad. Trump also send almost 5,000 troops to harden the southern border (Hassan, 2022). He introduced the "zero tolerance" policy in May 2018, which further resulted in the US Border Patrol separation of approximately 2,600 children from their parents. On 19 June 2018, Nikki Haley, who is the ambassador of the Human Rights Council, asked the US to withdraw their participation from the Human Rights Council, which is basically due to a chronic bias against Israel (Nusem 2018). It is also considered that the US also abuses various other members like Venezuela and China. On 16 July 2018, Trump and Putin conducted a meeting that was so confidential that only these two and their interpreters were present. It is believed that both of them were discussing the Syrian war, Russia's encroachment on Ukraine, and the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty. In a press conference just after this meeting, Trump doubted that US intelligence agencies would leak their confidential information about security and national interest matters. At this moment, Trump has decided to involve the tiniest administration members in making any decision in favor of the US (Westcott 2019). It is also essential to make many modifications to the NAFTA agreement, where the US, Mexico, and Canada decided to bring new labour stipulations,

enhancement of standards for the auto industry, enhancement in the intelligence property of the US, and many others. The changes in the agreement also contain a minimum wage hike, which will further benefit the manufacturers of the US. In 2019, Venezuela faced hyperinflation plus a shortage of basic goods and services. Trump ordered humanitarian aid to be sent, but it was blocked at the border (Michnik 2021).

On 11 October 2019, Riyadh blamed Iran for the attack on Saudi oil facilities. Trump reinforces their military troops as well as the missiles to Saudi Arabia (Stepanova 2018). This support was seen after a few months of bipartisan efforts in Congress. On 26th October 2019, Trump announced that the US military forces killed Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, who was controlling various terrorist groups in the Middle East. On the 5th of February 2020, Trump was found to have misused his power by pressurizing Ukraine government to investigate the political opponents. He is also found not guilty of obstructing the congressional investigation (Quero and Dessi, 2019). During the new COVID pandemic variant, Trump announces reducing some restrictions and regulations on Health and Care services. \$50 billion in funding was given to the US health and care sector to fight against COVID-19. The US blames China for misleading the world and spreading the virus, so they also restrict some trading activities with China. On 6th July 2020, Trump's administration notified the UN that the US would withdraw its participation from the World Health Organization (WHO). UN agency accused Trump of misleading the globe related to threats of the COVID pandemic, which was further taken under pressure from China. The US is considered one of the most prominent funding supporters of the World Health Organization (Bahgat 2017).

It is also analyzed that Iran is developing and rising in front of the world due to the US in the administration of Trump. Within three months of the US administration, Iran had tremendous administration opportunities. Trump always opposed the deal with Iran through the JCPOA agreement (Telhami 2017). The deal is time-bound and did not constrain Iran's rampage through the region. The primary purpose of the Trump administration is to keep pressuring Iran through the sanctions. Due to this purpose only, the US supported UAE and Saudi Arabia against Iran in the conflict in Yemen. Trump mainly focused on their troops in Iran to fight against ISIS. They step back for some reason, but after a few months, they kill the Quds Force Commander, whose name is Soleimani (Dyduch and Müller, 2021). The US troops stayed in Iran only to keep ISIS suppressed. Lebanon is seen as a country under Iran's complete control. The administration of Trump did not help Lebanon when it collapsed in the year 2020 because

they already mentioned that if the Iranians run over the land of Lebanon, then they will not help them in the future related to any crises or any circumstances. Jordon and Egypt need military assistance and support against threats on their border. Here, Trump has also violated human rights and laws (Erdoğan and Habash 2020). The relationship between Saudi Arabia and the US began in 1933 when the Mutual Defense Assistance Agreement was signed. Both countries have differences in culture, mindsets, and military and political power, but they have been allies for many years. They have been exchanging their power and resources for many years. They both decided at a mutual understanding that the US would provide military power to Saudi Arabia and Saudi Arabia would supply oil in exchange for US dollars (petrodollar) (Zoubir and Tran, 2022). They also decided that Saudi Arabia would support the US policy worldwide and influence other nations to support it effectively.

Theme 19: A mutually acceptable nuclear deal between the U.S. and Iran is a constructive way to de-escalate tensions and explore if such a deal would be effective.

The Iran nuclear agreement, which is formally known as the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action or the JCPOA, refers to the accord that has been made between Iran and the P5+1 nations, which includes China, France, Germany, Russia, the United Kingdom, and the United States that was made in July of 2015. This agreement was made with the idea that Iran would be dismantling their nuclear programs and would allow extensive inspection as and when needed in return for sanction relief that would be provided to the nation.

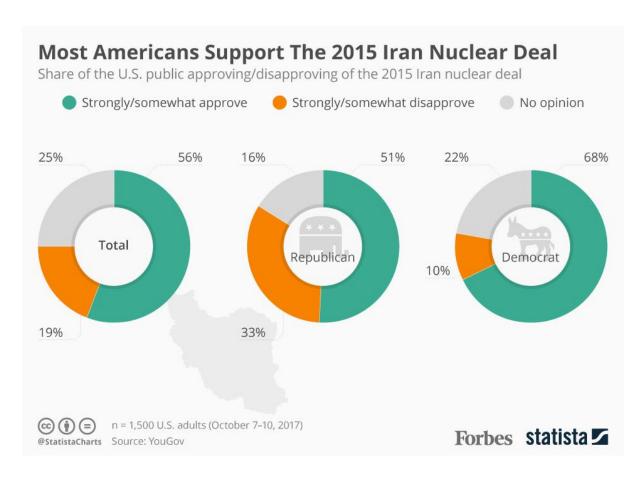
The idea of the main aim of the P5+1 nations was to revert Iran's program for Nuclear weapons to such a point where it would take several months for Iran to revive its nuclear projects. This delay will give other nations enough time to prepare for the response. It was believed that in case there was no control over the nuclear plan of Iran, it would only take a few months for them to manufacture enough nuclear weapons. It was an essential factor to consider, as Iran becoming a nuclear power would drastically affect the dynamics of the Middle East. It posed a threat that there would be an attempt by the military of the Israel nation to acquire the nuclear tech in Iran and that it would create serious tensions among the neighbouring countries like Syria, Iraq, and Lebanon and disrupt the oil trading policy, hindering the transport of oil in the Persian Gulf. As a result of this, since there has been a possibility of Iran becoming a nuclear power, there has been a rise in the interest that has been shown from Saudi Arabia to have nuclear tech as well.

When the idea of the deal was presented to Iran, accepting the terms of the deal, Iran agreed to stop the production of uranium and plutonium, which are used in nuclear weapons. Further, Iran agreed to comply with the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) protocol to access the nuclear facilities and conduct the inspections. It was a measure to prevent the country from developing nuclear weapons in secret. The other side of the deal, P5+1 nations, agreed to provide relief from the sanctions relating to trade and other financial sanctions. The United States was committed to lifting its sanctions on exports and keeping its financial sanctions in place. (Source: https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/what-iran-nuclear-deal)

As a result of the deal, there has been a smooth start to the agreements. Iran successfully reached the level for oil trade, which was almost the same as the period before the imposition of sanctions. Coordination from both sides was effective as US President Barack Obama lifted secondary sanctions, boosting the oil trade in the country and unfreezing the Iranian assets worth over \$100 billion. (Source: https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/what-iran-nuclear-deal)

There has been a build-up of new tensions among the nations in the year 2018, which resulted in the near break off of the deal after Donald Trump, the president of the United States, withdrew from the agreement and placed sanctions back on the oil and finances of the country. The reason for this was believed to be that the agreement had failed to address the situation of a permanent ban on nuclear and to shut down Iran's ballistic missile program.

As per the evidence of research by YouGov, it was observed that most people in the US disapproved of President Trump's stance on Iran. It showed that 56% of people favoured the nuclear agreement, of which 31% had strong approval. It was found that the majority of Democrats were supportive of the deal, totaling 68%. In comparison, 51% of Republicans supported the agreement as well. However, that data showed that 46% of Americans did not support the deal. It could be concluded that although the majority were in favour of the deal, the difference was significant. (Source: https://today.yougov.com/topics/politics/articles-reports/2017/10/11/president-trump-strays-public-opinion-iran)

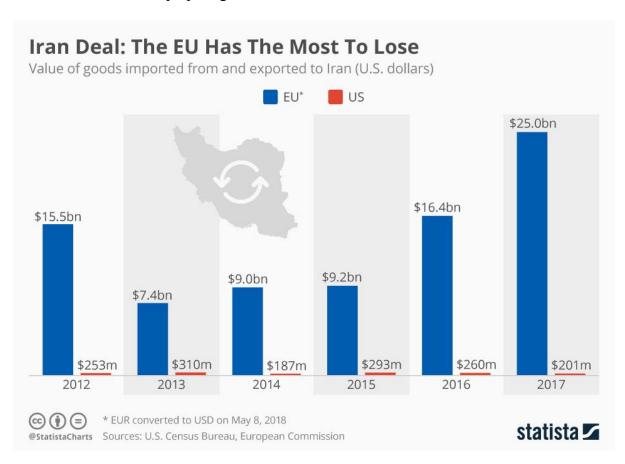


Source: https://www.statista.com/chart/11470/most-americans-support-the-2015-iran-nuclear-deal/

With the JCPOA deal between P5+1 nations and Iran, European countries have been showing interest in the business as they have been developing and strengthening commercial connections among the nations. This resulted in a mini-boom of investment in Iran as, in 2015. The trade was valued at \$9.2 billion, increasing to a new high of \$16.4 billion within a year in 2016. It reached \$25 billion in the year 2022 as compared to \$201 million in the US. European countries like Total are operating in the gas development, Royal Dutch Shell is investing in Iranian Energy, Airbus is bringing their new modern planes, and Renault is singing a deal worth more than \$780 million to set up a plant for producing more than 150,000 vehicles per year.

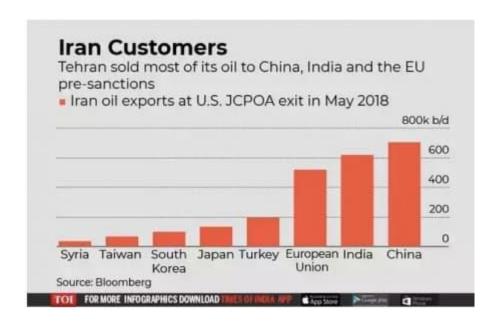
On the other hand, US companies were facing difficulty due to the uncertainty of the government's political stance. Considering the example of Boeing and Airbus, Boeing arranged to deliver aircraft to the Iranian airlines. The follow-up for the deal is currently uncertain due to the political uncertainty. Whereas Airbus has successfully delivered three aircraft to Iran. The trade between Tehran and the United States amounted to \$200 million, which is minute

compared to that of the UK. This resulted from the Trump government's stance towards Iran, which the EU had been preparing in advance.



Source: https://www.statista.com/chart/13783/iran-deal -the-eu-has-the-most-to-lose/

The exit of the US from the agreement with Iran has resulted in a negative effect on the oil trade. In addition, various sanctions related to the trade and financial terms further affected oil trade. Even with the imposition of these sanctions by the American government, there has been an increase in the vast amount of oil exports from Iran, with the main focus on the Asian country. Iran had exported more than 700,000 barrels to China, and India was in second position with around 600,000 barrels per day. This demand is expected to grow extensively as China expects to import over 1 million barrels daily from Iran.



https://oilprice.com/Geopolitics/Middle-East/The-Real-Cost-Of-An-Iran-Nuclear-Deal.html

After the negative impact of the backing off by the US from the Iran nuclear deal, the Trump government, there had been an attempt to repair these relations by holding several talks with Iran that would be better for both nations. With the failed attempt in 2015, the attempt by Joe Biden's government to restore the relations and keep them apart from nuclear power, the comment from the Iran officials indicates that there has been no ambition of Iran to develop nuclear weapons. The deal that was left by Donald Trump in the year 2018 restricted Iran from obtaining uranium enrichment at 2.67% purity and put a cap on the stockpile of the material to 202.8 kg, which Iran has exceeded by a huge margin since. However, the urgency and the willingness to restart the talks with Iran depicts that western countries are eager to get information relating to the Nuclear plans by Iran. The US has been denied reports mentioning that they are looking for an interim deal while also keeping themselves open to the possibility of US official. less formal understanding, mentioned the as by (https://oilprice.com/Geopolitics/Middle-East/The-Real-Cost-Of-An-Iran-Nuclear-Deal.html)

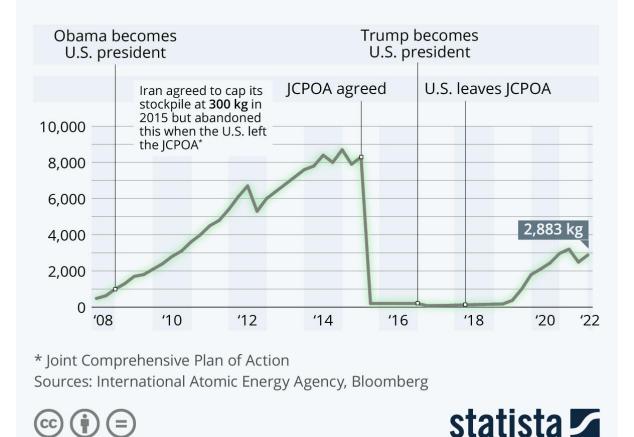
In the recent development of the relations between the two nations, there has been a successful prisoner exchange that allows the building of trust between the two nations, which took a negative turn when former US President Donald Trump's government completely backed off from the 2015 nuclear deal between Tehran and P5+1 countries. There have been various discussions regarding the plan to—de-escalate the situation with the factor that Iran has to maintain a limit on their uranium enrichment levels and cooperate with the International Atomic Energy Agency. It has also been an attempt by US officials to avoid the export of military weapons like drones to the Russian forces. In return for compliance Iran with these

conditions, the US will consider forgiving the occasions when Iran has exported oils despite the sanctions. These talks are still in process and have not yet reached a point where a new agreement could be formed for Nuclear use in Iran. In the current situation, Iran has been enriching its nuclear at the highest levels, which will result in being able to achieve the capacity to develop nuclear weapons soon. The US keeping the situation unchecked could cause the US to take drastic measures, including military retaliation. As a response to Donald Trump's "maximum pressure" policy offering no political off—ramp, the Iran administration responded by acting proactively and increasing their enrichment levels nuclear.

Despite US President Biden's attempt to—de-escalate, the Biden administration has been criticised heavily for unfreezing the \$6 billion assets as there is no dependency on the prisoner deals on the de—escalation in Iran. The ideas and plans of the US government have been criticized and questioned over time. There has been no result of the attempt that will prevent the country from becoming a nuclear power. Although the US welcomes any attempt to—deescalate the situation and reduce the risk of a war-like situation, there has been no progress. (https://www.ft.com/content/12a725cb-ee9a-469a-b20e-a0c3556e7056)

The Development Of Iran's Uranium Stockpile

Iran's stockpile of low-enriched uranium by quarter (in kg)



Source: https://www.statista.com/chart/23528/irans-stockpile-of--low-enriched-uranium/

As evident from the above graph, Iran had agreed to the 300 kg of uranium stockpile that was approved in the JCPOA. It was called off in 2018. This has resulted in a significant rise in nuclear material, as the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) reported. Even though Tehran has been mentioning that the nuclear development is only for peaceful purposes, they have enriched the uranium by over ten times than what was decided in the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action in 2015. The IAEA has also been under criticism for the explanations of the reasons, as conveyed by Iran, that the nuclear storage is for peaceful purposes, as there is no confidence in the same. After the backing off from the deal by the US, the stockpile of lowenriched uranium compound has drastically reduced from 8,300 kg to 200 kg, as per Bloomberg. It fell to 80 kg, and harsh sanctions were imposed on the country.

Over time, the Biden administration spent time repairing the relationship with Iran, which was decided in 2015 by Barack Obama and later dissolved in 2018 by President Trump's administration. The talks are still delayed due to the current Russia and Ukraine war situation. The requests by the US have been considered and termed as "irrelevant" as the US has been wanting to have a skin in the oil trade from the region due to the bad relations with Russia after the war with Ukraine. For the US to achieve this, Iran has been demanding a nuclear deal that needs to be discussed and considered by Iran.

The 10 largest oil¹ producers and share of total world oil production² in 2022³

Country	Million barrels per day	Share of world total
United States	20.21	20%
Saudi Arabia	12.14	12%
Russia	10.94	11%
Canada	5.70	6%
China	5.12	5%
Iraq	4.55	5%
United Arab Emirates	4.24	4%
Brazil	3.77	4%
Iran	3.66	4%
Kuwait	3.02	3%
Total top 10	73.36	73%
World total	99.89	

¹ Oil includes crude oil, all other petroleum liquids, and biofuels

Therefore, the overall condition of the relationship between Iran and the US has not been what was expected by the P5+1 nations. The relations have been damaged due to the action of the US after they backed the deal and imposed many sanctions on Iran. There have been constant attempts to repair the relationship. However, there had been no results up to the term, and it can be considered forward-moving. ource:https://mronline.org/2023/08/14/u-s-pressures-saudi-arabia-to-sell-oil-in-dollars-not-chinese-yuan-amid-israel-negotiations/

The presence of higher exports resulted in Iran's success in hedging the sanctions of the US and Washington's liberty in implementing them as the two countries' motion improved relations. Therefore, Donald Trump exited a 2015 nuclear agreement in 2018 and made again the implementation of sanctions to curb revenues upon the government of Iran. The US undertakes communication with Iran regarding the agreement under which there are the five US citizens Iran releases and \$6b amount of Iran currency finance in South Korea considered unfrozen. The US State Department spokesperson stated that the administration continues implementing sanctions on Iran. The oil-exporting system figures were found to be changing over time. They decided to engage with other countries to discourage them from taking actions that conflicted with sanctions against Iran. It defines hedge oil sanctions in Iran, measures the ship-to-ship transfers and send-ups, and provides the use of the GPS chewover regarding different positions undertaken by the ships and the country, which undertakes effective tactics

² Production includes domestic production of crude oil, all other petroleum liquids, and biofuels and refinery processing gain.

³ Data source: U.S. Energy Information Administration, International Energy Statistics, Total oil (petroleum and other liquids) production, as of May 1, 2023

during such situations. Related to the oil importing system of Iran, the US prints dollar bills without exporting the products or productions of goods; therefore, these are paid for by undertaking more dollars and T-bills. It is found that it is the decision undertaken by Iran regarding adapting the invoicing oil sales in the form of euros, which is stated as the very effective planning to undertake any off sense in each way that is possible and call up others towards the US. (https://www.reuters.com/business/energy/irans-oil-output-exports-rise-washington-tehran-talk-2023-08-31/)

The US hegemony is stated as the dominant power of the US in global politics post-1990. The New World Order was undertaken by US President HW Bush in 1990, which gives clear insight into the dominant role that the USA primarily plays in global politics. The abrupt illness of the USSR meant only one superpower stayed in, which was integral to all its powers and even heightened. Therefore, it is seen that the US hegemony started after 1991, during the disappearance of the Soviet power in a significant manner. Some aspects or terms of US hegemony go back to take place at the end of WW2.

The petrodollar is considered the critical pillar of the US hegemony. It is stated that the countries that imported the oil required dollars to pay for the steady demand for Washington's currency worldwide. This system stabilizes the dollar and provides help by giving finance to the huge current account shortage the US has kept up for some time. For the last 50 years, Saudi Arabia has continuously fought or defended its position in the Middle East. The overvalue of Saudi Arabia is done by both the US and Europe regarding their capability to become the island of sustainability in a disruptive Arab sea, also the individual supreme authority in regional conflicts and an average voice in the extremist and utmost. During the Cold War, the Saudi government was available to provide all the proof as a critical force regarding the practical part and beyond. Therefore, there are interested parties in the presence of the unsustainable hegemony of the Saudi and various curtains upon it. There has been an increase in the leadership style of the Saudis after becoming Barack Obama as the president in 2008. There has been an increase in the relationship with Washington after this situation in Saudi. The president of the US makes the unwilling support regarding its leadership, which increased the US-Saudi relationship in the post-war era. The king of Saudi undertakes to use the power of charisma to support the Saudi region, along with the multinational hegemony that we undertake in the Middle east. However, there is the presence of a critical breaking in the relations between Saudi Arabia and the US due to the refusal made by the US to bomb Iran (Hurst Publishers, 2016)

The policy of the US also supports the local states, making their place of influence and competing with each other effectively, such as present rivalries among Turkey, Iran, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates. The decreasing significance of the Middle East is considered the consistent policy of the US since Obama, which President Trump presently shares, and now President Biden.

Iran undertakes various needs of a rising regional power. It is considered a member of the delineated region. In which Iran makes countering towards any aggressive behavior regarding the neighbouring unfriendly states. There has been no formal relationship between Iran and the US since 1980. On the other hand, Pakistan is considered the power protector of the United States. The relations between Iran and the US started in the mid to late 19th century, when Iran was considered the West as Persia. There is the availability of regional power in Iran due to the part of the Middle East in which power is related to the geopolitical position, geo-planning value, and strategic resources. The five fuel tankers provided by Iran to Venezuela are considered the basic economic issue and do not have the power to do anything with the official rules of international law. Still, on the other hand, it is stated as the major challenge for the US hegemony throughout the regional power during the period of experiencing aggravated hostility along with the US. There is the presence of Iran's regional power within the sanctions that are implemented against the hegemony of the US and the increased operations of actions among the other continents along with its flag. Therefore, along with this aim, providing the geographical propinquity to Venezuela to the US and the sanctions of the US upon both Venezuela and Iran then, Iran publicly raised its flag upon the oil tankers for showing the confrontation along with US's hegemony for giving insight upon the efforts of US regarding the elimination of the economy of Iran have not only faced little impact but also reinforced the domestic economy of Iran and made the improvement in the capability to implement a continental trade relationship. The launching of the large-scale race is made by the Iranians by the entire news agencies. It announces the huge resources and such situation that we provide the warship and warplanes towards the Caribbean Sea regarding the countering of the Iranian Therefore, Iran has announced the consequences of the countering of tankers. Therefore, the US sources cannot be vulnerable to the tankers. In the present era, it is found that there is no availability of any war between Iran and the US. Still, on the other hand, the propaganda campaign of Iran is considered as the higher concerning the ideological expansion of commercialized activities regarding the targeting of the citizens for achieving the higher victory upon the US through adapting the Western Hemisphere. There is the drawing of the battlefield without making the enemy. (https://diplomatist.com/2020/06/03/breaking-down-the-american-hegemony-or-a-simple-economic-transaction-between-iran-and-venezuela/) Iran is considered an across-the-board challenge or issue in the interest of the United States, and there are coalitions and partners in the Middle East. Thus, there is no reasonable relationship between Iran and the US regarding the environment. Both make the consequences for each other.

Theme 20: Whether Saudi Arabia is a reliable ally for the U.S.

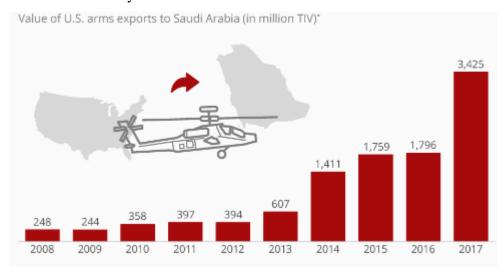
When defining the relationship between two countries, the most mandatory role is played by the two countries' foreign policy towards each other. In defining whether Saudi Arabia is a reliable ally of the United States of America, it is quite mandatory to look at Saudi Arabia's foreign policy toward the United States of America.

It is said in geopolitics that "There is no permanent enemy and no permanent friends, only permanent interests." The statement has been proven to be true in the case of Saudi Arab – United States of America relations as well. The diplomatic relations between the two countries initially started in the year 1933, and the same was formalised further in the year 1951 when a Mutual Defense Assistance Agreement was signed between the two countries. Ironically, the Islamic absolute monarchy, Saudi Arabia, and a secular constitutional republic, the United States of America, have since then been allies at crucial places. The relationship between the countries went on to go deep as the country of the United States of America overlooked various issues, including Wahhabism and its human rights. It alleged state-sponsored terrorism as long as it maintained oil production and supported American national security policies (Keating, 2017). The peak point for the relations between the two countries had been marked up during the times of the Gulf War when the alliance between the two countries fought a successful military campaign against the invasion of Saddam Hussain in the country of Kuwait. However, with time, there have been many instances where the two countries disagreed on several issues, protecting their interests. Such disagreements have included the issue of Israel being recognized as a country, the embargo of the United States of America on not having any oil deal with the country of Saudi Arabia and other Middle East oil exporters during the times of 1973 oil crisis, the invasion of Iraq by the United States of America in the year 2003, the policies of America on under the "War on terror" campaign and the assumption of most of the Americans on the Saudi Arabs involvement in the September 11 attacks. These issues quite critically disturbed the relations between the two countries. Moreover, since the time of the

Barack Obama Administration, the ties between the United States of America and Saudi Arabia have been strained further. However, relations have started improving since the time of the Trump Administration.

On 6th June 2023, the official website of the United States of America Department of State published an article stating that the "United States continues to partner with Saudi Arabia on political, security, counterterrorism, economic, and energy issues, including clean energy innovation, to advance our common vision for a more peaceful, secure, prosperous, and stable Middle East." Moreover, it had been added that –

- The United States of America is the most preferred supplier of defense supplies to Saudi Arabia, and the defense establishment of Saudi remains the largest Foreign Military Sales (FMS) customer to the government of the United States of America. The value for such sales has risen to as high as \$140 million.
- The arms sold by the United States of America to the country of Saudi Arabia have seen a toll in the past ten years. The amount for the same stood up to as high as 3,425 million TIV in the year 2017.

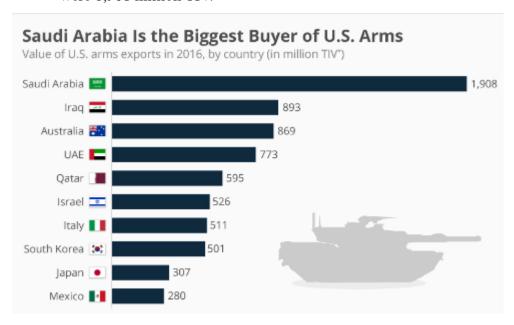


(Figure 18- United States of America has ratcheted up the arms sales to Saudi Arabia)

(Source - https://www.statista.com/chart/15797/the-value-of-us-arms-exports-to-saudi-arabia/)

• It has been observed during the times that the country of Saudi Arabia is the biggest buyer of arms and aminations supplied by the government of the United States of

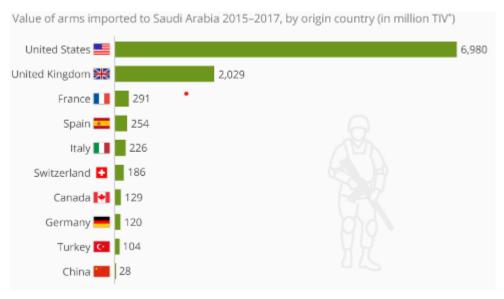
America. So much so that in 2016, the arms sales to the government of Saudi Arabia were 1,908 million TIV.



(Figure 19 - Saudi Arabia Is the Biggest Buyer of U.S. Arms)

(Source - https://www.statista.com/chart/9509/saudi-arabia-is-the-biggest-buyer-of-us-arms/)

• The country of Saudi Arabia has even recorded the United States of America as the top supplier of the arms and amination requirements of the country of Saudi Arabia as the United States of America contributes to an estimated 78% of the total arms requirement of Saudi Arabia.



(Figure 20 - Who Exports Arms to Saudi Arabia?)

(Source - https://www.statista.com/chart/15863/who-exports-arms-to-saudi-arabia/)

- The United States of America confirms that the bilateral relation between the two countries is a result of a shared interest in the security of the Gulf region and to stop any other power from intervening in the region.
- The countries of Saudi Arabia and the United States of America continue to work cooperatively to resolve the conflicts in the region. It was on the call and urge made by the country of the United States of America that Saudi Arabia agreed to resolve the conflict in Sudan and gave a declaration to protect the civilians of Sudan, enabling humanitarian assistance.



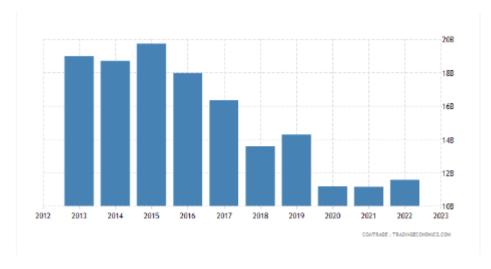
(Figure 21 – Saudi Arabia, South Sudan joint efforts to end Sudan conflict)

(Source - https://sudantribune.com/article275746/)

- It has even been observed that the country of Saudi Arabia has supported the peace efforts led by the UN in the region of Yemen, and the same has reduced the chances of conflict for over a year and created peace in the region.
- Saudi Arabia also leaped greater economic cooperation by allowing the overflying of flights with various countries, which even included the airlines of Israel for the visit of the president of the United States of America in 2022.

Various economic collaborations that signify the fact that the economic collaboration between the country of Saudi Arab and the United States of America are –

- In the year 2022, it was observed that the economy of Saudi arab increased by 8.7
 percent, wherein the country followed the advice of the United States of America to
 diversify its businesses away from Oil and create jobs in various other sectors that lie
 ahead for the country.
- As a result of this, the country Saudi Arab in fact, provided an abundance of growth opportunities for the United States of America as the companies from the United States of America got engaged in setting up their brand across many sectors, which ranged a variety between healthcare, entertainment, financial services, etc.
- During the year 2021, it had been seen that the country of the United States of America ran into a surplus of \$4.6 billion, and the same supported more than 165000 jobs for Americans.
- Since 2015, trade between countries has seen a verifying change. The exports from the
 United States of America to Saudi Arabia declined over the years and reached an alltime low in 2021.

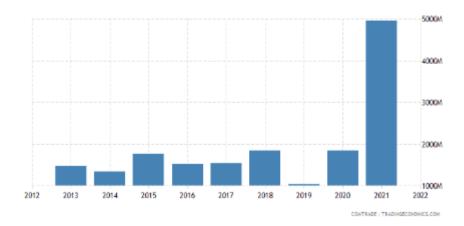


(Figure 22 - United States Exports to Saudi Arabia)

(Source - https://tradingeconomics.com/united-states/exports/saudi-arabia)

- On the contrary, it has even been observed that the supplies or exports from Saudi Arabia increased over the years, since the year 2013, and went to increase further. However, exports were reduced in 2019. The same was around US\$4.95 Billion in 2021.
- At the same time, it would also be accurate to say that the companies from the United States of America that come from the petrochemical and energy industry have somehow managed to make a considerable presence in the energy sector of Saudi Arab as well.

Also, the companies from the United States of America have gone on to enjoy multibillion-dollar partnerships with the two most prominent companies in Saudi Arabia, namely Aramco and the United States of America.



(Figure 23 - Saudi Arabia Exports to United States)

(Source - https://tradingeconomics.com/saudi-arabia/exports/united-states)

- At the same time, the diversification of the country under its VISION 2030 has provided
 the country of United States of America with many opportunities for the country of
 United States of America to grow and prosper in the energy sector.
- In the most recent technological conference, the United States of America announced a massive \$3.5 billion in new investments in the country of Saudi Arabia. At the same time, Boeing a United States of America-based company- has signed a deal valued at \$37 billion, which will support 38 states of the United States of America and the 300 suppliers of Boeing coming from these states.

The bedrock of the United States of America – Saudi relation has arisen from the New Technology and Clean Energy Cooperation. The details regarding the same include –

- The two countries signed a bilateral Partnership Framework for Advancing Clean Energy, which aligned with the Partnership for Global Infrastructure and Investment (PGII). There was progress in establishing trusted and secure 5G and 6G networks using Open RAN.
- The country of Saudi Arabia also hosts the International Energy Forum Secretariat, whereas the country of the United States of America also holds representation by its State Department.

- The country of Saudi Arabia also signed the Artemis Accords in 2022 with the United States of America, thereby committing itself to use the exploration of Space in a peaceful as well as in a very responsible manner, to which it continues to be an active participant.
- It is also very important to note that even after so many sanctions have been put in by the United States of America, Saudi Arabia continues to export oil supplies to the United States of America; it has been estimated that roughly 35000 barrels of crude oil is supplied by Saudi Arabia to the United States of America daily.

Even after all such cooperation and collaboration, the two countries have had issues in several places and topics. These include the following –

- The country of the United States of America, for years, had had an unwavering relationship with Israel. On the contrary, Saudi Arabia does not even recognise Israel as a separate country. Due to the same reason, there have always been conflicting issues between the United States of America and the United States of America. At the same time, after the continued efforts of the United States of America, the United States of America continues not to recognise Israel.
- The most infamous terror attack of September 11 had also been an issue wherein the United States of America signifies Saudi Arabia to have been involved.
- The west has always assumed that the rest of the world shall follow the policies they formed, and their foes should be treated as foes by their friends. This has never been the case in Saudi Arabia. It has been observed that the United States of America has had excellent relations with China as well. In contrast, China has been regarded as a significant threat to the United States of America. This has predominantly been the case because of the two countries' economic interests.
- It must also be considered that during his election campaign, President Joe Biden pledged to make Saudi Arabia a Pariah. Following this, and to defy the president in his efforts, the country of Saudi Arabia made, strengthened relations with Russia and reduced the oil output in the international community. This issue further escalated the decline in the United States of America United States of America relations in December 2022.

- Saudi Arabia even hosted Chinese leader Xi Jinping in December 2022 for a series of summits wherein the two countries signed a comprehensive strategic partnership agreement that eventually broadened Arab relations, thereby defying the United States' China containment policy.
- The issues also comprise one of the most crucial issues that play its part quite critically between the United States of America and the United States of America. The same includes the extradition treaty, which Saudi Arabia has not signed with the United States of America. At the same time, the government officials of Saudi Arabia have been involved in helping several criminals to have been able to flee from the soil of the United States of America.
- The conduct of Saudi Arabia has been criticized in the context of the Yemen civil war. The country was involved in war crimes, such as throwing bombs over hospitals, gas stations, water infrastructure, marketplaces, other groups of civilians, and archaeological monuments (Lee, Kelly, and Mirza, 2022).
- Finally, the biggest issue of all time was the assassination of Jamal Khashoggi. This put the country and the administration of the USA into a very difficult situation, mainly because Trump and his son-in-law, Jared Kushner, share a solid personal and official bond with Mohammad bin Salman. The same trump administration got involved in the case and concluded that strict action would be taken if the country or the government of Saudi were found responsible. The foreign ministry of Saudi Arabia replied, "if Saudi Arabia receives any action, it will respond with greater action."

Following all such incidents, it has been critically evaluated that the two countries have had fluctuating relations. The relations between the countries have not just been a result of economic interest but the ego needs of the two countries. This has led to the countries having some severe issues discussed in the context. It can clearly be stated that, like any other country in the world, Saudi Arabia is also an independent state that has the complete right to frame and follow an independent foreign policy. However, the policies that the country of Saudi Arabia has framed do not represent that the United States of America is a **reliable** ally of the country of the United States of America. The two countries are indeed closely related to satisfy their economic and energy needs. Still, the two countries' ideology and the way of working out are highly different. At the same time, Saudi Arabia has had excellent relations with the countries that are foes to the country of the United States of America. This clearly describes the fact the

country of Saudi Arabia cannot be trusted to be a reliable ally of the country of the United States of America.

THEME 19: The changing politics and position of these two states have been reflected in the shifts in the U.S. Middle Eastern policy

The competing powers of Saudi Arabia and Iran continue to redress and reverse the imbalance in the strategic direction of Middle Eastern politics. The 1979 Iranian revolution catapulted these nations or states into an embittered rivalry. Saddam Hussein's fall in the year 2003 U.S.led invasion, the establishment of a Shi'ite Iraq, and the 2011 Arab uprisings further unhealthy issues between Saudi Arabia and Iran. Iran and Saudi Arabia have not confronted each other military force. Still, the military divided into two armed camps region based on political and religious ideology in the seek promulgating sectarianism and regional allies as they kept to use of regions weak states in the series of proxy wars ranging from the conflicts in Iraq to Lebanon. The Saudi-Iranian strategic and geopolitical rivalry is critical due to ideological and religious rivalry as issues show opposing desires for Islamic leadership with two immensely differing political systems. The conflict raised between Saudi Arabia is relevant to Sunni Islam via Wahhabism, and Iran is relevant to Shi'ite Islam via Khomeinism. The nature of the Saudi-Iranian rivalry has led numerous Middle Eastern experts to determine their rivalry as a "new Middle East cold war." The Saudi-Iranian rivalry significantly affects territorial stableness and U.S. State safety interests. However, this addresses the question: Is a Cold War framework applicable when analysing the Saudi Arabian and Iranian relationship?

IRAN:

In the 1940's, the British and Soviets occupied Iran. The communist plot to overthrow the Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlevi failed in 1949. and tensions between the nationalists and Prime Minister Mossadeq are generated (Ahmadian, 2023). The Shah is forced out of Iran. In the minds of the British and Americans about the communist takeover, an operation was operated in 1953 that helped to throw the Mossadeq over and take back the Shah in power.

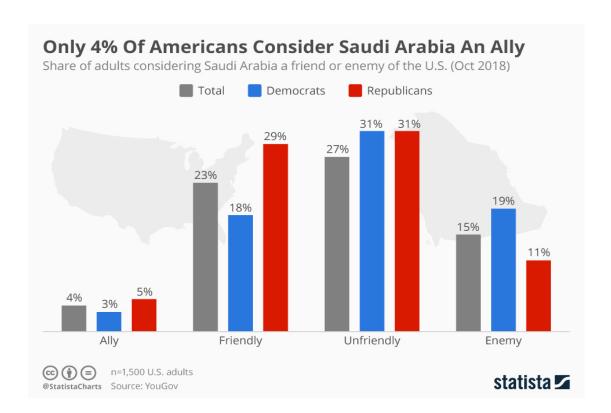
The great influence of Iran internationally is to seek to secure the regime through forward defense strategies, meaning it battles its enemies in other states such as Iraq and Lebanon. Iran has a Shia Muslim majority state, while most of the regimes in the Middle East are governed by Sunni Muslim rulers. In 2015, Iran agreed with the European Union on Iran's nuclear

program, which is named JCPOA, and in return for that, it received sanctions relief. President Donald Trump revoked this agreement between Iran and the U.S.. This is because it creates maximum pressure on Iran. In 2019, president Donald Trump designated the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps a branch of the Iranian Army (Mohsenifar et al., 2022).

Saudi Arabia:

Saudi Arabia owed a large debt amount to the nations whose forces defeated Iraq, mainly the United States. The kingdom has repaid the amount of debt in part by buying a huge quantity of weapons from U.S. firms by supporting the U.S.-led peace process between the Palestinians and Israel. After the war, the kingdom wanted to fix closer relations with the other territorial powers, mainly Iran. In 1996, Saudi Arabia had a sense of obligation to America for its support during the beginning of the war (Cordesman 2016). The Saudi leaders, mainly the newly in power named Abdullah, started to create better relations with Iran. Abdullah, keen to put a difference between the policies and unpopular pro-western policies of Fahd, apparently assessed that the United States would continue to support the family of Saud. Notwithstanding, America's dislike toward Iran and Saudi Arabia was turned into improving regional relationships. Both countries exchange most of the visits and cooperate to on several matters (Akbarzadeh 2020).

In the end, therefore, the most significant barrier to the America – Saudi relations came from within the kingdom from the citizens of Saudi who participated in the September 11 attacks and other terrorist acts. The perception of many Americans was that the royal family's relations with the Wahhabi sect had laid the groundwork for the growth of militant groups such as al Qaeda and, after the terrorist attacks, did little to help monitor the militants or ward off coming period atrocities (Mossalanejad 2016). The U.S. Military was called back from Saudi soil after the confirmation of the involvement of royal families in the September 2011 attacks. Also, the Saudi government refused to support the Iraq war between the U.S.-led forces and Iraq. Relations between Iran and Saudi Arabia in the 21st century improved in the 1990s (Gause 2016).



https://www.statista.com/chart/15820/the-share-of-adults-considering-saudi-arabia-a-friend-of-enemy-of-the-us/

Regarding the Middle East, Saudi Arabia is considered the primary focus. As per the observations of the poll by YouGov, it can be observed that a mere 4% of the US public considers Saudi Arabia as an ally. Out of these, 3% are Democrats, and 5% are Republicans who consider Saudi Arabia as an ally. Even after the aid of billions of dollars by the US government to Saudi Arabia for weaponry, 27% of the public consider Riyadh as unfriendly, and 15% consider them as enemies (Cammack 2017).

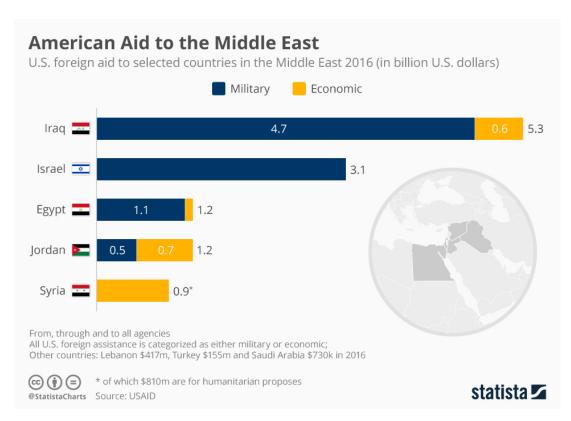
U.S. Foreign policy in the Middle East was very limited in the mid-1900s. Before this time, European powers built relations in the Middle East, especially via the League of nations after world war I. In 1950, the Cold War enhanced concern about the Middle East. In the year 1965, U.S. Policy towards the region changed, reflected in easier immigration laws as people fled political crises in Iran, Palestine, Lebanon, and Afghanistan in the year 1970's (Ghoble 2019).

Another relationship that was more critical to the US compared to Saudi Arabia. After both countries entered the new phase, the expectations and preferences made by both countries were clearer. Saudi Arabia within the Middle East regions, the Gause provides for the typical challenges and opportunities for Saudi Arabia. The main aim was to make the relationship more

modest and businesslike between Washington and Riyadh, which also provides for the modern world reality. But, according to the US commitment towards the Greater Middle East, the country reassesses its clear vision to maintain a limited, suitable, and sustainable partnership for a better future. It is a creative move in a global context.

America's commitment to middle east region

President Biden set five declaratory principles, such as partnerships, deterrence, integration, values, and diplomacy, to guide the U.S. Engagement in the Middle East over the coming period. Leaders around the table have decided to ensure food security for Middle Eastern very vulnerable populations. Enhances the strategic investment cooperation, investment into the U.S. Partnership GCC partners plan to invest a total of \$3 billion. Global infrastructure systems include developing, expanding, and deploying secure information and communications technology(ICT) to benefit economic growth. Also, the advancing of gender equity and inequality, developing the infrastructure of the health system, and developing or upgrading the infrastructure of all the health security.



https://www.statista.com/chart/15820/the-share-of-adults-considering-saudi-arabia-a-friend-of-enemy-of-the-us/

The United States Ambassador to the United Nations, Nikki Haily, was furious that all the Security Council members voted for the American resolution to withdraw Israel's capital

recognition, Jerusalem. The UN general assembly is set to vote on the resolution, condemning President Donald Trump's unilateral decision to move Embsay of the U.S. To Jerusalem. Donald Trump, in turn, has vulnerable which countries might vote for the resolution to strip them of U.S. Aid money.

Amongst them are many countries in the Middle East, such as Israel, as direct Neighbors.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Conclusion

From the above-presented information, it has been concluded that Petrodollars systems mean the use of US dollars for the purchase and sale of oil worldwide. It is considered a key source of revenue for several OPEC members and other oil exporters. This is because the oil has a high level of demand. Some oil-exporting nations may build up too many dollars, which they cannot invest at all. This petrodollar system was promoted by an agreement between Saudi Arabia and the U.S. in 1945. This agreement led to other oil-exporting nations enabling the dollar to be used as payment for oil, and the relationship between the oil and the dollar began. The petrodollar system creates profits that result in massive amounts of US dollar reserves for oil-exporting nations that need to be recycled. It means that they can be channelled into domestic investment and consumption that can used to lend to other nations or be invested back in the US. It has been identified that most nations exported too much oil and collected large amounts of US dollars that they cannot spend them all. If the country accepts US dollars as the payment, which they cannot spend all, they are effectively distant from rotation. The dollars these nations cannot be spent is known as petrodollars. It has been studied that the petrodollar came into existence due to the elimination of the gold standard in the country. After the end of Cold War II, the US became the largest supplier of gold across the world. The country agreed to redeem any US dollar for its value in gold if the other nations secured their currencies to the dollar. It is also identified that other nations signed this agreement at the Bretton Woods Conference in 1944. Through this, the US dollar became the reserve current across the world. It is also identified that US President Franklin D. Roosevelt started cooperation with Saudi Arabia in 1945 by meeting with Saudi King Abd al-Aziz. The US government built an airfield at Dhahran in exchange for business and military training. This cooperation was so significant that it endured following years of variances of opinion over the Arab-Israeli conflict.

In 1971, the stagflation in the US promoted runs on the dollar. At that time, many nations started to ask to redeem their US dollar for gold. To preserve remaining gold reserves in the U.S., President Richard Nixon detached the dollar from the gold standard. It resulted in a fall in the value of the dollar, which aided the economy of the US as its value of exports also declined, and that made them more competitive across the country. However, this falling dollar value affected the oil-exporting countries because contracts were priced in the US dollars. Due to

this, the oil revenues of these nations dropped along with the dollar. On the other side, it increased the cost of imports denominated in other nations.

It has been identified that the petrodollar mainly helped the country to elevate the US dollar's standing in the financial markets because the price of the most vital factor in the world, oil, was linked to the dollar. This has helped the dollar become the most dominant currency across the world. It enables the dollar to regularly fund its account shortage by issuing dollar-denominated resources at a very low amount. This has also enabled the US to wield significant economic control worldwide. It has become an inflow of foreign capital with the help of petrodollar recycling. However, the petrodollar system has to run account deficits to fulfill the reserve requirements in a worldwide economy that is regularly expanding. If these deficits were stopped, then the lack of liquidity would result in a decline in the economy. Apart from this, if these deficits continue, other nations may lose faith in the dollar, mainly leading it to lose its status as the global reserve currency.

It is also identified from the above information that Nixon asked Congress for military help to Israel during the Yom Kippur War in 1973. At the time, the newly established organization of petroleum exporting nations paused oil exports to the United States and many other allies of Israel. The OPEC oil prohibited multiplied the oil price in six months. Prices continued to rise often after the end of prohibition. Saudi Arabia and the United States transferred the United States-Saudi Arabian Joint Commission on Economic Cooperation in 1979. At that time, they agreed to use US dollars for oil contracts. The US dollars would be reprocessed back to America via contracts with organizations in the US. These firms enhance Saudi Arabia's infrastructure by transferring technology. It helped increase imports, rendered higher salaries to government employees as well and boosted the country's economy. The remaining dollars the country used to enhance the finances of the nation. It has been analyzed that the country used sovereign wealth funds to recycle its petrodollars. A sovereign wealth fund is an investment pool of foreign currency reserves owned by a government. Saudi Arabia uses these funds to spend on non-oil-related business organizations. The profit earned from these businesses helped the country to become less dependent on oil prices.

The above-gathered data also stated that the United States utilises the power of petrodollars to implement its foreign policy. However, many nations do not fight back with the country. These nations are afraid it caused the fall of the petrodollar system across the world. Due to the decline in the purchasing power of the US dollar, many countries have established a new account

environment with the advantages of the petrodollar system. It has been studied that nations such as Russia, China, Iran, India, and Saudi Arabia have started to shift their base value of exports to their currency instead of the US dollar.

Middle East has greatly interested the United States regarding its strategic location in countering U.S. political rivals, strategic economic zone, energy resources for its growing industrial demands since the beginning of the twentieth century, and regional security matters. This necessitated The United States of America to develop favourable foreign policies favouring its interest in controlling the region. In the middle of the century, geopolitics became the United States Foreign policy. Succeeding presidents were required to stop any nation from controlling the centers of premeditated power in Asia and Europe. In the end, the United States clashed in two world wars as it supported its 4-decade World War with the Soviet Union. The downfall of the Soviet kingdom finished the latest severe contest for regional territory over Europe and Asia. The main aim of the foreign policy of the United States was completed.

Development has been unhurried but still significant in Asia. U.S. associations, along with its two vital local associates, South Korea and Japan, continue to maintain the substance of local constancy. The achievement of United States policy over the previous decade shows that no power—not Germany, Russia, China, a united Europe or Japan—nowadays poses a hegemonic threat to Europe and Asia. It has been determined that the foreign policy of the united states will have no extensive axis on topography. In its place, it will be definite by the mixture of America's unparalleled influence in global dealings and the wide-ranging and increasing globalization of international politics.

Along with that, the US connection with the Middle East prior to the first Cold War was narrow, though profitmaking ties occurred even in the initial 19th century. The goal of inhibiting the Soviet Union from getting power in the area during the Cold War, US foreign policy got the liberation of wide support in many ways to anti-Soviet regimes and anti-communist among the main priorities for the US related to the goals. It supports Israel in contradiction of Soviet-assisted neighboring Arab nations during the time of the Arab-Israeli war.

At the end of World War II, the United States developed excessive external authority in the Middle East, with three chief worries: sustenance and security of the new country of Israel, Persian Gulf oil, and suppression of the Soviet Union. The areas were challenging to achieve, specifically over the increase of Arab patriotism, two main Israeli- Arab wars as well as an

Arab oil restraint. The United States' foremost importance in the Middle East has been oil. Franklin Roosevelt, who was president, deliberated oil after they met with Abdul Aziz ibn Saud, who was the Saudi king, just before the end of Cold War II.

A turning point in U.S. foreign policy, particularly in the Middle East, occurred during the post-9/11 era, which spanned from 2001 to 2008. The terrible terrorist acts of September 11, 2001, caused a seismic shift in U.S. policy toward the area, leading to significant military participation, geopolitical realignments, and a renewed focus on defending democracy and human rights (Cesari 2009).

Opponents of Barack Obama's United States Middle East policy frequently protest Obama's absence of a planned image. This is nearly precisely incorrect. Obama originated at headquarters with the belief that the United States' enormous political and military investment in the Middle East remained a vigorous countrywide safety concern in its own right. The profession of Iraq, as well as the extremes of the world war on extremism, had left the United States overstretched, particularly during the economic disaster. "Rightsizing" the US' footmark in the area destined not merely decreasing its material occurrence but also training limitations discreetly, moving back as well as thought-provoking partners to take superior accountability for their safety. Obama has followed this policy reliably, ordering it callously besides the method and resolutely fighting exertions to power it off way. It is not a strategy greatly adored in Washington or a section hard-wired for the United States' power application. Along with that, it was an articulate as well as perfect strategy that allowed Obama to assume main ingenuities on the issuers they observed as intensifying to the equal of essential domestic security welfares: Iran's atomic arms program, intimidation, the Israeli-Palestinian war, as well as the conflict in Iraq.

Up till now, for all of Obama's logical insight, applying their plan and policies has frequently struggled. Their government has reliably failed to provide the assurances elevated by their stimulating words. It has thrashed to transfer its strategies successfully to people in the Middle East but has not been able to clarify noticeable duplicities. Determinations to continue even-handedly along with non-interfering have exasperated supporters on all borders who wanted total United States sustenance instead of an authentic dealer.

The conclusion has been a cavernous gulf between Obama's logical achievements and their functioning disappointments. Until now, management has, however, become a significant issue

united States militaries from Iraq, protected a nuclear-powered deal with Iran, as well as permitted the Arab revolutions. On other main concerns, such as forceful democratization in Egypt and following Israeli-Palestinian amity, it had the accurate ideas that were unsuccessful to deliver. Altering the unsuccessful local instruction in the Middle East and rightsizing the United States' existence was never going to be calm, and the following president will probably determine a new admiration for Obama as they contend with the section's ongoing subsidence.

Under President Nixon's administration, a sophisticated oil trading system known as the "Petrodollar System" was developed, which tied Middle Eastern oil purchases to the U.S. dollar. The deal assisted the U.S. in establishing and preserving its economic dominance, geopolitical hegemony, and heterogenic strength in the Middle East. The petrodollar system appeared very quickly after the Nixon government finished the Bretton Woods command of gold-backed United States dollars, and the two are occasionally observed as equivalents. One extensive but reductive classification defines dollars as "supported" by oil preliminary in the 1970s, the manner they formerly were by gold. This enclosing is frequently attended by a conspiratorial opinion in which the system appeared by a secretive arms-for-debt funding deal between the Nixon government and Saudi Arabia.

Meanwhile, flattering the world's most significant authoritative nation post world wars as well as the Cold War, America has proceeded more confidently to inhibit the inner dealings of other nations, follow, preserve, and exploit hegemony, progress rebellion as well as penetration, and deliberately pay wars, carrying damage to the global community.

Petrodollars are not exchanges or currency; they're only United States dollars that have been switched for crude oil trades. The word was designeded for political and economic importance in the Middle 1970s among rising connections and interdependence between the United States and crude oil traders or exporters. Traders of foreign oil dependence on the dollar of the United States as the primary income of exchange along with a stock of price replicated the dollar's at present recognised role as the international reserve currency, which has been deprived of severe issues to that time. The global figure of the Dollar, along with extensive usage, branches from the United States. Financial prudence's is the foremost international role and its ingenuousness to foreign investment and trade. These benefits shown tempting to oil exporters, as well as their dependence on the dollar in shot prolonged its supremacy. Petrodollars refers to the dollars funded to oil-producing nations for their transfers. The petrodollar arose as a fiscal concept in

the 1970s as the rising United States imports of progressively expensive crude oil enlarged the dollar capitals of foreign manufacturers. Petrodollar reprocessing is the reinvestment of crude oil export income denominated in dollars.

The U.S. economy struggled with stagnation and high inflation. It was necessary to peg the U.S. dollar to a commodity to stabilize it, boost its economy, and inspire trust in countries that heavily depended on the U.S. dollar as a reserve currency. A significant amount of money must be spent on purchasing crude oil by countries without enough oil fields. The U.S. intervened and created a "petrodollar" system, which tied all oil imports from Saudi Arabia and the Middle East to the U.S. dollar (Hancock,2015). The U.S. government and Saudi Arabia came to several agreements, known as the U.S.-Saudi Arabian Joint Economic Commission, whereby the U.S. would give technological and military support to the House of Saud in return for Saudi Arabia exclusively accepting U.S. money in payment for its oil.

The emergence of the petrodollar system led to the U.S.'s hegemonic ascendancy in the political, economic, financial, and military spheres. It was able to command the oil market, finance Middle Eastern conflicts, and strengthen its currency beyond any comparison. The U.S. was allowed to apply economic sanctions on countries that disobeyed their policies. New economies and currencies have begun to develop, and the Chinese Yuan threatens the U.S. dollar. Oil purchases and loan payments can now be made in euros and British pounds. This may undermine the U.S. economy and change the country's long-held hegemonic position.

Recommendations

Three main spheres can be linked to the development of Iran's foreign policies. Firstly, it is the country's social and cultural resources at individual, national, and institutional levels. For example, the Iranian middle class, the Shia clerics, and the Basij militia are the three most influential groups today, significantly impacting the country's policy creation. The middle class comprises around 34 percent of Iran's population. The Shia clerics' influence stands from their traditional position after the 1979 Islamic Revolution and their close relations with the conservative segment of society. While the Basij's growing military strength reflects its close ties with traditional forces and rich natural resources, the Iranian foreign policy is driven mainly by middle-class pressure. Notably, it is focused on the government to meet the demands of its growing population with a more rational and moderate foreign strategy.

The second vital resource affecting Iran's foreign policy is its economy. Several factors could increase Iran's budget: the lifting of sanctions, higher oil production and export, lower trade and financial transaction costs, and restored access to foreign assets. These options would allow Iranians to incorporate their economic resources into foreign policy goals, including transit and communication services, human rights capita, and an extensive competitive market (Barzegar and Divsallar, 2017, p. 41).

The third resource is Iran's military. The modern army comprises unconventional and coercive strategies, which can potentially deter a technologically superior adversary. The Iranian Defense Minister General Hossein Dehghan remarks that military power is the fastest evolving and growing policy resource with the highest objective strategic effects.

Overall, Barzegar and Divsallar argue that integrating Iran's military power into foreign policy is lagging due to lack of cooperation in civil-military relations. In other words, military force is not under the complete control of the political leaders responsible for foreign policy. Instead, the military is under the power of the Supreme Leader, not the president, diminishing the president's ability to deploy effective strategies that include military intervention. Overall, it can be concluded that Iran's foreign policy can benefit from improved political rationality, power calculations, and a realistic strategy that drives the Iranian decision-making model. Tehran learned the hard way that its goals should meet its available resources and recognize its strategic limits. Barzegar and Divsallar suggest that Iran should act as a responsible but unavoidable power that sticks to strategic patience while utilizing low-cost engagements to cope with the reality of its current resources and strategic limitations (Dehghan, 2015, p. 51).

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