

U.S. MIDDLE EAST POLICY ON IRAN

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U.S. MIDDLE EAST POLICY ON IRAN

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## Abstract

This document concentrates on the region of the Middle East by providing brief background information on Iran. Next it discusses U.S. foreign policy with regard to Iran, presenting possible alternative policy options such as intervention or coexistence strategies.

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## Chapter One: Introduction

After World War II, the United States replaced the United Kingdom as the major world power. The U.S. elevated its foreign policy to the status of a capitalist power who acted as an imperialist world authority<sup>1</sup>. Such imperialistic policy can be clearly seen during President Carter's State of the Union address on January 23, 1980:

“Let our position be absolutely clear: An attempt by any outside force to gain control of the Persian Gulf region will be regarded as an assault on the vital interest of the United States of America, and such assault will be repelled by any means necessary, including military force.”

By 1990, with the collapse of USSR, the creation of the European Union, and the rise of China as major economic and political power, the United States found itself without an oppositional threat to start a new campaign of hostilities. Without the Soviet Union to threaten the U.S., politicians and military apologists needed a new opponent to base U.S. ideology upon. Desperately in need of a new ‘necessary evil’ that could be contained in accordance with U.S. political and economic objectives and interests, under the banner of democracy and global war on terror, the U.S. launched a series of attacks on insignificant Middle Eastern nation states, Iraq & Afghanistan in particular. In addition, it introduced Iran as rouge state, which was labeled an “Axis of Evil” that is working toward Nuclear Proliferation and weapons of mass destruction. The creation of such nemesis was for the purpose of further legitimizing future political and military presence of the United States wherever and whenever was needed.

The successful execution of such strategy would enable the United States to:

1. Contain but not eradicate extremist movements in the focused region (Israel, Rozoff & Varkevisser, 2001)
2. Protect the security of the state of Israel by preventing Iran from being able to produce and proliferate nuclear weapons

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1) **Imperialism**, **Merriam-Webster dictionary**: the policy, practice, or advocacy of extending the power and dominion of a nation especially by direct territorial acquisitions or by gaining indirect control over the political or economic life of other areas; *broadly*: the extension or

imposition of power, authority, or influence. 1) 1953 CIA staged coup “Operation Ajax, Iran), 2) 1961, Bay of Pigs, Cuba etc.

3. Promote and protect the political and economic interests of U.S. corporations and potentially volatile countries which maintain their power primarily by aligning themselves as U.S. allies, Israel in particular (Iraq, Afghanistan Pakistan, and Saudi Arabia etc.)

History suggests that economics will define and determine political strategy.

Implementing such bold political and economic goals as the U.S. did during the Cold War and its aftermath dealing with the Middle East required the cooperation and participation of major regional states in the global community. In order to maintain its political and economic primacy at home and in the world, the U.S. will now need to create a new level of cold war with new economic and ideological rivals.

Ironically, considering its relatively meager political and economic clout on the world stage, there is one region which plays a central role in the success or the failure of U.S. hegemony. This region is the Middle East, and in the center of it lays Iran. Once known as the Persian Empire, Iran has played a deciding role in both the region and the world for more than twenty five centuries. Two-thirds of the world’s reserved oil and natural gas is in Middle East and Central Asia region. Therefore, a well formulated equation pertaining to a global policy must grant a significant weight to its most influential variable: Iran.

Formulating an American Middle East policy requires an understanding of Iran’s positional view on the matter. The fact is that a comprehensive Iran policy must extend beyond Iran’s ambition to develop nuclear technology. Unfortunately, the United States foreign policy fails to recognize this fact. Sadly enough, when it comes to foreign policy, the United States appears to adapt ‘selective hearing’ and ‘selective’ manner of diplomatic communication.

This paper will provide historical information about Iran and its economic and political involvement with the modern industrial and political powers. Secondly, it explains that there is a direct correlation between preserving the political interest of Israel and the Iranian economic and political advancement in the region. This includes not only nuclear technology, but also the petrochemical and energy industries as well. Finally, the paper will offer a few alternative policy options aimed at Iran.

## Chapter Two: Review of Literature

### **Iran**

“The problem with our time is that the future is not what it used to be!”

—Paul Valery

#### History, language and culture

Iran translates to “the lands where the Aryan tribes lived.” Formerly known as Persia, Iran is the union of multi-national tribes, who share common history and cultural diversity. For this reason; the country's name was changed from Persia to Iran in 1935. Iran is bordered on the north by Armenia, Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan, and the Caspian Sea; on the east by Afghanistan and Pakistan; on the south by the Persian Gulf and the Gulf of Oman; and on the west by Turkey and Iraq.

The major language in Iran is Persian or Farsi. It is a branch of the Indo-Iranian languages which is a group of the Indo-European languages. Farsi is spoken in Afghanistan, Tajikistan and the Pamir Mountain regions in Kyrgyzstan. In preserving their native tongue, Persians expanded the nature of Islam from a religion with primary Arabic origins to a more encompassing world religion. Persian language became the major literary instrument for many poems and religious works (Iran, Seven Faces of Civilization, 2007). About 89% of Iran’s population is Shiite Muslim, 9% Sunni Muslim and the rest practice Zoroastrianism, Christianity and Jewish religion. (CIA fact book, 2011)

#### Relation with Industrial Nations

Iran opened itself to Europe and Christians during the Safavid Dynasty, particularly during the reign of Shah Abbas (1571-1629). With the help of Britain, Shah Abbas, modernized Persian military and drove defeated Uzbek and Ottomans. He moved his capital from Qazvin to Isfahan, making Persia world’s most cosmopolitan country in the world (Rezaeian, 2007).

Iran’s direct involvement with the Western countries began in the 19<sup>th</sup> century dealing with Imperial Russia, and Britain. During the Qajar Dynasty, Iran became involved with three major wars against Russia and England, losing much of its territories (Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan) to Russia during Russo-Persian Wars between the periods of 1804-1813 and 1826-1828, and then with Britain in 1856, losing Afghanistan-Herat to the

English. The United States began its formal diplomatic relation with Iran in 1883, as Samuel Benjamin became the first American envoy in Iran.

### Iran's Anglo-American Relations

The next serious involvement of Iran with the West occurred after discovering oil in Iran and the creation of Anglo-Iranian Oil Company or today's BP. The English (William Knox D'Arcy) exploited the Iranian oil industry by accessing 60 years of exclusive rights to Iranian oil and keeping 84% of the profits. With the occurrence of WWII, Iran declared itself neutral. However, it refused to deport German diplomatic attaché and military advisors from Iran. Russia and Britain eyed on Iranian-Trans Railroad to be used against Germany. For that reason, both the Soviet Union and Britain occupied Iran and exiled Iran's monarch Reza Shah and placed his son Mohamadreza as the new king. In 1944 the United States began a closer tie with Iran's new monarch, helping with his modernization effort. In 1951, with the popular support of 90% of constituents, Mossadegh became the prime minister of Iran. In the same year he nationalized Iranian oil, ending British and American exploitation of Iran's oil and natural gas industries. The nationalization of Iran's oil angered the British and the Americans and they staged the 1953 military coup, toppling the first ever democratically elected government in Iran (Mossadegh project, 2011).

### U.S. Iran Relations and Iran's Role in the Middle East

After the fall of Mossadegh's government, the United States and Britain restored the Shah's grip in power and began to flood Iran with new modernized military and industrial technologies, specifically in the areas of petrochemical and energy fields. With growing communist threats from Iran's northern neighbor, the Soviet Union, the United States made great effort to equip Iran's armed forces with state of the art weaponry. In addition, with the help of CIA and Israeli intelligent service, MOSSAD, the Shah created one of the most feared secret service agencies, SAVAK, in Iran. Within a short time, Iran became both the United States and Israel's formidable ally and assumed the role of regional police in the Persian Gulf. During Israel's war with the Arab states and Palestinians (1967, 1973), Iran supplied 90% of Israel's oil, and again, in 1975 crushed the Marxist and pro Soviet rebellions in Oman's Dhofar province and Saddam Hussein's pro Kurdish rebellion in Iraq (Everest, 2007). However, it is important to

state that Shah's siding with the United States and Israel did not translate to his 'approval' of either policy of Israel and the United States in the region (Mike Wallace Interview, 1974).

The occurrence of the series of events that followed after the revolution caused the disintegration of the Iranian–U.S. relations. The siege of the American embassy in Tehran in November of 1979, the failed U.S. military intervention to launch a rescue mission in April of 1979, and the U.S. backing of Saddam Hussein during Iraqi invasion of Iran transformed the former allies into regional enemies.

The fall of the Soviet Union gave Iran an opportunity to expand its regional influence by providing economic and political support for anti-Israeli organizations in the occupied territories of Palestine including various factions within the Palestinian Liberation Organization and the Lebanon's Hezbollah. This also created much closer relations with Syria. These lead the United States to classify Iran as a rogue state, responsible for promoting international terrorism. In addition, the United States used its political and economic influence globally and imposed several economic, political and military sanctions on Iran. Imposing such heavy sanctions was aimed to pressure Iran to reverse its anti-American behavior. For the most part, the imposing sanctions proved to be working; however, it encouraged Iran to seek a closer tie with Russia and China (Global Security.Org 2011). It also motivated Iran to seek a domestic solution for some of its economic, political and military needs. For example, during the eight year war with Iraq, the arms embargo prevented Iran from purchasing arms from the United States and various European countries. Iran began to purchase its defense needs from China and the Soviet Union (currently Russia and Belarus). Iran manufactured large portion of its military needs domestically. By the end of the war, Iran was able to advance its defense industries to a much higher level. By the late 1990's and mid 2000's Iran had the capability to produce domestically made fighter planes (Saegheh) ballistic missiles (Shahab), UAV drones, rockets and light weaponry (globalsecurity.org, 2011).

### Iranian Petrochemical & Nuclear Programs

Since 1964, Iran had great interest to pursue Petrochemical technology. In 1977, Iran began to follow with its interest of acquiring self sufficiency towards petrochemical goods and services such as plastic and polymer products. Currently, despite the heavy sanctions, Iranian

petrochemical industries are the leading exporters of petrochemical products in the world market (Scary Cow Productions, 2008).

Iran's quest for developing nuclear technology started in 1974, half of decade prior to the Islamic Revolution in 1979. Interestingly enough, it was through strong persuasive arguments of the American government that convinced Shah of Iran to pursue and promote developing nuclear technology in Iran:

...in 1976 with Gerald Ford president, Dick Cheney his chief of staff, Donald Rumsfeld secretary of defense, Paul Wolfowitz responsible for nonproliferation at the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, and Henry Kissinger national security adviser the Ford administration bought the Shahs argument that Iran needed a nuclear program to meet its future energy requirements. (McGovern, 2005)

President Ford was further encouraged by Rumsfeld, Kissinger and Wolfowitz to encourage and persuade Shah in starting an Iranian nuclear program:

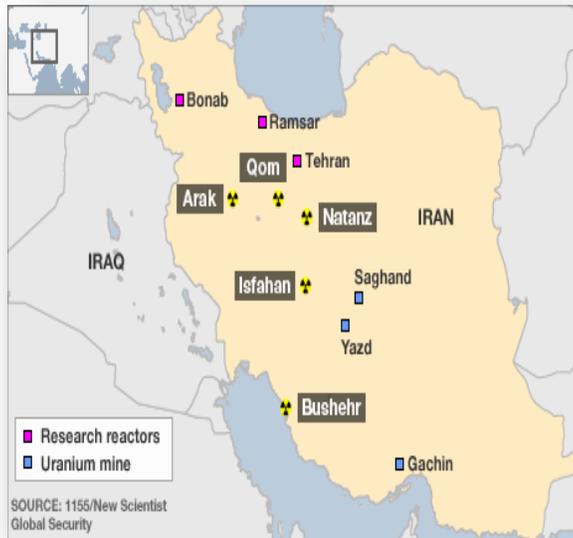
...Ford's advisers persuaded the hesitant president to offer Iran a deal that would have meant at least \$6.4 billion for U.S. corporations like Westinghouse and *General Electric*, *The offer included a reprocessing facility for a complete nuclear fuels cycle essentially the same capability that the U.S., Israel, and other countries now insist Iran cannot be allowed to acquire.* (McGovern, 2005)

Under similar persuasive arguments, the Shah had planned to purchase several nuclear power plants from West Germany, France and the United States. Similar to Iran's current stance on the nuclear issue, both the United States and Shah of Iran believed that as a signatory of NPT, Iran had the right to pursue peaceful use of nuclear technology with full nuclear fuel cycle, including reprocessing of spent fuel. In 1977 Iran's chief atomic energy declared that: "No country has a right to dictate nuclear policy to another" (The National Security Archive, 2009).

By the end of 1970's the United States had grown tired of the Shah's criticism of America's one sided Middle East policies. According to a series of unclassified documents, the Shah had openly expressed his views and concerns in growing influence of the Jewish lobbyists in the American foreign policy in the Middle East. (MikeWallace interview 1974).

## United States Policy on Iran

After the revolution, and eight years of bloody war caused by Iraqi invasion, Iran continued its quest to pursue nuclear technology, this time with the help of Russia. Currently, there are five nuclear facilities located in: Qom (Uranium enrichment plant), Arak (heavy water facility), Natanz (Uranium enrichment plant), Isfahan (Uranium conversion plant) and Southern port city of Bushehr (nuclear power station).



As it was noted previously, the United States' skepticism towards Iran's desire to pursue nuclear technology existed even during the previous regime where both countries considered being strong allies in the region. For this reason, the United States avoided channeling its skepticism publicly. However, the come about of the Iranian Revolution brought an end to the Pahlavi Dynasty, proliferated anti American sentiments in Iran; and impaired United States' 'Sphere of Influence' in the Persian Gulf region.

## The Current Nuclear Issue

Overall, the United States' intelligence information on the Iranian nuclear program has been rather incomplete based on mere speculation and political innuendo. On August 14, 2002 the National Council of Resistance of Iran (NCR), which has been on the State Department's list of terrorist organizations since 1997, coordinated three press conferences within a period of one year to expose three nuclear sites suspected of having hidden nuclear program facilities in Iran. The NCR claimed that Iran is using these facilities: Ardekan, Natanz, Lashkar-Abad and Arak to

produce nuclear weapons. Despite contradictory records of information provided by Iranian opposition groups, the NCR's report prompted IAEA to launch its investigation with regards to this matter. (Squassoni 2003)

This matter must be viewed with the perspectives of both United States and Iranian governments. Note that in dealing with the Iranian nuclear program, and regional policy setting, all involved parties (Iran, the United States, Israel, UK and France) have repeatedly violated United Nations charter by officially issuing sovereignty threats to one another (United Nation Charter).

The Iranians have two parallel views about their nuclear program. One is that the nuclear program is a matter of national pride for the people. The second view is much tied to national sovereignty and security. The Iranian government believes that in dealing with the Iranian's nuclear program, the United States and its Western Allies are setting double standards by singling out Iran, a NPT signatory state. Yet they fail to pin down the nuclear power state of Israel, a non signatory of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty with its nuclear weapons sites. In addition, the Iranian government views the United States as a direct threat to its survival, and in doing so; it has devised a series of defensive strategies such as regional deterrence and competition to counter future threats from the United States or its regional ally, Israel (Milani 2009).

After all, it was the anti American sentiment that fuelled the Iranian public sentiment against the pro American regime of the Shah, causing the 1979 Iranian Revolution. Based on the background information on the US–Iran relations that was provided earlier, the Iranians are certain that promoting stability and democracy has never been and will never be a part of United States' foreign policy in the Middle East.

In the view of the Iranian leaders, the United States' relation with Iran has always been aimed to gain specific political and economic advantages. Politically, the Shah has always been a friendly supporter of Israel in its wars against Arab states and Palestine; and a formidable regional ally against communist movement. Economically, the Shah has always been a great provider of cheap petroleum to the United States as well as a loyal partner to Anglo-American oil companies.

In addition, Iran's leaders are well aware of the United States' intention of toppling the Islamic Republic since the revolution including the failed Nojeh Coup in July 1980 and their backing of Saddam Hussein on his eight year bloody war with Iran (Nevis, 2004, Yeter 2007).

The leaders in Iran have done a great job promoting anti-Israeli and American campaigns by supporting various militant Islamic groups such as the Hezbollah in Lebanon, the Palestinian group Hamas, as well as increasing solidarity with anti-American leaders such Fidel Castro in Cuba and Hugo Chavez in Venezuela. Nevertheless, they have cleverly avoided a direct arms conflict with the United States and Israel. Moreover, Iranian leaders have kept a pledge of silence in China's repression of the Moslem Uyghurs, or Russia's bloody clampdown of the Chechens. Therefore, acquiring nuclear weapons will only guarantee the survival of the regime and its leaders in Iran (Lindsay & Takeyh, 2010).

On the other hand, the United States views the Iranian nuclear program as a smoke screen being used by the regime to advance its ambition and to develop and aid in the proliferation of nuclear weapons. This will significantly decrease United States' political and economic influence in the region. It will also create a bipolar nuclear arms race between Iran and Israel. The most severe case could result in the growth of a nuclear proliferated arms race by Saudi Arabia and other Persian-Gulf Arab states (Elderman, Krepinevich & Montgomery, 2011).

Since 1979 the United States and Iran have kept a love-hate relationship using the art of politics and diplomacy to pursue their own political interests while remaining antagonistic towards one another. On many occasions, these interactions devolved into covert cooperation and political reciprocity. For example, during the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan, both the United States and Iran provided much needed aid to the Afghan Mujahedeen or today's outcast Taliban. Another example would be the secret U.S. arming of the Contra deal during the Iran-Contra scandal during Reagan's presidency.

In order to defuse the Iranian threat in the region, the United States has successfully persuaded its allies to impose various economic and political sanctions on Iran. These sanctions were aimed to weaken Iran's socio-economic and political structure, pressuring Iran to abide by the demands of the United States and its Western allies. These sanctions have targeted Iran's political, financial, transportation, military, energy and petrochemical industries:

### **U.S. Sanctions on Iran**

During 1979's hostage crisis, the United States imposed sanctions on Iran banning U.S.-Iran trade.

- President Bill Clinton's executive order banning U.S. companies to trade and also to invest in Iranian oil and natural gas

### **Iran Libya Sanction Act of 1996**

- Denial of export licenses for exports to the violating company
- Denial of Export-Import Bank assistance
- Prohibition on loans or credits from U.S. financial institutions of over \$10 million in any 12-month period
- Sanctions on foreign firms investing more than \$20 million a year in Iran's energy sector. (*It was extended for five years in September 2006. No foreign firms have been penalized.*)
- Prohibition on designation as a primary dealer for U.S. government debt instruments
- Prohibition on serving as an agent of the United States or as a repository for U.S. government funds
- Denial of U.S. government procurement opportunities (consistent with WTO obligations)
- A ban on all or some imports of the violating company
- The U.S. terminated the applicability of the Iran-Libya Sanctions Act to Libya in 2004

### **2009 E.U. & U.N. Sanctions on Iran**

- Freeze of Iranian assets in Britain, 976 million pounds (\$1.59 billion)
- Sanction of Iranian Bank Mellat, and Islamic Republic of Iran Shipping

Despite 31 years of sanctions, Iran's leaders have been able to pursue their political goals both domestically and internationally; proving that the sanctions have only been able to slow Iran and not prevent it from continuing its political interest and policies.

### **Regime Change or Peaceful Coexistence or Other?**

The culmination of the past three decades of events prompted the United States into deciding between two possible options: Peaceful Coexistence or Implementing a Regime Change.

Adapting peaceful coexistence will require both sides to make compromises on their current regional policies. Such a compromise will obligate Iran to:

1. Fully cooperate with the International Atomic Energy Agency while granting Iran the access to a *complete nuclear fuel cycle*.
2. Help to stabilize Iraq and Afghanistan

3. Recognize Israel as a sovereign nation
4. Help to achieve Israel-Palestine peace talks that will lead to creation of an independent Palestinian state
5. Cease economic and military assistance to terrorist Palestinian and Lebanese groups such as: Hamas and Hezbollah
6. Abide by the United Nation's human rights guidelines, allowing free economic and political participation of the Iranian people.

Similarly, such compromise will compel the United States to:

1. Recognize the sovereignty of Iranian government
2. Iran's right to access the peaceful use of the nuclear technology
3. Lift all sanctions against Iran
4. Halt assisting the Iranian opposition groups
5. Allow Iran to have equal access to international trade and commerce.

Oddly enough, such similar propositions have been offered by Iran's president Mahmud Ahmandinejad to the United States shortly after taking office in Iran. Ironically, President George Bush Jr. rejected Iran's offer, and instead placed Iran in his "Axis of Evil" list (Scary Cow Productions, 2008).

Another possible scenario for adopting a peaceful coexistence policy is by taking on a Cold War style of political engagement. Taking on such policy will instigate the United States to directly and indirectly engage a nuclear Iran. Under this policy, the United States can place Persian Gulf states under its security umbrella, beef up their military capabilities and further isolate the Iranian regime and its allies globally. Ironically, adopting such policy will not only condone the current status quo but it will also increase political tension in the region. It will permanently destroy any hope for the already failed Middle East peace process, and will increase terrorist activities in the region (Lindsay & Takeyh, 2010).

Another option would be a military strike against Iranian nuclear and petrochemical sites. Carrying out such a mission will not only further destabilize already an inflamed Middle East, but it will also prompt Iran to retaliate in full military fashion and by terrorist means in the region. Under such a disquieting scenario, Iran will target major petroleum and industrial facilities of the Arab States in the Persian Gulf including United States' fifth fleet stationed in Bahrain. Iran will also launch its thousands of missiles at Israel and will mobilize its proxies (Hezbollah and Hamas) to attack Israeli cities and industries (Elderman, Krepinevich & Montgomery, 2011). In addition, a military strike on Iranian nuclear facilities may cause

catastrophic environmental and health hazards in the region caused by radioactive contamination and leakage.

A regime change is the United States' second political option. Such decision can be pursued by taking two different approaches. The first is to directly engage in a full scale war against Iran. Implementing such a policy is less likely to happen. In order to invade Iran, the United States needs sufficient proof that identifies Iran to be a clear and present danger to the national security of the United States. Selling such allegation will require seriously convincing evidence to be presented to both Congress and the United Nations. Furthermore, entertaining such a scheme will necessitate full support of United Nations Security Council and its five permanent members, specifically, Russia and China.

Another option under the pretext of regime change will be supporting domestic free-movement inside Iran and supporting the regime's opposition inside the government, e.g., the Green Movement, Labor Unions and Student Movements (Dinmore, 2005). Pursuing such a policy will require not only the United States, but the international community as well. Unfortunately, world powers such as China and Russia (Iran's main military and economic partners) do not share a common interest in participating with the United States and its allies to implement a regime change policy in Iran.

The next option would be implementing a regime change by supporting Iranian dissidents in their military effort to topple the regime. Historically, the United States has provided the MEK (militant Iranian opposition group) protection and support inside Iraq, and has benefited from such policies. This was secretly discussed during George W. Bush's presidency (Symonds, 2007). Regrettably, such action is a direct violation of Chapter I m Article II of the United Nations Charter.

### **Lessons Learned**

It is very important for the United States to present a clear case that promoting peace and prosperity is something that every nation can benefit from. This will require political and economic transparency on the part of the United States. The problem is that the majority of the United States' Middle Eastern allies, are non-democratic governments which have supported the United States' foreign policies in the region. As most recent events in the Middle Eastern history indicate, the United States has not been entirely transparent through its foreign policy making

and implementation. This has created an atmosphere of distrust and skepticism toward the United States on a global scale. Both the Iraq and Afghan wars are good examples of this distrust. The United States has always had linked the Iranian nuclear program to Tehran's support for international terrorism, regional conflict, and violation of human rights movements both domestically and internationally. It has imposed three decades of economic and political sanctions without truly seeking to gain any cooperation from Iran's two major economic and political partners, China and Russia.

The Cold War may have ended two decades ago, yet in some aspects neither the Russians nor the Americans have ended their zero sum game politics. This could be explained by the United States attempt to extend its military and political might in the former Soviet republics of Georgia and Uzbekistan (Bhadrakumar, 2009), or installing missile shields in the former Warsaw Pact countries of Poland and the Czech Republic (Stadler, 2007). Such policies will only provoke the Russians to lean towards retaliatory policies such as selling sophisticated military arms to Iran such as the S300 air-missile defense system (Haartz 2011) or, by assisting Iran to complete the construction of its nuclear facilities.

### Chapter Three: Summary and Conclusion

The political relations between Iran and the United States have always been the cornerstone of America's Middle East policies. For nearly half of a century both the Iranian and the American governments have shared common ground in promoting positive political and economic partnership in the region. Of course, such an alliance did not translate into a transparent economic and political cooperation between these two countries. As history presents, the outcome of past erroneous policies implemented by the United States created an atmosphere of distrust and skepticism among the Iranian people, leading to the Iranian-Islamic Revolution in 1979.

Since then, these two countries have become involved with a series of political stalemates with regards to regional, political, and economic issues. Most recently is the Iranian nuclear program. Iran believes that as a signatory of NPT, Iran had the right to pursue the peaceful use of nuclear technology with a full nuclear fuel cycle, including the reprocessing of spent fuel. Surprisingly, Iran's position on the issue is the exactly the same as the position it took during the Shah.

Growing suspicious from its previous history with Iran (the Islamic revolution and the events that followed after), the United States views the Iranian nuclear program as a smoke screen being used by the regime to advance its ambition to develop and proliferate nuclear weapons. Moreover, previous comments by the Iranian president Ahmadinejad on the destruction of the state of Israel, has made the United States extremely skeptical on the Iranian claim to have a peaceful nuclear program.

The confounding problem is in either the United States' lack of cultural and historical understanding of the region specifically Iran or its blunt way of paying no heed to this critical fact. The United States cannot provide constructive and diplomatic policies in the Middle East and Persian-Gulf region without including Iran as a major player. Failure to understand this detail has driven the United States and its allies into complete political, economic, and military gridlock in the Middle East region.

United States policy toward Iran or any other country in the region should be peaceful and without any military action. Reliance in any military force against Iran will be disastrous for all involved parties. It will create an uncontrollable crisis in the region that will lead to global economic and political calamities. The U.S. should learn from its previous mistakes, try to repair

its damaged PR in both domestic and international setting. The U.S. must halt its habitual double standard policies and try to utilize political transparency in its foreign policy.

As it pertains to promoting democracy and political fairness in the region, the only viable way is to prevent intervention policies such as: regime change under the disguise of democracy and liberty, or to plan a secret coupe to topple the Iranian government. The only way is to honor and respect the people's will for freedom and independence. Nothing will get accomplished without mutual understanding and respect. As Machiavelli puts it, "... there are three kinds of Intelligence. One kind understands things for itself, the second appreciates what others can understand, the third understands neither for itself nor through others. The first kind is excellent, the second is good and the third kind is useless."

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