

Trump's US Policy, International Agreements and the Islamic Republic of Iran Foreign Policy

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Abstract: The foreign policy of countries is always shaped by the value system and national characteristics prevailing in them, forming their national identity as a nation-state, which is theorized and operationalized to ensure national interests and to reach short-term, medium-term and long-term goals. The US, as a superpower of the international system, and the Islamic Republic of Iran (IRI) as a regional power in the Middle East follow this rule too. The study aimed at explaining and examining the type of Trump's foreign policy of the US and that of IRI and their approach regarding international agreements using a descriptive-explanatory method and adopting a comparative approach within the framework of the theory of strategic foreign policy model. Moreover, the paper tried to answer the main question of whether Donald Trump's conflicting approach to international agreements and the withdrawal of the US from some of these agreements, like the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA), is as a change in US macroeconomic strategy and the US tendency to isolate in international politics or not. The main hypothesis of the paper was that this kind of approach is solely a tactic to change the strategic goals of foreign policy of other countries, whether friend and enemy of the US to accept American hegemony in international politics by them and strengthening its superpower state in the international system. The paper first went through the introduction and literature, then the theoretical framework, US foreign policy during Trump's presidency and his approach to international agreements, the foreign policy of IRI and its approach to international agreements were reviewed to prove the hypothesis. Moreover, the results indicated that Iran should establish a bilateral monetary and banking mechanism with the European Union, like establishing a joint investment bank and a political and economic alliance with the Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa (BRICS) countries to create a soft balance against the US by stress relieve with its regional rivals like Turkey and Saudi Arabia.

Keywords: Foreign policy, the US, Donald Trump, IRI, International Agreements, Soft Balance

1. Introduction

The foreign policy of countries is always shaped by the value system and national characteristics prevailing in them, forming their national identity as a nation-state, which is theorized and operationalized to ensure national interests and to reach short-term, medium-term and long-term goals. The US, as a superpower of the international system, and IRI as a regional power in the Middle East follow this rule too. After the US managed to lay the foundations of its industry-based economy during the nineteenth century and reach a strong economic strength, it turned into one of the most significant components of a large and global foreign policy that was economic power. Moreover, after the victory in the war with Spain in April 1898, during which "Spain ceded the Philippines and Puerto Rico to the US and recognized the independence of Cuba under US support" (Naghizadeh, 2004: 126), the US realized implementing its political, economic, and military presence beyond the continent of America and abandoned the Monroe Doctrine, nurturing the tradition of isolationism in its foreign policy and looking inward and focusing on US presence and influence on the American continent. The effective presence in World War I and an active and decisive role in World War II created the perception among the American political elite, both neoconservative and liberal that an active and effective US presence in international politics was a prerequisite for security and stability in the world, and internationalism turned into the agenda of the country's foreign policy after World War II. Firstly, the fight against communism during the Cold War and the protection of Western-American liberal values at that time, and in the early years of the 21 century, the fight against terrorism and the spread of these values by the US granted a structural and cultural identity to the internationalist strategy of this foreign policy. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, the goal was set by the American political elite and statesmen that the US should not only be the sole superpower of the international system, but also the moral and cultural leadership of the world. However, with the victory of Donald Trump in the 2016 US presidential election and his election as the forty-fifth president, we witnessed a tactical shift in the foreign policy strategy of American foreign policy. Against the US presidents before, Trump has never tried to protect or spread the values of Western liberal democracy around the world, but tries to establish the position of the country superpower in the international system according to a new tactic based on the supremacy of the US in the political, economic, military, and technological spheres merely serves the national interests of the US, especially in the economic sphere, and through changes in the norms and rules of international institutions that produce the liberal order that governs the international system. On the contrary, as a country whose ruling political system originated from the Islamic Revolution in February 1979 and Islamic internationalism and culture are the main features of this revolution, IRI considers the existing international system and the established order as unfair and illegitimate and always stresses the need to deconstruct the existing international order and lay the foundation for a new order based on Islamic values. This is because IRI is based on "cultural nature of the Islamic Revolution of Iran, which means a return to the culture, values and traditional and indigenous norms of Iran" (Khorramshad, 2015: 131). The US and Western efforts to spread Western liberal values

to all parts of the world, especially the Middle East, have been considered as a cultural invasion of the field of civilization and Islamic values by Iran and the discourse of liberalism to an ideological challenge by presenting the discourse of the Islamic Revolution as a rival paradigm. It also seeks to undermine secular political ideologies on the basis of Islamic internationalism, which means accepting independent and separate nation-states but emphasizing the obligations and responsibilities of pan-Islamic nations that go beyond the national interests of Islamic countries. It is an Islamic country and emphasizes the creation of a single Islamic nation and the foundation of an Islamic civilization. Thus, the role of cultural and identity-building factors in shaping the foreign policy strategies of IRI during the last forty years cannot be overlooked, including the history of Iran, its geopolitics, Islam, religion, Shiism and the discourse of the Islamic Revolution. Besides internal components, external components like institutional and normative structures of the international system have had a critical role in and effect on shaping the foreign policy strategy of IRI. It has to be noted that internationalism and revisionism are the two main characteristics of the foreign policy of IRI.

Given the explanations provided, the purpose of the study is explaining and examining the type of Trump's foreign policy of the US and that of IRI and their approach regarding international agreements using a descriptive-explanatory method and adopting a comparative approach within the framework of the theory of strategic foreign policy model. Moreover, the paper tried to answer the main question of whether Donald Trump's conflicting approach to international agreements and the withdrawal of the US from some of these agreements, like The Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA), is as a change in US macroeconomic strategy and the US tendency to isolate in international politics or not. The main hypothesis of the paper was that this kind of approach is solely a tactic to change the strategic goals of foreign policy of other countries, whether friend and enemy of the US to accept American hegemony in international politics by them and strengthening its superpower state in the international system. The paper first will go through the introduction and literature, and then the theoretical framework, US foreign policy during Trump's presidency and his approach to international agreements, the foreign policy of IRI and its approach to international agreements will be reviewed to prove the hypothesis. The main hypothesis of the paper is that this kind of approach is merely a tactic to change the strategic goals of foreign policy of other countries, including friend and enemy of the US, for accepting American hegemony in international politics and consolidating its superpower position in the international system. In the final part of the paper, the type of strategy that IRI should adopt in international politics to nullify Trump's efforts to delegitimize JCPOA and create an international coalition against Iran will be examined. The need for studies on this issue is critical as familiarity with the principles and goals of US foreign policy during Trump presidency and the type of strategy that his administration adopts towards various international actors, especially countries, can help IRI in designing a comprehensive and accurate strategy to thwart the US hostile approach against Iran. Additionally, according to Trump's US strategy towards Iran and based on the realities of the international system and Iran's domestic policy can be adjusted.

2. Literature review

Several books and papers have been written in Persian and English on the foreign policy of the US and the Donald Trump administration. In "The World Order: A Case for Sovereign Obligation," Richard Haas has examined Trump's foreign policy and its implications for the principles of national sovereignty and world order. In his paper "Trump's Revolutionary Foreign Policy," which was published in the Washington Post, Charles Krauthammer has written that Trump is fundamentally trying to redefine American national interests after World War II. In "Can there be Trump peace?" Stephen Walt speaks about Trump's foreign policy, world order and peace. In "Trump's Jacksonian Foreign Policy and its Implications for European Security," Daniel Hamilton examines the rise of Jacksonism in Trump's foreign policy and examines Trump's approach to the complexities of European security. Moreover, in a paper entitled "Trump and the focus of economic and military capabilities in the field of foreign policy," Dehshiar explains the role and position of US economic and military capabilities in Trump's foreign policy for putting pressure on rival and enemy actors to influence behaviors and changing their perceptions and inferences.

Concerning the foreign policy of IRI, the book "Developments in the international system and foreign policy of IRI" could be one of the first works to study and explain Iran's foreign policy using structure-agent analysis. In the first chapter, Mohammad Sotoudeh introduces the theoretical structure-agent framework and deals with the interaction of structure and agent after expressing the method of individualism and collectivism, and finally examines the possibility of its application in the analysis of Iran's foreign policy. He considers issues like the struggle against the US and the Soviet Union and the opposition to the presence of the great powers of the international system in the region as a sign of the structure being influenced by the Iranian brokerage. Furthermore, in a paper entitled "Structural obstacles to regional supremacy of IRI," Dehghani Firouzabadi tries to examine the obstacles and limitations of Iran's foreign policy to reach regional power. He identified the structural variables and effective agency in the foreign policy of IRI in both material and immaterial dimensions. Ultimately, he concludes that Iran has a different identity and ideology and an independent orientation in its foreign policy and strongly influenced by the

designations and severe restrictions of the structure of the international system, which is a serious obstacle to Iran's acquisition of regional power.

3- Theoretical framework: strategic foreign policy model

In defining foreign policy, Holstey refers to the actions of the government towards the external environment and the internal situation affecting the mentioned measures, and considers foreign policy to include goals and values" (Holsty, 1994: 32). Moreover, Reynolds defines foreign policy as "the overseas action of the country's decision-makers to achieve short-term and long-term goals" (Reynolds, 2001: 83). According to these two definitions, the existence of a link between domestic and foreign environments in shaping a country's foreign policy towards the international environment and actors in international politics can be acknowledged and the role of different internal and external factors can be examined and explained, effective in shaping the behavior of countries in the international system. Overall, the orientation of countries in the field of foreign policy and international relations is "the product of a strategic environment in which they take strategic action." (Keshavarz Shokri, 2013: 80). Furthermore, the world strategy is derived from the Greek word "stratego" composed of "stratos" meaning army and "ego" meaning leader (Aslanian, 2017: 390) and means art, technique and science to use the sources of national power to achieve national goals. In designing and formulating a foreign policy strategy, internal factors like attitudes and beliefs in a society, values governing society and public opinion, as well as external factors like the structure of the international system, distributing power among the actors of the international system and the country's position in global and regional equations are involved and influential. A country's foreign policy data are considered as an external input and input by other actors in the international system and is regulated in the framework of the foreign policy strategies and decisions of that country to reach national goals and national interests. "The national goals and interests of countries are specified in the decision-making process based on national values and beliefs and the decision-makers' understanding of them, and the means and facilities for providing them are considered" (Yazdanfam, 2016: 141). Analysts and scholars regarding international relations always try to identify and explain the causes and factors affecting the formation of behaviors and strategies of foreign policy of countries and examine the interaction of foreign policy data. Thus, the strategic foreign policy model can identify and explain the bases of foreign policy data formation and environmental factors influencing the foreign policy orientation of countries as a conceptual framework and logical model. "According to the analysis in the framework of the strategic foreign policy model, the individual making the foreign policy decision-making situation turn socialized through education and political choice processes to pursue a set of common goals. In practice expectations of a role reinforce a kind of common interest, although individuals vary in their understanding of national interests" (McGinnis, 1994: 69). In this model, although the effect on input that acts as negative or positive feedback is critical, there is no need for foreign policy strategists to wait for feedback, and then make a decision and design a strategy that fits the data of the other party. "However, they can anticipate a number of possible reactions to the actors and identify different scenarios." (Ghavam, 2014: 257). Furthermore, game theory has been used in this model. "This theory has been borrowed from mathematical reasoning and logical studies to create mathematical models according to strategies accepted by foreign policy games like critical and non-critical negotiation, alliances, and arms races" (Ibid., 2014: 257). This model is usually utilized by diplomacy historians and mainly studies the interaction of foreign policy data of governments and their leaders. In this model, the scholars stress the behavior and performance of those government institutions that have direct responsibility for managing foreign policy. Additionally, the strategic environment of foreign policy, the product of creating a link and interaction between the domestic and foreign environment, establishes four various patterns of foreign policy behavior as follows

1. normal pattern: both indoor and outdoor scenes are quiet and have the least connection.
2. Prudent model: As domestic demands are not imposed on the government, the relevant authorities can carefully examine how to react to external changes. At least there is a crisis.
3. Intrusive model: It is used to describe the behavior of foreign policy where there are many internal changes and few external changes. Thus, a high degree of internal change leads to demands that the relevant authorities should act quickly and with sufficient power to act to change the environment and adapt it to the basic structures of community.
- 4- Tension model: It is a situation where internal and external changes are at a high level, and government leaders must respond quickly to internal demands and external pressures. "This model is the primary source of tension in the international system" (Ghasemi, 2010: 43-44).

US foreign policy, where national Interests, American identity, and value principles have been the three main components of its philosophical and theoretical framework after World War II have three distinct and distinct domains: the realm of critical politics, the realm of structural politics, and the realm of strategic politics. "In each of the thirty-one executive and legislative branches, in terms of the nature of power, the means at its disposal and the extent of its influence, it has a role that stems from the nature of that political field" (Dehshiar, 2012: 121). Given this issue, the strategic foreign policy model can be a good theoretical framework for studying US foreign policy,

especially a strategic policy area in emphasizing the role and performance of government institutions involved in the design and formulation of foreign policy. "In the field of strategic policy, goals and tactics in foreign policy have to be specified. In this area, both forces have the same power (Ibid. 2012: 124). According to the theoretical issues stated, it is essential to examine Trump's American foreign policy, internal factors and components like the personality and characteristics of the president, the main members of Trump's cabinet and the White House relations with Congress and the US judiciary, with a critical role in shaping US foreign policy data over the past 22 months, must be examined and clarified. Moreover, concerning the understanding the sources of identity of the foreign policy of IRI and identifying the behavioral pattern of this country in international politics at this time, national resources and domestic components cannot be neglected, including "geographical and geopolitical features, and social characteristics including Islam, ideology, history, nationalism, characteristics of the political system and economic characteristics" can be cited (Ghasemi and Salehi, 2008: 85). These components create goals and interests with a significant role and effect in shaping and identifying the foreign policy strategy of IRI. Thus, in the framework of the strategic foreign policy model, the type of strategy that IRI can adopt as a reaction to Trump's America will be designed and presented.

4. The US foreign policy during Trump's presidency and his approach to international agreements

With the Trump coming to power in the US, we have seen main changes in the foreign policy of this country towards active international actors, like countries and international organizations, and as based on the strategic foreign policy model, the behavior and performance of those government institutions those who have a direct responsibility in managing foreign policy are very important and influential. The internal factors affecting Trump's foreign policy, forming his principles and goals in international politics, have to be reviewed and explained.

4.1. Internal components affecting Trump's foreign policy

4.1.1. Trump's personality traits: As a billionaire and successful businessman in traditional economics, the forty-fifth president of the US looks at international relations only from the perspective of economics and business logic. He is extremely pragmatic and authoritarian, and narcissism and chauvinism are the two main factors of his personality. Moreover, "Trump is a traditional member of the so-called 'Conservative' Republican Party, belonging to the far-right Protestant-Evangelical current in the US and strongly believes in a return to America's past of greatness and American exceptionalism" (Tabyin, 2016: 4). As a person with no executive record in government affairs and the oldest president of the US, Trump considers the strategies of former US presidents in spreading liberal democracy in the world, whose main goal is to provide benefits and American national security, failed and a cost, and thus it has considered the "interests" as the core of his foreign policy theoretical philosophy, seeking to secure American national interests and security by relying on naked power.

4.1.2. The main characters of Trump's Cabinet and Congress: Mike Pence, First Vice Presiden; Mike Pompeo, Secretary of State; John Bolton, National Security Adviser; Gina Hespel, CIA Director; and Steven Manuchen, Secretary of the Treasury are the most influential cabinet members of Trump in shaping his administration's foreign policy and national security strategy. According to many political experts, this cabinet, composed of the most eagle American politicians and the most extremist members of the Republican Party, is the most belligerent American cabinet in the last two decades. Moreover, the Congress, composed of the House of Representatives and the Senate, is one of the most important decision-makers in US foreign policy that differ in the three areas of critical policy, structural and strategic, the degree of influence and role of this force in forming foreign policy.

4.1.3. "Political parties, trade unions and civic institutions in the form of influential groups, foreign policy lobby groups, thinking rooms and think tanks of foreign and security policy, mass media, ethnic and racial minorities and even trade unions affect the foreign policy as domestic factors" (Nepta, 2016: 8).

"The American political system is based on the fundamental principle of 'control and balance' (Yazdanfam, 2016: 141). This means that policy-making power is divided between the three traditional parts of government, the legislature, the executive and the judiciary, and a kind of oversight and balance has been established between the three powers, between the federal government and the states, between the ruling and the rival parties and between formal and informal power. Moreover, given the pluralistic decision-making structure of US foreign policy and the existence of diverse democratic institutions, macro-policymaking in different areas is different, and "the Philadelphia model has made it legally impossible to concentrate foreign policy decision-making power by separating the powers and assigning the functions of influential institutions in foreign policy" (Nepta, 2016: 8).

4.2. The principles and goals of Trump's foreign policy

The discourse analysis of Trump's speeches in domestic and international forums and his tweets about different political events and processes and his actions in the field of international politics, like the withdrawal of some international organizations and treaties, show the formation of a new policy in foreign policy of the US, the study and explanation of which are examples of Trump's foreign policy in theory and practice, showing the principles and goals of the forty-fifth White House tenant in international politics. For instance, part of his speech at the annual

meeting of the UN General Assembly on September 25, 2018, during which he announced: The US abandons the ideology of globalization and emphasizes the need to respect the national sovereignty of nations. He argues that countries should look to create a new world based on a sense of patriotism and efforts to ensure the interests of their citizens. Moreover, in another part of his speech, Trump stated that the performance of international institutions and organizations have led to divisions between countries and the spread of injustice in the world. For instance, he argues that the International Criminal Court has not been established based on clear and consensual international law and has no jurisdiction to enforce the law against individuals and legal entities. Thus, the principles and menus of Trump's foreign policy can be summarized and explained as follows:

4.2.1. Extreme Nationalism: Trump orthodox nationalism in the political and economic spheres is crystallized under his main slogan, "America First." To Trump, the "America First" principle should guide the country's foreign policy. "The Western bloc has lost its meaning as one of the pillars of the post-World War II world" (Goldberg, 2017). This principle generates a policy of isolationism and one-sidedness in current US foreign policy. "The logic of isolationism states that the US must avoid troublesome external commitments not to harm its economy, society, and system of government at home" (Kalahan, 2008: 18). It has to be noted that there is a deep and close relationship between isolationism and unilateralism and as an effective tactic in the framework of foreign policy strategy, as they can optimally ensure national interests and security. In the political-security sphere, Trump argues that "security is a commodity that the US produces and makes available to others without them paying the price" (Yazdanfam, 2016: 150). Indeed, Trump is trying to increase the budget of the US military and the gradual improvement of its combat forces and military equipment will maintain the superior power and superior position of the US in the international system and remind its allies that the US cannot be abandoned, and the free ride era is finished and they have to pay the price to be supported by this superpower.

For instance, one can state Trump's attitude towards NATO: "The cost of deploying NATO forces is very high and these costs can be better used in another place." He also states that "The traditional US mission in NATO is over and that the organization is obsolete" (Cherkaoui, 2016: 3). According to NATO, the US pays 22.4% of NATO spending. To Trump, this statistic shows that 27 other NATO members get free rides from the US. "Thus, the White House must reduce its obligations in this regard" (Tabyin, 2016: 4). Trump's pessimistic and conflicting attitude towards NATO reinforces the scenario of US withdrawal from this security institution, like its withdrawal from some international institutions such as UNESCO and the Paris Climate Agreement, but three points are noteworthy diminishing the possibility of this scenario becoming a reality. The first one is that the withdrawal of the US from these two institutions does not interfere with the grand strategy of the US, which is to maintain and stabilize the position of the American superpower in the world. This is because according to the obligations of the Paris Agreement, countries have to reduce greenhouse gas emissions, which means the significant reduction in the production of industrial goods and the decline in economic growth and development of industrialized countries, which poses a serious economic challenge to US hegemony. Additionally, membership or non-membership in UNESCO is not against the strategic interests of the US. The second point is that over the past seventy years, NATO has been the cornerstone of the US security strategy against threats to its national security, and it has performed many functions like fighting terrorism and fighting organized crime after the Cold War. It also serves as the Security Council's operational arm to implement UN Security Council resolutions under Chapter VII of the UN Charter, bringing about the expansion of US hegemony in the world. The third point is that the decision-making structure of American foreign policy is immune from the concentration of power and wealth to one of the three branches of government, and the American political system is regulated and institutionalized in a way that prevents the monopoly of the president. An example is the federal court's legal authority to overturn presidential decrees if they conflict with US strategic interests and national security. Thus, with full mastery of these points, Trump only tries to persuade other members to accept US hegemony in the absence of free riding, and to establish a balance of payments between all members in terms of financing NATO. In the economic sphere, mercantilism or protectionism is Trump's American strategy toward other nations. Trump considers economic liberalism as a zero-sum game in favor of America's rivals, and argues that previous US presidents have made windfall profits for other nations by pursuing a free trade policy. Concerning economic nationalism, no country has been as exposed to Trump's aggressive policies as China. "Since September 24, 2018, the US has increased tariffs on \$ 200 billion worth of goods imported from China by 10%, and Trump promises to increase it to 25% from the first day of 2019" (Eqtesad News, 2018). Trump has even used the phrase "trade rape" (Rezaei, 2016: 17) for the US China relation. The purpose of adopting this type of policy is to regulate China's economic activity within the framework of the capitalist system, according to the laws Trump enacts.

4.2.2. Utilitarianism: As a professional businessman, unlike Bush and Obama, Trump does not try to spread liberal-democratic values in the world, especially in the Middle East, and only wants to secure US national interests based on naked power. Trump's utilitarian foreign policy stems from America First slogan. "We have been involved in the Middle East war for 15 years, we have spent \$ 6 trillion in the region," he told CBS News. With this money,

we could have rebuilt our country. "Look at the condition of roads, bridges and airports, which look like obsolete places" (Tabyin, 2016: 4). This indicates the policy of looking inside by Trump in the direction of utilitarian policy.

4.2.3. The focus of economic and military capabilities in the realm of Trump's foreign policy: Restoring American greatness and realizing the dream of American exceptionalism is Trump's most critical goal in foreign policy, and America's unique economic and military capabilities are his most important tools in realizing this goal. "Economic diversity - with the balanced development of the industrial, service and technology sectors, and GDP of eighteen and one-tenths of a trillion dollars - has a great deal of maneuvering power to shape global economic equations and to guide international trends and events" (Dehshiar, 2016: 22). Moreover, "the military budget of more than \$ 600 trillion shows that the US has allocated about 3.5% of GDP, more than eighteen trillion dollars, to military spending, to be able to reserves the right to select in international conditions" (Dehshiar, 2016: 30). Thus, Trump considers the military sphere as a critical arena to restore the greatness of the US and has not shown any isolationism in this field unlike the political and economic spheres. In his first order, he "revoked the previous president's executive order to reduce military spending and instructed the Pentagon and CIA to present their plans for military operations against ISIS and other terrorist groups" (Yazdanfam, 2016: 153). Thus, Trump's foreign policy strategy is a combination of internationalism and isolationism and is called neo-isolationism. "Neo-isolationism intends to end or reduce some of its foreign policy commitments, but at the same time agrees with the continuation of some of them and proposes the acceptance of some new commitments" (Smith et al., 2016: 216).

4.3. Trump's approach towards international agreements

To Trump, the US has had a bad deal with other members of the international community by establishing a liberal international order after World War II, and will do his best to end that order. Furthermore, he gives the following reasons to justify his conflicting approach to the phenomenon of globalization: 1) America has made many commitments around the world by forming military alliances, and 2) "the global economy has not been to the advantage of the US" (Wright, 2016). Trump has repeatedly voiced the strongest criticism of international agreements, and demanded fundamental reforms in the nature and rules of international treaties and agreements, criticizing even international organizations like the World Trade Organization and the United Nations. To him, these agreements have created unnecessary commitments and negative economic burdens for the US. Therefore, we have witnessed the withdrawal of the US from some of these agreements like UNESCO, the Paris Climate Agreement, the Trans-Pacific Treaty, North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and JCPOA. These actions of Trump do not mean abandoning international institutions as a tool in the US national interest. His goal is to pressure international organizations to make changes to their organizational charter to accept a shift in the balance of payments in terms of commercial profitability in favor of the US to force other members to fully abide by their commitments, and to respect US national sovereignty. A clear example of the success of this tactic in the framework of the neo-paganism strategy is the agreement of Canada and Mexico to make the changes intended by Trump in the NAFTA pact and replaces it with a new agreement called the US-Mexico-Canada agreement on October 1, 2018. "Under the new agreement, Canada and Mexico have agreed to further restrictions on trade with their most important trading partner, the US. According to one of the terms of the agreement, 75% of the value of a vehicle will be produced in Mexico or the US, thus reducing the investment of these two countries in Asia and targeting domestic markets. However, in the previous contract, this was set at 62.5%. Thus, 40% of the parts of every car produced in Mexico will be made in the US" (Mehr News Agency, 2018). Continuing the superiority of this tactic over other international institutions criticized by Trump will be the death of the liberal order in the world.

In conclusion, one can admit that the realization of Trump's foreign policy goals towards different international actors, like the countries and international organizations, will end in changes in the polar and normative structure of the international system. Thus, the normative structure of the international system is based on the laws and norms theorized and presented by Trump, and so, the function and position of each international institution is determined in the field of international politics. Respect for the national sovereignty of nations will be the most important moral principle of the new order governing the international system, and the red line of the US will be the violation of the national interests of this country by any of the actors of the system. Moreover because of these normative changes, the current international system, which in Samuel Huntington's words is "Uni-Multipolar System, shows the presence of a superpower, the US, along with several other powerful poles" (Huntington, 1999: 34) will become a unipolar system where the US will be the sole superpower and other major powers like Russia and China will be reduced to regional powers. Hence, under its hegemonic power, the US will monitor the performance of all countries and international organizations and will emerge as a dignified hegemon.

5. The foreign policy of IRI and its approach to international agreements

The foreign policy of IRI as a country whose ruling political system originated from the Islamic Revolution in this country in February 1979 has not been solely influenced by systemic international pressures and formed in a vacuum like any political process and phenomenon. Thus, domestic components have a decisive role in and effect

on the decision-making and behavior of foreign policy of IRI. Thus, studying and explaining these components as the sources of identity of the foreign policy strategies of IRI, will lead to a better understanding of the characteristics and fundamental principles of foreign policy towards different actors in the international system.

5.1. Influential domestic components in the foreign policy of IRI

5.1.1. Geopolitics of Iran: Iran has unique geographical characteristics influenced by its foreign policy. "Firstly, Iran is an international country always the focus of international power centers and plays a prominent role in global equations. Secondly, Iran is at the center of the overlapping geopolitical regions, which has a dominant role and position because of its strategic position by sea and land. Thirdly, Iran benefits from a special strategic geoeconomic position setting it at the crossroads of the world's energy production and consumption axis. "The result of these three geographical features is the obligation of an extroverted foreign policy to develop relations with regional and supra-regional countries" (Dehghani Firouzabadi, 2009: 222 to 225).

5.1.2. The discourse of the Islamic Revolution: The most significant and fundamental source of identity of the foreign policy of IRI is the discourse of the Islamic Revolution and the resulting textual space with a direct impact on the discourse culture of this country. "Overall, the nature of the revolutionary atmosphere is its reflective nature by revolutionary subjects in the outside world, and it is this reflection of the revolution that connects the domestic political discourse of the revolution to its foreign policy discourse and influences the latter from the former" (Adibzadeh, 2008: 145). This discourse space has been and is largely affected by the position and order of speech of Imam Khomeini. According to him, "Islam is not for one country, for several countries, even just for Muslims. "Islam has come for all human beings and wants to cover all human beings with its own justice" (Aghm Mohammadi, 2010: 24). This kind of statement indicates the ideal goal of Imam Khomeini and consequently IRI to export the Islamic Revolution to all parts of the world and establish a world Islamic system to deny the system of domination and support Islamic movements to reach this goal.

5.1.3. The ruling political system of Iran: As a theocratic political system and armed with Islamic ideology, IRI has a special view concerning the constituent elements of the government. In this view, the Islamic government has a religious and divine origin. "Thus, Islamic sovereignty means divine sovereignty, exercised by him during the presence of the Infallible Prophet (PBUH) and by the comprehensive jurists as his deputies during his absence" (McLain, 1996: 233). The constitution states: "Islamic and popular movements should establish a relationship to form a single global nation" (Sotoudeh, 2007: 96). Thus, to design and formulate its foreign policy theory, IRI has considered the world system as a unit for analyzing international relations and to realize its foreign policy goals has defined its operations beyond Iran's national borders. Moreover, the ideas like justice-seeking, fighting the arrogant and waiting for a savior are of the other components derived from Islamic values and beliefs of the Shiite religion, showing the ideological structure of the foreign policy of IRI. Hence, the foreign policy orientation of Iran in the international arena is highly revisionist and anti-hegemonic, consolidated to deconstruct the international system and fight the poles of power.

5.1.4. Economic characteristics: Iran's economic structure has public, private and cooperative sectors, heavily depending on oil and gas exports, and oil is the driving force of the country's economy. On the one hand, oil is the most significant tool of material power in Iran's foreign policy, and on the other hand, it is a lever of pressure in the hands of the US, which uses it to exert economic pressure on IRI and has always tried and it is to deprive Iran of oil revenues by boycotting the purchase of its oil by the US and other countries in the world. "According to the International Monetary Fund (IMF), Iran's GDP in 2017 reached \$ 431.92 billion" (Eqtesad News, 2018), showing strong dependence on the world oil price and the oil sales of in world markets.

5.2. IRI approach towards international agreements

During the last forty years, IRI has considered the majority of international organizations and treaties as tools in the hands of arrogant powers, which have been established to ensure their interests and goals based on the value and ideological foundations of the Islamic Revolution. Their use stabilizes and institutionalizes the system of domination and the norms that govern it. The authorities of IRI argue that such an unjust structure that the Security Council and the veto power is the objective manifestation of this injustice should change. For instance, the Security Council's approach to the Iraq-Iran war was a testament to Iran's critical and revisionist approach to international organizations, particularly the UN Security Council. "This is because in the first 48 hours, the then Secretary-General of the United Nations, Kurt Waldheim, only called for restraint and negotiation to resolve the dispute, and the Security Council issued an intelligence statement expressing the concerns of the members of the council and vaguely about Iran and Iraq wanted to resolve their differences peacefully, indicating the appeasement of the United Nations against Iraq" (Agha Mohammadi, 2010: 29). Additionally, IRI has always tried to raise the slogans and ideals of the Islamic Revolution from the rostrum of international organizations, especially by participating in the annual session of the UN General Assembly, and on the other hand proven the inefficiency of the institutional and normative mechanism governing the international system that stems from the discourse of liberalism. Ayatollah Khamenei's speech at the 42 UN General Assembly is evidence confirming this goal of the IRI in interaction with international organizations. "The veto and permanent membership in the Security Council are the main obstacles to world peace and the cause

of instigation of war and sedition in the world, and third world countries must unite to defend their rights and protect the rights of oppressed nations,” he said (Agha Mohammadi, 2010: 29). Additionally, such statements show that Iran wants to introduce other international organizations like the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) and Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) as the main institutions of the international community. The purpose of IRI in concluding the so-called JCPOA nuclear deal with P 5 + 1, called the P4 + 1 after the withdrawal of the US, is to create a security atmosphere that results from what Iran is trying to achieve nuclear weapons are called to be removed from the country, oppressive sanctions to be lifted, and the international community to recognize Iran's right to peaceful use of nuclear energy. Overall, the interaction and relations of IRI with international institutions are based on cooperation and revisionism, and tries to strengthen institutions composed of southern countries, such as NAM to delegitimize the system of domination and prepare the context to establish a new international order.

As a conclusion, one can state that internationalism and revisionism are of the two main features of the foreign policy of IRI, the ideal goal of which is to deconstruct the international system and establish an Islamic civilization.

6. Trump's strategy towards IRI

From the earliest days of the US presidential campaign to the present day, Trump has taken a hostile stance against Iran, sharply criticizing Iran's so-called JCPOA nuclear deal and blaming the Obama administration for its inability to create economic opportunities for the US companies and the lack of international oversight of Iran's missile activities in the deal. The has been severely reprimanded by in Iran, considering JCPOA a “bad deal.” In his election campaigns, he promised that if he was selected as the president, he would leave JCPOA and force Iran to accept his demands through political and economic pressure. Thus, Trump accepted their new and proposed strategy on Iran in consultation with his national security team, and this strategy was published by the White House on October 13, 2017. In this document, the main elements of Trump's strategy towards Iran are presented as follows: “1) the new US strategy on Iran focuses on thwarting Tehran's destabilizing activities and its influence, especially in support of terrorism and militancy and 2) regarding this, the US will restore its alliance with traditional allies and regional partners and the balance of power in the region.

3. We will work to confront the Iranian regime, especially the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps, and its destructive activities, and its actions in obtaining the funds of the Iranian people.

4. We will counter the threat of ballistic missiles and other Iranian weapons against the US and our allies. We will close all avenues for Iran to get a nuclear weapon.

5. “We will join the international community in condemning human rights abuses by the IRGC and the unjust detention of American and other foreign nationals” (Trump's New Strategy on Iran, 2017).

In the section related to Iran nuclear program and JCPOA, this new and hostile strategy states “The activities of the Iranian regime have severely destroyed everything that JCPOA wanted to end in regional and international peace and security. Concerning JCPOA, one has to state that the Iranian regime has shown that it seeks to exploit its gaps and test the determination of the international community. “This behavior is not tolerable, and the agreement must be strictly enforced, and the International Atomic Energy Agency must use all its inspection powers” (Trump's New Strategy on Iran, 2017). US withdrawal from JCPOA on May 8, 2018, resumption of previous sanctions and imposition of new sanctions against Iran and the formation of a special working group against Iran can be considered as part of the US neo-separatist strategy to control and contain Iran. It has to be noted that “the decision to form a working group on Iran at the US State Department was made after Washington decided to intensify pressure on IRI to end its nuclear program and to give up support for the militant groups in the area” (ISNA News Agency, 2018). Thus, to reach the stated goals published in Trump's strategy document on Iran, “Secretary of State Mike Pompeo, during his speech at the Heritage Foundation in Washington, set 12 conditions for the US to reach a new agreement with Iran. Some of these conditions are 1) Iran should end uranium enrichment and stop processing plutonium, 2) Iran should allow the International Atomic Energy Agency access to all of its nuclear facilities throughout the country, 3) Iran should avoid the production of ballistic missiles and the production of missile systems with carrying a nuclear warhead, 4) Iran should not support terrorist groups in the Middle East, including Lebanon's Hezbollah, Palestinian groups Hamas and Islamic Jihad, 5) Iran should respect Iraq independence and allow Shiite militias to be disarmed and disbanded, 6) Iran should refrain from supporting Houthi rebels in Yemen and allow the crisis in Yemen to end politically and peacefully, 7) Iran should withdraw all forces under its command from Syria, 8) Iran must stop its threatening behavior against its neighbors, many of whom are US allies. This condition encompasses Iran's threat to destroy Israel and launch missiles at Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates” (Euronews, 2018). These conditions target the cultural and ideological foundations of the identity of the foreign policy of IRI on the one hand, the theoretical output of which is Islamic internationalism and revisionism to deny the system of domination, which is life-giving philosophy of the macro-strategy of Iran's foreign policy to establish an Islamic civilization, is an ideal goal. On the other hand, it has created a serious challenge to the interests and national security of IRI, which has defined its strategic depth beyond Iran's geographical boundaries, and any request to stop the production of ballistic

missiles, reduces the Iran's military capability and decline its position in the regional power structure. Thus, the accepting these conditions by IRI will be the tragic end of the discourse of the Islamic Revolution in both theoretical and practical areas.

7. Proposed solutions to modify and neutralize Trump's strategy towards IRI

At the moment, given the economic crisis inside Iran and foreign pressures, especially Trump's hostile attitude, the strategic foreign policy environment of IRI is creating a tense pattern of foreign policy behavior. Thus, to prevent the escalation of the economic crisis and to create a social and political crisis inside Iran, as well as to moderate and neutralize Trump's strategy towards IRI, the most desirable foreign policy strategy of this country is to create a soft balance against the US. "Soft balance has two forms, internal and external. Internally, it emphasizes the mobilization of internal resources as well as the political, economic, and military efforts of a state with the goal of increasing its ability to deal with threats posed by a superior power. Strengthening economic power is examined at this level. However, in the external form, diplomatic efforts are emphasized like actions based on temporary cooperation and cooperation in international institutions through the means of delegitimization of [hegemony] and non-transfer of land [to it]. In delegitimization, the position of the supreme power is questioned by the opponents of the status quo and causes resistance by other governments. "In not handing over the land, the opposition is trying to prevent the entry of superior power into the lands of third parties" (Rahmani, 2015: 69). This strategy can be implemented in the form of the following solutions:

1. Stress relieving of tensions with Saudi Arabia and Turkey as the main regional rivals of IRI:

1.1. The relations between IRI and Saudi Arabia have been strongly affected by regional conflicts, and whenever there is a balance of power between the two countries and relative stability in the region, the level of tension between the two countries has decreased. Indeed, the emergence of geopolitical events and regional crises sparks tension between the two countries, and identity and ideological components ignite the tension. Thus, the first step in stress relieving between Iran and Saudi Arabia is to negotiate a settlement of regional disputes. Given the stoppage of diplomatic relations between the two countries since January 2014, using the capacity of some countries, like Oman, to mediate the formation of these negotiations, can be effective. Prioritizing the current crises, in terms of national interests and security, could be a good indicator for IRI and Saudi Arabia in the negotiations. For instance, Iran may want to take the initiative in resolving the Syrian crisis, whereas Saudi Arabia may want to have a bigger role in resolving the Yemeni crisis. Thus, the two countries must recognize each other's spheres of influence in the Middle East and refrain from active presence and role in countries that share a common border with the other side, and ultimately achieve a cold peace.

1.2. IRI and Turkey have not had any direct military confrontation or relations during the last forty years

The two countries have been strong regarding extensive economic interactions. However, since 2011 and given the political developments known as the Arab Spring in the Middle East and North Africa, we witness tensions and divergence in relations between the two countries, so that each party accuses the other side of acting hostilely against its vital interests in the region, especially in Iraq and Syria. However, the two countries can start talks to improve relations between the two countries based on the zero-tension doctrine of former Turkish Prime Minister Ahmet Davutoglu, and reach a comprehensive agreement that will reduce the flames of war in the region. This agreement calls for reciprocal concessions to build greater trust with each party to protect their strategic long-term interests, especially in the economic and security fields.

Overall, stress relieving of tensions with Saudi Arabia and Turkey is aimed at preventing the transfer of territory by these two countries to the hegemony of the US.

2. Creating a bilateral monetary and banking mechanism with the European Union: IRI can establish a bilateral monetary and banking mechanism with the European Union, like creating a joint investment bank, consisting of the Central Bank of Iran and those European banks, which do not have an active and extensive role in monetary and foreign exchange transactions with international companies and banks and are largely immune to US sanctions, have established a bilateral financial corridor with Europe and Iran, guaranteeing investment security. Moreover, Iran can provide the base for the presence and activities of reputable European companies in petrochemical, automotive, pharmaceutical, and so on by active economic diplomacy and by providing financial and technical incentives, like supply of fuel and energy required by the factory to encourage these companies to transfer part of their main industries to Iran and to create intrinsic and internal benefits for the European Union in Iran by producing joint industrial goods with Iranian and European brands and offering them to global markets. The objective of these economic measures is delegitimizing the hegemony and strengthening the economic power of IRI.

3. Political and economic alliance with the BRICS countries: The BRICS is a new politico-economic phenomenon in the international system, the idea of establishing which goes back to 2001. The BRICS name is formed by combining the initials of Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa to form a coalition of emerging world economies into one of the world's economic hubs in less than 10 years. "According to the World Bank, 40% of the world's financial resources, 15% of world trade and 25% of GDP are in the BRICS countries." (Mashregh News,

2015). "China and Russia look at the BRICS is a strategic view to lay the groundwork for a multilateral international system, which is because this coalition can be used as an active and effective role in the global arena and as a platform for easy achievement of regional and supra-regional goals" (Rahmani, 2015: 87). Thus, IRI can expand the political and economic relations with this emerging international institution and get the membership certificate of enjoying this economic venue by following the example of the efforts and persistence of South Africa in joining the BRICS. Moreover, by using its geopolitical richness as the most important transit route of Asia and Europe, Iran can have a significant role in the economic prosperity of the member countries and within the framework of this coalition reach one of the strategic goals of its foreign policy - deconstruction of the international system - by delegitimization of hegemony.

8. Conclusion

In the position of the forty-fifth resident of the building at 166 Pennsylvania Street – the US president - and under the slogan of America first, Donald Trump has introduced a new intellectual and political movement in international politics, which is against liberalism and globalization. Indeed, Trumpism is a revisionist movement and a kind of self-centered strategy that tries to redefine the order of the international system and determine the function and position of each country and international organization in the field of international politics. As the oldest president in the US with no executive record, Trump sees international relations solely in terms of economics and business logic, and unlike previous presidents, he never looks for protection or dissemination of the values of Western liberal democracy in the world. By relying solely on naked power, he tries to secure American interests and national security, and has made "interests" as the base of his foreign policy theoretical philosophy. Restoring American greatness and realizing the dream of American exceptionalism are of the key foreign policy goal, and America unique economic and military capabilities are his most important tools in realizing them. Thus, to reach this goal, Trump's foreign policy strategy is a combination of internationalism and isolationism and is called neo-isolationism. According to this strategy, on the one hand, the US frees itself from the burden of troublesome organizations, treaties and agreements and restores American national sovereignty, and on the other hand, intervenes directly in areas that pose a threat to US national interests and security. Thus, Trump's foreign policy is not a change in the grand strategy of US foreign policy and its tendency to isolate itself in international politics. He tries to establish the position of a superpower in the international system by making changes in the norms and rules of international institutions that produce the liberal order that governs the international system. Moreover, he tries to change the strategic foreign policy goals of other countries, both friend and enemy of the US to lead them to accept American hegemony in international politics. Trump's hostile attitude towards IRI and its nuclear program are examined in line with realizing this goal. On the contrary, as a country whose ruling political system originated from the Islamic Revolution in February 1979 and Islamic internationalism and culture are the main features of this revolution, IRI considers the existing international system and the established order as unfair and illegitimate and always stresses the need to deconstruct the existing international order and lay the foundation for a new order based on Islamic values. The most significant source of identity in the foreign policy of IRI is the discourse of the Islamic Revolution, and internationalism and revisionism are considered as the two main features of Iran's foreign policy. The interaction and relations of IRI with international institutions are based on cooperation and revisionism, trying to strengthen the institutions composed of southern countries like NAM to delegitimize the domination system and establish a new international order. Hence, the most desirable foreign policy strategy of the IRI to moderate and neutralize Trump's strategy towards it is to create a soft balance against the US by solutions like de-escalation of tensions with Saudi Arabia and Turkey as the main regional competitors of the IRI, creating a bilateral monetary and banking mechanism with the European Union and a political and economic alliance with the BRICS countries.

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