

## **CHAPTER V**

### **CONCLUSION**

The good relationship of United States and Iran started when Iran was under the administration of Emperor Shah Pahlavi in 1953. United States helped Iran in many aspects, such as security, economy, politics and energy. The Iranian nuclear energy was firstly introduced by United States to produce electrical power. The development of this controversial energy in Iran depends on the characteristic of each leader. Therefore, Iran faced dynamics development of nuclear energy since its enrichment. However, the Iranian nuclear development created worry among international community. The bad image of Iran, such as state-supporter terrorism, human right abuses and the rebellion state created the comprehensive sanctions against Iran. Surprisingly, in the midst of 2015, President Obama decided to end the sanction against Iran, particularly on economic sanctions.

Before jumping into the conclusion, the decision makers have to analyze the situation of Iranian nuclear development program. Historically, Under the Emperor Shah Pahlavi administration, the nuclear development of Iran was for the civilian purposes. As the time goes by, the aggressive nuclear development was spread into non-civilian purposes, such as nuclear bombs and weaponry. Emperor Shah Pahlavi failed in implementing his vision to modernize whole of Iran which include the development of nuclear to be equal as the western countries. Unfortunately, Emperor Shah Pahlavi's action gone too and was rejected by the Iranian people. The hatred of Iranian people to Emperor Shah Pahlavi was

resulted in Iranian Islamic Revolution which forced him to step down as the state leader in 1979. At the same time, United States decided to sanction against Iran because of the hostages of American Embassy in Tehran.

The anti-Emperor Shah Pahlavi movement was led by Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini which later inaugurated as the first Supreme Leader. During the early administration of Ayatollah Khomeini in 1980s, the relationship among Iran and Iraq was escalated until the war happened. The Iraq invasion to Iran created chaos in many aspects. The unstable economic and politics in Iran hampered the nuclear development of Iran until 1987. The fact that Iraq had the capability to create their nuclear technology changed into bomb and weaponry. This situation was triggered the Ayatollah Khomeini to decide to rebuild their nuclear capability to be equal as Iraq. In the early of 1989, the war among Iran and Iraq ended and the in end of 1989, Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini passed away.

The successor of Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini was Ayatollah Ali Khamenei who was the previous president of Iran in 1979 until 1989. During the administration of Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, Iran was under three presidents who are President Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani (1989 – 1997), President Mohammad Khatami (1997 – 2005), and President Ahmadinejad (2005 – 2013). The dynamics of nuclear development in Iran was because of the different perspective of each president. Under President Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani, the nuclear development of Iran was not as aggressive as Emperor Shah Pahlavi administration. The government was busy by restoring the Iran in both infrastructure and superstructure aspects. However, from 1993 until 1997, Iran attempted to rebuild

their nuclear by having cooperation with China, Argentina and Germany. At the end of President Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani, the high expectation of Iran was proved by the allocation of nearly \$800 millions of the national budget to restore their nuclear capability.

Under the President Mohammad Khatami (1997 – 2005) administration, the nuclear development of Iran increased. In order to increase their capability, Iran invited many engineers and technicians from China and Russia to work in Iran. During this time, United States suspected that the increasing capability of Iran in nuclear enrichment intended to build the nuclear bomb and weaponry. In 2002, it was revealed that Iran had nine sites of nuclear which are two in Tehran, three in Arak, two in Bushehr, one in each Natanz and Esfahan. This situation shocked the international community especially United States. Therefore, United States sanctioned Iran in oil and freezes their foreign assets.

Under the President Ahmadinejad (2005 – 2013) administration, Iran was reported to continue their uranium enrichment in Esfahan. Since 2002 Iran was sanctioned by United States which affected the lower nuclear activity of Iran. Actually, Iran agreed to follow the NPT and E3 states. President Ahmadinejad was the ultra-conservative and anti-western figure. The continuation of the nuclear development program created worry in international community. Moreover, President Ahmadinejad was always against the United States. It was showed from his speech that bravely criticized the sanction against Iran and Iran proved that Iran was still able to run as a state despite all the sanctions from international community.

Surprisingly, in 2013, President Hassan Rouhani was won the national election in Iran. President Hassan Rouhani was more concerned about the backwardness of economic sector of Iran. Therefore, President Hassan Rouhani was willing to meet the various international obligations which were purposed to lift the complex sanctions to Iran. In his speech, President Obama attracted Iran to follow the NPT and IAEA regulations. This situation created confusion in international community especially United States. Based on the Rational Actor Model, there were two rational alternatives which are dismantled the nuclear sites of Iran by the use of military and lift the sanctions to Iran. Both of the alternatives had each costs and benefits.

This case analyzed with Foreign Policy Decision Making Process. There are some elements in deciding the foreign policy of a state, such as domestic politics, economic and military capability, and international context. The domestic politics of United States was much influenced by the characteristic of President Obama which tended to implement soft diplomacy. President Obama was attempted to shape the definition of power not merely about the military, but the global leadership as the hegemony state. President Obama repeatedly mentioned that United States want to have better relationship with Middle East countries, such as Iran.

Economically, in 2014 United States was faced -3% of GNP. This situation marked that United States economically weaken. In military aspect, the military capability was still unbeatable, but the economic recession absolutely affected the military budget. United States need to spend more money if United

States decided to invade Iran. Moreover, President Obama mentioned that United States committed to refrain from any military intervention. In the aspect of economics and military, United States in 2014 experienced the derivation which affected the decision of President Obama.

In the international context, the changing behavior of Iran was created the declining degree of hostility with United States. Compared with the previous leader of Iran, which most of them were conservative or even ultra-conservative leader, the current president of Iran, President Hassan Rouhani, was the most moderate leader of Iran. President Hassan Rouhani intended to have better Iranian economic. Therefore, President Hassan Rouhani was willing to obey some international obligations that should be fulfilled by Iran for lifting the sanctions.

Based on the comparison of the cost and benefit of the alternative decision, United States decided to lift the economic sanction of Iran in midst of 2015. This decision was the most rational decision among other decisions which had more benefit for United States rather than the costs. By analyzing the process of the foreign policy decision making by Coplin created better understanding regarding this undergraduate thesis. As it has been mentioned before, the three elements which are the dominance of interest influencer of Obama in United States, the derivation of economic and military capability in 2014, and the declining degree of hostility among Iran and United states because of the internal changing in Iran was affected the decision maker. Those three elements influenced President Obama in deciding to lift the economic sanction of Iran in midst of 2015.