



UNIVERSITI PUTRA MALAYSIA

***IRAN'S FOREIGN POLICY TOWARDS THE UNITED STATES DURING
THE KHATAMI PRESIDENCY, 1997-2005***

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**IRAN'S FOREIGN POLICY TOWARDS THE UNITED STATES
DURING THE KHATAMI PRESIDENCY, 1997-2007**

By

BAHARAK PARTOWAZAR

**Thesis Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies, Universiti Putra Malaysia,
in Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

November 2016

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Abstract of thesis presented to the Senate of Universiti Putra Malaysia in fulfilment
of the requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

**IRAN'S FOREIGN POLICY TOWARD THE UNITED STATES DURING
KHATAMI PRESIDENCY 1997-2005**

By

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November 2016

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During World War II, Iran had a close relationship with the US. In 1952, Britain, the US and Mohammad Reza Shah planned a coup against Mohammad Mossadeq. They succeeded to remove Mosaddeq and consequently the relationship improved until 1979. After the Islamic Revolution, Iran-US relationship transformed into hostility. The initial objective of this study is to discuss the various relevant factors that influence Iran-US relationship over different periods of time and the reasons of conflict and hostility between these two countries. The second objective is to explain the changes of Khatami's foreign policy compared to previous republic of Iran's presidents, and the process of this evolution during his presidency. The last objective aims to identify the formal and informal factors that determine Iran's foreign policy which has not been fully investigated in the literature. Moreover, the detente policy, dialogue among civilizations and the reasons that Khatami used them for his foreign policy are explained in detail. Data have been collected from various sources namely political articles, speeches and media reports on Khatami, Khamenei and other formal and informal decision makers such as The Guardian Council, Assembly of Experts, Expediency Council, Friday Prayer Speakers, and Military Leaders as supplementary sources. Due to sensitivity of this research, the researcher used speeches that are available from official newspaper archives such as Ettelaat and Reuters as well as official websites such as www.khamenei.ir and www.khatami.ir. Articles and books on formal and informal Iranian decision makers and their roles in foreign policy especially in relationship with the US were used as secondary data to support primary data gathered from speeches. Qualitative content analysis method is employed to interpret those data. The finding of this study revealed that Iran's foreign policy is not only affected by formal powers, but also it is strongly affected by informal factors. Therefore, these groups interfered in Khatami's foreign policy and strongly prevented him to develop relationship with US. To achieve this goal, these groups tried to create tension in both policies, and decreased Khatamis' political power. Beside these factors, other external factors such as September 11 attacks, labeling Iran as "axis of evil" by George Bush, and United States' attack to Iraq, led to strengthen Khatamis's opponents in Iran. Furthermore, the finding revealed that two factors introduced Khatamies' policy, namely Detente and

dialogue among civilizations. The reasons for choosing these two criteria as main component of foreign policy were explained. This study implied that Mohammad Khatami worked hard to improve Iran's standing among the international communities and provide the opportunity for Iran to avoid isolation and economic sanctions against the country. He developed relationship with the European countries and Persian Gulf States, however, he failed to improve the Iran-US relationship due to following reasons. Firstly, the US cooperation in the coup against Mohammad Mosaddeq damages the reputation of the US in Iran, because this coup was recognized as a setback to Iran's political development and killed any chance for this country to develop into a democratic society. The Islamic government used the coup against Mohammad Mosaddeq to energize anti-American attitudes. Secondly, the hostage crisis which broke off the diplomatic relations between Iran and the US. In response US imposed serious sanctions against Iran. Thirdly, Iran's foreign policy is very complicated phenomenon and formal and informal political structures compete to gain more power, wealth and benefit, as a result these structures interfered in foreign policy.

Abstrak yang dikemukakan kepada Senat Universiti Putra Malaysia sebagai memenuhi keperluan untuk ijazah Doktor Falsafah

**POLISI LUAR NEGARA IRAN TERHADAP AMERIKA SYARIKAT
SEMASA PRESIDENSI KHATAMI 1997-2005**

Oleh

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Semasa Perang Dunia II, Iran mempunyai hubungan yang rapat dengan Amerika Syarikat. Pada tahun 1952, Britain, Amerika Syarikat, dan Mohammad Reza Shah merancang rampasan kuasa terhadap Mohammad Mossadeq. Mereka berjaya menyingkiri Mossadeq dan akibatnya, hubungan bertambah baik sehingga tahun 1979. Selepas Revolusi Islam, hubungan Iran-Amerika Syarikat berubah menjadi permusuhan. Objektif pertama kajian ini adalah untuk membincangkan pelbagai faktor berkaitan yang mempengaruhi hubungan antara Iran dan Amerika Syarikat bagi tempoh yang berbeza dan sebab terjadinya konflik dan permusuhan antara kedua-dua negara. Objektif kedua adalah untuk menerangkan perubahan polisi luar negara Khatami berbanding dengan presiden-presiden republik Iran terdahulu dan proses evolusi ini semasa presidensi beliau. Objektif ketiga adalah untuk mengenal pasti faktor formal dan tidak formal yang menentukan polisi luar negara Iran yang belum diselidiki sepenuhnya dalam literatur. Tambahan pula, dasar détente dan dialog antara ketamadunan dan alasan yang digunakan oleh Khatami untuk polisi luar negaranya akan dibincangkan secara mendalam. Data telah dikumpulkan daripada pelbagai sumber, iaitu artikel politik, ucapan dan laporan media mengenai Khatami, Khamenei, dan pembuat keputusan rasmi dan tidak rasmi lain, seperti *The Guardian Council*, *Assembly of Experts*, *Expediency Council*, *Friday Prayer Speakers*, dan Pemimpin Tentera sebagai sumber tambahan. Oleh sebab sensitiviti subjek penyelidikan ini, penyelidik menggunakan ucapan yang didapati dari arkib akhbar rasmi, seperti Ettelaat dan Reuters di samping laman web rasmi, seperti www.khamenei.ir dan www.khatami.ir. Artikel dan buku mengenai pembuat keputusan formal dan tidak formal Iran dan peranan mereka dalam polisi luar negara, terutama dalam hubungan dengan Amerika Syarikat telah digunakan sebagai data sekunder untuk menyokong data primer yang dikumpulkan daripada ucapan. Kaedah analisis kandungan kualitatif digunakan untuk menginterpretasi data tersebut. Dapatan kajian ini menunjukkan bahawa polisi luar negara Iran bukan sahaja dipengaruhi oleh kuasa formal, tetapi ia amat dipengaruhi oleh faktor tidak formal. Oleh sebab itu, kumpulan tersebut campur tangan dalam polisi luar negara Khatami dan mereka secara kuat menghalang beliau untuk membina hubungan dengan Amerika Syarikat. Untuk mencapai matlamat tersebut, kumpulan tersebut cuba

untuk mewujudkan ketegangan pada kedua-dua polisi, dan ini menurunkan kuasa politik Khatami . Selain faktor tersebut, faktor luaran, seperti serangan 11 September, pelabelan Iran sebagai "paksi kejahatan" oleh George Bush, dan serangan Amerika Syarikat ke atas Iraq, menyebabkan pengukuhan pihak lawan Khatamis di Iran. Selain itu, kajian ini mendapati bahawa dua faktor memperkenalkan polisi Khatami, iaitu D tente dan dialog antara ketamadunan. Alasan beliau memilih kedua-dua kriteria tersebut sebagai komponen utama polisi luar negara akan dijelaskan. Kajian ini mengimplikasikan bahawa Mohammad Khatami bekerja keras untuk memperbaiki kedudukan Iran dalam masyarakat antarabangsa, dan menyediakan peluang bagi Iran untuk mengelakkan pengasingan dan sekatan ekonomi terhadap negara beliau. Beliau membina hubungan dengan negara Eropah dan negara Teluk Parsi, namun, beliau gagal untuk memperbaiki hubungan antara Iran dan Amerika Syarikat disebabkan alasan berikut. Pertama, kerjasama Amerika Syarikat dalam rampasan kuasa terhadap Mohammad Mosaddeg merosakkan reputasi Amerika Syarikat di Iran kerana rampasan kuasa ini telah dikenal pasti sebagai suatu halangan untuk pembangunan politik Iran dan ia membunuh mana-mana peluang bagi negara Iran untuk berkembang menjadi sebuah masyarakat yang demokratik. Kerajaan Islam menggunakan rampasan kuasa terhadap Mohammad Mosaddeg untuk merangsang sikap antiAmerika. Kedua, krisis tebusan mengakhiri hubungan diplomatik antara Iran dan Amerika. Sebagai tidak balas, Amerika Syarikat mengenakan sekatan yang serius terhadap Iran. Ketiga, polisi luar negara Iran merupakan fenomena yang sangat rumit dan struktur politik formal dan tidak formal bersaing untuk mendapatkan lebih banyak kuasa, kekayaan, dan manfaat, oleh sebab itu, struktur tersebut campur tangan dalam polisi luar negara.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CIRE	The Center for International Research and Education
IPIS	Institute for Political and International Studies
DDRS	Department for Documentation and Research Services
SIR	School of International Relations
ICIC	The Iranian Center for International Conferences
IMESS	The Institute for Middle East Strategic Studies
TISRI	The Tehran International Studies and Research Institute
AIOC	The Anglo-Iranian Oil Company
CIA	The Central Intelligence Agency
MII	Mojahedin-e Inqelab-e Islami
MOIS	The Ministry of Intelligence and Security
IRGC	Iran's Revolutionary Guard Corps
OIC	The Organization of the Islamic Conference
UN	The United Nations
ECO	The Economic Cooperation Organization
GCC	The Gulf Cooperation Council
GDP	Gross Domestic Budget
ICP	Islamic Coalition Party
JRM	Jame'eh-e ye Rouhaniyat-e Mobarez
MRM	Majma-e Rouhaniyun-e Mobarez
JMHEQ	Jame'eh-e ye Modarresin-e Howzeh-ye Elmiyeh-ye Qom
SNSC	The Supreme National Security Council
DDRS	Department for Documentation and Research Services
LPIS	Library of Political and International Studies
WMD	Weapons of Mass Destruction
IAEA	The International Atomic Energy Agency

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

The first part of this chapter presents a brief background of Iran-US relationship. The second part of this chapter outlines the problem statement, research questions, research objectives, significance of the study, scope of the study, and finally the organization of the thesis.

1.2 Brief Background

Iran is a Middle Eastern country that shares borders with Russia across the Caspian Sea, Turkmenistan, Azerbaijan and Armenia in the north, with Afghanistan and Pakistan in the east and with Turkey and Iraq in the west and to the south by the Persian Gulf and the Gulf of Oman. Iran is an important country because of its central location in Eurasia and Western Asia, and its proximity to the Strait of Hormuz. Iran's location gives it the leverage to affect the economy of the world by threatening to close the Strait of Hormuz and stop the shipment of oil (<http://www.bbc.com/>, 2016). This country is the world's major oldest civilizations, with historical and urban settlements dates back to 4000 BC. Iran has the third largest oil reserves in the world and the second largest OPEC oil exporter. Iran holds the world's second biggest natural gas reserves. In the Middle East, Iran is the major power because it has around 540,000 active armed forces personnel, 350,000 troops as reserve, and around 900,000-trained troops. The majority of people in Iran are Shiites (Jianfeng, 2013). Arabs conquered Iran at the end of the Sasanian Empire in 651. Islamization in Iran took place during 8th to 10th century. In 1501 the Safavid dynasty established Shi'a Islam as the official religion of their empire (Savory, 2007). From 1501 until the 1979 Iranian revolution, Iran was ruled by shah or emperor without interruption. Background of Iran-US relationship can be divided into four parts: Iran and the US relations during the Qajar dynasty, 1785-1927; Iran and the US relations during Pahlavi dynasty, 1927-1979; the Islamic Republic of Iran and the US relations during 1979-1989; and the Islamic Republic of Iran and the US from 1989 to 1997.

• Iran-US Relations during Qajar Dynasty, 1785-1925

Iran and the US relationship began in the nineteenth century. Amir Kabir as the prime minister of Iran discovered that the US would be one of the super powers in the world, so as to decrease the influence of Russia and Britain, Iran and the US signed a friendship and shipping treaty. By this agreement, both countries opened their consulates. Due to Britain's influence, this agreement was canceled and Amir Kabir was killed by British conspiracy. As Iran and Britain involved in conflict over Afghanistan, the agreement between two countries was signed again, however

Britain did not let Iran and the US apply that agreement (Motazed, 2013). Formal ambassadorial relations between Iran and the US were not established until 1944 (Lesch, 2007). In August 1919, Iran and Britain signed an agreement. By this agreement, Iran was under British protectorate. However, Iranian people, Russia and the US seemed completely opposed to this agreement. Finally this agreement failed to be passed by the parliament (Katouzian, 2006). On February 18, 1921, Reza Khan, who was an officer in the Qajar Cossack Brigade, successfully invaded Tehran with a bloodless coup. After a period of four and a half years, Ahmad Shah Qajar was formally deposed by the Parliament on October 1925, while he was in Europe (Cronin, 1994).

- **Iran-US Relations during the Pahlavi Dynasty, 1925-1979**

During the Pahlavi dynasty, Mohammad Mosaddeq as the Prime Minister, nationalized the oil industry, consequently this resulted in British sanctions against Iran. Mosaddeq asked Truman, US President for help, due to pressure from Churchill, the Prime Minister of Britain, Truman had refused to help Mohammad Mosaddeq (Kinzer, 2003). In 1953 during the Eisenhower presidency, Mohammad Reza Shah agreed with the Britain and the US to launch a coup against Mohammad Mosaddeq. They succeeded and appointed General Zahedi as the new Prime Minister. Initially, Mohammad Mosaddeq was imprisoned and later placed under house arrest in the village of Ahmadabad, where he monitored by the guards of Mohammad Reza Shah until his death in 1967 (Nouzari & Nouzari, 2011).

After the coup, the US and Iran strengthened their relationship. Kennedy as US president supported Iran's military programs and asked the Shah to pursue socioeconomic reforms. In response, the Shah introduced his reform program called the "White Revolution" (Keddie, 2003). In 1964, the parliament of Iran passed the capitalism law to accommodate the United States' armed forces in Iran (Shirley, 1999).

The Iranian clerics were not pleased with Shah and the US relationship (Seikal, 2009). In 1975, when the Shah introduced the one-party system in Iran, the clerics, Marxist Movements, the Iranian Nationalists and Socialists showed their opposition against the Shah's authoritarian rule (Abrahamian, 1982). In 1976 US President Jimmy Carter insisted the Shah to retrain Savak activities and released political prisoners. Finally in 1979, the Islamic Revolution overthrew the Shah (Brzezinski, Scowcroft, & Murphy, 1997).

- **Iran-US Relations during the Islamic Revolutionary of Iran**

After the Islamic revolution, Prime Minister Mehdi Bazargan, who supported the Islamic Revolution, and the Supreme Leadership Ayatollah Khomeini, tried to establish a moderate, technocratic cabinet that could combine religious values with modernity (Takeyh, 2003). According to Moslem "Bazargan's discourse was largely

based on the Qoranic notion of *la ekra –he fil-din* (no coercion in religion) maintaining that Muslims should follow Islamic tenets with free will and not through force”. Bazargan’s ideas were far more moderate than those of the revolutionary regime (Moslem, 2002). The dynamics of the political relationship between the US and Iran changed dramatically. Mehdi Bazargan wanted and tried to renew a relationship with the United States, but hardline religious factions led by the clerics and revolutionary institutions put pressure on Mehdi Bazargan to end any kind of relationship with the United States. On November 1979, a student organizations called "The Muslim Students of Imam's Line" attacked the US embassy in Tehran and took its personnel hostage for 444 days (Farber, 2009). This action led to the collapse of Mehdi Bazargan's government (Keddie, 2003). In 1980 the US military tried to rescue the hostages, but they failed (Mackey & Harrop, 1998). Finally, in 1981, Iran released the hostages (Farber, 2009). The Iran hostage crisis effectively broke off any relationship between Iran and the US. The US proceeded to announce a series of sanctions against Iran, seized Iranian assets in the United States, limited visa issuance to Iranians and placed Iran under a comprehensive economic embargo (Fayazmanesh, 2003b).

During the eight-year Iran-Iraq war, the US and European countries stood by the Arab and Persian Gulf States who were in fear of Ayatollah Khomeini's foreign policy to "export the revolution" and who supported Saddam Hussain, the President of Iraq (Kechichian, 1989). In the late 1980s, the US requested Iran to accept UN Resolution 598, however Iran refused. The United States, under the presidency of Ronald Reagan destroyed two Iranian oil platforms (Crist, 2009). In 1988, the US shot down an Iranian passenger airplane over the Persian Gulf (Mackey & Harrop, 1998). The Iran-Iraq war created an economic, social, and political crisis for Iran. Finally, in 1988, Iran accepted the ceasefire (Marschall, 2003). One year after the end of the Iran- Iraq war, Khomeini, the revolutionary supreme leader died and Khamenei succeeded the supreme leader, while Hashemi Rafsanjani won the presidential election (Keddie, 2003). Hashemi Rafsanjani, began to practice a pragmatic policy, and engage the world politically and economically. He tried to improve relationships with the Sheikdoms of the Persian Gulf in order to rebuild Iran's collapsed economy (Ehteshami, 1995). Hashemi Rafsanjani tried to reignite the relationship with the US and European States, however the new supreme leader Khamenei and the majority of the Parliament showed their opposition to his policy (Ehteshami & Hinnebusch, 2002). In 1992, some of the Iranian-Kurdish opposition leaders were killed at Mykonos restaurant in Berlin. While the German police blamed it on the Iranian government, it was denied by them. In retaliation, the countries that were members of the European Union closed their embassies in Tehran, and cut off diplomatic relations with Iran (Keddie, 2003). During the second term of Hashemi Rafsanjani’s presidency from 1993 to 1997, the US employed a policy of "Dual Containment" and imposed some sanctions against Iran. These sanctions continued and were extended until the end of Hashemi Rafsanjani’s presidency in 1997 (Rakel, 2007). Because of pragmatic policy during Hashemi Rafsanjani’s presidency, Iran's relationships with Persian Gulf States improved, however his foreign policy failed to reestablish relationships with the European countries and the US.

1.3 Statement of the Problem

This study aimed at identifying the determinant factors which influenced Iran-US relationship before and after Iran's Islamic revolution. The most important event which affected Iran-US relationship can be tracked to November 4, 1979, when Iranian student demonstrators seized the US embassy in Tehran and took 52 Americans hostage. The Hostage Crisis lasted from 1979 until 1981. Finally, the hostages were released, but hostility between two countries continued. Although the various presidential administrations of Iran and the US tried to improve Iran-US relations since the 1979, they were not successful.

The historical experience of external dominance and the humiliation of American prestige are two significant variables when explaining Iran and the US long-term hostility. Iran claimed that the US interfered in internal or external relations of Iran, the US during Bush presidency named Iran as the "axis of evil" and put Iran in the terrorism list. Moreover, the US used sanctions against Iran such as imposing commercial sanctions and freezing assets of Iran, making a lot of trouble for international trade and financial institutions in Iran. It is worth mentioning that during Iran- Iraq war the US policy was against Iran and supported Iraq against Iran, moreover, US supported anti-Iranian movements and groups such as MKO - Mojahedin Khalqh Organization in Iraq. The US believes that Iran tried to access to nuclear technology, biotechnology and chemical technology. The US expected that Iran has full cooperation with IAEA and offered decisive action against any terrorists especially Al Qaida. Moreover, the US believes that Iran intends to establish a democratic institutions and a non-religious government in Iraq and also did not support material to Palestinian opposition groups' pressure.

When Mohammad Khatami became the president, he set a goal to reform different political, social and economic aspects of the country. He focused on foreign policy to improve Iran's relationships with all western countries, even though he enjoyed a measure of success with the European countries and Persian Gulf States, he failed to improve the relationship between Iran and the United States. In many ways, Mohammad Khatami worked hard to improve Iran's standing in the international communities, provide Iran with the opportunity to engage in the world in order to avoid isolation and economic sanctions against the country. He was the first president that could end isolation of Iran. He traveled to different countries in order to promote the moderate foreign policy of Iran during his administration (Rakel, 2003). Although Khatami was able to change the European Union's critical dialogue policy to a comprehensive dialogue policy (Moshaver, 2003), he confronted with major problems domestically in his attempts to engage the US with the same foreign policy (Wright, 2000).

To the best of my knowledge based on reviewing the existing literature, little research has been conducted to explain the history of the relationship between the US and Iran ranging from the Qajar dynasty, 1785-1925 to the end of Hashemi Rafsanjani presidency, 1989-1997 to identify the roots of conflict between Iran-US relationship that transformed the very close relationship between Iran and the US

into hostile relationship after Islamic revolution. This comprehensive revision about Iran-US relationship is essential to investigate the reasons of the hostility between two countries. Moreover, little has been known about the structure and the role of formal and informal domestic political power on foreign policy during Khatami's presidency and their intervention in foreign policy. However, Mohammad Khatami attempted to improve Iran-US relations and how the domestic political power structure of Iran caused him to fail in this endeavor is explained.

1.4 Research Questions

1. How did historical background of Iran-U.S relations affect Khatami's foreign policy toward the United States? 2. Who were the influential actors and how did they influence foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran towards the United States? 3. How d' tente policy and dialogue among civilization affect foreign policy and why did president Khatami choose these two policies?

1.5 Research Objectives

This study has three objectives. The first objective is to explain the history of the relationship between the US and Iran ranging from the Qajar dynasty, 1785-1925 to the end of Hashemi Rafsanjani presidency, 1989-1997. The researcher tries to clarify in a sequential manner, the beginning, ongoing and cessation of Iran-US relationship over time and discussed in detail the various relevant factors that influenced these outcomes.

The second objective introduces both the formal and informal decision making centers in Iran during two terms of Mohammad Khatami's presidency from 1997 to 2005. It is important to understand the informal and formal powers, their influence, opposition among them and their intervention in foreign policy, which affected the foreign policy of Iran toward the US. This objective explains how and who shaped Iran's foreign policy toward the US.

The last objective is to investigate the detente policy and dialogue among civilizations as Khatami's foreign policy strategies and the reasons that Khatami used them for his foreign policy. In fact it explains why Khatami selected d' tente policy and dialogue among civilizations, and how these two important strategies applied in his foreign policy and the consequences of these two strategies for Iran.

1.6 Significance of the Study

Until Mohammad Khatami's presidency, the foreign policy of Iran was based on Khomeini's principles such as exporting the revolution, no domination, defending the integrity of Islam and Muslims, mutual respect and non-interference in other countries' affairs, negating oppression and supporting the oppressed, No East, No West. Iran's foreign policy during the first decades of Islamic revolutionary was bloody and aggressive. After the death of Khomeini, the executive branches of the Iranian government was strengthened by the constitutional reforms. Hashemi Rafsanjani as the new president, tried to change Iran's image in the international community in order to rebuild the economy and military capabilities of Iran. On the other hand, Mohammad Khatami's presidency is considered increasingly important, because he deviated from principle of Khomeini's revolutionary foreign policy. This transformation in principle is important and insightful in an investigation of the history of Iran-US relationship. Mohammad Khatami's reformist ideas and modern policy changed Iran's foreign policy and the country's situation in the world and at the same time protected Iran from international isolation and established successful relations with Persian Gulf States. In addition, this research tries to discover the reasons for a reestablishment of an Iran-US relationship. Moreover, this study explains the international situation during Mohammad Khatami's presidency in comparison with earlier Iranian presidencies. This study is useful to understand the influential factors of Iran's foreign policy toward other countries in general and the US in particular.

1.7 Scope of the Study

The scopes of the study covers the two terms of Mohammad Khatami's presidency from 1997 to 2005. These years that covered the two periods of his presidency are important, because Mohammad Khatami's foreign policy reduced tension, promoted friendship, international cooperation, and peaceful coexistence, therefor he put Iran on the road to a new phase of international engagement.

1.8 Organization of the Study

This thesis consists of eight chapters. The first chapter presents a brief background of the Iran-US relationship, the statement of the problem, research questions, and research objectives, scope of the study and significance of the study. The second chapter presents the literature review, on factors motivating Iranian policy, the main concepts and Iran's foreign policy approaches.

Chapter three focuses on the theoretical framework, and the methodology employed in this research including the research instruments such as the data collection, and data analysis. Chapter four explains the history of the Iran-US relationship from the onset during the Qajar dynasty until Hashemi Rafsanjani's presidency.

Chapter Five explains the power structure in the Islamic Republic of Iran and the main formal and informal decision-making centers during Mohammad Khatami's presidency. In addition, this chapter is devoted to a discussion of the first and second terms of Mohammad Khatami's presidency from 1997 to 2005. This chapter analyses political factors that impact Mohammad Khatami's presidency towards the US, his challenges, failures and successes while Chapter five is allocated to the findings of the research. Chapter Six explains détente policy and dialogue among civilizations history in Iran and Khatami's goals for applying them in his foreign policy. Chapter Seven presents the summary and conclusion and recommendation for further research.



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