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The Foreign Policy

of The Islamic Republic of Iran

Dr. Jalal Dehghani Firouz Abadi

Translated by:
Muhammad Hussain Baqeri

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Foreign Policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran

Author:Jalal Dehghani
Firouzabadi, PHD
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IQBAL FORUM

Contents

Chater One: Theortical Approaches to the Foreign Policy Of Islamic RepublicOf Iran.....27

Chapter Two: The Sources Of Foreign Policy Of Islamic Republic Of Iran.....73

Chapter Three: The Principles,Interests,Objectives and Sterategies of Islamic Republic of Iran's Foreign Policy.....129

Chapter Four: Discourses of the Islamic Republic of Iran's Foreign Policy.....183

Chapter Five: Decision-Making Structure of Islamic Republic's Foreign Policy.....241

Chapter Six: From Interim Government to Algiers Accords.....297

Chapter Seven: The Holy Defense Period..... 329

Chapter Eight: Construction eriod.....379

Chapter Nine: Reformations Period.....437

Chapter Ten: The Era of Principlism.....499

IQBAL
FORUM

To

my Parents, who inspired me,
my spouse, who drives me on,
my son, who may one day read me,
And the hardworking and humble people of Gilgit and Baltistan.
this book is dedicated
with all my heart and soul

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Prologue

When I established the Iqbal Forum in 2021 to know and analyze the Islamic Republic of Iran and the Islamic Republic of Pakistan more precisely, I knew that one of the essential activities of this think tank would be to collect the two countries' political, historical, and social resources.

In this regard, I decided first to obtain a good and relatively comprehensive source of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran and translate it.

After a lot of research and reading many books, I came to a valuable book on the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran written by Dr. Jalal Dehghani Firouzabadi.

This is a book that, in my opinion, is the best source and reference for knowing the various influential factors in the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Despite living in Iran and being familiar with various political-religious topics in this country, after reading this book, I received bright new and detailed points about the functioning of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

After reading the book, I had detailed meetings with Dr. Firozabadi, and I was surprised by his deep knowledge of international relations and foreign policy. But his simplicity, compassionate behavior, and paternal support multiplied the value of this precious professor.

I am sure that after reading this book, you will recognize the depth of his understanding of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Any shortcoming in this book, which is a translation of his great work, is merely due to my flaws and has nothing to do with the original text.

Knowing the Islamic Republic of Iran, especially the foreign policy of this century's phenomenon, requires knowing many elements. Without knowing all the influential factors in the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran, we may compare the Islamic Revolution of Iran with the Cuban Revolution, but the Islamic nature of the Iranian Revolution makes it very different from the Cuban Revolution.

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8/ Foreign Policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran

Despite many similarities, it is possible to compare the Islamic Republic of Iran with the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. Still, due to the existence of religious authority, they have many substantive differences.

I believe that the Islamic Republic of Iran is a new phenomenon in governance and international politics, with many factors influencing its performance in the domestic and international scenes.

A word of thanks, too, to Dr. Chehrazad, whose indefatigable patience and deep domain knowledge with the text and meticulous processing of its contents have saved me from errors, big and small.

Muhammad Hussain Baqeri

December 2023

Introduction

Foreign policy is considered as the most essential aspect of nations' and countries' social and political life because their survival depends on it. Therefore, understanding the nature and behavior of countries becomes one of the intellectual and mental preoccupations of scientific circles. As a result, the study field of foreign policy analysis has been established and developed to address this curiosity and concern. The development and volution of this extensive field of study have nurtured and discussed iverse theoretical approaches in its texts and essence. The ultimate goal of all intellectual efforts and epistemological actions is to analyze the nature of countries' behavior in the international arena.

The field of study of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran has also had remarkable development and excellence so that in the last three decades, relatively extensive literature has been created in the field of analysis and explanation of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran. Each of the analysts and thinkers has taken the initiative based on the values, perceptions, and unique conceptual frameworks to discuss and examine Iran's foreign policy after the Islamic Revolution. The existing literature on the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran can be divided into three general categories:

Firstly, in the books and articles written by foreign analysts and writers, the majority of these writings, because they have a pecific cultural and value perspective, emphasize more on the ideology factor in the analysis of Iran's foreign policy.

Second, the works that explain the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran from a revolutionary and Islamic point of view. This type mainly describes the principles, goals, and foundations of Iran's foreign policy in religious texts and the constitution. The third category of studies and research in the field of Iran's foreign policy is analyzed methodically and scientifically by observing the principles of fairness and

IQBAL FORUM

impartiality.The purpose of this book is to describe scientifically the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran in the form of an educational text.Therefore, on one hand,efforts have been made to utilize the existing literature in the field of foreign policy studies in the Islamic Republic of Iran, based on theprinciples of curriculum compilation. The aim is to ensure that the findings and scientific data of other thinkers, writers, and analysts of Iran's foreign olicy play a prominent role in the books authored by this writer.

on the other hand,based on the tradition of cumulative science, an attempt has been made to present a different and distinct text by processing the available data in the form of a multi-variable theoretical and conceptual framework.Therefore, the most essential feature of this work is its comprehensiveness. In such a way that, in the description and analysis of Iran's foreign policy, both theoretical and practical aspects are covered. Accordingly, the book is divided into two parts and ten chapters. The first part of five chapters is devoted to the discussion and examination of the theoretical foundations of the general principles, goals, strategies, and sources of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran.The first chapter analyzes the theoretical approaches to Iran's foreign policy. This chapter aims to explain the possibility of and how to use different theories as a theoretical and conceptual framework for analyzing the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic. These theories are divided into two categories. The first group is the theory of foreign policy analysis. They are specifically presented to analyze the foreign policies of countries that usually use them.

The wise actor, bureaucratic politics, and decision-making are called theories of decision-making or policy-making. Various models have been presented in the framework of decision-making theories, the most important of which are small group decision-making, elite theory, and pluralism.

IQBAL FORUM

The second category is international relations theory. These theories are presented to explain or interpret international relations, so there is a difference of opinion about the possibility of using these theories to analyze foreign policy. According to theorists such as Kent Waltz, the two fields of relations between international and foreign policy are considered independent and separate. In their opinion, it is impossible to benefit from the theories of international relations to process and explain foreign policy theory.Another group of thinkers believes that these two areas are complementary to each other so each of them deals with the theoretical explanation of the territory and subject areas that are off the agenda of the other. In his third point of view, Mick argues that there is no significant difference between the theories of international politics or international relations on the one hand and foreign policy on the other, and there is some interaction between the two. Inferred general principles and guidelines for foreign policy theory processing and analysis. In other words, the theories of international relations and politics, in the case of criticism and adjustment, are considered a starting point and a suitable source for analyzing foreign policy; therefore, although it is not possible to achieve a universal and comprehensive theory of foreign policy, processing foreign policy analysis theories is possible.

However, the purpose of this chapter is to theorize about the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran and analyze the theory. As mentioned, this aims to explain the theories that are used as a theoretical and conceptual framework for the analysis of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran. However, the conceptual and theoretical framework, which, in the author's opinion, has more explanatory power and is also used in this book, is emphasized. This conceptual framework did two things. Firstly, it enables us to pay attention to the multifactorial nature of foreign policy and independently explain its influence on the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic.

Therefore, the second chapter examines the sources of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic.The sources or

IQBAL FORUM

independent variables affecting the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic as a dependent variable include individual factors related to social, national, and international or foreign governmental roles. The primary purpose of this chapter explains the fact that the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran is a result of many and diverse variables and factors in such a way that none of these factors and elements alone shape Iran's foreign policy. This means that the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic has the same continuity as that of other countries. In other words, in the framework of the pattern of continuity and change of Iran's foreign policy,there is a kind of stability and durability. Of course, this does not mean that the foreign policy is static and unchangeable; it means that the changes are not immediate and drastic but gradual.

It emerges in decision-making and behavioral layers.The third chapter is dedicated to the principles, foundations, goals, and strategy of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic, as well as the analysis and understanding of political developments. Analyzing and understanding the developments of Iran's foreign policy is not possible without knowing its principles, bases, goals and strategy.Two topics are the major focus of this chapter. First, the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran, according to its Islamic nature and the ideology that gives it legitimacy, seeks to secure Islamic and national interests. Second, the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic has two categories: national and transnational goals.It is impossible to explain Iran's foreign policy without correctly understanding these interests, goals, and their interaction and relationship.

The topic of the fourth chapter is the foreign policy discourse of the Islamic Republic of Iran. The main purpose of this chapter is to explain the various discourses that have dominated Iran's foreign policy in the last three decades. In general, the two meta discourses of liberal nationalism and Islamism have dominated the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic. The discourse of liberal nationalism dominated Iran's official foreign policy during the interim government and the presidency of Bani Sadr, and Islamism, which is divided into

IQBAL FORUM

five sub-discourses: idealism, expediency, realism, democratic pacifism, and justice-oriented fundamentalism, after the removal of Bani Sadr has ruled over the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic since June 1982. Therefore, the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran is divided into six discourse periods. Of course,considering that each discourse has one foot in the previous discourse and the other foot in the subsequent discourse, the timing of these courses should be considered with scientific tolerance. Despite this, it will be argued that this division and timing are not arbitrary and unmethodical. It is also necessary to remember that, based on the conceptual framework of the book, it is necessary to explain and analyze the discourses of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic because among the analysts of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic in Iran, there is a kind of consensus that immaterial and conceptual structures, including culture, ideology, and religion, are among the most important factors.

However, this chapter aims not to analyze the discourse of Iran's foreign policy but rather to elucidate its various discourses.The last chapter of the first part explains the decision-making institutions or the decision-making structure within the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic. In line with the theoretical and conceptual framework of the book, which considers the two categories of governmental sources and role-dependent factors and variables in Iran's foreign policy, it becomes imperative to examine and elucidate the official structure of decision-making in Iran's foreign policy.

Considering the individual and role-dependent variables in the decision-making process and foreign policy formulation, as well as their influence on foreign policy behavior, it is necessary to explain each government institution's position, qualifications, and powers.Therefore, the purpose of this chapter is not to explain Iran's foreign policy solely based on decision-making theories.

IQBAL FORUM

The second part consists of five chapters that discuss and examine the periods and developments of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran in the last thirty-three years. This section aims to analyze the continuity and change in Iran's foreign policy, as mentioned earlier, as it has undergone both transformation and continuity.

Therefore, these five chapters allow for an examination of the areas of change and continuity within the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic.The question is whether the changes and developments have occurred in the realm of fundamental principles and strategies or in the domain of tactics and tools. To answer this question, the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic has been divided into five periods: the interim government, the war period, the construction period, the reform period, and the Era of Principlism. The only exception is the review of the time of the interim government in the first period.

Additionally, the sixth chapter analyzes the developments and issues of foreign policy, specifically focusing on the occurrence of the hostage crisis in the American embassy in 1979.

Therefore, the sixth chapter is dedicated to the analysis of developments and issues of Iran's foreign policy during the period of the interim government. The study of Iran's foreign policy during the war is the subject of the seventh chapter.The tracking and representation of change and continuity in Iran's foreign policy during this period, when the foreign war was imposed on the country, will be emphasized. The explanation and analysis of different dimensions and aspects of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic after the end of the war in the so-called construction period are highlighted in the eighth chapter. During this period, some of the sources that determined Iran's foreign policy, such as the decision-makers, the constitution, and its external and operational environment, underwent a transformation.Therefore, examining this period provides the

IQBAL FORUM

possibility of showing the continuity process while changing Iran's foreign policy.The ninth chapter focuses on the foreign policy of the reform government after June 2, 1997. Perhaps the most important feature of this period is the coming to power of those who believed in a distinct political discourse and acted within its framework.The occurrence of crises inAfghanistan and Iraq is also another distinction of this period. In the last chapter of the book on the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran, the era of principled, justice-oriented principles that began in August 2004 is discussed and investigated.

In the end, keeping a few things in mind is necessary. Despite the common tradition and the conventional method of compiling textbooks in academic circles abroad, this book has been written based on a theoretical framework. Some colleagues and thinkers consider this a theoretical bias and lack of scientific impartiality. While paying attention to this scholarly criticism, the Author believes that choosing a specific theoretical framework does two things and has a crucial particular task that justifies this action.

Firstly, it enables the methodical organization of the book. Second, it teaches us how to apply a theoretical framework to explain Iran's foreign policy, which some consider it as unique.

Secondly, although the book is written based on a certain framework, the author has tried his best to avoid judging and evaluating the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic. In this way, the possibility is provided for valuable colleagues and professors to freely expand the scope of the discussion and review the material. In addition, it enables the students to test their analytical power, evaluate the topics, and conclude. Therefore, the summary of the contents and topics is presented in a different form than the general conclusion of the book.

Thirdly, although foreign policy differs from foreign relations, in practice, these two overlap in many cases. In this book, despite the great efforts to prevent this, there are overlaps in some cases.

IQBAL FORUM

Fourthly, achieving the goal of examining the five periods of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic is the focal issue in the framework of the characteristics and general principles of that period. Maybe some thematic or geographical areas have not been investigated because, in the case of dealing with these areas and topics, the volume of the book would be even greater.

Lastly, the author, for the first time, presented the discussion of foreign policy discourses of the Islamic Republic of Iran in the form of a scientific lecture in December 1999 at the Faculty of Law and Political Sciences of Allameh Tabatabai University. Then, it was referred to as the first chapter of the plan for this book, which was proposed to Samt Publications in the same year and was approved.

This book is the result of more than a decade of teaching, experience, and research by the author in the field of foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran, but it undoubtedly has shortcomings and biases that I hope will be addressed with the scholarly criticism of learned professors and colleagues.The publication of this book owes much to the efforts, kindness, and cooperation of many distinguished scholars, thus, I think it is my duty to thank them.

IQBAL FORUM

Part One: The Foreign Policy of Islamic Republic of Iran in Theory

Chapter One: The Theoretical Approaches to The Foreign Policy of Islamic Republic of Iran
1: Idealism
2: Democratic Peace
3: Economic Liberalism
4: Realism
5: Theory of Geopolitics
6: Neorealism
7: Neoliberal Institutionalism
8: Constructivism
9: Theory of Discourse
9.1: Discursive Change
9.2: Discursive Antagonism
10. Theoretical Framework of the Book
Chapter Two: The Sources of Foreign Policy of Islamic Republic of Iran
1. The Individual Sources
1.1: Personal Characteristics
1.2: Psycho-perceptual Environment
1.3: Character and Role Interaction
2. Role Resources
2.1: Individual Restrictions
2.2: Organizational Procedure
3. Governmental Sources
3.1: The Nature of Political System
3.2: The Form and Structure of Government
3.3: The Bureaucracy
4. The National Sources
4.1: The Cultural Variables
4.1.1: National Characteristics and Values
4.1.2: Political Culture
4.1.3: Ideology and Religion
4.2: Historical Variables
4.3: Geographical Variables

IQBAL FORUM

4.3.1: Geographical Location
4.3.2: The Country's Size
4.4: Social Variables
4.4.1: Transitional Status of Iranian Society
4.4.2: Population Composition
4.4.3: Groups and Social Classes
4.5: Economic Variables
4.5.1: Economic System
4.5.2: Economic Development Model
4.5.3: Energy Resources
5. Foreign Sources
5.1: Nature of International System
5.1.1: The Anarchy
5.1.2: Interdependence and Globalization
5.1.3: International Discourse
5.2: Structure of International System
5.2.1: Material Structure
5.2.2: Institutional Structure
5.2.3: Ideational Structure
5-3: Behavior and Development of other Countries
Chapter Three: The Principles, Interests, Objectives and Sterategies of Islamic Republic of Iran's Foreign Policy
1. The Principles and Foundations
1.1: Rejection of Dominance and Submission
1.2: Fighting Injustice and Confrontation with Arrogance
1.3: Supporting the Oppressed: Liberation Movements
1.4: Supporting and Defending Muslims
1.5: Peaceful Coexistence and Pacifism
1.6: Non-interference in Internal Affairs of Countries and Mutual Respect
1.7: Commitment to International Treaties and Law
2. The National Interests
2.1: Definition
2.2: The Elements and Values
2.3: The Variation of National Interests
2.3.1: The Defensive and Security Interests
2.3.2: World Order Interests

IQBAL FORUM

2.3.3: The Economic Interests
2.3.4: The Ideological Interests
2.4: The Importance and Priority of National Interests
2.4.1: The Existential Interests
2.4.2: The Vital (crucial) Interests
2.4.3: The All-important Interest
2.4.4: The Peripheral Interests
3. The Goals and Objectives
3.1: The National Objectives
3.1.1: The Maintenance of National Security and Country's Entity/Sovereignty
3.1.2: The Economic Development and Welfare
3.1.3: Acquiring International Credibility
3.1.4: Acquiring and Enhancing the National Power
3.2: The Trans-national Objectives
3.2.1: The Maintenance of Islam's Entity (existence)
3.2.2: The Dissemination of Islamic Revolution (inqilab)
3.2.3: The Solidarity (unity) of Islamic World
3.2.4: The Establishment of Islamic-world Society
4. The Orientation and Sterategy: non-alignment
4.1: The Principles and Reasons
4.2: The Variation of Non-alignments
4.2.1: The Conservative Non-alignment
4.2.2: The Revolutionary Non-alignment
4.2.3: The Revisionist Non-alignment
4.2.4: The Reformist Non-alignment
Chapter Four: Discourses of Islamic Republic of Iran's Foreign Policy
1. Discourse Typology
1.1: Evolution "from" Discourse
1.2: Evolution "from" and "in" Discourse
1.2.1: The preliminary Typology
1.2.2: The Conflating-supplementary Typology
2. Dissecting Discourses
2.1: The Discourse of Liberal Nationalism
2.1.1: The nation-state of the Islamic Republic of Iran
2.1.2: The Islamic Revolution

IQBAL FORUM

2.1.3: The International Order and Structure
2.2: The Discourse of Revolutionary Islamism
2.2.1: Nation-centric Idealism
2.2.2: Interest-centric Pragmatism
2.2.2: Islamic Realism
2.2.4: Democratic Pacifism
2.2.5: Justice-centered Principalism
Chapter Five: Decision-Making structure of Islamic Republic's Foreign Policy
1.Determinants and Factors in the Decision-making. Structure
2. Decision-making Institutions (organizations)
2.1: Supreme Leader Office
2.1.1: Major Policies and their Implementation
2.1.2: Declaring War and Peace
2.1.3: Armed Forces Commander-in-chief: Appointment and Deposition of Highest-ranking Officers
2.1.4: Confirming Supreme National Security Council's Acts
2.1.5: Call for Referendum
2.1.6: Other Powers in the constitution
2.2: The Executive Branch
2.2.1: The Presidency
2.2.2: The Cabinet Ministers
2.2.3: Foreign Affairs Ministry
2.2.4: Other Ministries
2.3: The Legislative Branch
2.3.1: Islamic Consultative Assembly
2.3.2: The Guardian Council
2.4: The Expediency Discernment Council
2.5: Supreme National Security Council
2.6: The Judiciary Branch
2.6.1: Role of Judiciary's Head (Chief Justice)
2.6.2: Implementation of Legislations
2.6.3: Interaction and Decision-making regarding Human-rights
2.6.4: Concluding International Contracts
2.7: Armed Forces

IQBAL FORUM

2.7.1: Providing National Security
2.7.2: Providing Objectives of Islamic Revolution
2.7.3: Secured- Oriented Foreign Policy
Part Two: Foreign Policy Evolutions of The Islamic Republic of Iran
Chapter Six: From Interim Government to Algiers Accords
1. Foreign Policy of Interim Government
1.1: Duties (Obligations) and Missions
1.2: Orientation and Guideline
1.3: Principles and Foundations
1.3.1: West Look Policy
1.3.2: Non-interference in Internal Affairs of the Countries
1.3.3: Irenicism and Pacifism
1.3.4: Expansion of Foreign Relationships
1.4: Objectives
1.4.1: Recognition of Islamic Republic
1.4.2: Acquisition of International Credit
1.4.3: Maintaining Independence and National Sovereignty
1.4.4: Maintaining territorial Integrity and National Security
1.4.5: Reconstruction and Economic Expansion
2. Hostage-taking Crisis
2.1: Reasons and Objectives
2.2: Emergence of the Crisis
Iran`s Conditions and Actions
U.S. A`s Conditions and Actions
2.3: Algiers Accords
2.4: Reasons and Conditions of Talk
2.4.1: Iran
2.4.2: USA
2.5: Impact of the Crisis on the Foreign Policy of Iran
2.5.1: Opportunities
2.5.2: Challenges
Chapter Seven: The Holy Defense Period
1. Reasons and Objectives of Iraq's Invasion
1-1: Full sovereignty Enforcement over ARVAND-RŪD
1-2: Prevention of Revolution (Inqilab) Dissemination
1-3: Temptation and Encouragement of USA

IQBAL FORUM

1-4: Occupation and Partition of Parts of Iran
1-5: Hegemonic Enforcement in the Persian Gulf
1-6: Arab's World Leadership
2. Foreign Policy Orientation
2-1: Revolutionary Non-alignment: Reciprocal Confrontation
2-2: Revisionist Non-alignment: Multilateral Interaction
2-3: Return of Revolutionary Non-alignment: Unilateral Confrontation
3. Foreign Policy Objectives
3-1: National Objectives
3-1-1: National Security and Survival
3-1-2: Maintaining Territorial Integrity
3-1-3: Maintaining Independence and National Sovereignty
3-1-4: Just Peace
3-2: Transnational Objectives
3-2-1: Defending Islam
3-2-2: Dissemination of Revolution
3-2-3: Solidarity of the Islamic World
4. Principles and Characteristics
4-1: Neither East nor West: Anti-arrogance
4-2: Relationships with Nations: Supporting Movements and Muslims
1. 4-3: Revolutionary-contractive Pattern of Interaction
4-3-1: Criteria and Priorities
4-3-2: Types of Countries and Actions
4-4: Distrusting International Organizations
4-4-1: The United Nations Organization
4-4-2: Organisation of Islamic Cooperation
4-4-3: The Non-Aligned Movement
Chapter Eight: Construction Period
2. Factors Affecting the Foreign Policy
1-1: End of Iraq-Iran War
1-2: The Revision of Constitution
1-3: Change of Decision-makers
1-4: Iraq's Invasion of Kuwait
1-5: The Disintegration of the Soviet Union
3. Orientation: Reformist Non-alignment

IQBAL FORUM

4. Principles and Behavioral Patterns
3-1: Priority of National Objectives
3-2: Economic Expansionism
3-3: Peaceful Coexistence and Normalization of Relations
3-3-1: The Persian Gulf Cooperation Council
3-3-2: Europe
3-3-3: USA
3-4: Multilateralism: Interaction with International Organizations
3-4-1: United Nations Organization
3-4-2: Islamic Cooperation Organization
3-4-3: The Non-Aligned Movement
3-5: Regionalism
3-5-1: Persian Gulf Region
3-5-2: Central Asia and Caucasus: ECO
Chapter Nine: Reformations Period
1. Sterategy and Orientation
2. Principles and Objectives
2-1: Development: Dialogue of Civilizations
2-2: Positive Pacifism
2-3: Détente
2-3-1: The Persian Gulf Cooperation Council
2-3-2: Europe
2-3-3: USA
2-4: Confidence Building
2-5: Discourse Multilateralism
2-5-1: United Nations Organization
2-5-2: Organisation of Islamic Cooperation
2-5-3: The Non-Aligned Movement
2-5-4: ECO (Economic Cooperation Organization)
3. Foreign Policy Issues
3-1: The 9/11 Attack and USA's Invasion of Iraq
3-2: Iraq's Crisis
3-2-1: Objectives of Iran's Foreign Policy
3-2-2: Positive or Active neutralism
3-2-3: Behavioral Principles of Foreign Policy
3-2-4: Positioning on War

IQBAL FORUM

3-2-5: Post-war Period
3-3: Nuclear Crisis
3-3-1: Iran's Options
3-3-2: Objectives and Reasons
3-3-3: Tehran Declaration (2003): Sa'adabad Agreement
3-3-4: The Paris Agreement
Chapter Ten: The Era of Principlism
1. Sterategy: The Revisionist Non-alignment
1-1: Confrontation with the Monopolistic System and USA's Hegemony
1-2: Reforming and Changing the International Organizations
2. Behavioral Principle
2-1: Principlism
2-2: Justice (Fairness)
2-3: Positive Pacifism
3. Behavioral Patterns
3-1: Redefining the Relationships with the West
3-2: Policy Regarding the East
3-3: Tendency to the Third World
3-4: Tendency to Latin America
3-5: Interaction with the Persian Gulf Cooperation Council
3-6: Critical Dialogue with USA
3-7: Revision in Nuclear Diplomacy

IQBAL FORUM

Part One

IQBAL FORUM

1

Chater One

Theortical Approaches to the Foreign Policy Of Islamic RepublicOf Iran

IQBAL FORUM

Chapter1:TheoreticalApproaches to the Foreign Policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran

One of the most important topics in the study of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran is choosing an appropriate theoretical approach. Because each of these theories is based on distinct principles and assumptions, it requires selecting specific variables, factors, processes, and concepts for analyzing foreign policy. There needs to be a consensus on a proper conceptual or theoretical framework for studying and analyzing the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic.These controversies emanate from the type of relationship between the theory of international relations and the theory of foreign policy on the one hand and the essence and identity of the Islamic Republic on the other.

Standpoints respecting the relevance between the theory of international relations and foreign policy analysis abound. Some theorists, like Kenneth Neal Waltz, consider the two theoretical areas of foreign policy analysis and international Politics to be thoroughly separated from each other. Therefore, the common theory in one field cannot be used to explain another field. Others believe that these two theoretical areas are supplementary. In such a way that each of them studies and examines an area that the other excludes from their theoretical agenda. The third standpoint argues that not only is there no significant difference between theories of international policy and foreign policy, but there is also a kind of analytical relationship between them. As a result, general principles and guideline(s) for foreign policy analysis can be deduced within any theory of international relations, and based on them, one can formulate and process foreign policy theories.In essence, if international policy theories are modified, they could be considered a source and proper outset (beginning) for formulating foreign policy. Also, in terms of norms or values and advising, there is a close link between the theories of international relationships and foreign policy, which allows the possibility of deducing policy-making recommendations and prescriptions for decision-makers and policymakers of foreign policy.Nevertheless,even the successful deployment of

IQBAL FORUM

international relations theories in the area of foreign policy does not mean that they can be applied precisely to analyze the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran by implicating the conceptual framework in the basis of international relations theories for analyzing Iran's foreign policy when confronted with other theoretical constraints stemming from its Islamic, revolutionary, and developing essence and identity.

The first theoretical constraint aroused from the essence of the cherished theory of international Relations, which has been processed and presented to express and maintain a specified international historical-cultural system and order; in particular, the domination of the realism paradigm over the studies of international relationships after World War II, which emphasizesthe role of the superpowers in the world politics policy, was subject to the constraints of international relationships to the study of relations and interests of these countries.It means neglecting thedeveloping countries and their relations from the specified realm of these theories.Thus, mainstream theories do not possess the power of explanation to comprehend the behavior and analyze the foreign policy of countries with cultural, historical, valid, and enduring differences with western national governments.

In the case of a particular conceptualization of the foreign policy analysis of developing societies, the problem appears to be how to analyze the foreign policy of revolutionary countries. Some international relations and foreign policy pundits consider revolutions as unique socio-political phenomena that provoke certain attitudes.Revolutionary countries have a distinctive foreign policy compared to other countries, and their foreign policy attitude comes under the influence of the revolution's essence and the revolutionary political system.

Another theoretical constraint that makes it difficult to choose an appropriate conceptual framework for analyzing the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran is its Islamic essence. Although Iran is a revolutionary country and follows the pattern of a revolutionary foreign policy attitude, it is a revolution with an Islamic identity that distinguishes it from other revolutionary

IQBAL FORUM

countries. Therefore, the Islamic essence of Iran's revolution and the legitimizing ideology it aroused in the political system restrained employing the revolutionary foreign policy theories for analyzing the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic. Since the theory of revolutionary countries' foreign policy assumes all revolutions and revolutionary systems are the same, their foreign policies follow similar and resembled behavioral patterns.Accordingly,the revolutionary systems of Russia, China, Cuba, and Iran resemble each other in their foreign policy attitudes.In other words,a kind of determinism dominates their foreign policy.In this theory, although the impact of the Islamic revolution is considered an internal (domestic,civil) phenomenon on the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran, the same logic is envisioned for it as for other revolutions.

Despite the theoretical constraints and issues, there are other theories that should be processed for analyzing the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran. Instead, it is intended that the theories of international relations and conceptual framework implied for analyzing the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic must take the variables and affecting factors into consideration at all four levels. Namely, factors and components arising from the essence of the international system, the developing world, the revolutionary system, the Islamic essence of Iran's evolution, and the political system aroused by this revolution interact with each other and shape Iran's foreign policy should be taken into account. That is to say, a new conceptualization must be made based on convenient existing theories of international relations and foreign policy. This chapter aims to explain and specify the variety of theoretical approaches and conceptual frameworks that can be used for analyzing Iran's foreign policy. In accordance with the existing theories in international relations and foreign policy, several theoretical models can be applied to analyze the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic. Each of these theories magnifies the variables and specific factors per its principles and assumptions, level of analysis, and methodology, emphasizing the particular dimensions and aspects of Iran's foreign policy.

IQBAL FORUM

Achieving this goal, following a brief and concise review of the fundamental principles and assumptions of each theory and theoretical approach, its approach should be specified to the five categories and concepts of "actor model," "logic of action," "unit and level of analysis," "dependent variable" and countries' objectives, and "independent variable" or determining factors of foreign policy, since comprehension and analysis of the Islamic Republic of Iran's foreign policy in the framework of theoretical approaches based on international relationships' theory, without understanding and cognition of their standpoints towards these theoretical concepts, is impossible. Furthermore, a comparison ground for them is also prepared due to the commonalities and differences in different approaches towards these categories.

1.Idealism

Idealism as a school of thought is rooted in the optimism of the 18th-century Enlightenment, 19th-century liberalism, and 20th-century Wilsonian Idealism. According to idealism, politics is the art of good government. A virtuous politician is someone whose deeds and behavior are in accordance with human ethics and values.Idealism believes that humans are capable of learning and being educated and, therefore, can change their behaviors.Thus, they ought to change their abnormal and immoral behavior and attitude consistent with ethical and moral values and practice them.This theory considers the root of war and violence in the internal structure of society and a political unit called the state. Accordingly, war is the outcome of special conditions both in the internal affairs of society and international status, and if it evolves and reforms, it will be abolished.Idealism is based on the assumption that environmental conditions create human behavior, and in the case of any changes, that behavior will be altered. As stated by idealists, human beings are institutionally altruistic and benevolent, and if a suitable and favorable environment is prepared, they will not engage in warfare and hostility. They are inherently(fundamentally) anti-nation-centric and assume

IQBAL FORUM

governments, mainly the non-democratic types, are the core reason for tensions, war, and insecurities. Idealism is divided into different branches, including pacifism, federalism, legalism, ethics, and humanism.These tendencies differ in methods and mechanisms for preventing war and achieving peace but share common assumptions about reality and the world of politics. As a general rule,idealism is established on the following principles and assumptions:

- Humans' essence is inherently virtuous and altruistic. Therefore, they are capable of reciprocal assistance and cooperation.
- Humans' core anxiety and apprehension for others' prosperity pave the way for the possibility of growth and improvement. Namely, this enlightenment principle in the probability of enhancement and expansion of civilization will be reaffirmed.
- Bad behavior is not the fruit of a vicious person but of the human institutions and hierarchies that tempt people to act selfishly, resort to war, and aggrieve others. War is not inevitable, but its consequences can be alleviated by constraining and eliminating the institutional hierarchies that encourage it. War is an international issue that requires collective and multilateral efforts to be controlled, and individual and unilateral measures are not sufficient.The international community ought to oblige itself to eradicate the institutions that prepare for the possibility of war.
- International security and peace are provided through collective security, and countries must define their national security in terms of international security.The interests of all nations (countries) are correlated and allied, and they should seek to fulfill humanistic interests instead of their national benefits.
- Legal law, mainly international laws, ethical norms, and human values, play a decisive role in the peaceful regulation of international relationships, and countries must adhere to them in their foreign policy.

IQBAL FORUM

• The quest for power in international relationships is controlled within the framework of legal norms and international organizations.Consequently,international institutes and organizations play a pivotal and fundamental role in conducting relations and affairs among sovereign states.

• Thus, the idealistic approach to foreign policy is based on traditional abstract principles and criteria that encompass legal codes and ethical values and have a prescriptive and policy-making orientation. From the perspective of this theory, a foreign policy based on ethical principles, legal standards, and human values is more effective and efficient, since instead of competition, conflict, and war, it enhances and expands unity, cooperation, and collaboration among countries. Additionally, moral-ethical power, or namely, software power, is far more efficient and sufficient than physical and materialist power or hardware power due to the fact that it bears more permanence and continuity. Moral-ethical power, instead of using force, implies domination over humans' minds and thoughts in order to accept the principles that should rule the country's foreign policy behavior. Furthermore, idealism criticizes and denies the power-oriented approach of realism as unrestrained selfishness and pseudoscientific Machiavellianism. Perhaps it will have some trivial, temporary financial interests and achievements for the nation, but in the long term, it will mostly eradicate the lasting and permanent interests. Accordingly, due to the natural conformity and coordination between the interests of different countries and nations, foreign policy should be formulated and implemented in accordance with human interests and to ensure the common interests of all countries. In a law-abiding and normative international community, even national interests are fulfilled through cooperation with other international actors and reliance on them.

• Although what is called idealism in the Islamic Republic's foreign policy is incompatible with the school of idealism in international relations, this theory can be used to analyze the

IQBAL FORUM

attitude of Iran's foreign policy in some periods and subject areas. In particular, the Author believes that the dominant discourse in Iran's foreign policy during the presidency of Mr. Khatami was established on the principles and assumptions of traditional idealism to some extent.

2.Democratic Peace

The theory of democratic peace is a standpoint at the level of the national subsystem analysis or of the second image type, which considers foreign policy as a subordinating (subsidiary) of the essence of the political system of countries. This theory is rooted in the philosophical views and political thought of the German philosopher Immanuel Kant, who argues in the book Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch that republics (or, in the present-day sense, liberal democracies) rarely or never confront each other. According to Kant, the first condition for durable, lasting, and enduring peace between nations, defined as the elimination of a probable war, is the establishment of republican order within countries.The Constitution of the Islamic Republic is based on individual freedom, the rule of law, and the equality of citizens before the law. Democratic republics are likely striving to establish and maintain peace. Since the citizens' contentment is crucial in resolving foreign issues, particularly the declaration or non-declaration of war, it is actually normal for them to be cautious about approving the start of a war. Because the decision to initiate a war means bearing and paying all the costs and damages of the war by the citizens themselves, Thus, Kant argues that there is a steady link between the internal structure of the country and its foreign policy. As a matter of course, a democratic constitution is an obligatory proviso for a peaceful attitude in foreign policy that consequently leads to peace and security. There are two reasons why a democratic political structure leads to peace and tranquilly. The first reasoning emphasizes the norms that shape democratic decision-making processes and the mechanisms for the peaceful settlement of political disputes, as well as the

IQBAL FORUM

equality of citizens, majority rule, tolerance of dissent, and the rights of minorities. Democracies believe that other liberal and democratic countries are governed on the basis of these norms. Democratic systems that rely on justice and the consent of the people believe that other democracies are legitimate and just and therefore deserve reconciliation and compromise.On the contrary, democratic countries assume that non-democratic countries are illegitimate and unjust because they do not rely on the people's satisfaction. Non-democratic systems encroaching on their citizens' rights are not dependable (trustworthy) in foreign policy. Therefore, the social identity of countries, to some extent, stems from the democratic essence and character of their internal (civil) structures. This leads to the definition of collective identity between democratic and non-democratic countries. Second, reasoning emphasizes the fundamental constraints. Democratic political systems are defined by a set of controls and divisions between the executive and legislative branches, then the political system, beneficiary groups, public opinion, and so on. Accordingly, the complexity of the decision-making process makes it difficult for leaders and decision-makers to easily use military force and power unless they are confident of sufficient internal consent and support for coercive measures or a low-cost war. They see the leaders of other democracies, like themselves, dealing with such constraints and restrictions, thus avoiding the employment of force and aggression in foreign policy.Some analysts believe that the second specification, which means "the model of fundamental shackles and constraints," is not theoretically convincing. Because, first, the complexity of democratic decision-making arrangements and procedures is itself largely due to the normative functioning of democracy that exists within the political institutions of democratic systems. Consequently, it is very difficult, if not impossible, to separate these two arguments. Second, this notion cannot explain why sometimes democratic leaders swiftly decide to pursue a coercive foreign policy towards authoritarian systems (regimes), resorting to war

IQBAL FORUM

and aggression, and why, when democratic systems confront authoritarian enemies, the fundamental complexities of democracy seem to be less important.Third, fundamental constraints,other than their normative foundations,cannot convincingly explain why the wise and insightful leaders of democratic systems should not be tempted to deceive other restrained and shackled leaders with a quick, low-cost military victory. Hence, the first argument, the determination of institutionalized norms in the decision-making process of democratic systems, can better explain the hypothesis of "democratic peace" on the basis of peaceful and tyrannical foreign policy.Democracies visualize other democracies as systems constrained by the norms of peaceful settlement, so they don't feel a potential external threat. Thus, the theory of democratic peace claims that internal factors, rather than rational calculations of military power, are the determining factors of foreign policy and the providers of peace. According to the principles and assumptions of "democratic peace theory", there is an intimate connection between the internal political structure and the foreign policy attitude of the Islamic Republic, so that the evolutions of internal policy have a determining and direct impact on the evolution of a country's foreign policy. As a result,the consistency, consolidation, and expansion of the democratic process within Iranian society will lead to the establishment and expansion of peace and détente in the arena of foreign policy.Some analysts have considered the developments in Iran's foreign policy after June 2,1997,and Khatami's presidency as the result of a process of religious democracy developing inside the country. Therefore, political development and the heightening of internally civilized society have led to peaceful and compromising foreign policies within the framework of the Dialogue of Civilizations and the Coalition for Peace, Detente, and Confidence-Building

IQBAL FORUM

3.Economic Liberalism

The theory of economic liberalism is a kind of political economy approach based on the interaction of economics and politics and their mutual influence.This school of thought conceives and argues that a liberal economic system, or market economy, at home and an economic order at the international level led to the adoption of a peaceful foreign policy. Assuming that the most important motive for the external behavior of modern governments is economic success and that decision-making leaders prioritize the material and economic well-being of their people over all other considerations and objectives, the liberal economic system at home and the international system abroad would help create a cooperative and peaceful foreign policy.

First, this economic order gives the nation more economic prosperity and welfare. Prosperous nations and countries are also more satisfied with the status quo, and conservative and pro-status countries, in turn, are more peaceful. Many conflicts and disputes occur for wealth, but if countries are already rich and developed, they have less incentive to engage in militancy and war. Also, advanced and prosperous societies have to bear a lot of costs in the event of war, which is not justifiable and acceptable to the people. So, for these two reasons, they turn away from conflict and war and maintain good relations with other countries.

Second, a liberal economic order increases economic interdependence between countries, which in itself requires a peaceful foreign policy. In conditions of interdependence, the temptation of aggression and expansionism decreases. Hence, on the one hand, all countries are able to retaliate, and on the other hand, aggression and war involve a lot of money for the aggressor. As a result, these countries have to cooperate and work together to ensure the well-being of their people. This means reducing the desirability of the military and force as the only foreign policy tools and the uncertainty of their thematic hierarchy. Therefore, it is not that countries make military

IQBAL FORUM

security the most important goal and priority of their foreign policy under any circumstances and at all times, but in a state of interdependence, they put public economic well-being above military security. In fact, instances of higher politics and lower policy have changed.

Newer versions of economic liberalism, while adhering to the basic tenets of this theory, have attempted to offer a new reinterpretation of it that is more in line with the real world. These theories continue to believe that free trade at the domestic and international levels leads to a peaceful foreign policy, but not directly, quickly, or immediately. Interdependence and free trade are not necessarily synonymous with peace and cooperation abroad, and this influence is mediated. These two factors are due to the existence of a chain of cause and effect, as an intervening and mediating variable, between democracy and peaceful foreign policy. Thus, free trade and a market economy lead to greater economic prosperity and welfare, which leads to democracy. Democracy also leads to peaceful and cooperative foreign policy and behavior.

According to economic liberals, free markets and trade require and guarantee mutual benefit. In addition, it enables countries to specialize based on their comparative advantage and increase their trade profits with greater productivity. Democracy also leads to peaceful behavior and foreign policy for two reasons. Firstly, in a democracy, citizens who have to pay for aggression and war play a prominent role in decision-making. As a result, they support a peaceful foreign policy. Secondly, citizens of democracies respect the democratic rights of other democracies and do not consent to the wars of their counterparts.

Other liberal theorists emphasize the positive correlation between the nature of liberalization in a country's ruling coalitions and its cooperative orientation in foreign policy. They argue that this hypothesis, based on traditional arguments, is not about the effects of interdependence between countries and their mutually cooperative behavior but is based on assumptions

IQBAL FORUM

about how political coalitions safeguard domestic interests and survival and how their position and alliance define their relationship to regional or international political economy. The main premise of this approach is that the various relationships that link the various actors to the global economy and other international processes affect their perception of their interests, which are expressed regionally and globally.

According to this approach, the interests of pro-economic liberalization coalitions, i.e., market-oriented reforms, privatization, and reducing the role of the government, require the country to be open to global markets, capital, investment, and international technology.Central to their agenda is the priority of adapting to the economy and an economic order inspired by international competition. They are in favor of structural adjustment policies and are opposed to any confrontation with global investors. For economic liberalizing coalitions, a policy of reconciliation based on cooperation and joint efforts that leads to regional and global cooperative regimes is the most effective and desirable foreign behavior and order. Thus, contrary to the traditional theory of economic liberalism, this approach is not based on an algebraic correlation between economic liberalism and peaceful foreign policy. This does not mean that the extensive domestic prosperity resulting from free trade gives rise to foreign co-operative incentives and preferences, but rather that the interests of internal liberalizing coalitions, rather than the cost-benefit economic calculations of war, require interactive foreign policy.

Government-oriented coalitions, on the other hand, which emphasize patterns of import substitution, industrialization, classical populist programs, economic self-sufficiency, and total self-reliance, do not support cooperative foreign policy. This foreign policy undermines their legitimacy and domestic interests, while confrontational foreign policy ensures their viability and sovereignty.

Although the theory of economic liberalism does not have the necessary explanatory power to analyze the totality of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran and all its

IQBAL FORUM

realities, dimensions, and aspects, by modifying it, especially the approach of the Economic Liberation Coalition, it can be used as a conceptual framework for foreign policy behavior. It can be used in some periods and areas. Economic factors and elements have played an undeniable role in determining and formulating the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic.The pattern of economic development and the domestic economic system are at least one of the important variables affecting Iran's foreign policy.Therefore, economic considerations and interests, such as prosperity and economic growth and development, are undoubtedly one of the most important goals and motives of the Islamic Republic's foreign policy.Furthermore, economic and technological development may become a top foreign policy priority in the hierarchy of national objectives.

Accordingly, many foreign policy analysts in the Islamic Republic of Iran have explicitly or implicitly used this theoretical model to analyze foreign policy in the so-called constructive era. In this period, due to the need for economic reconstruction of the country and providing minimum economic prosperity after the war, the priority of development and economic growth in the hierarchy of Iran's foreign policy goals was promoted. As a result, the foreign policy behavior of the Islamic Republic underwent a fundamental change under the influence of this priority,shifting from confrontation to reconciliation and de-escalation. The improvement and expansion of the Islamic Republic of Iran's relations with the countries of the Persian Gulf and the European Union, especially during the first term of Hashemi Rafsanjani's presidency, is a proof of this claim.

4.Realism

Realism is a comprehensive and grand theory of international relations that seeks to give a general explanation international politics and various international phenomena based on the fixed characteristics of human beings and countries. In other words, realism is an "inside-out perspective" or "second image" that

IQBAL FORUM

emphasizes the national characteristics of countries and human beings to explain the international relations and foreign policy of countries. This theory, which is based on political realism and rooted in the ideas of philosophers and historians such as Thucydides, Machiavelli, Hobbes, and Reinhold Niebuhr, was proposed by theorists such as Morgenthau, Wolfers, and Kennan in response to idealism after World War II.

Unlike idealism, which emphasizes the world as it should be, realism claims to describe it. From a realistic point of view, the international system is made up of sovereign,selfish,and utilitarian states with different and conflicting interests that seek to maximize those interests as much as possible. Realists define international politics as an area in which the law of ethics has no role and the power struggle dominates countries' relations. Thus, realists focus on the behavior of countries and the strategies they use to ensure their survival and increase their interests.

Realism relies on these fundamental principles and concepts to explain international relations and foreign policy analysis: power centrism, system centrism, national interests, the balance of power, the state of nature, rationality, and survival.

Realists regard power as the fundamental concept of international relations, which plays a role similar to the concept of energy in physics. International politics, as Morgenthau points out, is like any other kind of politics: a power struggle. The most important objective of countries in international relations and foreign policy is to gain maximum power and expand it. The desire for control of nations is a natural thing that originates fromhuman nature and is intensified and strengthened in a decentralized international system to maintain survival and power. Thus, power is both an objective and a means of survival.

Realism also assumes that nation-states or countries are the primary actors in international relations, forming the core of the international system. As a result of this theoretical approach, the relations between sovereign countries and political interactions, which are based on the principles of power and national interests,are examined.Realists argue that despite the

IQBAL FORUM

emergence of non-state actors,such as international organizations and transnational institutions in the international system, the national government remains the most important player in international politics.It is the countries that make the final decision and take action to implement it in international politics. Thus, non-governmental actors are secondary and less essential actors who play a marginal role in determining countries' international outcomes and foreign policies.

"From the perspective of realism, countries are seen as unified entities that make decisions wisely.This assumption reflects how countries take decisions and the goals they pursue in international relations and foreign policy. On one hand, government officials in central governments conduct foreign policy while transnational agencies and interest groups play a limited role in the process. On the other hand, national decision makers and policymakers are assumed to be wise and make sound decisions. They carefully calculate the costs and benefits of each decision and action using cost-benefit analysis to maximize their achievements." "A wise actor is one who strives to maximize their national interests.In a decentralized international system consisting of selfish countries, the primary obligation and duty of the government and statesmen is to ensure the interests of the national and governmental society they represent, rather than observe the moral standards that govern individual members of society. Therefore, the behavior of countries is explained and determined based on national interests. National interests are defined in terms of national power, which is the highest objective of any country in foreign policy. In this sense, the national interest serves as both a beacon for the country and its political leaders in foreign policy, as well as a criterion for evaluating its decisions and policies.

However, realists also acknowledge that national interests, defined in terms of power, do not have a clear and fixed meaning. Instead, the certainty of the country's survival and

IQBAL FORUM

existence in the international system is a competitive issue. All countries must protect their physical, political, and cultural identities from the attacks and threats of other countries.Thus, national interests are synonymous with national survival. According to the prevailing logic in international politics, nations, as rational actors, must provide the tools of power and violence for self-preservation and survival.

The tendency to trace power and the obligation and compulsion to ensure rational survival encourage rational countries to adopt a foreign policy and behavior based on the balance of power.The logic of the balance of power dictates that pragmatic policymakers and decision-makers strike a balance between the forces and actors that seek to overthrow their power. Two patterns of balance of power are conceivable: internal or unilateral balance, in which countries balance based on their capabilities, and external or multilateral balance, which is formed as an alliance of two or more countries against the power that disturbs the balance ."

The analysis of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran has largely been done using the theoretical framework of realism. This is because most analysts have used the concept of "national interests" as defined in realism to explain Iran's foreign behavior after the Islamic Revolution. However, some scholars and experts argue that realism cannot fully explain all aspects of Iran's foreign policy because it does not account for Iran's non-material interests and values.

Despite its limitations, realism can still be a valuable tool for analyzing the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran by modifying some of its principles and hypotheses. In particular, the concept of national interest needs to be redefined to include not only material interests, but also intangible and ideological interests and values.This is because the national interests of countries, including Iran, are not limited to material concerns but include other factors such as ideological and world order interests.

IQBAL FORUM

5. Theory of Geopolitics

One of the traditional approaches in international relations is geopolitical theory,which examines the relationship between man and nature, the relationship between national power and geography, or the geographical roots of national power, and the possibility of changing environmental factors to meet human and national needs. National power and territorial control are at the heart of this theory. Geopolitics is the study of political phenomena based on their spatial and spatial relationships, their dependence and impact on the earth and all cultural and human factors, which is the subject of anthropogeography in general.

Geopolitics, as a concept of foreign policy analysis, explains how countries' foreign policy is guaranteed based on geographical factors or the role these elements generally play in its formation. In other words, geopolitics is an approach to foreign policy that explains and predicts the foreign policy behavior and military capabilities of the country based on the physical and geographical environment.These geographical factors include all the features and components related to the geography of the country, both human and non-human. Material geographical factors arise from the physical environment of the country and include elements such as geographical location, land area,natural resources,climate, landform, elevation or topography, andborders.Human elements that originate from the demographic characteristics of the country include factors such as historical background and experiences,socio-political developments, political culture, ethnic and racial context, and religion.

Geopolitical theorists argue that geographical factors, especially the geographical location of each country, play a decisive role in national power and foreign policy orientation. They view foreign policy behavior as a function of geographical conditions and analyze the decisions of national policymakers in the context of geopolitical requirements.The Geographical situation consolidates the available options for the country and severely limits its possible choices in the field of foreign policy.

IQBAL FORUM

It is also an important factor in national power that suggests and determines the realm of national interests and the scope of foreign policy.

Some new theoretical approaches have challenged the traditional approach of geopolitical theory, as being based on Determinism and a one-dimensional perception of the geographical environment of foreign policy.Instead,a multidimensional ecological perspective is adopted that considers both the real environment and the psychological environment as vital in determining the foreign policy of countries. The psychological environment refers to the perceptions and attitudes of foreign policy decision-makers, which are influenced by their perceptions of the environment through their sensory system and, their frame and value system, their subconscious and conscious experiences.The real or operational environment refers to the actual situation and circumstances that affect the achievements and capabilities of countries.

Thus, the perceptions and attitudes of foreign policy leaders and policymakers towards environmental and geographical conditions (psychological environment) and these conditions and climatic and geographical factors (operational environment) simultaneously affect and shape the foreign policy of countries.

Some analyses of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran have been conducted within the framework of geopolitical theory, which is based on the geographical,historical,and cultural characteristics of Iran.According to these analysts, Iran's foreign policy is influenced by various fixed and unchangeable factors originating from its physical and social environment.While all of these scholars agree on the crucial role of geopolitical factors in Iran's foreign policy, each emphasizes one or more specific geographical elements. Some consider Iran's geographical location and natural resources to be the most significant source of its foreign policy. Others, based on a particular definition of Iran's social environment, highlight its historical and cultural demographic resources as the most

IQBAL FORUM

important factor.A group of geographical determinists who view Iran's geography (both human and natural) as the sole source of its foreign policy regard its nature and orientation before and after the Islamic Revolution as constant and unchanging. Therefore, they believe that even the Islamic Revolution and the change of the political system in Iran have not fundamentally affected its foreign policy.

Regardless of the one-dimensional and deterministic approaches of geopolitical theory that ignore the psychological environment and human will in foreign policy, policy-making, and decision-making. This theoretical approach can help us in analyzing the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran. In particular, this conceptual framework can help to analyze and explain the continuity of Iran's foreign policy.Despite significant changes and transformations after the Islamic Revolution, Iran's foreign policy has also demonstrated relative continuity and stability, which can be attributed to its fixed geographical variables (both human and non-human).However, it is important to note that these geographical factors and elements are only decisive and influential within the framework of the perceptions and beliefs of Iran's decision-makers (psychological environment) regarding its foreign policy. Therefore, to apply this theoretical approach in studying and understanding the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic, both the operational and psychological environments must be taken into consideration. Furthermore, as will be explained in the following chapters, geographical variables are not the only determinants of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran, they severely limit and position it.

6.Neorealism

Neorealism, or structural realism, is a realistic theory that is faithful to the central principles and assumptions of classical realism, such as country-centeredness, power-centeredness, balance of power, unity and rationality of countries, and the international natural state. But, unlike realism, which is a view

IQBAL FORUM

at the level of thought, Neorealism is a theory at the level of macro-analysis, or the third image, which has an outside-in perspective on international outcomes and foreign policy. In other words, Neorealism is a systematic theory that considers the international system and its characteristics, especially its anarchic structure, as the most important determinants of international politics and, consequently, the behavior of countries in the international arena.

The key and fundamental question of structural realism is: Why do different countries with different political structures, different geographical situations, and ideological differences behave similarly in foreign policy? Thus, while realists such as Morgenthau see the roots of power-hungry nations in the human nature of government, neo-realists such as Waltz see the anarchic state of the international system as the primary cause that dictates the accumulation of power as a vital need for nations.

Neo-realists believe that the international system is anarchic. This anarchy, of course, does not mean international disorder and chaos and a lack of exemplary behavior, nor does it mean full-scale war and naked and continuous conflict; anarchy is a kind of systemic and regulatory principle that explains the international system of independent political units that lack a central authority governing them.In other words, it is the inherent sovereignty of countries.Because there is no higher governingauthority.There is no "government over governments" in the international system.So, disorder or anarchy means the absence of a central government in the international system.

Although realists, as explained, also believe in the anarchy of the international system, they give more role and freedom of action to national statesmen and policymakers than the constraints of the international system. Accordingly, national policymakers have a greater ability to influence international outcomes. Neorealism is much more deterministic than realism because it sees decision-makers as too powerless to influence the course of international events and foreign policy.This

IQBAL FORUM

theory argues that countries and their decision-makers are unable to change their operating environment, and that their behavior and actions are severely constrained by an international system of interacting units. Thus, international anarchy has very important consequences for countries' behavior and foreign policy.

In general, anarchy requires three patterns of behavior for countries, including the Islamic Republic in international relations and foreign policy. Firstly, States are distrustful and suspicious of each other. They are always worried about the danger of war. Such a fear is based on the fact that in a world where countries can attack another country, every country has the right to be distrustful of others to maintain its existence. In addition, there is no legal authority in an international system that a threatened country can turn to for help. Countries are becoming more motivated to suspect. Furthermore, in the international arena, there is nomechanism - other than the selfish interests of third parties - for punishing the aggressor.This makes countries more suspicious and distrustful of being invaded.

Secondly, the most important goal of countries in the international system is to ensure their survival. Because other countries are potential threats and there is no superior authority to rescue aggrieved countries, countries cannot rely on others to ensure their security. In other words, the international system is self-help, so each country must provide its security. Military alliances are fleeting and changing phenomena.

Thirdly,countries in the international system seek to aximize their relative power. The reason for this behavior and action is also very simple, because the more power and military dvantage of one country has over others, the higher its security factor. very country wants to be the supreme power in the international as this is the best way to survive in a system that can be very dangerous. This logic creates powerful incentives for countries to take advantage of each other. For example, if the conditions are ready and there is a possibility of victory, they will enter the war. The main goal and motivation is to gain maximum power at the expense of reducing the power of other competitors.

IQBAL FORUM

The above explanations clearly show that neo-realism, the most important element and component of the international system that determines the foreign policy of countries, is its anarchic structure. Structure in the thought of Kenneth Waltz as the father of neo-realism means the arrangement of units in the international system, which is determined by how power is distributed among them at the international level. In other words, the structure of the international system is its polarity, which is determined by the existence of centers and poles of power. Accordingly, structural changes or changes in the distribution of power at the international level are the most important causes and factors determining the foreign behavior of countries.

Although Kenneth Waltz argues that the theory of structural realism is a theory of international politics and not a theory of foreign policy, a conceptual framework for analyzing Iran's foreign policy can be provided based on its principles and assumptions. While the structure of the international system and its changes are not the only determining factor in Iran's foreign policy, they are undoubtedly one of the basic variables in determining its objectives and behavioral neo-realist theory can explain the impact of structural changes in the international and regional system after the collapse of the Soviet Union on Iran's foreign policy.

The end of the bipolar system in1991 meant the emergence of a new international system that not only had a different structure from the previous one, but was also governed by new patterns of behavior and rules of the international game. Naturally, the constituent units of the international system also had to adapt their foreign policy and behavior to the new structural conditions and situation. The Islamic Republic of Iran, being in the neighborhood of one of the two superpowers, was inevitably affected by this fundamental change. The collapse of the Soviet Union, in addition to the international environment of Iran, also changed its regional environment. The independence of the countries of Central Asia and the Caucasus was the

IQBAL FORUM

formation of a new regional environment for the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran, which required operational and psychological adjustment.

7. Neoliberal Institutionalism

Neoliberalism is a systematic theory of the third image, which considers the international system and its features as the source and reference of countries' behavior and foreign policy.It combines the two paradigms of liberalism and realism in international relations which merge three elements of these two schools of thought. First, neoliberalism recognizes the important role that countries play in international relations and, consequently, pays serious attention to their national interests and power. Second, it considers the strong and decisive incentives for cooperation through interdependence at the international level. Third, it emphasizes the ways in which international institutions shape the perception of national interests and preferences of countries by influencing the cost-benefit calculations resulting from various actions.

Neoliberal Institutionalism is actually based on five central principles and hypotheses, which include:

- The international system is the most important factor determining the behavior of countries and international outcomes.
- The international system is anarchic.
- The countries are wise and integrated units.
- Countries are the most important international actors.
- International institutions have an independent identity and existence.

From a systematic point of view, neoliberalism argues that similarities and rules of conduct in international politics can best be explained by understanding the nature of the international system. Additionally, the behavior of foreign policy of countries and the role of forces and factors at the level of the constituent units of the international system can be explained by

IQBAL FORUM

understanding the nature of this decentralized system within which countries act and interact. Countries are assumed to be pre-established units, not variables. As a result, fluctuations in the conditions and characteristics of the system, as well as changes in countries,explain the changes in international outcomes and behavior.

Neoliberal institutionalism, unlike neo-realism, does notsolely define the international system in terms of the distribution of international power. The international system, in addition to the power structure, also has political processes, including regular patterns of action, which are referred to as international institutions.In other words, the international system has two aspects: structure and process. Structure refers to the way power is distributed among countries, and the process is defined as patterns of interaction or the way countries communicate with each other.

Neoliberalism believes that the international system is anarchic. Anarchy, meaning the absence of a central government, is the most important feature of the nature of the international system, which forms the basis of international relations and shapes the preferences and actions of nations. Government is also defined in terms of institution and authority. Thus, anarchy refers to the lack of authority to enact and enforce laws or rules of conduct. Thus, the most important consequence of anarchy is international distrust, which complicates the cooperative behavior of countries due to cheating and free-riding.

State-centeredness is another assumption and principle of neoliberal institutionalism. Although this theory may emphasize the importance of non-state actors, it clearly considers States to be the primary actors in the international system. Moreover, countries are considered integrated and rational units that seek to promote and increase their national interests.Thus, neoliberalism, like realism, is based on a rational model. Rationality means that countries have prioritized and inconsistent preferences, and calculate the cost-benefit of all possible options in order to maximize their profits in line with those preferences.Thus, the preferences and interests of

IQBAL FORUM

countries are assumed to be exogenous and presupposed, and the actions and behavior of countries produce the desired results.

Neoliberalism also assumes that countries are egoists. They try to maximize their own interests only, ignoring the benefits other countries receive.The functions of utility and benefit of countries are independent of each other.They do not lose or gain benefits for the betterment or loss of others. Hence, selfishness is clearly different from altruism, which requires countries to maximize desirability and achievement that benefit both themselves and others. In fact, countries are seeking to maximize their absolute profit.

The most important feature of neoliberal institutionalist theory is that international institutions have an independent identity in international politics and influence the interests and behavior of countries.The central issue is how the level of institutionalization in the international system affects the motives, interests, and behavior of self-centered and utilitarian countries. International institutions influence countries' interests by changing the calculations of national interests, minimizing transaction costs, reducing mistrust and uncertainty, giving more information, establishing mutual expectations, providing common standards, and creating property rights.

In other words, international institutions, rules, and principles influence the behavior and actions of countries by influencing the various motives that exist. This impact on the interests of countries is due to the fact that the very concept of national interest is flexible and highly subjective. The perception of self-interest depends not only on countries' expectations of the possible consequences of certain actions, but also on their vital desirability. Institutions also have a strengthening role, i.e., they influence the definition of national interests, the prioritization of member states' preferences, and the interpretation and change of national actions and policies.

Neoliberals argue that countries define their national interests according to their national power and intentions.The

IQBAL FORUM

determinants of the national interests of countries are based on the institutional framework in which countries interact, as well as the international distribution of power and the position of countries in the international system. Countries 'concerns and sensitivities about the relative gains of other countries are strongly influenced by their perceptions of other countries' intentions. Institutions play an important role in reducing concerns and sensitivities about profitability by shaping the expectations of countries, which in turn reinforce their interests and behavior. International interactions depend on the expectations of actors, and the norms and rules of institutions effectively shape and stabilize the expectations of countries. In situations where countries expect to achieve mutual gains and do not expect the use of force by other countries, they pursue absolute gains instead of relative ones. These expectations are also formed and met within the framework of international institutions.

Thus, neoliberalism does not deny the importance of relative gains in shaping the behavior and foreign policy of countries, but argues that the extent to which countries pursue relative gains depends on international conditions and their expectations. That is, worrying about relative gain and maximizing power is conditional. The motives and interests of countries vary from situation to situation and issue to issue. In other words, countries everywhere and every time do not seek to gain maximum power and calculate their interests based on it. Although power and influence are the interests of countries, the pursuit and provision of power is not the supreme interest of the country in all matters and circumstances. Countries may define their interests differently in different environmental contexts.As a result, while power is desirable, military force is not the only source of power, and security and relative status are not always the highest goals of countries in all systems and situations.

Applying the theory of neoliberalism to analyze and study the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran, involves and

IQBAL FORUM

requires the study of the impact of structural and institutional changes in the international system on its foreign behavior. Iran's foreign policy towards international and regional organizations and institutions and how and to what extent they influence the country's behavior can also be explained in the conceptual framework of this theory.Furthermore, the cooperative behavior of the Islamic Republic towards friendly countries and the expansion of relations with them, the policy of confrontation against hostile countries and actors, and the great sensitivity to increase their relative ability are in line with the principles and assumptions of neoliberalism.

Furthermore, in analyzing the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran based on the concept of national interests, in addition to security motives and goals and maintaining survival, civilian goals and values, such as economic prosperity and technological development, should also be considered. Because, as explained, it is not the case that under any circumstances, the Islamic Republic, based on a predetermined thematic hierarchy, prioritizes military security over any other interest. Therefore, the change in priority of the national goals and interests of the Islamic Republic depends on the environmental conditions and the nature of the subject area in question.

8. Constructivism

Constructivism is one of the approaches in critical theories that challenges the ideology of rationalism regarding international relations and foreign policy. It also offers some other different propositions and principles. This theory does not accept the notion of countries as partisan, self-serving actors whose interests are shaped by international social interaction and who enter into international relations solely for strategic purposes, as if trying to figure out how to play a role and influence through an identity policy approach.Moreover, it highlights the intersubjective communities, such as nationalism, ethnicity, religion, culture, gender, and race in international politics and foreign policy.

IQBAL FORUM

Understanding how identities and interests are formed and the types of norms and procedures that are associated with their reproduction and mutual constitutiveness are the most important theoretical objectives of constructivism. The importance of identity issues such as norms, learning ideas, and identity formation is because constructivism assumes that identities are potentially part of the consolidating practices of countries and thus motivate their actions at home and abroad. To include the politics of identity means to distinguish between different countries by acknowledging the constructive role of culture as a system of intersubjective meanings and social structure in the formation and development of the identity and interests of countries.

Although constructivism is divided into different types, all its forms share three ontological propositions and assumptions. Normative structures and ideas, norms, and common intersubjective values play an important role in the international and foreign policies of countries; the intellectual and normative structure has a founding and developmental role in shaping the identity and interests of countries; intellectual-normative structures and countries mutually reinforce each other.

This theory rejects the materialistic view of rationalism and Marxism towards international social life. They do not play a role in knowledge and belief but consider material factors as the determining factor of international politics, and they also think of the material and physical resources of countries as determining their power in international relations. From the point of view of this theory, normative and ideational structures are at least as effective and solid as material structures in shaping the country's foreign policy. The system of common beliefs and values is structural in nature and affects the actions and behavior of countries in two ways. Firstly, the systems of meaning define how countries interpret their material environment; that is, the material resources and capabilities of countries that motivate their actions also take meaning within the framework of the common knowledge and knowledge

IQBAL FORUM

structure in which countries are located. Secondly, normative structures shape the social identities of countries in the international system.The norms and semantic systems institutionalized at the level of the international system and the domestic society define and determine the social identities of countries, which consolidate their interests and shape their actions.

Moreover, this theory considers identity to be an empirical matter that finds meaning in the context of a historical human being and interpersonal structure. Contrary to rationalism, this theoretical view holds that the selves or identities of countries are grounded and depend on the historical, cultural, and socio-political context in which they are situated. Identities are not the result of material variables and factors, but are always and always constructed socially. They have an intersubjective nature, and the intersubjective structures that house them ultimately determine their meaning. Thus, in different systems of meaning and interpersonal structures, different identities are formed that also trigger different actions.Of course, the identity of the country is determined and defined not only by international social norms and structures, but also by the internal social norms and structures that are internalized through socialization, which are decisive in the formation of the country's identity. In the process of identity formation, in addition to domestic international normative variables such as political culture, ideology, worldview, language, human-demographic and geographical characteristics of the country, other factors also play a constructive and consistent role.

Since the identity of countries and their interests are closely related and national interests are part of the process of identity formation, this social perception of identity requires and implies the meaning and concept of social benefits. Identities are the basis of interests, and countries determine their interests based on the identities they define for themselves. As the identity of countries is formed through social interaction, so are their interests in their presence and in relation to them Identities, by specifying what and who countries are, require a set of interests

IQBAL FORUM

and preferences with respect to action options in a subject area and with respect to specific actors. Therefore, because the interests of countries are the result of their identities and those identities are multiple, the national interests of countries are already given, of course, and they are not social or exogenous. However, on the contrary, countries' national interests are endogenous and shaped by the process of social interaction.

National identity, as it explains the existence of interests, also explains the absence of national interests. A particular national identity does not legitimize certain interests. Because the norms and social structures that form an identity cannot impose interests and preferences with which they are incompatible. That is, absentee interests are like present interests in a social construct that is the product of an understanding of social norms and structures.Therefore, a country with a specific identity cannot imagine and pursue an absent interest, even if it is confronted and offered to it.

This theory analyzes the relationship between interests and identity through the role concept. Every particular identity that a country defines for itself requires a certain national role that entails certain interests and excludes the other.The roles that countries assume and the interests and actions they create are determined by international and domestic norms.

The third principle in this theory is the consolidation and mutual establishment of structure and agent (identity).

That is, each of the two is somehow different and is jointly determined and developed. Thus, normative structures play a constructive and formative role in determining and defining the identity and interests of countries, but on the other hand, the practices and actions of countries also play a decisive role in maintaining the continuity and change of these structures. Institutional norms and normative structures give meaning to the identity of countries and define appropriate patterns of action, but at the same time, it is the continuous and general interaction of countries that creates and maintains social

IQBAL FORUM

structures. For example, Islamic norms that allow the Islamic Republic to support Muslims will exist as long as the country continues its Islamic practices.

The approach of this theory to foreign policy is different from the rationalist approach in terms of the model of action and the logic of action. Unlike rationalism, which emphasizes the homo economics model, this view is based on the homo sociological model.The social actor is the wise actor, the optimistic calculator who is guided by a set of selfish objectives based on which he chooses cost-effective solutions and tools. The social actor acts according to the social role that he acquires in the process of national and transnational socialization and implements in the current situation.

As a result, the main motivation and driving force of countries' foreign policy action and behavior is not the result of various actions to achieve a priori obvious goals and interests, but a specific behavior is adopted that meets the common and value-oriented intersubjective expectations about appropriate behavior. Behavior that stems from well-defined and pervasive social norms, both domestic and international, is adaptable.

In fact, countries do not act according to the logic of consequentiality, but their actions are based on the logic of appropriateness, i.e.,the behavior of the country must be commensurate with the particular norms and values of inter-subjectivity that their social role demands. In other words, these countries are role-oriented actors who try to live up to the interpersonal value expectations of appropriate behavior that emanate from the domestic and international communities.

The Islamic Republic of Iran faces such fundamental questions in the foreign decision-making and policy-making process.What kind of situation is it in? Which of its many national roles fits this situation? To what extent are each available behavioral option compatible with this role? Given this situation, roles and options, what is the most appropriate type of behavior? This means that Iran behaves according to the norms which define its identity and role as the "Islamic Republic".

IQBAL FORUM

Thus, norms, meaning value-based interdisciplinary expectations, guide the behavior, actions, and conducts of the Islamic Republic's foreign policy. Iran's identity and interests are determined by the result of internal norms and common transnational norms, which in turn motivate its foreign behavior. The process of socialization that decision-makers experience is influenced by internal social norms, which in turn shape their foreign policy.

Transnational norms are value-based interpersonal expectations of appropriate behavior that are shared internationally with a regional sub-system between countries and originate from intergovernmental institutions and non-governmental organizations that act as norm-makers.The impact of international norms on foreign policy through transnational socialization is due to the fact that countries are concerned about their international prestige, not only as allies or reliable negotiating partners, but also as reputable members of the international community.

Internal or national norms are intersubjective expectations based on shared values about appropriate behavior at the level of domestic society, which are formed by the interaction of individuals and groups and within institutions, internal discourses, and collective identity of the country. These norms are divided into two categories. Norms that are directly applied in the field of foreign policy, and another group that, although they regulate the country's internal relations, influence its foreign policy. Internal norms shape the behavior of decision makers through the processes of social socialization and internal public opinion.

Therefore, the most important factor and independent variable that determines the behavior of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic is the interpersonal value expectations about appropriate behavior, i.e.,transnational and national social norms that the country faces.Transnational norms explain and cause the same behaviors of this country as well as its differences and behavioral differences at the international level with other countries. On the one hand, within the same international

IQBAL FORUM

normative structures, the Islamic Republic behaves similarly to other countries.On the other hand, because international norms are formed in different international situations, especially in the region, they cause diversity and behavioral differences with other countries. Nevertheless, the most important factor in the diversity of Iran's foreign policy behavior is the country's internal social norms, which are reflected in the legal order, the constitution, election and party programs, parliamentary debates, and data based on survey research.

According to this norm-consistent policy model, several potential expectations about the appropriate behavior of the Islamic Republic are there in a particular situation. Thus, out of several potential expectations, the country is living up to expectations that stem from more powerful norms. First of all, only norms that are strong enough affect Iran's foreign policy. The power of the norm depends on two factors: the degree of commonality, or the norm in the internal and external social systems, which is widely shared between political actors, and the degree of specificity,or the degree to which the norm precisely defines permissible and unauthorized behavior.

As a result, if norms are sufficiently shared and explicit at both the transnational and national levels,the selection and adoption of appropriate behavior in foreign policy are easy. As with the protection of national sovereignty, if the commonality and clarity of the norm at one level are sufficient but ambiguous at another, appropriate behavior is chosen based on the correct norm but if the norms are not shared at both international and national levels, or if they create conflicting behaviors, choosing the right behavioral option in foreign policy will be difficult.

In short, according to the foreign policy model based on this theory (Figure1), standard intersubjective norms at both domestic and international levels form the national identity of Iran, which requires a special national role. These roles, in turn, determine the specific national interests that guide and shape the Islamic Republic's foreign policy.Therefore, by using this model, we can examine how immaterial intellectual and

IQBAL FORUM

ideological structures such as ideology and worldview affect the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic. He also explained the role and position of interests and sources of intangible power in Iran's foreign policy. Furthermore, he analyzed the definition and prioritization of Iran's national interests based on its national identity and map.

Figure 1

Foreign policy model based on constructivism

9. Theory of Discourse

There are multiple approaches in discourse analysis theory. In general, three types of discourse analysis can be distinguished from each other: discourse analysis, social psychology, and critical linguistics. Discourse analysts define discourse as the linguistic structure of a sentence or text. According to social psychologists, discourse is used by them as a micro-concept, and they also use it to study the relationship between power and language, which merely reflects power. In this approach, power relations are formed outside of language.The discourse only represents it. Thus, discourse does not have a regular and continuous relationship with macro-social structures. Beyond this, the formation of discourse by power relations as well as the consolidating and founding effects of discourse on social identities, relationships, and beliefs are not explained.

Critical linguistics takes this critique of this definition of discourse seriously and does not see it as merely a reflection of power relations outside of it, but as its founding nature. In this approach, discourse is defined and applied as a macro concept. It has a fundamental role in creating and calendaring social identities and beliefs. It is also an autonomous and independent discourse that does not originate only in social power but is itself a manifestation of social power.

IQBAL FORUM

The discourse approach that took shape in the context of critical linguistics is called critical discourse analysis, which is the result of the intellectual efforts of thinkers such as Michel Foucault, Laclau,Mouffe, and Fairclough.Critical discourse analysis goes beyond describing the structure and function of discourse actions and practices. This type of analysis explains linguistic phenomena and discourse practices, examines categories such as the relationship between power and cellular language, the power of idealistic assumptions, ideological processes in hegemonic discourse, inequality in discourse and the relationship between discourse and non-discourse elements. It also studies political actors with background knowledge. In fact, critical discourse theory addresses the significant role of social actions, practices and thoughts in political life and examines the ways in which semantic systems and structures make possible a particular type of action.

In the context of critical discourse analysis, different definitions of discourse are presented. Some critical analysts have defined discourse as ideological, with the difference that discourse, unlike ideology,does not have reductionist,truth-oriented, universal, and hegemonic features and does not justify worldviews.

Thus, discourse is beyond traditional ideology, that is, a set of thoughts and ideas through which social actors explain and justify their organized social action.In addition, it includes various types of social and political actions, institutions, and organizations.

Michel Foucault sees discourse as more general than political ideology, in that its mechanisms may transcend the boundaries of multiple ideologies. As a result, for three reasons, he prefers to use the concept of discourse instead of ideology. Firstly, the concept of ideology implicitly implies a distinction between objectivity and subjectivity, or value and reality. Secondly, the term necessarily refers to an autonomous subject. Thirdly, the concept of ideology acquires a superficial and secondary nature in relation to the material and economic underlying factors and

IQBAL FORUM

elements. While discourse implies that reality and truth are discourse constructs and the cognitive subject is itself a discourse position. Discourse also has a basic nature, in which everything makes sense.

Moreover, according to Michel Foucault, discourse is defined as semantic or military networks of objects that shape human behavior. In his book *Archeology of Knowledge*, he uses discourse to mean a set of rules belonging to the formulation of a single discourse or a set of serious propositions that come together in an age by which human beings define their identity and community.The proposition in Michel Foucault's philosophical system is a kind of speech act that conveys meaning to the listener and implies certain other meanings. These propositions convey different meanings in discourse formulations. Discourse formulation is the autonomous system of speech actions that is governed by certain rules, and propositions within that framework create a system of signs. Each discourse formulation is based on four distinguishing elements: the object of concern for the propositions, the enunciative function that determines the position and importance of propositions, the concepts used to organize and form the propositions, and the strategies presented in the discourse. As these elements are subject to change, discourse and self-discourse organizations can undergo transformations and metamorphoses.

Several principles can be deduced from Michel Foucault's thoughts on discourse. First, discourse is all-encompassing and inclusive, beyond which one cannot think and escape; Second, discourse is an interconnected semantic network that forms the collective mind; Third, this collective mind constructed by discourse is constantly evolving, which in addition to explaining the continuity and stability of things, also indicates change and transformation.

Laclau's approach to discourse is similar to the Benoist view of transcendence. That is, discourse gives meaning to human

IQBAL FORUM

cognition and action, and through it, man is able to understand the world. In other words, the possibility of complete thought, action, and understanding depends on the existence of a discourse that is present before any factual immediacy but undergoes change. Laclau and Mouffe define discourse as a meaningful set of linguistic and translingual signs and symptoms that go beyond speech and writing.

According to these two, everything has a discursive nature or is a kind of discourse structure that finds meaning in relation to other objects. Accordingly,objects and actions can only be understood as part of a broad system of meanings (discourse). In fact, the social meaning of speeches, actions, and institutions is all understood in relation to the context and the general context of which they are a part. Therefore, topics and concepts must be part of a broader discourse framework to be meaningful.

This conceptualization of discourse means that the identity of discourse is relational. i.e., discourse acquires its identity through a relationship that is established with these various elements. As a result, based on how the individual elements relate to each other, both their individual and collective identities as a whole are called discourse. Laclau and Mouffe call this procedure "articulation," the process of gathering different members and elements, putting them together, and gaining a new identity. In their view, articulation is any action that creates a relationship between different elements so that their identity changes due to this action.

10. Change of Discourse

Discourses themselves are the product of the articulation of distinct and fluid linguistic identities,or what Wittgenstein calls a linguistic game.Thus, a set called continuous discourse is included, as are the subjects of instability, form, and substance. According to Foucault's teachings,as explained,one of the characteristics of discourse is that not all changes are necessarily comprehensive and fundamental. Some elements of discourse are more continuous and stable than others and do not change

IQBAL FORUM

easily, while others have a lot of potential for change. Due to the internal hierarchy that exists in enunciative regularities, concepts and propositions are hierarchically related and placed at different levels. In fact, they are arranged in an orderly hierarchical structure that acquires different values and importance depending on the position they occupy. In this tree-like arrangement, the principles and central elements are placed in the following layers, which, of course, cause fundamental changes in the discourse. Some other elements and minutes are located at the upper levels of the structure, which are more tangible and realistic in nature.Propositions are also the interface between these two categories of concepts and elements. Thus, a tree of derivation diagrams for discourse can be drawn, at the root of which are governing statements, and other propositions and concepts are derived from them at higher levels and layers. Figure 2.

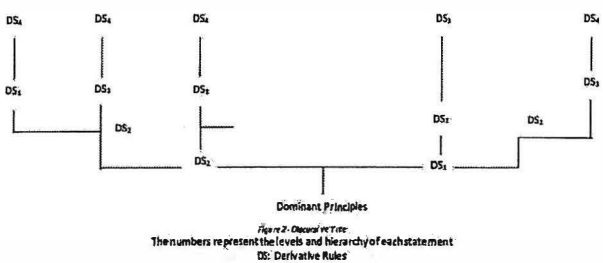

Figure 2: Tree of Derivation Diagram Based on the model of the discourse tree, extracted from the views and ideas of Michel Foucault, two types of discourse change are conceivable and possible: the change "in" the discourse and the change "from" the discourse. Change of "from" discourse means a fundamental, all-encompassing and substantial transformation that occurs as a result of a change in the governing principles of a discourse. In other words, if the core and rulings of the root of the discourse are destroyed, altered, or obsolete, a transformation of the "discourse" occurs. But not all changes in discourse are

IQBAL FORUM

complete and substantive; rather, propositions and sub-concepts may change at higher levels, suggesting that they change the governing and fundamental principles. If there are changes in the concepts and elements that are a subset of the governing principles, then a change in the discourse occurs, and a transformation within the discourse is formed. Therefore, discourse changes do not always have the same depth and breadth. Only when one discourse gives way to another discourse whose governing principles change completely, does a significant transformation occur.

As Larsen explains, in terms of form and discourse, it has a structure similar to that of the international system in Waltz's theory of neo-realism, which has different layers. According to Waltz, the structure of the international system has three interrelated levels in which, despite changes, international politics may retain its core nature and characteristics. Although there is usually a change in the third layer, the number of actors and great powers, there is a possibility of change in other two levels as well, due to the connection between the levels. The deepest layer of the structure is the generative level, in which, the change may lead to changes in other layers as well. Of course, this does not mean that ontologically, discourse is like a structure in neo-realism, but in the form of a relational theory, discourse is a structure of historical and incidental meaning and cannot be conceived in a closed and limited way. On the other hand, the constituent elements of this structure (discourse) are not understood independently. Thus, the two of them mutually define each other. Furthermore, discourse is one of the social structures that is the most important determining element of foreign policy in constructivist theory.

10.2. Discourse Dispute

One of the other important issues in discourse analysis theory is the possibility of consolidation, obstruction, and hegemony in discourse. Is it possible for a discourse to be hegemonic over different dimensions and sections of politics and society?

IQBAL FORUM

Discourse analysts disagree on this point. Michel Foucault believes that the pervasive and all-encompassing nature of discourse causes one discourse to reach hegemonic status in spite of the existence of other anti-discourses, to marginalize other discourses. Therefore, in any period of time and in any subject area, while the discourses are in conflict, one of them does not prevail and dominates the discourse behaviors and actions. In fact, discourse finds its limits and identity based on the principle of "regularity in dispersion".

Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe, in the framework of their discourse relation theory, unlike Michel Foucault, believe that the fluid nature of language does not allow the complete establishment of meaning, and therefore the possibility of permanent domination of a discourse is not possible. Due to the polysemy of meanings,meaning is always subject to interpretation and evolution.Therefore, no discourse is Comprehensive, closed, and impenetrable. Discourse is always in a field of discourse in which controversy and struggle over its meaning and significance differ and compete with each other. Laclau and Moufe call this interaction between discourses antagonism. The existence of a field of discourse and opposition means that the identity of a discourse is constantly under threat and changing.

One of the main conflicts in society and politics is the struggle to determine the meaning and belonging of a concept to a particular discourse. Society is full of these discourse struggles in various subject areas.

The purpose of this discourse conflict is to achieve hegemonic status. In fact, as David Howarth explains, the act of hegemony is an act and an articulative practice for determining the dominant rules and meanings that make up discourse identities and formulations. This hegemonic behavior requires political demarcation between political forces as well as the

IQBAL FORUM

existence of floating signifiers whose discourses compete and struggle to establish their meaning.The goal of hegemonic practices is to articulate floating modals and random elements in a political project and then make sense of them. Thus, establishing the relationship between the signifier and the signified is defined as hegemony.

Although a discourse may not be able to fully overcome all dimensions and aspects of society while determining all meanings due to discourse conflict, in certain situations, temporary achievement of hegemony is possible. As a result, partial blockage of discourse and consolidation of identity is also possible. The discourse conflict does not necessarily imply that the discourses are in conflict with each other on all levels and principles. Discourses can differ in one or more sub-propositions while agreeing on other concepts and theorems.

Discourse analysis theory can be used in two ways to analyze the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran. First, as a conceptual framework for studying and explaining how discourse changes in Iranian Foreign Policy, whether it is a change within a discourse or a change from one discourse to another. As it will be explained in Chapter 4, the conventional and positivist theories and approaches cannot explain this discourse transformation.

Second, by using discourse analysis, it is possible to analyze the foreign policy developments of the Islamic Republic of Iran and its behavioral changes "in time" and "simultaneously" based on the discourse change in it. In other words, the influence of factors and elements of different discourses (independent variable) on the behavior of Iran's foreign policy (dependent variable) can be examined in the form of discourse analysis and shown in practice. As a result, the role of many components and ideological-intellectual variables that have been ignored in

IQBAL FORUM

mainstream theories, especially rationalism, is considered and explained in the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic. In the second part of the book, including how different discourses and their developments affect the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic, will be examined.

11. Theoretical Framework

Each of the above theoretical approaches has the power to explain and analyze only a part of the identity and behavior of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran and cannot explain all its dimensions and aspects. These approaches consider Iran's foreign policy as a single factor and a variable, and focus on a set of specific factors and elements. Iran's foreign policy, like any other country, is the result of many different variables at different levels of individual, national and international analysis (both global and regional) that have not been considered in these theories.

Therefore, to recognize and then analyze the nature and Behavior of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic, an analytical framework based on the integration between levels is necessary to be able to explain Iran's multifactorial foreign policy.

Based on this rationale, Ruhollah Ramazani has developed an integrated analytical framework, arguing that none of the common theories in international relations can analyze the foreign policy of developing countries, including Iran.His "dynamic triangular interaction" model is based on the interconnectedness of domestic developments, foreign policy and the international system. This interactive three-dimensional model considers the interactive relationship between these three axes, i.e, the link between domestic and foreign policy, the influence of the international system on these countries and the impact of their internal developments on the international

IQBAL FORUM

system, as well as the interaction of structure and function in shaping the foreign policy. The concept of Ramazani's interactions is very similar to the concept of national-international linkages by James Rosenau, which is of the highest importance in the study of foreign policy of developing countries, including Iran.

Therefore, the conceptual framework based on integration between the levels of James Rosenau, despite its possible shortcomings and inadequacies, has more analytical ability and explanatory power to analyze the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran. From the perspective of this theoretical approach, foreign policy as a dependent variable is the result of five categories of individual resources: role, governmental and bureaucratic, social or national, and international or systemic. Each of these sources includes many different variables.

The Individual source refers to the idiosyncratic characteristics of foreign decision-makers and policymakers that distinguish them from other individuals. Some of these traits are innate and non-acquired while some are acquired. Characteristics such as courage, fear, anger, violence, risk-taking, patience, hard-heartedness and cruelty of heart, mercy and compassion, self-doubt, self-confidence, self-sufficiency, adequacy, management, foresight and dogma, in this category fall from sources. Hence, the value system, beliefs, historical experiences, sociability, class base, and intellectual- ideological origin of leaders, play an undeniable role in foreign policy that must be considered.

Role-related variables are those factors that arise from the nature of positions and organizational positions and create behavioral constraints for the incumbent because decision-makers are influenced by socially prescribed behaviors and legal norms of the positions they hold.

IQBAL FORUM

Government foreign policy resources are structural aspects of government that increase or limit policymakers' choices; That is, the way government is organized, which includes two very important features: democratization and bureaucracy. The form and nature of political-military, the size of government, bureaucracies, and agencies, the structure of political power, the extent of separation of powers, and the degree of openness and closure of the political system are among the many government variables.

Social or national resources are the non-governmental aspects and manifestations of Iranian society that affect Iran's foreign policy. Among the social variables are valued tendencies, degree of national unity, level of development, political culture, Islamic ideology, historical experience, geographical location, elites and interest groups, and public opinion. International or foreign sources include the characteristics of the international system and its constituent units.International distribution of power resources, international interactions and communication patterns, degree of institutionalization, degree of interdependence, ideological homogeneity or heterogeneity, and global values, rules and norms governing theinternational system are some systemic variables that determine Iran's foreign policy.

Based on this analytical framework, it is possible to integrate and methodologically integrate different theoretical approaches to analyze Iran's foreign policy.Because these theories are divided into four categories in terms of the level of analysis: micro individual, micronational, and macro, and a combination of two levels, micro and macro, the variables emphasized by each of them are included in this conceptual framework. The human instinct for power, which realism considers the most important motive of foreign policy, is embedded in individual resources. The influence of idealistic socio-political structures

IQBAL FORUM

on foreign policy is considered in social and foreign sources. The structure of the political and economic system and the geographical features that are the most important determinants of foreign policy in the theories of democratic peace and geopolitical economic liberalism, respectively, are part of social and governmental resources. The influence of the structure and process of the international system, which highlights the two theories of neorealism and neoliberalism, is also considered in the external source. Finally, the intellectual-ideological structures and the system of meanings of the two theories of constructivism and discourse analysis are examined under the social source.

IQBAL FORUM

2

Chapter Two

The Sources Of Foreign Policy Of Islamic Republic Of Iran

IQBAL FORUM

Chapter2: The Resources of the Islamic Republic of Iran's Foreign Policy

After the victory of the Islamic Revolution of Iran and the formation of the Islamic Republic, Iran's foreign policy faced huge changes and reforms. Despite this fact, Iran's foreign policy continuously prevailed in different fields and goals. Furthermore, in the past thirty years, even the governing pattern of the Islamic Republic of Iran's foreign policy has been changing continuously.On the one hand, the principles, orientation, and fundamental goals of foreign policy have been fairly constant, which has resulted in its continuation and stability.While on the other hand, objective and subjective developments have occurred in three fields-local, foreign, and conceptual-needing instrumental and tactical coincidence. The Islamic Republic of Iran needs adjustments in approaches and methods to achieve its goals in fluid situations and make them compatible with new circumstances.Of course, stability in foreign policy does not mean rigidity and unchangeability; instead, it means that changes are not sudden and immediate, but these changes are small and may gradually result in basic alterations in the future.

How can one explain the continuity and change in the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran? In other words, what can be the causes and factors of stability,continuation and development in Iran's foreign policy pattern? What forces and factors make changes in foreign policy? Analyzing reasons for the continuation and development of Islamic Republic of Iran's foreign policy needs focus on resources and elements which are shaping it because foreign policy as a dependent variable is a result of other independent variables resulting in foreign policy patterns. Therefore, foreign policy behavior is a function of these variables which changes or continuation is due to alteration of these factors.

To determine the Islamic Republic of Iran's foreign policy resources, James Rosenau's conceptual framework is used. According to the model, as described in Chapter one, the elements and forces affecting Iran's foreign policy can be

IQBAL FORUM

categorized in five general classes namely: international and foreign resources; national resources; Government's Resources role-playing resources; and finally individual resources including elites, leaders, and foreign policy makers. Any group of these resources include several variables which shape Iran's foreign policy (figure 3).

Although each of them independently affects foreign policy they cannot contribute to the change of direction because foreign policy is formed by a set of these resources.Moreover, the level of impact by each group of resources is subject to time, place and thematic areas.Those resources and variables that have more stability will result in a continuation of the Islamic Republic of Iran's foreign policy and other variables would make more alterations in it. Therefore, durable elements like geographical situation, historical background and political culture would result in continuation of foreign policy.In contrast, dynamic international and individual variables will result in foreign policy changes.

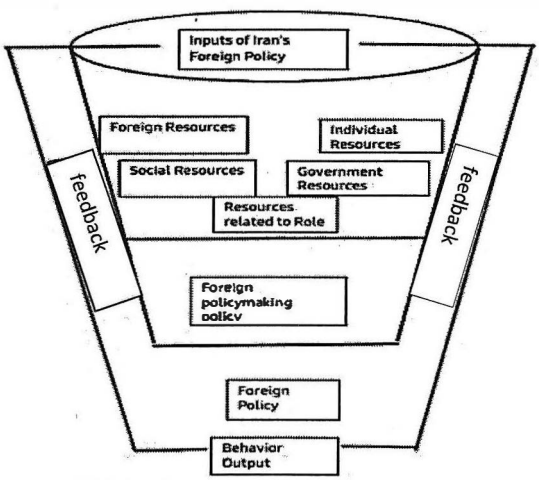

Figure 3 - Resources of Islamic Republic of Iran's foreign policy

IQBAL FORUM

Figure 3 - Sources of Islamic Republic of Iran's foreign policy Individual Resources

According to the State as Decision-Maker, the Islamic Republic of Iran is an abstract entity in which decision makers at the national level format its foreign policy pattern. Therefore, local leaders who have been entitled to make policy and decisions play a more influential role in choosing and defining the goals of a country's foreign policy. Iran's under development and revolutionary characteristics will increase the role of individuals in its foreign policy.

Hence, analyzing the Islamic Republic of Iran's foreign policy needs more attention to the characteristics of National leaders and policymakers in Iran. The Level of impact by these individuals on foreign policy is variable and subject to the importance of these people and their character which affects decisions and selections by them. Individual variables include personal characteristics, perceptions, motivations, preferences, leadership style and belief system or operational code of these people. These variables stem from education and socialization, personal behavior and experiences.

1.1. Personal Characteristics

Moral and personal characteristics of policymakers in foreign policy can be categorized at two levels: intrinsic and acquired, namely characteristics like cautiousness versus rashness, pride versus expediency, anger versus prudence, superiority versus inferiority, creativeness versus destructiveness, paranoia versus overconfidence,bravery versus fear, etermination versus delusion, tolerance versus restraint, and so on.These individuals' characteristics have a deniable impact on foreign policy. For example, Ayatollah Khomeini's personal characteristics like Decisiveness, revolutionary morals,resistance, being anti- oppression, highly educated personality, and self-confidence had a massive impact on the Islamic Republic of Iran's foreign policy.

Therefore, leaders are classified by their personal

IQBAL FORUM

characteristics at various levels. Some leaders have realistic personalities and decide on facts.While others might be idealists and make decisions based on dos and don'ts.Some leaders are nationalists while others might be globalists or Islamists. Some are pessimistic about world order and believe the world is a scene of war and militancy. In contrast to this, some have an optimistic view and think of solving local problems in a global context. These people believe the global community is reliable and there is always a possibility to solve problems collectively and peacefully.Background and personal experiences of leaders play a significant role in forming their behavior, decisions and orientation which are important factors of their impact on foreign policy. Preliminary experiences in social and political affairs besides their level of education, sociability of decision makers, values in their mind and the procedure of decision making will help the leaders understand how to handle the situation during decision making.

The effectiveness of personal characteristics in leaders and decision-makers of the Islamic Republic of Iran over foreign policy can be seen in their decisions, prioritization of goals and implementation of their policies. For example, in the case of interim Prime Minister Mr. Mahdi Bazargan; personal behavior, socio-political experiences, and his educational background; all were different from Imam Khomeini's attitudes in such a way that it was Imam Khomeini who had a deniable impact on foreign policy patterns and decisions in1979. Moreover, the cultural personality of President Khatami resulted in culture-based decisions in the Islamic Republic of Iran's foreign policy at his time. Pragmatism of President Hashemi Rafsanjani had a significant impact on the realistic approach of Iran's foreign policy during the Construction era.

1.2. Psycho-perceptual Environment

The psycho-perceptual environment, which is translated as imaginative perceptions of decision makers towards the real

IQBAL FORUM

world or operational environment, can play a significant role in foreign policy.In the case of political leaders, decisions are made from their psychological environment, imaginations through their sensual interaction with the real world on the one hand and their own beliefs, consciousness, and unconscious experiences on the other hand.

Any decision-maker or policymaker has his or her own imagination and image of the real world, the international system, and other countries, which are based on their own historical background.Some of those events have happened before or during their lifetime. What leaders learn from history is mixed up with their personal experiences.This would create special beliefs in their minds. These beliefs and images from the real world are scraped into their minds and cannot be easily removed because they are consistent with cognitive consistency.

Based on perceptual distortions resulting from perceptual mechanisms, information or data that has no similarity with the imaginations of decision-makers and political leaders,is doomed to be neglected, rejected or interpreted in a way that approves other reference action. For example, those leaders that consider other countries as enemies, usually receive information about them in such a way that is not contrary to what they have in mind, even if their hypothetical enemy starts peaceful and friendly relations. For example, the mindset of Ayatollah Imam Khamenei of the Ba'ath Regime of Iraq and Saddam Hussein's personality played an important role in his decisions during the Iraqi imposed war against Iran. Furthermore, the imagination of Ayatollah Khamenei of the U.S. is very important for his decisions against America.

The Islamic Republic of Iran's elite and leaders' attitude regarding the international and regional system, their imagination of identity, the role of Iran, their concept of Iran's national priorities and goals, and their concept of implementing foreign policy have a significant impact on Iran's foreign policy behavior. Specially, the priorities of the Islamic Republic of Iran's leaders play an important role in determining the foreign policy of Iran.For example, the priority of economic development in

IQBAL FORUM

President Hashemi Rafsanjani's mind had an impressive impact on defining goals of foreign policy during the construction era. The priority and importance of negotiation and talks during President Khatami's period were undeniable in adopting detente and peaceful coexistence in Iran's foreign policy.

The methods that leaders choose for leadership and decision-making, or how they manage information and their close circle, are very effective in foreign policy.Some leaders, like Ayatollah Khamenei and President Hashemi Rafsanjani have been proactive in foreign policy and directly influenced decision-making in foreign policy. While some others, like Ayatollah Imam Khomeini intended more to delegate authority over decision making to others. Some of the decision-makers, like President Khatami believed in participatory principles, while others might not like consultative decision-making. Also, a decision maker might decide to choose brainstorming. Signs of collective thinking, limitations of discussion to some special options, denying double checking decisions taken, and steps taken might be unacceptable and challenging for some groups.

1.3. Character and Role Interaction

Decision makers and their personal characteristics have a huge impact on Iran's foreign policy, but the mechanisms that they use to affect foreign policy are more limited. different times and locations, this impact is a variable.Individual variables play more important roles from twodifferent aspects.

Firstly, by different definitions that authorities offer of their ranking and post, the restrictions and limitations that roles and posts dictate on policymakers are not constant and unchangeable. Instead, roles can be either interpreted with limitations or with a wider impact. It depends on the interpreter's characteristics and personality to interpret their role and post. A decision-maker might define his own post and role as vast, which permits him to have a wider area of policy impact and a wider selection of choices. Another authority with

IQBAL FORUM

the same post might define it with more limitations and interpret his choice of options and steps with limitations.

Therefore, even if the person with a significant role and post does not exert an impact on foreign policy, at least he or she will monitor how his actions affect foreign policy. For example, President Hashemi Rafsanjani played a more important and effective role in foreign policy with his vast interpretation of the presidency.Or during his period as speaker of Islamic Consultative Assembly of Iran (Majles) and Expediency Discernment Council, he had more impact on foreign policy than authorities. Moreover, despite using the detente policy by both Presidents, Hashemi Rafsanjani, and Khatami, the outcomes were different due to the different backgrounds and personalities of each.

Secondly, the impact of personal variables on critical decisions is more significant than that of ordinary and programmatic decisions. A decision-maker needs more time during critical moments or threatening situations.In such situations, due to a lack of access to solutions and programs, preplanned policies, and the necessity of fast action, the role of more effective people must be considered. Shortages of time, pressure of threats in critical moments increase the responsibility of leaders and decision makers at the national level. Accordingly, the role of Ayatollah Khomeini in taking decisions leading to the acceptance of UN Resolution No.598, McFarlin's trip to Iran was significant.Also, the roles of Ayatollah Khamenei and Hashemi Rafsanjani in the neutrality policy during Saddam's invasion of Kuwait were highly important.

2.Role-playing Resources

The dependent variables of the role include the effectiveness of the post and the responsibility of authorities and officials, which are defined as duties, responsibilities, or rules of conduct. Firstly, by limiting the behavior of decision-makers and reducing their options.Secondly,through formation of tendencies, continuous organizational and group behavior using fixed and continuous procedures.

IQBAL FORUM

2.1. Individual Restrictions

Foreign policy decision makers are affected by certified social-political behaviors and legal norms arising from posts and responsibilities that they are handling. Policy makers, regardless of their moral personality and individual characteristics, when holding special posts like leader, presidency, foreign minister, parliament speaker, chairman of the Expediency Council and so on, their decisions and behaviors are formulated according to their post. Therefore, decision makers of foreign policy must comply with requirements, necessities and special conditions of their posts and responsibilities.

According to this logic, the role of authority and the behavior of decision makers is more affected by requirements of responsibility. Since the focal principles and goals of the Islamic Republic of Iran's foreign policy have continued, policymakers are obliged to respect and follow them. As a result, they do not have limitless freedom to choose options and executive methods because of the impacts of styles of leadership, personalities, and social and political experiences. Different talents and tastes of leaders are adjusted and limited to job requirements and responsibilities.

Therefore, we cannot consider individuals as the only determining factor and decision maker in the Islamic Republic of Iran's foreign policy. Individuals, no matter how strong and influential their personalities are, must act within the framework of the requirements and normative rules of their position.

For this reason, despite the change and relocation of decision-makers such as the leadership, the presidency, and the foreign minister, the country's foreign policy has not undergone immediate changes and has continued its work. Namely, after the demise of Imam Khomeini, the Ayatollah Khamenei as leader of the Islamic Republic of Iran, based on the requirements and norms of leadership institutions and Velayat Faqih, acted mostly like Imam Khomeini. He defined and determined the principles, goals, and interests of the country like Imam Khomeini and emphasized continuing his path. Moreover,

IQBAL FORUM

presidents with different personalities and personal characteristics behaved similarly under the influence of the necessities of the presidency. Iran's foreign policy changed less than expected during the presidency of Mohammad Khatami.The same rule applies to President Ahmadinejad.The importance and position of the variables related to the roles and their impact on the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic do not mean the exclusive determination of these factors. Just as individuals do not shape the country's foreign policy alone, positions and roles are not the only sources for it because individual and role-oriented resources control and moderate each other.In other words, there is an inverse relationship between these two categories of variables, i.e., the greater the influence of individuals, the less the impact of the role and the limits of responsibility. Conversely, the lower the power of personality traits, the greater the influence of roles.

This inverse fit and interaction is due to the possibility of a variety of definitions and interpretations of roles and positions. Powerful personalities and scientists reduce the constraints by providing a broad interpretation of their responsibilities.Others may behave with a limited definition of their position, even within a more limited framework than is expected of them. However, the impact of different roles and, consequently, their limitations are different. For example, the meanings of leader roles and presidency vary. Leader has fewer limitations and more authority in conceptualizing and guiding about the fundamental issues of foreign policy whereas the president faces obstacles such as opposing views with political factions, the views of other powers, especially the parliament and important members of his cabinet. As a result, a leader's personality is more likely to influence foreign policy than the president.

In addition, the impact of role and responsibility on planned and tactical foreign policy decisions and behaviors is greater than critical policies and decisions; because unplanned decisions and actions require more time and need the entry of various institutions into the policymaking and decision-making process. As a result, such decisions bring different individuals and roles

IQBAL FORUM

into the decision-making process, which reduces the power and influence of individuals. Furthermore, in comparative situations, role-playing variables have a greater impact on foreign policy, because the behavior of decision-makers must be more explicit and transparent in order to be critiqued. In such a situation, it is very difficult or even impossible to deviate from expectations and violate the norms resulting from the role. The foreign policy behavior of President Khatami is proof of this claim.

2.2. Time Procedure

Based on role theory, one can also explain the various decisions that are habitually made by and within the bureaucracies and organizations in charge of implementing foreign policy. In other words, this approach is also used to explain group and organizational behaviors. Role pressures may lead to consistency in bureaucracies and submission to the usual views and opinions in a brokerage.In anyorganization or bureaucracy, whether military or civilian, and in the absence of strong leadership, the tendency to continue past approaches and actions prevails. Such tendencies strengthen the continuity of foreign policy and limit the power of individuals' ability to influence it. As a result, it is very difficult for individual decision-makers and policymakers to break free from their role's constraints and challenge common and conventional thinking.

In addition, role-playing variables are well able to explain the lack of full implementation of policies and general views of the system by some agencies and bureaucracies that differentiate national interests according to limited arguments, needs and organizational and institutional priorities that define themselves; thus, the ability of individuals, such as the president or foreign minister, to formulate the general orientation and principles of foreign policy is limited. As a result, explanation, continuity and stability in the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic is possible based on the limitations caused by the role and position to influence individuals for change and transformation.

IQBAL FORUM

Changes resulting from gradual adaptation in Iran's foreign policy are also possible through diversity, multiplicity, definitions and interpretations of roles and positions. It is possible to define foreign policy roles in different ways.Consequently, role-dependent variables also change. For example, the heads of the National Security and Foreign Policy Commission of the Islamic Consultative Assembly, with the changes they have made in their behavior, have defined this role in the field of foreign policy differently.Therefore, as part of the definition or expectation of a role in the Islamic Republic is a product of the leadership style and personality traits of their officials, changes and variations in the definitions of plans may lead to discontinuities and changes in foreign policy behavior. Just as the lack of dissemination of change and stability of common and conventional definitions is likely to be the source of continuity and the continuation of foreign policy, it must be acknowledged that the impact of individuals on the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic is greater than just their roles.

3. Government Resources

The way the government of the Islamic Republic is organized is another determining source of Iran's foreign policy. Variables related to the structural aspects and processes of the Islamic Republic system affect the decisions and policies of the country in the foreign and international arena by limiting or expanding the options of policymakers.There is a direct relationship between how the government is formed and organized and foreign policy decision-making, and consequently the nature and behavior of foreign policy.In particular, the two characteristics of Iran's governmental structure greatly impact its foreign policy. These two characteristics include the nature and type of political system of the Islamic Republic and the structure and volume of its bureaucratic and administrative organization in the field of foreign policy.

IQBAL FORUM

3.1. The Nature of the Political System

The type of political system includes variables such as the nature, form and structure of government, which are explained in the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran. In essence, the Iranian political system is a religious democracy that seeks to combine divine and national sovereignty within the teachings of Islam.The Islamic Republic, although very different from liberal democracy, is a kind of democratic system based on the votes and participation of the people.Thus, the nature, content,implementation,decision-making and behavior of Iran'sforeign policy, like other types of democracy, are influenced by the requirements and necessities of democracy.

The nature of democracies influences their foreign policy in different ways. Firstly, in such systems, because decision-making power and policy-making powers are divided between diverse democratic institutions and agencies, more actors are involved in the foreign policy process, as compared to the authoritarian and non-democratic systems.Decisions and policies are made by one or more people. Secondly,democratic leaders are directly accountable to the people of the parties and civil society. Therefore, in order to gain a position and success in the field of foreign policy, they must satisfy voters to have the necessary legitimacy and acceptance. As a result, these leaders do not have unlimited freedom of action and options, unlike their authoritarian counterparts in authoritarian regimes. Thirdly, the multiplicity of actors in the foreign policy process leads to the prolongation of this process and the adoption of decisions and policies.

Decentralized decision-making and institutional pluralism in the foreign policy process of democracies enable them to act peacefully in their foreign relations. On one hand, the need for consensus and agreement among a large group of actors reduces the power and ability of democratic leaders to adopt coercive policies and the use of force, and on the other hand, they are accountable to people who are on welfare interests. They attach great importance to economics and believe in the peaceful

IQBAL FORUM

settlement of disputes and conflicts based on democratic culture and values.

Additionally, some analysts consider one of the causes of the de-escalation process in the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran during the presidency of Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani to be the increased power and authority of the president after the revision of the constitution. This is because the president is directly elected by the people and is accountable to them. Additionally, some foreign policy experts view the reconciliatory and peaceful policies of Iran during the presidency of Seyyed Mohammad Khatami as a result of a liberal interpretation of the constitution. According to this democratic conception, the Islamic Republic is a form of religious democracy where people elect their leaders within the framework of the principle of national sovereignty, and these leaders are responsible and accountable to the nation.Therefore, due to the positive correlation between democracy at home and peace abroad, the Islamic Republic in this period has pursued a peaceful foreign policy based on democratic peace.

3.2. Form and Structure of Government

The structural features and form of government of the Islamic Republic also play a decisive role in its foreign policy. According to the two types of presidential and parliamentary democracies, the Islamic Republic is a semi-parliamentary and semi-presidential system. The constitutional amendments of 1990, although increasing the powers of the president, did not reduce the power of the Islamic Consultative Assembly. In terms of how the executive branch is exercised, the Islamic Republic, which according to the1980 constitution was directly a three-pillar system, has been changed to a two-pillar system. That is, part of the executive branch is exercised by the leadership and another part by the president and ministers.Additionally, based on the principle of separation of powers, the ruling forces in the Islamic Republic are independent of each other, each of

IQBAL FORUM

which exercises part of its sovereignty through the relevant rganizations without the intervention of the other two powers.

Despite the acceptance of the system of separation of powers in the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran, which requires the absence of superior power in the exercise of sovereignty, according to Article 57 of this law, the three forces are exercised "under the absolute authority and leadership of the Imam of the Ummah." Therefore, the Supreme Leader, as the ruling authority and the supreme head of the government, gains power and position, oversees all the affairs and issues of the country, and has comprehensive legislative, executive, and judicial abilities. Furthermore, despite the apparent wording of Article 57,which implies a monopoly on the exercise of sovereignty in the legislature, the executive, and the judiciary under the Supreme Leader, according to other constitutional principles, some sovereignty, such as the Supreme National Security Council and the Expediency Council, is independent of each of the three forces.

Each of these structural and formal features of the Islamic Republic affects foreign policy differently. Firstly, the supreme leader plays the highest and most important role in foreign policy. Secondly, despite the increase in the power and authority of the president, due to the semi-parliamentary and semi-presidential nature of the Islamic Republic as well as the two-pillar basis of government, the executive branch does not have complete control over foreign policy. However, the executive branch, headed by the president, has the greatest influence on foreign policy after the supreme leader.In addition, the Supreme National Security Council and the Expediency Council are decisive institutions in the foreign policy and behavior of the IslamicRepublic.These factors, along with the system of separation of powers and division of power between the three powers, necessitate political compromise in foreign policy and, consequently, slow down this process. Therefore, this group of government variables prevents sudden and wide-ranging changes in Iran's foreign policy and perpetuates it.

IQBAL FORUM

3.3. Bureaucracy

The third characteristic of the Islamic Republic that, like any other country, affects its foreign policy is bureaucracy and foreign policy agencies. The bureaucracy collects and processes information, provides suggestions and advice,performs and implements policies, and, in some cases, makes foreign policy decisions and policies. Due to the diversity, complexity, and specialization of the thematic areas of foreign policy and international relations and based on the nature of the division of administrative work, the government offers and delegated decision-making powers to various agencies, institutions, and organizations. This leads to the formation of a foreign policy bureaucracy in which each of the institutions and organizations assumes the responsibility and duty of being part of the country's foreign policy process. The large bureaucratic structure of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran includes three categories of agencies and institutions: political-diplomatic, military-security, and commercial-economic.

Therefore, the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran is influenced by the bureaucratic factors of various political, military, security, trade, and economic bodies and organs that are directly or indirectly involved in this process. Some of these variables are: the structure of these organizations; the procedures and practical arrangements common in these bureaucracies; the decision-making processes at different levels of policy; the techniques and methods of implementing and enforcing policies; and the attitudes and perceptions of each of these institutions and their officials about the impact of foreign policy on domestic policy and public welfare. As a result, the interaction, conflict, agreement, and compromise of military institutions such as the army, Islamic revolution guards corps, the police, and the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Defense, Intelligence, Interior, and Oil have undeniable effects on Iran's foreign policy.

Bureaucratic variables may shape foreign policy decisions, actions, and behavior in several ways. According to the organizational-process model, the most common type of

IQBAL FORUM

bureaucratic impact arises from inter-organizational and intra-organizational competition in the policy-making, decision-making, and adoption of policies processes. Because each of these agencies, based on their own definition and perception of Iran's national interests, is in constant competition with other agencies to maximize their influence and involvement in the policy process, Therefore, there are always disagreements between different organs and ministries about what policy and decision should be taken.These rivalries and differences of opinion exist not only between different institutions but also within them. For example, one of the most important determinants of Iran's foreign policy in Afghanistan before the US invasion and in response to the Iraq crisis before and after the fall of Saddam Hussein were the bureaucratic battles between the Foreign Ministry, the Revolutionary Guards, and the Ministry of Intelligence. There have even been rivalries and disagreements between the major circles and the various administrative areas of each of these institutions, such as the view of the Quds Force within the Revolutionary Guards.

Also, according to the bureaucratic-politics model, in the central government decision-making apparatus,where few people make vital decisions, the managers of these institutions and agencies are in constant competition to inspire and apply their views. That is, each member of the decision-making group, based on the position and responsibility for which he or she is in charge, takes a position and recommends a decision and policy that are under their or her management in order to maintain and strengthen the position and interests of the organization and ministry. By this logic, for example, when examining the Iraq crisis or Iran's nuclear activities in the Supreme National Security Council, the Minister of Foreign Affairs is expected to propose a policy of persuasion through negotiation and diplomatic bargaining within the framework of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.The Minister of Defense, and each of the military commanders of the IRGC and the army, according to the strength and capabilities of the military apparatus under his command, will recommend the policy of coercion, the use of

IQBAL FORUM

force, and military deterrence. The Ministry of Intelligence and other intelligence agencies prefer diplomacy and covert operations. As a result, the decisions and policies that are adopted will reflect the views and interests of these agencies. Of course, it should be noted that the effectiveness of each agency and ministry through gatekeeping and channeling information varies in different contexts and areas.

In addition, even if, due to the decisions and policies of a few at the national level in decision-making and policy-making, they act uniformly, the field of implementation may be fragmented and behavioral and act incompatibly. Each bureaucracy and institution subconsciously or consciously interprets or distorts and executes decisions and policies based on the prevailing discourse, court culture, and conventional practices. Because there is a big gap between making decisions at the center of the decision-making apparatus and implementing decisions in practice, there is a misinterpretation, distortion, opposition, and even twisting. In other words, there is a profound gap between the decision and the action that is filled by the bureaucracy so that the communicative decisions are not executed blindly. Therefore, the messages, proposals, plans, and finally, the executive decisions in the hierarchy of the government are manipulated and subjected to intentional and inadvertent manipulation and distortion.

In the Islamic Republic's foreign policy process, bureaucratic variables and competitions affect how they are implemented and applied rather than determining decisions and policies. The history of Iran's foreign policy shows that although the country has suffered from uncoordinated decisions in some areas due to the lack of a unified decision-making structure, unified decisions, and policies are implemented differently in the executive branch. Therefore, in the current situation, where most of the serious decisions are taken by the Supreme National Security Council and communicated to various organs and agencies, each of them performs and implements them according to its own nterpretation.

IQBAL FORUM

4. National Resources

National and social resources of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran include all non-governmental characteristics of the society, nation, and country of Iran. Iran's foreign policy, like any other political phenomenon or process, is not formed in a vacuum but results from the country's specific social,cultural,geographical,and economic context and onditions. The national variables affecting the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic can be divided and studied in the form of cultural, historical, geographical, economic, and social factors and elements.

4.1. Cultural Variables

Culture, civilization, and ancient history of Iran as an ancient country and nation and a role player in world and human history and civilization have a profound impact on its foreign policy.Culture in the general sense includes elements such as customs,traditions, religion, language,beliefs,characteristics, and spirits; common ideas and attitudes;ideology; systems of meaning; professions and skills; ways of doing things; ways of thinking; institutions; values and norms; law; behavioral patterns; moral characteristics; intellectual and artistic achievements; etc.It is one of the important components of Iran's foreign policy. Each of the cultural variables at the three national, individual, and institutional levels affects the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic.

4.1.1. National Characteristics and Values

At the national level, culture as a system of common beliefs and meanings between the minds forms the nature, goals, orientation, and behavior of Iran's foreign policy. Public culture governing society in the context of characteristics, common positions, style, spirit, and national identity are the determining factors in foreign policy. The national characteristics and spirits of Iranians are defined based on positive and negative cultural characteristics that distinguish them from other societies and nations. Some of the positive cultural characteristics and values

IQBAL FORUM

of Iranians are idealism, justice, hospitality, harmony, fighting oppression, martyrdom, and saviorism.

Ethical idealism leads to idealism in foreign policy by setting idealistic goals and objectives and not paying enough attention to the facts. Justice, rights-seeking, and being against oppression also require a kind of justice-oriented and right-oriented foreign policy. The support of the Islamic Republic to the oppressed people, Muslims and non-Muslims, including the liberation movements and the export of the revolution, is partly due to these cultural variables and the Iranian national spirit.The influence of these four variables, which are rooted in Iranian religions before and after Islam and especially in Shiism, has led to the adoption of revisionist or even revolutionary foreign policy. In the field of behavior, it has caused communication and the development of relations with a group of countries, despite its lack of expansion with other groups. The spirit of martyrdom, saviorism, and malice can be seen in Iran's behavior and strategy in the war against the Ba'athist regime in Iraq.

On the other hand, Iranians' negative cultural and normative characteristics also affect their foreign policy. Some of these characteristics are: absolutism, hypocrisy, behavioral duality, ambiguity, opportunism, and selfishness; pessimism and distrust; a lack of planning; unpunctuality; a lack of advice; and individualism. For example, absolute thinking and following the logic of all or nothing in foreign policy lead to the adoption of extremist and deviant policies, objectives, and behaviors. Unpunctuality and not learning from missed opportunities can destroy opportunities in the international arena. Hypocrisy and duplicity in the field of foreign policy led to the use of scattered and incompatible objectives and tools. Ambiguity also creates totalitarianism, discourse, and behavioral tendencies in foreign policy.

4.1.2. Political Culture

Although the values and elements of public culture influence the formation and implementation of foreign policy, Iranian political culture plays a pivotal role. Political culture is a system

IQBAL FORUM

of meaning that is common between minds; the basis of politics reflects political values, power, society, and government. The components of Iranian political culture are consolidated in the process of thinking about the implementation and management of change in politics and political affairs. Due to its triple origins-ancient, Islamic, and modern-the political culture of Iran is the manifestation and crystallization of Iranian Islamic and Western values in the fields of government and politics. As a result, within the culture and socio-political mentality of Iran, different systems of meaning have been formed to model the overt political arena.

In general, the beliefs,meanings, and political values of Iranians stem from the patterns of the ideal kingdom belonging to the culture and civilization of ancient Iran, the pattern of the emergence inspired by Islamic-Shiite culture and civilization, and the ideal patterns of the East, socialism and democracy, and modern times.The diversity of meanings and the multiplicity of patterns lead to a diversity of political values and norms that are heterogeneous and even inconsistent, which in turn leads to the complexity and ultiplicity of political behavior and orientation. Some elements of Iranian political culture as aeflectionof this heterogeneity and compatibility are individualism,authoritarianism,pessimism,distrustof thegovernment,governmentcenteredness,saviorism,centeredne ss,saviorism,destiny,idealism,right-seeking and justice, independence, and freedom.

As described in public culture, these elements and values directly influence foreign policy. The most important consequence of the colorful nature of Iranian political culture is the multiplicity and dispersion in the orientation and behavior of foreign policy. In addition, each of these components individually influences foreign policy. For example, individualism and authoritarianism increase the role of individuals in the foreign policy process. Government-oriented pessimism, saviorism, and political destiny reduce political participation and the role of public opinion in the foreign policy process. On the other hand, idealism, right-seeking, and justice-

IQBAL FORUM

seeking pursue a kind of idealism based on justice and right-seeking in foreign policy.

4.1.3. Ideology and Religion

Ideology, which means a set of concepts and assumptions about behaviour and social systems or a set of thoughts and ideas about socio-political order and how they are implemented, is another variable affecting Iran's foreign policy. Although according to this definition, religion is not equal to ideology, in the Islamic Republic, since Shiism is used as a political discourse to judge socio-political order and action to judge socio-political opinion and action, the face of a political ideology has come true. Thus, in foreign policy, Islamic-Shiite ideology is a discourse organization consisting of concepts and assumptions through which the perception of foreign events and structures takes place and influences Iran's foreign actions, reactions, and behavior.

In addition to fundamental Islamic-Shiite ideas and teachings, other values, experiences, discourses, and ideas have been involved in the formation of Islamic ideology in the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran. Thus, the historical background and experience of Iran, especially its relationship with the West in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, pre-Islamic religious values and beliefs, anti-imperialist discourse, and secularism, have played a decisive role in the formation of Islamic discourse. For example, seeking justice and rights is rooted in pre-Islamic Iranian religious beliefs. Anti-Westernism and independence have been influenced by Iran's historical experience. Neither Eastern nor Western principles have been influenced by non-alignment discourse in the Third World .

Islamic ideology influences and shapes the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran in several ways. Firstly, ideology plays a vital role in defining Iran's national identity and role. The Islamic Republic of Iran has an Islamic identity that requires and creates various transnational responsibilities and duties within the framework of its various roles. The national role of the Islamic Republic of Iran is the definition of this

IQBAL FORUM

country from the common types of obligations, decisions, rules, and actions appropriate for itself and the tasks and functions that it must play in different thematic and geographical conditions. Accordingly, the national roles of the Islamic Republic of Iran are: Defender of Islam and Shiism, anti-imperialist, anti-arrogant, anti-Zionist, stronghold of the revolution, or liberator, supporter of the oppressed, exemplary, or inspiring government in the Islamic world, leader of the Islamic world, center of the Islamic world, and revisionist government.

Secondly, Islamic ideology defines and shapes the national interests and goals of the Islamic Republic by determining its national identity and role. Iran's national role reflects the norms and expectations based on the values that form its national identity and considers its country committed to them. Therefore, national roles are consolidating and demanding the general and specific interests that the Islamic Republic pursues in foreign policy. Therefore, the Islamic Republic has ideological and Islamic interests and objectives, such as preserving the existence of Islam and Shiism, preserving religious and revolutionary values, defending Muslims, fighting oppression, denying domination and oppression, colonialism and anti-arrogance, and protecting the oppressed and the victims.

Thirdly, Islamic ideology creates a particular way of thinking in which facts, messages, and allusions to the external environment and other countries are interpreted in the same sense. For example, the Palestinians' fight against Israel is a clear example of liberation war and the battle of right against wrong, and the Islamic Republic is obliged to defend the front of the treaty. Also, any fight against the United States is a battle against arrogance and the great devil, which is also legitimate at the same time. In addition, the war and struggle of non-Islamic forces, as a manifestation of the war against falsehood, require the neutrality of the Islamic Republic, as well as Iran's position in the two American wars against Saddam Hussein's regime in Iraq.

Fourthly, Islamic ideology determines the main stages of

IQBAL FORUM

historical transformation and socio-political development, providing a unique picture of the current and future state of the world. Based on this, it draws a certain perspective and horizon for the country, which identifies general and specific strategies and orientations for each stage and time period. During the war, the focus was on stabilizing the revolution and preserving the capital of the Islamic world, instead of continuous revolution and the issuance of revolution.The construction phase model is to build a developed and advanced society and normalize relations with the outside world.

After the "2nd of Khordad", presenting a role model in the framework of de-escalation and dialogue between civilizations rose on the foreign policy agenda, the motto of the ninth government model was the introduction of the Islamic justice government. The fifth way in which the Islamic Ideology shapes Iran's Foreign Policy is that it creates and determines a special moral system and value for judging the policies, actions, and behaviors of the Islamic Republic and other countries. For example, according to Islamic criteria and indicators, the only legitimate type of government is the Islamic state, and other states and governments are illegitimate and immoral. However, different governments and systems have varying degrees of acceptance. The Islamic countries and the Third World are at higher levels than the arrogant and warring countries.Therefore, establishing and expanding relations with them is equally legitimate and possible or illegitimate and impossible.

4.1 Historical Variables

Background, experiences, and historical memories of the Iranian nation from the decisive wars, threats, crises, and developments of its culture and civilization throughout history strongly influence the nature, orientation, quality, and behavior of Iran's foreign policy. The history of Iran as a great, glorious, and powerful power with ancient history and civilization leads to the formation of this mentality and belief in leaders and people that the country has a central position in the system of international relations and is the focal point of calculations and

IQBAL FORUM

strategic considerations in the world. This perception of self, based on the rule of the shadow of the past and the historical experience and historical memories of Iran and Iranians, also has a profound effect on the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic.

On the other hand, the glory of the past evokes national self-confidence and leads to the formation of a consolidated and distinct Iranian national identity, which at the same time is irrigated by the Islamic nature of Iranians. The result of these two factors, namely focusing on Iran in international relations and having an independent national identity in foreign policy, leads to independence, autonomy, and freedom of action in the international arena to restore the greatness of the past.Of course, this motivation and goal are defined and determined in the framework of Islamic teachings and ideas as the reconstruction and restoration of the glory of Iranian civilization and culture.

The experience and historical memories of Iran and Iranians also profoundly affect the Islamic Republic's foreign policy. Throughout its tumultuous history, Iran has always faced foreign threats, invasions, and aggression by foreign nations and peoples, as well as the phenomenon of foreign occupation. Thus, the historical memory of the Iranian nation is full of foreign occupations and aggressions, from Alexander the Great to Mahmud Afghan and the Allies. This ominous phenomenon culminated in the nineteenth century with the rise of European colonial powers, especially Russia and Britain. The pervasive interventions of these two colonial powers in Iran not only pushed the country away from the centre of international relations but also destroyed its independence, national sovereignty, and finally its territorial integrity as a result of the Turkmenchay and Golestan treaties.

Due to Iran's weakness and inability to confront the superior military power and superior economic power of the colonialists, many colonial agreements were imposed on Iran, according to which unjust concessions and monopolies were granted to

IQBAL FORUM

Western countries.This humiliated the ancient and civilized nation of Iran. This strengthened the motivation of the people to resist and fight against the aliens.Defensive attitudes and confrontational tendencies resulting from unjust relations with the great Western powers eventually led to the formation of Persian xenophobia, the logical result of which was xenophobia, especially towards the West.

This historical experience has had a dual impact on the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic. On the one hand, it has led to cautious foreign relations with Western countries, especially Britain and the United States. Because based on the mental and psychological evaluation of historical events in the past, many of the weaknesses and problems of Iran are due to its relationship with and contact with Western demons, especially the great devil. Beyond all this, international developments and events are interpreted in a way that is consciously and deliberately directed against Iran and Islam. On the other hand, one of the most important causes and motives for independence and freedom of action in the foreign relations of the Islamic Republic, which is not manifested in the ideals of the Islamic Revolution, is xenophobia and fighting enemies. Of course, it should be noted that this thinking is also reinforced by the idea of anti-arrogance in Islamic ideology.

4.3. Geographical Variables

Regardless of the geopolitical theory, which unilaterally considers geographical variables to be the only determining factor in the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic, undoubtedly, one of the most important sources of continuous influence on Iran's foreign policy is its geographical features. Geographical elements affecting the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic are:geographical location, borders, territorial size, and population.

4.3.1. Geographical Location

In terms of geographical and geopolitical location, Iran comprises unique features influenced by its foreign policy.

IQBAL FORUM

Firstly, Iran is an international country that has always been considered by the center of international power and has played a prominent role in global equations. This situation directly and indirectly affects the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic and shapes the behavior of foreigners. On the one hand, the reason why this situation is incompatible with neutrality and isolationism requires a kind of extroverted and active foreign policy.Therefore, even in cases and periods when the policy of neutrality and isolationism has been adopted temporarily and according to necessity, it has either not been respected by the great powers or has not achieved the desired result. On the other hand, the international nature of Iran causes it to be constantly exposed to threats, foreign intervention and aggression due to the interests of the poles of international power. Consequently, due to the formation of a kind of xenophobia and anti- xenophobia, foreign policy provokes a confrontation that national security,independence and territorial integrity are its central goals and interests.

Secondly, Iran is at the center of overlapping geopolitical regions that benefit from their superior role and position due to their strategic maritime, land and strait positions. This feature also has a dual and even conflicting effect on the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic.Sometimes it provokes, political-economic and military rivalries for influence in these areas. Iran's rivalry with Turkey in Central Asia and the Caucasus, tensions in relations between Iran and the Arab states of the Persian Gulf in the first decade of the Islamic Revolution, are examples of this influence.At times, however, cooperative foreign policy within the framework of multilateralism leads to convergence and regionalism, such as Iran's membership in the Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO).

Thirdly, Iran also enjoys a special strategic economic position that puts it at the crossroads of the world's energy production and consumption axes. The Islamic Republic of Iran is located in the north-south vertical axis at the center of two energy sources: the Persian Gulf, Central Asia and the Caucasus. The

IQBAL FORUM

East-West horizontal axis is also the center of two energy-consuming regions in East Asia and Europe.Therefore, Iran has a privileged distributor position as the intersection of energy production and consumption axes.The result of these three geographical features necessitates adopting an extroverted foreign policy based on developing relations with regional and trans-regional countries.

4.3.2. Country Size

The size of Iran, which is defined in terms of territory and population, in addition to being an important element of its national power, also plays an effective role in the direction and implementation of the country's foreign policy. This role-playing can be seen and examined in several ways. Firstly, the vast geographical area and large population make the Islamic Republic of Iran a large country and a powerful regional player. This objective reality, or perception, motivates Iran to seek effective regional and even global action to achieve a suitable or superior position in the region, especially in the Persian Gulf.

Secondly, in response to this policy and strategic objective stemming from Iran's size, regional and supra-regional countries are trying to prevent Iran from achieving its superiority by striking a balance. The policy of compensation has been pursued and realized in three ways: first, through the alliance and military-security alliance of the neighbors, including the Arab countries of the Persian Gulf, and most recently, by the Republic of Azerbaijan with the great world powers. Second, the presence and direct intervention of trans-regional countries in the region to establish order and security systems without the presence of Iran.Third, the formation of regional treaties and alliances to oppose the Islamic Republic, such as the formation of the Persian Gulf Cooperation Council.The reflection of this balance policy in Iran's foreign policy has manifested in various models such as counterbalance, detente, confidence building, convergence, and cooperation by the Islamic Republic.

IQBAL FORUM

Thirdly, it highlights the vast area, the problem of borders, and the security of Iran's foreign policy towards its neighbors and other intervening countries. With over 8731 kilometers of common border, territorial disputes have always been one of the most important issues in the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic in the past 30 years. The dispute over sovereignty over the Arvand River was at least one of the causes of Iraq's invasion of Iran in September 1980, which remains unresolved. Bordering the former Soviet Union during the Cold War and the two-polar era was another security concern of the Islamic Republic in its interaction with this superpower.After the collapse of the Soviet Union, Iran faced another issue called its new neighbors, which directly impacted its foreign policy. In addition, the dispute between Iran and the United Arab Emirates over the sovereignty of the Iranian islands of Tonb-e Bozorg, Tonb-e-Kuchak, and Abu Musa is undoubtedly one of several strategic issues in the Islamic Republic's foreign policy in the current context. This issue affects bilateral relations and is an important factor in Iran's relations with other members of the Persian Gulf Cooperation Council, the Arab world, and even trans-regional countries.

Fourth, given the correlation between the elements of power and the scope of national objectives, Iran's size causes the expansion of the territory and the diversity of national interests in its foreign policy.The multiplicity of interests and pluralism of national objectives also require the development of foreign relations and active diplomacy.Because the vastness of the territory places Iran in the centre of various geopolitical areas and intermediates,which include different objectives and purposes, it presents multiple national roles to the Islamic Republic of Iran, from which either a strategic choice must be made or all of them must be pursued simultaneously.

4.4. Social Variables

Social factors affecting the foreign policy of the Islamic

IQBAL FORUM

Republic of Iran refer to the characteristics of Iranian society and the social order that governs it.The level of social development and the nature of various social groups and political factions are among the important social factors and elements that directly and indirectly affect and shape the foreign policy and behavior of the Islamic Republic. These various variables can be divided and studied in three general categories: the transitional status of Iranian society, demographic and ethnic composition, and social group classes.

4.4.1 Transitional status of Iranian society

One of Iran's most important social features is the transitional state of society from the traditional to the industrial stage and its developing nature. Iranian society has been grappling with the challenge of how to combine tradition and modernity for more than a century. On the one hand, modernity and modernization have been one of the ideals and aspirations of Iranians, and on the other hand, preserving the traditional way of life based on Iranian culture, religion, and traditions is one of the concerns of the Iranian people. Iranian society has not yet been completely transformed from a traditional to an industrial and modern state and is not considered fully developed. Therefore, it has the characteristics of both traditional and modern, or developed and developing, societies.

The most important indicators of a traditional andunderdeveloped society are tradition-based legitimacy, loyalties, ethnic and tribal interests, a low level of political participation, the political functioning of parties, a lack of civil society development, and political obedience. On the contrary, characteristics of a modern, developed society include rational legitimacy, national loyalties and interests, broad political participation,theformation of strong andefficient political parties, and a developed and civil society. The current situation in Iran clearly shows that despite the many developments that have taken place since the Islamic Revolution, Iranian society is still in an intermediate state and has both categories of indicators.

IQBAL FORUM

Thus, the transitional situation in Iran means that society faces the challenge of five crises: identity, legitimacy, participation, influence, and distribution. Although the Islamic Revolution and the formation of the Islamic Republic have significantly reduced the severity of these crises, they have not yet been completely resolved.

The transitional nature of Iranian society affects the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran in several ways. First, it plays a very important role in determining and defining the national interests and objectives of the country. Because national interests and objectives require and imply the fundamental values of society that are pursued in foreign policy, the duality of traditional and modern values is reflected in national interests and objectives. In addition, dual values give rise to two groups of traditional and modern elites, each of whom prefers to pursue and follow a set of these values and goals in foreign policy. As a result, the priorities of national interests and objectives also change as decision-makers' shift. Also, foreign policy will face a crisis of national goals and interests if they do not agree on national priorities. The Islamic Republic of Iran's foreign policy developments during construction and reforms can be considered a function and effect of this social variable to some extent because modernist technocrats and intellectuals came to power and overcame the foreign policy apparatus.

Second, the transitional conditions and modernity of Iranian society are determining factors in the general direction of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic and its pattern of interaction and foreign relations. On the one hand, the desire for modernity and indigenous development leads the country to adopt strategies of non-alignment in foreign policy and also requires a kind of foreign policy revision that seeks to change or at least reform the international order. On the other hand, to achieve this objective, constructive interaction with the world and developed countries becomes inevitable.

Third, the influence of the transitional state of society is reflected in how foreign decisions and policies are made. On the

IQBAL FORUM

one hand, the traditional characteristics of Iranian society contribute to the process of personal and individual foreign policy. On the other hand, the modern characteristics of Iranian society create a kind of democratic and pluralistic foreign decision-making based on interests and group participation within the framework of national interests. The degree of institutionalization of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic is also a function of these two factors, which are reflected in how it is formulated and implemented.

Fourth, the five development challenges in the domestic society of Iran are largely reflected in the foreign policy and relations of the Islamic Republic with other societies and countries. An identity challenge or crisis leads to adopting different and even conflicting national plans in foreign policy. This, in turn, leads to conflict and incompatibility among national interests and objectives. A crisis of legitimacy of the national spirit means the degree of support of the nation and the people for the policies and actions of the government in the foreign arena. The participation challenge also impedes democratic foreign policy based on national demands and interests. A crisis of influence and distribution also causes the inability to ensure national unity and the determination of national interests according to the outcomes of different groups and social interests. These challenges, in addition to creating the ground for internal vulnerabilities and reducing national power, also provide the environment for foreign intervention.

4.4.2. Demographic composition

Demographically and humanely, Iranian society has very important and even unique features and indicators that directly and indirectly affect the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic. One of the prominent features of Iran's population is its youth. The young population raises special demands from the government, such as employment and entrepreneurship, education, housing, development, and economic prosperity. This ensures that economic goals and interests are prioritized in foreign policy and that it becomes economically oriented.

IQBAL FORUM

Achieving this goal also requires an extroverted foreign policy and the development of relations with other countries, especially developed societies.

Also, more than half of Iran's population are women, the majority of whom are young. Although this does not have a direct and prominent impact on the foreign policy and behavior of the Islamic Republic, it is one of the variables affecting its relations with Western countries and the international community. Criticism of European countries and human rights organizations On the Islamic Republic under the pretext of non-observance of women's rights has always been one of Iran-Europe relations' most critical and challenging areas.

Another social feature of Iran is its ethnic, linguistic, and religious composition. Although the Iranian nation enjoys ethnic homogeneity and connections through religious, cultural, and historical commonalities, this issue is a kind of social unity mixed with plurality. Ethnic, linguistic, religious, and even racial minorities are some of the social indicators of the Islamic Republic of Iran. These pluralities and social minorities may affect Iran's foreign policy in several ways. For example, the settlement of ethnic and religious minorities in the country's border areas adds to the priority and importance of border security, territorial integrity, and national unity in the hierarchy of national goals and interests in the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic.

Second, it motivates foreign actors to foster and intensify the centrifugal tendencies of these minorities by creating false ethnic and linguistic self-consciousness. Iran's reaction to these foreign interventions also has a negative impact on its relations with these countries. For example, one of the challenges to Iran's relations with some of its neighboring countries was the tension in Iran-Iraq relations during the Ba'athist regime due to the regime's intervention in the affairs of the provinces of Kurdistan and Khuzestan. In addition, Iran's foreign policy in the face of the recent crisis in Iraq and the US invasion of that country is largely influenced by the Islamic

IQBAL FORUM

Republic's concern about the impact of developments in Iraqi Kurdistan on the Kurdish population of the country and the province of Kurdistan. Additionally, one of the reasons for the tendency of the Islamic Republic to create a reverse alliance with Armenia and Greece is the ethnocentric policies of the Republic of Azerbaijan and Turkey towards some ethnic groups in Iran.

Third, the different ethnicities and religious minorities in Iranian society are one of the causes and factors affecting Iran's relations with countries and human rights organizations and institutions. For example, one of the important aspects of the issue of human rights in Iran-Europe relations is the issue of the rights of religious and ethnic minorities. Since the victory of the Islamic Revolution in Iran, this issue has cast a shadow over Iran-Europe relations and remains unresolved. Therefore, ethnic, religious, and linguistic heterogeneity make the issues and considerations of minorities and ethnicities important in the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic.

However, in addition to the challenges posed by the demographic and ethnic composition of Iranian society, it also provides many opportunities that positively impact the Islamic Republic's foreign policy. Young and developed human resources promotes Iran's national strength in the fields of economy, technology, and science. Ethnic and racial differences in Iran and neighboring countries, as stressful and challenging phenomena, can also provide opportunities for cooperation. For example, the Kurdish community in the three countries of Iran, Turkey, and Syria is one of the most important factors and elements in the cooperation and coordination of these three countries regarding Iraq and the emphasis on maintaining the territorial integrity of this country.

4.4.3. Groups and Social Classes

Iran's social and class structure also highlights the role and influence of certain groups and classes in the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic.After the victory of the Islamic Revolution, the class structure of Iranian society underwent changes. Due to

IQBAL FORUM

the role of the middle and lower social classes in the formation and victory of the revolution and then the defense of the country, their social and political positions in politics were promoted.These classes' social obligations and religious affiliations require certain political and economic demands, one of which is to prioritize religious and value interests and objectives in foreign policy.

The role and position of the middle class have also increased since the Islamic Revolution.The relative economic and political development in the post-war years provided the ground for this class's influence and political presence.The values and demands of the urban middle class are based more on prosperity and a good economic situation.The most important effect of this social class is the priority given to economic and welfare goals in the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic.Also, during the construction period, a new capitalist class was formed whose previous base was the middle and even lower levels of society. The economic interests of this social group, which also has a great influence on the political structure and power, helped to make the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic more economic.

Undoubtedly, the niost important class characteristic of Iranian society, which is a determining factor in the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic, is the privileged role and social status of the clergy. Due to the direct presence of the clergy at the head of political structure and power, the nature of politics in Iran has become religious.The objective manifestation of this fact in the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic is its ideologicalization and the prioritization of ideological goals. Furthermore, the powerful social network of the clergy in society, due to the trust and belief of the masses in it, enables the ability to mobilize social forces to pursue these objectives and interests in foreign policy.

For example, institutions such as seminaries, Friday prayer imams, and mosque imams play a decisive role in the direction and behavior of Iran's foreign policy.Organized social groups are also an important factor in formulating and determining the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic.Influential and

IQBAL FORUM

stakeholder groups, representing the interests and positions of certain social sectors and classes, pressure the government to achieve its goals and interests. Social groups' influence on the Islamic Republic's foreign policy increased, especially during the reform period, when political development and civil society were emphasized.

Economic, commercial, labor, and financial interest groups and organizations producing wealth and economic prosperity, such as the Islamic Association of Markets and Trade Unions, the Workers' House, economic foundations, and oil companies, are some of the important variables in economic policy and foreign trade in the Islamic Republic.

Religious and militant groups are also a determining factor in the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic.Religious and spiritual organizations such as seminaries, Friday prayer imams, imams of mosques, and religious delegations have a prominent and effective role in the direction and behavior of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic on issues in the Islamic world. Militant and security groups such as the Basij also significantly influence Iran's foreign policy and decision-making.

Political parties, organizations, and factions are also very important social resources in the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic. The functioning of political parties in Iran is very similar to that of interest groups.Political parties and organizations, such as influential groups, reflect the interests and positions of certain sections and classes of Iranian society. The rivalry of political parties and groups, such as the conflict of interests, is manifested in forming different views and objectives in foreign policy.In recent years, foreign policy issues have been one of the most important areas of competition and disagreement between various political parties and organizations in the Islamic Republic.For example,we can point to the way these parties view and position Iran-Europe relations, nuclear issues, the crises in Iraq and Afghanistan, and the efforts of these parties to gain public support on the mentioned issues, which have been one of the features of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic during these years.

IQBAL FORUM

But the most prominent kind of influence of political groups and organisations on Iran's foreign policy is embodied and crystallized in the context of factional rivalries. One of the most significant socio-political features of Iranian society is the strong role and position of factions and factional policies in this country's foreign policy.The impact of rivalries and factional conflicts on foreign policy is such that many analysts consider them the main variable and the most determining factor. Just as different factions have different approaches to domestic policy, their approaches and positions on foreign policy are also unique and sometimes conflicting.

Factions and factional rivalries affect Iran's foreign policy in several ways. First, the rise to power of one faction is due to the superiority of that faction's approach and discourse over foreign policy and its formation.Thus, during the rule of the moderate faction, foreign policy became more pragmatic and moderate. On the contrary, with the rule of the radical or idealistic faction in the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic, it becomes more radical and idealistic.

Second, factional rivalries also cause the non-governmental faction to try to prevent the formation of a foreign policy contrary to its views and approach by exerting pressure on the ruling faction. Factional rivalry often leads to foreign policy issues being used to strengthen political factions' position and internal political goals.The most obvious example of this influence is the use of the issue of relations with the United States for internal partisan purposes, such as the McFarlane case during Ronald Reagan's presidency during the war.

4.5. Economic Variables

The characteristics and sources of Iran's economic power also significantly impact the Islamic Republic's foreign policy. Economic variables affecting Iran's foreign policy can be discussed in three thematic areas:economic system, development model and energy resources.

IQBAL FORUM

4.5.1. Economic System

According to the constitution, the Islamic Republic's economic system is mixed and consists of three sectors: public, private, and cooperative. However, there has never been a balance between these three sectors, and in practice, the balance has been upset in favor of the cooperative and government sectors. However, the size of Iran's stat economy and the role of the government in the economy have been strong and weak in different periods. From the beginning of the victory of the Islamic Revolution in1979 until the end of the Iraq-Iran war, due to the government's extensive intervention in the economy and the uncontrolled growth of the public sector, the Iranian economy became practically centralized. After the war, the private sector was strengthened, and the rate of government intervention also decreased.

The closed and centralized state economy of the Islamic Republic in the first decade of the revolution was influenced by its foreign policy in several ways. First, the role and importance of economic welfare goals and interests in foreign policy diminished. Second, due to the government's complete control over the economy and the lack of private sector formation, non-governmental economic stakeholders played a fragile role in foreign policy. The differences in the economic views of the political factions did not have much effect on the nature of the economic strategy and, consequently, did not play a decisive factor in changing the direction of foreign policy.Third, the economic and governmental systems helped to strengthen the strategy, orientation, and isolationism in the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic.

On the other hand, the adoption of economic liberalization policies and the shift of economic policy from a state-centered economy to a system based on reducing the role of government and strengthening and developing the private sector during the construction period profoundly affected the Islamic Republic's foreign policy. Privatization, trade liberalization, and prices liberization, the gradual reduction of subsidies,

IQBAL FORUM

the competitiveness of the economy, and the encouragement of foreign investment in the context of economic reform all signaled the formation of a kind of open market economy instead of the regular and mixed economy of the past.The establishment of a free economic system and market affected the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic in several ways. First, it led to the economic orientation of foreign policy, based on which economic and welfare interests and objectives were prioritized and political preferences were overshadowed.

Second, due to the strengthening and development of the private sector through economic privatization policy, the role and position of non-governmental and even governmental economic and industrial institutions, groups, and actors in foreign policy-making and decision-making increased.In addition, the efforts of the private sector and economic-industrial interest groups for regional and global marketing paved the way for the expansion of Iran's economic-political relations with other countries.Third, the free-market economic system requires extraversion in foreign policy as attracting foreign capital and connecting with the world economy and market requires the development of relations with other societies and nations; the expansion of Iran's relations with Europe and Central Asian countries can be attributed in part to these economic variables.

4.5.2. Economic Development Model

Like other countries, one of the national objectives and interests of the Islamic Republic of Iran is economic welfare and technological development.Because providing welfare and a favorable economic situation, in addition to increasing the country's economic power, is a necessary precondition for the development of the country's software power; althoughthe principle of the importance and necessity of economic and technological development is not in doubt, there are different views on its approach and model in the Islamic Republic. Scientifically and theoretically, three development models-introverts,extroverts,and mixed-can be identified,each requiring a

IQBAL FORUM

specific foreign policy.Because the strategy and mechanisms for the realization of any development model,according to their nature, are appropriate and coordinated with a specific type of foreign policy.

Introverted development is based on import substitution strategies and economic-technological self-sufficiency and self-reliance. By adopting this model, the country tries to achieve economic growth and development without using foreign and international facilities and resources by making optimal use of domestic and national resources.Due to the logic of independence of this model and its pessimism and suspicion about the international economic order and the hegemonic and unjust nature of the global capitalist economic system,Economic relations with the outside world and connections with international markets are reduced to a minimum. In particular, relations with the capitalist system are reduced, and no foreign aid or capital is accepted.Foreign trade and investment, the transfer of capital and profits, the transfer of technology, and the transfer of labor and production are also under the supervision and control of the government and are allowed if they comply with the objectives set by it.Therefore,the adoption of this development model has played a major role in the isolationism of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic. The choice of the import substitution development model in the first decade of the revolution was one of the effective factors in not expanding relations with industrialized countries, although this factor cannot be considered the only reason for this policy.

On the other hand, the extroverted model of export development is based on a free economic system, private ownership, market functioning, the maximum role of the private sector, and minimal government intervention.From the perspective of this development strategy, the most effective and wise mechanism is to overcome the most important cause of underdevelopment, namely the vicious cycle of poverty, by attracting capital, aid, technologies, and international skills to increase exports of goods and services. Therefore, connection with the international economy and the global market and

IQBAL FORUM

establishing economic relations with developed countries is an inevitable necessity.Accordingly, because this type of development model is in line with an extroverted and world-oriented foreign policy, its choice will lead to the expansion of political and economic relations with other countries. One of the factors for improving and developing the relations of the Islamic Republic with industrialized countries within the framework of a world-oriented foreign policy after the end of the war during the construction period can be considered the adoption of the export development model in the Islamic Republic.

The mixed development model is a combination of elements of import substitution strategies and export development and emphasises the simultaneous and parallel use of domestic and foreign economic resources, opportunities, and facilities. In this strategy of development, which is called "growth with justice", private management systems are used in the public interest.The best elements of the market mechanism and central planning are combined, and the inflow of foreign capital and aid is notcompletely prevented. Also, the international economic order and system do not necessarily imply economic integration and transformation in the international economy, and they do not necessarily require a relationship with the capitalist system and the world market. It is natural that the choice of this economic development strategy, if not as much as the export development model, significantly requires and implies a kind of extroverted foreign policy and the development of relations with the world. It seems that the economic approach of the ninth government is based on this type of economic development model that has also influenced the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic.

4.5.3. Energy Resources

Oil and gas are Iran's most important economic source and foreign exchange income.The almost exclusive reliance of Iran's economy on energy exports has made it a single-product economy. Therefore, the economy and energy policy, as in the past, play a decisive role in the formation and economization of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic. In the fields of

IQBAL FORUM

formulation, policy-making, and decision-making, oil and gas affect Iran's foreign policy in several ways. First, the formation of a government dependent on energy revenues, especially oil, on the one hand, reduces the role of civil society and public opinion in foreign policy and, on the other hand, increases the impact of international variables, especially global energy market developments,on the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic.

Secondly, oil and gas, due to their great position and importance in the national economy of Iran, promote and expand the role and influence of institutions and agencies in the energy sector, led by the Ministry of Oil, in the foreign policy policy-making process.Third, Iran's oil-based economy also increases the role of oil and gas actors in foreign policy decision-making and planning.The formation of non-governmental groups and companies in the oil and gas industry as stakeholders and influential groups that represent the interests of certain sections of society is another influential factor in foreign policy.

Furthermore, the dependence of Iran's economy on energy has a dual effect on the strategy and overall orientation of the Islamic Republic's foreign policy.On the one hand, oil self-sufficiency may lead foreign policy towards isolationism along with revisionism, and on the other hand, the economization of foreign policy resulting from energy policies, on the contrary, is an effective factor in adopting an extroversion strategy and maintaining the status quo of the Islamic Republic in the international arena.Accordingly, one of the issues and differences between the political factions in Iran after the Islamic Revolution has been around these conflicting and dual effects.Based on the logic of political independence and economic self-reliance, some political groups and factions want to reduce their role. Energy policies are shaping and formulating foreign policy orientations. On the other hand, other political factions advocate an extroverted and conservative foreign policy aimed at gaining access to foreign markets and capital in the energy sector.The orientation of the foreign policy of the

IQBAL FORUM

Islamic Republic in the post-war period has indicated the dominance of the second view.

Energy resources and economic policies based on them are important in determining the pattern of Iran's foreign relations and relations with other international actors.Iran's mono-product economy requires certain patterns of foreign interaction.The country's need for global markets to export energy, attract foreign capital to modernise and develop this sector, participate in price stabilisation and energy security, participate in the construction of energy transmission lines, and adopt a conciliatory foreign policy has forced certain countries and international institutions; for example, the decline in oil prices in the mid-1990s was one of the factors influencing the expansion of Iran's relations and cooperation with oil-exporting countries in the southern Persian Gulf and oil-consuming countries, especially the European Union and Japan. Also, the country's efforts to attract foreign capital in the energy sector have undeniably impacted relations with industrialised countries. In addition, the policy of energy transfer from Iran and Central Asia to other countries has been one of the influential variables in the relations of the Islamic Republic with these countries: China, India, Turkey, and even Europe.

As a factor in attracting the attention of major world powers to Iran, energy resources, especially oil, shape the pattern of their relations with the Islamic Republic. Since the discovery of oil in Iran, this strategic commodity has been one of the most important factors in determining and regulating Iran's relations with the great powers. The intervention of the centers and poles of world power in Iran to secure oil interests over the past 50 years, especially the dispute between Iran and Britain over the nationalization of the oil industry, has been one of the principles of Iran's foreign relations system in recent years. In fact, the interventions of the great powers in Iran have aroused the distrust and suspicion of this country towards them, which in some cases has led to a kind of xenophobia against them.The relations between Iran and the United States after the Islamic Revolution were affected to some extent due to this factor.

IQBAL FORUM

In recent years, in addition to oil and gas, nuclear energy has also emerged as one of the determinants of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic. The country's efforts to access alternative sources of hydrocarbons through establishing nuclear power plants and producing the fuel they need have become one of the most important issues and challenges in the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic. Iran's nuclear programme has paradoxically affected its relations and foreign policy. On the one hand, it has led to cooperation and the expansion of relations with non-aligned countries such as China and Russia, but on the other hand, it has intensified the confrontation between Iran and the United States and left negative effects on the Islamic Republic's relations with countries such as Canada, Australia, and even Japan. Also, despite the nuclear talks and agreements between Iran and the European Union in the form of the Tehran Declaration and the Paris Agreement, it eventually caused tension in Iran-Europe relations due to the failure of these talks and sent Iran's case to the UN Security Council. The issuance of resolutions1696,1737,and1747 has also exacerbated the Iranian nuclear crisis.

5.Foreign Resources

In order to properly understand and accurately analyse the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran, in addition to domestic variables, it is necessary to analyse foreign sources or factors.The importance of the influence of foreign or international elements and variables on countries' foreign policy is such that structuralist theories consider it the only determining source of foreign policy. However, regardless of these deterministic theoretical approaches and despite the existing theoretical controversies in the field of analysis, the foreign operational environment or the international system should undoubtedly be considered one of the most important sources determining the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

The international system is a set of interacting international actors (governmental and non-governmental) governed by specific patterns of behavior that follow certain rules.The

IQBAL FORUM

international system, on the one hand, is nothing but its constituent units, but on the other hand, it is a single set with a distinct identity, nature, and function beyond its units. Its structure distinguishes the international system from its constituent units and makes it possible to conceive of it as a whole. Another component of the international system is the process that plays a decisive role in the formation of behavior, it's independent functioning, and influencing the behavior of countries. Therefore, to operate the independent variable of the international system and explain how it affects the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic, it is necessary to explain all three variables and components.

5.1. Nature of the International System

There are different theoretical perspectives on the nature and function of the international system. Some approaches consider it anarchic,selfish,and hopeless,while others see it as and interconnected. Other approaches consider it to be made and dealt with between the minds of countries.

5.1.1. Anarchy

Neorealism considers the international system anarchic. Anarchy is not like disorder and chaos but means the absence of a central government or supreme authority in the international system.The international system does not have a central or decentralised government; it involves and requires patterns of behaviour and constraints. In general, anarchy requires three options and patterns of behaviour for the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran, as in other countries. First, it causes Iran to distrust and suspect other countries, and vice versa.

Countries, including the Islamic Republic, have always been concerned about the dangers of war and military threats.The basis of this concern is the possibility of using force, including military force, against the Islamic Republic.Therefore, reason dictates that Iran should be pessimistic and distrustful of other countries'motives,intentions,andcapabilities.Moreover,

IQBAL FORUM

distrust and suspicion are exacerbated in an international system that lacks the legal authority to repel threats, prevent aggression, and punish the aggressor.

Second, this climate of mistrust and suspicion is forcing the Islamic Republic and other countries to put their survival and security at the forefront of foreign policy priorities and goals. Because other countries are considered potential threats, there is no central government or superior authority to prevent them from using force and aggression against others.Therefore, in this situation, the Islamic Republic cannot rely on others to ensure its security and survival. In other words, due to the self-serving nature of the international system, the Islamic Republic must provide its security, except in exceptional and temporary circumstances, which may pursue this goal through alliances and coalitions.

Third, like other countries, the Islamic Republic of Iran seeks to increase its relative power and maximize it. Because The greater the power and ability of a country compared to others, the higher its national security factor. This logic creates strong and powerful incentives for the Islamic Republic and other countries to balance "introverted" and "extroverted". Naturally, as noted, introverted balancing takes precedence over extroverted balancing. In the framework of introverted balance, the Islamic Republic,relying on its national capabilities, unilaterally seeks to increase power and balance.The behaviour of Iran's foreign policy during the war can be analysed in this regard. On the contrary, in the model of extroverted balancing,the Islamic Republic balances in the framework of multilateralism, alliances, and coalition building. Accordingly,other countries may strike an introverted or extroverted balance against the Islamic Republic of Iran. Iran's policy of looking east to China and Russia, joining the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation, and developing relations with Venezuela and Nicaragua can be seen as examples of Iran's extroverted balance with the United States.Also, the formation of the Persian Gulf Cooperation Council in 1980 is an example of balancing Arab countries against the Islamic Republic of Iran.

IQBAL FORUM

5.1.2. Interdependence and Globalization

Theories of interdependence,economic liberalism,and neoliberal institutionalism have different conceptions of the system and international relations. For liberals, in the general sense, the absence of a central government in the international system does not mean self-help, insecurity,or militancy because nations have become interdependent through economic liberalization, free trade, interdependence, and globalization. Interdependence and globalization evoke different patterns of self-help, distrust, and balancing, and at the national level, change in national objectives, interests, and priorities in the foreign policy hierarchy. In a way that makes economic and technological development a priority of the first foreign policy of the Islamic Republic, it also urges Iran to take steps to expand economic relations and exchanges with developed countries and to integrate with the world economy. The foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran during the construction period was greatly influenced by this perception of the nature of the international system. At the multilateral level, interdependence and globalization are leading Iran to multilateralism in foreign policy. This policy and orientation are pursued and implemented in two ways. First, through efforts to strengthen and develop regional political and economic convergence, such as Iran's foreign policy towards the ECO, the Group of 77, and the Group of 15; Second, by efforts to establish new regional institutions and organizations, such as Iran's proposal to establish a Caspian littoral states cooperation organization.Third, support for existing international organizations and institutions, such as Iran's foreign policy regarding the role of the United Nations in the Afghanistan and Iraq crises, strengthening and expanding the role of the Non-Aligned Movement and the Organisation of the Islamic Conference in the international system However,interdependence and globalization, in addition to cooperation and convergence, may lead to competition and behavioral constraints in the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic.The more communication and exchanges there are between countries and the greater their

IQBAL FORUM

interdependence, the more their vulnerabilities increase. However, in the process of globalization, the degree of dependence and vulnerability of countries to each other and global developments are not the same. As a rule, the exposure of developing and peripheral countries is much higher than that of central and developed countries. Therefore, it is possible that the Islamic Republic, in its foreign policy, is trying to expand and develop relations and exchanges with developing countries for economic self-sufficiency and self-reliance.

5.1.3. International Discourse

Unlike neorealism and neoliberalism, constructivism considers the international system to have a discursive nature and existence. The international system is neither inherently anarchic and violent nor centralized and peaceful. The international system is a reality that countries build and act on. Therefore, countries organize their behaviour in accordance with their perception of the international system. On the other hand, this perception may be anarchic and controversial or cooperative and peaceful.

As a result, the most important factor determining the foreign policy and behavior of the Islamic Republic, like other countries, is derived from the culture or discourse that governs the system and international relations. If the dominant discourse is Hobbesian or realist, the Islamic Republic will act on the logic of anarchy. Conversely, if Kantian discourse and international relations prevail, the Islamic Republic, like other countries,will behave within this framework.The third and intermediate situation is the domination and hegemony of Lucky culture or discourse over international relations, in which most countries, including Iran, view each other as rivals. Therefore, tounderstand and analyse the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic, one must understand the discourse of the international format and the country's perception.

The dominant international discourse or culture and the Islamic Republic's perception of it affect its foreign policy in

IQBAL FORUM

two ways. First, it imposes behavioral restrictions on Iran and limits its foreign policy options. Second, it may motivate the Islamic Republic to confront or reform it. The behavior of the Islamic Republic of Iran in the first decade of the revolution is an example of an aggressive foreign policy based on the ruling international discourse and order, and foreign policy during the construction and reformism eras is a manifestation of a reformist and competitive conception of the international system. It seems that the foreign policy of the ninth fundamentalist government is also based on the idea of the Hobbesian international system and is opposed to it.

5.2. Structure of the International System

Another foreign or international factor or variable that determines the Islamic Republic of Iran's foreign policy is the international system's structure. Structure is the system's most pervasive component, making it possible to imagine it as a whole. Kenneth Waltz defines structure in terms of how power and military capabilities are distributed among the constituent units of the international system. Accordingly, structure is how units are arranged or polarised by the international system.

Neoliberals argue that the international system does not have a unified structure because, in their view, due to the immutability of military power and the diversity of other forms of power, the international system is commensurate with the prevailing power and format in various subject areas. It has different structures. For example, the contemporary international system may be militarily unipolar but economically multipolar. Because there are many economic powers such as Europe, Japan, and China alongside the United States.

Constructivism emphasizes immaterial or conceptual structures more than the material structure of the international system Although material structures always exist as undeniable facts, they find meaning only in the framework of intellectual and ideological structures.Therefore, the use of material

IQBAL FORUM

resources and military-economic capabilities in certain semantic structures and systems takes place. In other words, as Alexander Went states, these common epistemological and cognitive structures provide the basis for the use of material resources and give meaning to social action.

5.2.1. Material Structure

The material structure of the international system, or its polarisation, is one of the most important sources and factors determining the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran. Because different international systems with differentstructures-unipolar, hegemonic, bipolar, and multipolar-create specific patterns of behavior and foreign policy for countries; for example, a multipolar international system provides more freedom of action for regional powers such as Iran than a bipolar one. Also, a flexible bipolar system creates more maneuverability for such countries than a rigid bipolar system. Similarly, a unipolar or hierarchical system is much more restrictive than a bipolar or multipolar system.Thus, from the beginning until the collapse of the former Soviet Union and the end of the bipolar system in1991, the Islamic Republic enjoyed greater freedom of action than in the years following the emergence of a unipolar system.

Moreover, the various structures of the Middle East and the Persian Gulf regional system impose certain behavioral restrictions on the Islamic Republic of Iran. Despite the interaction between the sub-system and the international system, the regional subsystems of the Middle East and the Persian Gulf have structural independence, So, the structure of these two regional subsystems is not necessarily the same as the structure of the international system, and power may be distributed in two different ways.Thus,while the structure of the international system is bipolar or unipolar, the structure of the Middle East regional system may be multipolar. Today, the Middle East and the Persian Gulf seem to be hegemonic due to US direct military intervention in the region. For this reason, the

IQBAL FORUM

behavioral constraints of Iran's foreign policy are greater than during the international bipolar and regional multipolar systems.

5.2.2. Institutional Structure

Another element of the international system that plays a decisive role in countries' foreign policies, including the Islamic Republic of Iran, is its institutional structure. According to neoliberals,institutional structure, the process of the international system is defined in terms of the level of institutionalization, patterns of interaction and action, and the multiplicity of international institutions. International institutions are a set of interconnected and formal rules (formal and informal) that require specific behaviors, restrict action, activity, and behavior, and shape the expectations of countries. In other words, international institutions are known patterns of behavior or action around which countries' expectations converge. Patterns of interaction with the logic of action also refer to the way in which countries communicate, act, and react to each other.

Different international and regional systems have different institutionalization levels and interaction patterns with the logic of action. Some systems are highly institutionalized and benefit from an institutionalized structure of interactions. Some other systems benefit from low-level institutionalization. Naturally, the pattern of behavior in institutionalized systems is based on cooperation and peace-seeking. Conversely, in underdeveloped systems, the behaviour and foreign policy pattern is competitive, militant, and violent. For example, the Middle Eastern system is not institutionalized. In such a way that it does not even have a comprehensive regional institution or organization. In such a system and environment,the patterns and logic of militant action naturally prevail.A fact that has strongly influenced Iran's foreign policy and made it security-oriented.

International institutions influence the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran in two ways. First, international institutions and organizations, as the manifestation of an interconnected set of norms, rules, principles, and decision-

IQBAL FORUM

making procedures, limit the foreign policy options of the Islamic Republic. Because they create clear rules of the game at the global and regional levels within which the Islamic Republic must act and behave; for example,institutions such as the United Nations, the World Trade Organisation, human rights bodies, and security regimes such as the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) define the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, principles of conduct, and specific rules of play that Iran must comply with. Also, the legitimacy and prevalence of certain game rules, such as unilateralism or multilateralism, each impose different behavioral constraints on the Islamic Republic.

But, international and regional institutions and organizations also create opportunities for Iran's foreign policy. International resource institutions increase Iran's institutional power, i.e., its ability to use it to expand influence and bargain.Also, in the framework of the international institutions of the Islamic Republic of Iran, more information is obtained.The country is better informed of the intentions of other countries. Finally, international institutions may even change and shift the national preferences and interests of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

5.2.3. Immaterial Structures

Immaterial structures,meaning systems of ideas, imaginations, beliefs, norms, and common values that are manifested in the rules and principles governing international relations, also create behavioral constraints and choices for the Islamic Republic.

Transnational and international norms are value-based subconscious expectations of appropriate behavior that are shared internationally by countries with a regional subsystem, such as the Persian Gulf.These values and norms originate from countries and international governmental and non-governmental institutions as transnational norm-makers. In the international system, three categories of norms affect Iran's foreign policy.

The first are general norms that create expectations of equal value for all countries, such as public international law, the rules and regulations of international organizations, and the

IQBAL FORUM

decisions of international conferences and regimes. Second, the specific norms apply to some countries, such as the behavioral norms common in the IslamicConference.Third, norms define different social roles and create different expectations for the Islamic Republic, such as anti-arrogance, justice, and Islamic brotherhood.

The immaterial and normative structures that govern the international system in several ways limit the Islamic epublic's foreign policy. First, by defining liberal democracy as the only legitimate form of political system, it encourages liberal democracies to confront the Islamic Republic. Second, the Islamic Republic is expected to adhere to legitimate, internationally accepted values and norms in its foreign policy, such as democracy, human rights, and the rule of law. Third, considering the role of consolidating and determining the inter-mental and normative-intellectual structures, the interpretation and perception of countries of the ability and intentions of the Islamic Republic is the determining factor of their foreign policy towards the country.Therefore, at least in parallel with the tendency of countries to follow the pattern of the balance of power, they also strike a balance between threats based on their perceptions of Iran's intentions and behavior.As a result, to correct this perception, Iran must either change its foreign policy behaviors or confront them.

5.3. Behaviour and Development of Other Countries

The Islamic Republic of Iran is a member of the international community and operates in an international system composed of interdependent countries.Therefore, it is natural that the actions and behaviors of other countries affect the foreign policy and behavior of the Islamic Republic. Also, due to the interdependence of nations, any change in them will affect the Islamic Republic. Of course, the impact of the behaviors and developments of all countries on Iran's foreign policy is not the same. Factors such as geographicalproximity,neighborhood,and the degree

IQBAL FORUM

of power and position of countries in the international system and regional subsystem increase their level of influence on the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic.

Undoubtedly, the major countries and the poles of international and regional power impose more restrictions on the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran. These actors create behavioural and practical constraints on Iran's foreign policy in several ways. First, they strike a balance in the form of a model of a balance of power and threat against the Islamic Republic, such as the behavior of the Persian Gulf Cooperation Council and the US dual containment policy towards Iran. Second, by standardizing and formulating rules of the game within the framework of international organizations, institutions, and regimes, they pressure Iran to comply with these principles, norms, and rules. In particular, in the post-9/11 hierarchical system, the United States, as the sole superpower, seeks to impose certain rules of conduct on Iran through persuasion and coercion. The resolutions of the Board of Governors of the International Atomic Energy Agency and then the UN Security Council on Iran's nuclear program are examples of these measures.

Third, by delegitimizing the Islamic Republic and securing its identity, the great powers and the centers of world power may form a kind of international consensus and deterrence against it. The US attempt to portray the Islamic Republic of Iran as an insurgent, terrorist, and threat to international peace and security is a clear example of this restrictive behavior. The Islamic Republic must devote part of its foreign policy power to neutralizing or counteracting this negative imagery.

The influence of other countries on Iran's foreign policy is not limited to the great powers; the behaviors and especially the developments of other countries play a decisive role in shaping the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic. For example, Iraq's aggressive behavior toward Iran has Directed Iran's foreign policy toward a security oriented mindset. Also, the crises in Afghanistan and Iraq, which led to the fall of the Taliban regime and Saddam Hussein in these two countries, have undeniably impacted Iran's foreign policy behavior.

IQBAL FORUM

The policy of active neutrality on the one hand and Iran's efforts for political and economic reconstruction of the two countries on the other hand have been the result of these political developments.The Iran-US talks at the Bonn Conference on Afghanistan and the two countries 'talks on Iraq' are other examples of the impact of other countries' developments on the Islamic Republic's foreign policy.

It can finally be concluded that international developments, both at the structural and brokerage levels, create opportunities for Iran's foreign policy and create threats and constraints for it. The success rate of the Islamic Republic's foreign policy depends on how to best use these opportunities and overcome these challenges.

IQBAL FORUM

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Chapter Three

The Principles,Interests,Objectives and Sterategies of Islamic Republic of Iran's Foreign Policy

IQBAL FORUM

Chapter Three: The Principles, Interests, Objectives and Sterategies of Islamic Republic of Iran's Foreign Policy

The foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran is based on fixed and stable principles,which are the guide in the international arena of foreign policy behavior and action. Additionally, foreign policy is formulated and pursued based on the national interests and values of the country. Iran's foreign policy pursues specific objectives within the framework of these principles and interests.The general orientation or strategy of foreign policy is also determined and adopted based on and per the principles and objectives.Therefore, analyzing the nature and behavior of Iran's foreign policy requires explaining the meaning and significance and also determining the examples of these concepts.

1. Principals and Foundations

The principle is a genuine and general norm that the government should first base its behavior on foreign policy. In a broader sense, general principles are the same general and eternal rules that do not become invalid under any circumstances over time. In other words, the principles of those basic rules and regulations are general, fixed, and stable, which determine and define the objectives and orientation of foreign policy and guide its action and behavior in the international arena.

In fact, the foreign policy principles include the Islamic Republic's beliefs about facts, causative or causal relations, and the correctness of action and behavior in the field of interactions and the international system.Due to the nature and identity of the Islamic Republic, the principles of its foreign policy originate from the religion of Islam and Islamic ideology.Therefore, these principles are rooted in the Qur'an, the Sunnah, the manners of the infallible (peace be upon them), and their way of governing, especially the prophetic and Alawite rule. According to official documents, especially the constitution, Imam Khomeini's statements, and Iran's behavioral performance, the principles of the Islamic Republic's foreign policy are:

1) Rejection of dominance and rejection of submission:

IQBAL FORUM

2) dignity;
2) Fighting oppression, and fighting for justice;
3) Supporting the oppressed and deprived;
4) Protection and defense of the rights of Muslims;
5) Peaceful coexistence and peace-seeking;
6) Non-interference in the internal affairs of countries and mutual respect;
7) Commitment to treaties, protocols, and international law.

1.1 Rejection of Dominance and Submission

One of the important and basic principles of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic is the complete rejection of any domination and oppression. Based on Islamic teachings and beliefs, the Islamic Republic should avoid relations and cooperations based on dominance in its foreign policy. In such a way that the dignity and respect for the country and the nation are maintained and increased in the international arena. Logically and naturally, rejecting domination implies that the government does not depend on the domination system and does not commit to the dominating powers.The Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran explicitly states both aspects of this era and the general rule. "The foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran is based on the rejection of any hegemony, the acceptance of oppression, and a lack of commitment to the dominating powers. Imam Khomeini (may God have mercy on him) also says: The nation of Islam is also a follower of a school whose programs can be summarised in two words: do not oppress others and do not fall under the burden of oppression.He also states that "it is one of the important principles that Muslims are not under the domination of infidels; God Almighty has not given domination to Muslims for any of the infidels,and Muslims should not accept this domination of infidels".

The related documents of this principle can be found in the Holy Quran and Sunnah of the Prophet.The rule of rejecting dominance means blocking all direct and indirect ways and means of domination and superiority of infidels over Muslims.

IQBAL FORUM

This is the first Qur'anic basis for this principle. In Verse 141 of Surah An-Nisa, Allah says: "God has never left the way of domination and superiority for the disbelievers over the believers." According to this verse, the domination of the infidels over the Muslims is permanently denied and forbidden and does not belong to any specific era. However, it should be noted that closing the way for the infidels to dominate the Muslims is not creational but descriptive. This does not mean that the rule of infidels is impossible under the law of existence and creation; it is quite possible and probable. Believers and Muslims must act in legislation, policy-making, and especially foreign policy in a way that closes this gap.

The most important purpose of the permanent denial of the domination of infidels over Islamic societies is to maintain the dignity and respect of Muslims.Islam, Muslims, and Islamic society have the highest dignity and honor in the sight of God, which Muslims should not distort in social relations. So that God Almighty in the Holy Quran has placed the dignity of Muslims and believers at the same level as his dignity and that of the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him). As it is emphasized in Surah Al-Munafiqun, dignity belongs to God, the Messenger of God, and the believers.

While the domination of infidels over Muslims and Islamic societies is the most obvious example of humiliation and is strictly forbidden, accordingly, in the Holy Qur'an, God strongly addresses those Muslims who have accepted the infidels as their leaders instead of their fellow believers and asks them for dignity (verse 139 of Surah Nisa).We also have in the prophetic hadith that "Islam is superior, not inferior," in the sense that Islam is higher and no religion is superior to it, and it also emphasizes the dignity of Muslims.

1.2. Fighting Injustice and Confrontation with Arrogance

Rejection of the domination of the dominating powers and a lack of commitment to their relationship in foreign policy is necessary but not enough.Therefore,the only duty of the Islamic Republic in its cooperation relations,treaties,and

IQBAL FORUM

agreements with non-Islamic countries is not to block the way of any domination and influence. Still, beyond that, it is obliged to fight arrogance, and the system of domination, oppression, and injustice as the universality of Islam and the transnational nature of the Islamic Revolution of Iran require observance of this principle in the framework of an aggressive foreign policy.

Therefore, in the second and third articles of the constitution, the denial of any oppression and acceptance of oppression, justice, and installment, the denial of the system of domination, and the complete rejection of colonialism and arrogance are clearly emphasised. Imam Khomeini (may God have mercy on him) also says: Our task is to fight oppression. Elsewhere, he declares: We have repeatedly stated this fact in our foreign and international Islamic policy that we have sought to expand the influence of Islam in the world and reduce the domination of the arrogant.

The roots of justice, struggle against oppression, colonialism, and anti-arrogance can be traced simultaneously in Iranian culture and Islamic ideology.Justice and oppression have had such a place in Iranian culture even before Islam that many consider them one of the strengthening elements of Iranian national identity.In a way that in ancient Iranian mythology, oppression is strongly condemned, and justice and seeking it is praised and emphasized. At first glance, this may seem obvious because virtue and oppression are also moral and human vices based on the intellectual good and ugliness of justice. However, the status and importance of praising justice and denouncing oppression have extraordinary consistency and durability in Iranian culture. Furthermore, in the contemporary era, due to the formation of colonialism and the intervention of colonialists in the affairs of Iran, Iranian anti-oppression activities have emerged as anti-colonial.

However, the role and impact of the principles of justice and decolonization, or what has been called anti-arrogance in

IQBAL FORUM

Iranian foreign policy since the Islamic Revolution, must be attributed to Islamic ideology and teachings. Justice is one of the divine attributes and doctrinal principles of Shiites.Many Islamic verses and hadiths command justice and forbid oppression. However, the important point is the necessity of fighting oppression and striving for justice worldwide. Thus, in the Holy Quran, in verse 25 of Surah Hadid, one of the important goals of mission and prophecy is to establish and spread justice in the human world. An order and prohibition obliges the Islamic Republic, like any other Islamic government, tofightagainst he system of domination in the world.

1.3. Supporting the Oppressed: Liberation Movements

This principle is necessary and complementary to fighting arrogance and oppression. Thus, a logical and functional relationship exists between fighting the arrogant and supporting the oppressed. In other words, arrogance can be eliminated in two ways. First, the struggle against the arrogant and domineering, which are the most important causes of the weakness of nations; Second, the support of the oppressed nations is the result of the system of domination and structural violence of the arrogant order.Therefore, in parallel with the struggle against arrogance and colonialism, the Islamic Republic considers itself obliged to support the oppressed of the world and liberation movements that fight the arrogant and the colonialists.Article154 of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic states:The Islamic Republic of Iran supports the rightful struggle of the oppressed against the arrogant everywhere in the world because the Islamic Revolution of Iran itself is a movement for the ultimate victory of the oppressed over the arrogant.The country's foreign policy regulation is based on the unwavering support of the world's oppressed (Article 3,paragraph 16). Imam Khomeini also states that: We are supporters of the oppressed; we are supporters of everyone, in every country who is oppressed. We must support the oppressed of the world because Islam supports all the downtrodden of the world.

IQBAL FORUM

The basis of this principle is verse75of Surah An-Nisa ', which addresses Muslims and asks them to fight the arrogant and oppressors for the liberation of the oppressed: Why do not you fight in the way of God and the oppressed of men, women, and children? Those who say,"O God, deliver us from this land whose people are wicked, and appoint helpers for the poor for us."

1.4. Supporting and Defending the Muslims

The struggle against arrogance and supporting the struggles of the oppressed against the arrogant require the support of the Islamic Republic of Iran for Muslims and the defense of their rights in the first place. Because, in fact, all Muslims and all scattered Islamic societies form a single community and Ummah, which the Islamic Republic is obliged to support and defend. Therefore, the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic as an Islamic state, based on its brotherly commitment to Muslims is committed to defending the rights of all Muslims in the world.

Many principles and documents can be mentioned from the Holy Quran and the narrations of the Holy Prophet (PBUH), who considers all Muslims and believers as brothers. Including verse10of Surah Al-Hujurat,which says:All believers are brothers.Also,the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him) said: Whoever spends the night to the morning and does not strive for the affairs of Muslims is not a Muslim, and whoever hears the cry of a Muslim who cries out, "OMuslims, reach my cry," and does not answer it, He is not a Muslim.

In another narration, Imam Sadiq (PBUH) states that a believer is the brother of another believer, like a single body. Whenever one of its members suffers, the other members also feel pain. Accordingly, Imam Khomeini (may God have mercy on him) states: We are brothers with all Muslims, which is an Islamic principle.Every Muslim should help other Muslims.The Islamic Republic of Iran wants to help

IQBAL FORUM

Islamic countries and nations with their problems by maintaining unity and protecting Iran's interests. Iran spends its power in support of other Muslims.

Protecting and defending the rights of Muslims is practiced on three levels. First, it manifests itself at the level of the Islamic Ummah and the world in the form of support for Islamic liberation movements and campaigns, such as supporting Hezbollah in Lebanon and the Supreme Assembly of the Islamic Revolution in Iraq.Second, support and defend Muslims who are fighting the infidels for their rights. A clear example of this policy is the Islamic Republic's support for the Muslims of Palestine,Afghanistan,Lebanon,and Bosnia-Herzegovina. Third, defending the rights of Muslim minorities in non-Muslim countries, such as Chechen Muslims in Russia.

1.5.Peaceful Coexistence and Pacifism

The importance of the above four principles may give rise to the impression that the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic is expansionist and belligerent in nature. But the theoretical and practical reality is quite the opposite of this perception. In the international arena and in interaction with other Muslim and non-Muslim countries, Iran has shown peaceful behavior in the last 30 years. In a way that the Islamic Republic has not only not resorted to expansionism and aggressionbuthasalways condemned them.In other words,based on the principle of peaceful coexistence and peace, Iran has only defended itself and tried to resolve all disputes peacefully.

Therefore, the principle in the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic at the international level is regional peace and stability, and war is an exception. Iran's actions in the eight-year imposed war in Iraq and the crises in Afghanistan and Iraq show the validity of this claim. Article152 of the Constitution states: The foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran is based on peaceful reciprocal relations with non-combatant governments. Article14of the Constitution also states:The Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran and Muslims are obliged to treat non-Muslims with good morals and Islamic

IQBAL FORUM

justice and to respect their human rights.Imam Khomeini also states that the ultimate objective of Islamic teachings is peaceful coexistence in the world. He also states that Islamic nations want peace and peaceful coexistence with all governments and nations.

Undoubtedly, peace-seeking in the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic should be considered a result of Islamic ideology and teachings.Contrary to the misconceptions and interpretations of some Orientalists, the religion of Islam commands its followers to seek peace and refrain from aggression. Islam forbids both aggressive war and aggression and expansionism in war.Thus,in human and international relations,peaceful coexistence and peace are essential, and war is an exception that is necessary in certain circumstances. Islamic pacifism can be explained on three levels:Muslims' relationships with each other, Muslims' interaction with Jews and Christians, and their relationship with non-war infidels.

Since in Islam, all Muslims constitute a single nation, it is natural that their relations should be based on brotherhood, friendship, and peace. The Holy Qur'an explicitly states in verse 208 of Surah Al-Baqarah: O you who believe, be at peace. Also, in verse 9 of Surah Al-Hujurat, God instructs the establishment of peace in the event of war between Muslims: Whenever two groups of believers engage in war, make a compromise between them.

Also, the order of Islam in relation to Christians and Jews is peaceful coexistence, avoidance of war, and acceptance of peace. As verse 64 of Surah Al-Imran states:"Say: Come to a word that is just between you and us, that we worship none but Allah the same, and that we associate no partners with Him, and that none of us shall take others as lords besides Allah."

According to Islamic teachings, in the relationship between Muslims and infidels, the principle is coexistence and peace unless the infidels stand on the path of truth and are hostile to Muslims, in which case jihad is inevitable. There is no choice but to fight the infidels.Therefore, in verse 8 of Surah Al-

IQBAL FORUM

Mumtahanah, God Alnighty says in the Holy Qur'an: "Allah does not forbid you from dealing kindly and fairly with those who have neither fought nor driven you out of your homes. Surely Allah loves those who are fair."

Moreover, in verse61of Surah Anfal, God Almighty emphasizes that if the infidels offer peace, it can be accepted if it is just: "If the infidels offer peace, if it is just, it can be accepted. Show your desire for peace and trust in God".

1.6. Non-interference in the Internal Affairs of Countries and Mutual Respect

Non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries and mutual respect are the logical prerequisites for peaceful coexistence and peace in foreign policy.Interfering in issues and affairs that are specific to a particular country and nation may cause tension, enmity, conflict, and ultimately war between countries.

Therefore, one of the theoretical and practical principles of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran is to avoid interfering in the internal affairs of other countries and to promote mutual respect.As Article154 of the Constitution states,"The Islamic Republic of Iran is committed to complete abstention from any interference in the internal affairs of other nations." Imam Khomeini also says:"We hope that world peace will be based on the independence of nations and non-interference in each other's affairs"."We are not like when we are forced to intervene in another country by bullying". "We treat all nations with respect if they do not interfere in our internal affairs and respect each other".

"Iran's foreign policy is based on mutual respect with all governments"."If all countries respect us, we will respect others, too."The Islamic government wants to have the right understanding and communication with all nations and with all governments.If they also respect each other and the Islamic government".

The Islamic and Quranic basis for not interfering in countries' internal affairs is the principle of "Etezal." The word etezal has

IQBAL FORUM

two meanings: neutrality and non-interference. Therefore, in the field of foreign policy, it can be defined as a policy of neutrality and non-interference in the internal affairs of countries.From verses 90 and 91 of Surah An-Nisa, it is understood that non-interference in countries' internal affairs is reciprocal. That is, if the Islamic Republic's Islamic government does not interfere in the affairs of others, they will not interfere in Iran's internal affairs.Imam Khomeini says in this regard:"The future government will be neutral towards all governments and will treat all governments fairly, as long as mutual relations are good".Also,Etezal does not mean indifference and isolationism in foreign policy. However, the fundamental question about the principle of non-interference in countries' internal affairs is how it is compatible with the principles of supporting the oppressed and defending the world's Muslims. In other words, how can the oppressed and Muslims of other countries be supported simultaneously without guaranteeing interference in their affairs?

This conflict or contradiction can be resolved through peaceful and moral support for the oppressed and Muslims. Diplomatic moral support and the defense of the rights of Muslims and the oppressed within the framework of international organizations and institutions are among these mechanisms and peaceful means. Accordingly, Article154 of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic combines two principles:"The Islamic Republic of Iran, while refraining from interfering in the internal affairs of other nations, supports the rightful struggle of the oppressed against the arrogant anywhere in the world".

1.7. Commitment to International Treaties and Law

One of the important aspects and dimensions of the international system and the patterns of interaction governing the ties and relations of countries are the treaties, protocols, agreements, and rules that are manifested in the form of international laws and regulations.Therefore,all countries must abide by these laws to maintain world peace, stability,

IQBAL FORUM

and security.The Islamic Republic of Iran, as a responsible member of the international community, has consistently demonstrated its adherence to international laws, treaties, and agreements.Respect and adherence to international law and bilateral and multilateral obligations are two of the principles of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran. For example, the founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran states in this regard: "We respect the agreements that have been made because we are subject to Islam". Respecting the1975 Algerian Agreement between Iran and Iraq, the1981Algerian Statement between Iran and the United States after the Hostage Crisis, and the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, the NPT, are practical examples and tangible manifestations of the Islamic Republic's adherence to international obligations and treaties.

The theoretical basis of this principle in the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran is the principle of the fulfillment of the covenant in Islam.Islam considers the fulfillment of the covenant in personal, social, and political relations necessary and obligatory.Adherence to the covenant is one of the conditions and tools of faith. In Surah Al-Baqarah, verse177, the Holy Quran says: "But a virtuous person is one who believes in God and fulfills his commitment when he makes a promise." Many verses and hadiths emphasize the necessity of observing social and political obligations and treaties at the international level For example,the first verse of Surah Ma'idah says,"O you who believe,fulfill your covenant."Verse34 of Surah Israel states: "Keep thecovenant; the covenant will surely be questioned." Also, the Holy Prophet (PBUH) says in a hadith: Muslims are obliged to fulfill the conditions they undertake unless they make halal haram and haram halal. Applying the mentioned verses and narrations indicates that the fulfillment of obligations also includes the relations of Muslims with non-Muslims and infidels. As the Holy Prophet of Islam (PBUH) states, "non-fulfillment of the covenant is not permissible for either Muslims or infidels"

IQBAL FORUM

2.The National Interests

2.1. In its foreign policy, the Islamic Republic of Iran, like other countries, seeks to pursue and ensure the values and objectives that it defines based on its vital needs, objectives, and aspirations.National interests are the most important motives and values, the highest goals, and the most vital needs of the Islamic Republic of Iran that shape and guide its actions and behaviour in the international arena. In other words, the national interests of the Islamic Republic of Iran are: political goals, aspirations, and motivations; values; and vital perceptual needs of the Islamic Republic of Iran as a sovereign nation-state in relation to other international actors that form its external environment.

The most important function of the concept of national interests is to describe and determine the goals, objectives, and fundamental values of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran in the international arena.The meaning and concept of differentiation from other countries and nations, and consequently the preservation of the vital values of the country concerning other international actors, also lie in this concept. As a result, the effort to preserve and safeguard the values, characteristics, and assets of the Islamic Republic of Iran (both Iranian and Islamic) against foreigners is the primary meaning and principle of national interests.

However, there has always been disagreement about the most important values, the most vital needs, and the most important objectivesof the Islamic Republic,and how they defined Because it is not the case that the aspirations,objectives, and needs of each individual in the Iranian society and nation become national interests. In other words, individual hopes, aspirations, and dreams are not the same as the collective and objective interests of the country.These differences are due to the value-driven nature of the national interest.The value characteristic of national interests causes the analyst to make value judgments based on what he considers the most important and best value for the nation and the country.Even if we

IQBAL FORUM

consider national interests as an objective fact, this possibility remains strong. Because the analyst ultimately judges the extent to which foreign policy decisions and practices conform to that objective reality.Therefore, in defining and determining the national interests of the Islamic Republic of Iran, several points and principles should be considered. First, consider the values and normative system from which the values of the Islamic Republic of Iran originate.Second, the national values, expectations, and norms have been made subconsciously, and the Iranian nation considers their fulfillment in foreign policy essential and necessary. In such a way, people's perceptions of the value pursued as a national interest in foreign policy are the same. Third, the nature and identity of the Islamic Republic and the system of the Islamic Republic of Iran should be taken into account. Because the Islamic identity and nature of Iran play a key role in determining the values and elements that constitute the national interests of the Islamic Republic, This means that, in defining the elements and examples of Iran's national interests, in addition to Iranian values, Islamic values must also be considered.

2.2. The Elements and Values

The values and elements that constitute the national interests of the Islamic Republic of Iran, like those of other countries, can be determined and defined deductively through the common logical reasoning in the literature of international relations and foreign policy. According to Robert Osgood, the most important elements and resilient values of Iran's national interests are: national survival or preservation of the country's existence regarding territorial integrity, independence and preservation of key government institutions, self-sufficiency or self-reliance on international credibility prestige, and self-Expansion. According to George W.Cochin, the national interests of the Islamic Republic of Iran can be divided into three values and irreducible benefits:

1) Physical survival means the survival of the people and nation of Iran, not necessarily, and only the preservation of the

IQBAL FORUM

land and sovereignty.2) Freedom, the ability and freedom of action of the Muslim people of Iran in choosing the type of government and individual rights, defined by law and determined and protected by the government; 3) economic welfare.

Accordingly, the national interests of the Islamic Republic of Iran, like those of other countries, are composed of two categories: material and intangible values. Material and tangible benefits mean tangible and objective conditions or privileges such as territorial integrity and economic development. Values such as culture, freedom, international prestige, independence, and national sovereignty, which govern how the Iranian nation feels and perceives itself, are also considered spiritual and intangible elements of Iran's national interests. Furthermore, although national interests are often synonymous with national self-determination, the Iranian people's collective interests are not always in conflict with the interests of others. Hence, three types of national interests can be distinguished from each other: selfish interests, heterogeneous interests, and collective interests.Self-interest is only necessary in certain circumstances, specifically where vital values are involved.

2.3. The Variation of National Interests

The values and elements that constitute the national interests of the Islamic Republic of Iran can be divided into four categories in terms of nature: defense and security interests, interests focused on world order, ideological interests, and economic or welfare interests.

2.3.1. The Defensive and Security Interests

It is the protection of the nation-state of Iran, or the homeland, and its citizens from threats and physical violence arising from one or more countries or foreign actors, or the protection of the political system of the Islamic Republic of Iran from foreign threats. According to this definition, the national interests of the Islamic Republic of Iran include the following values:maintaining the existence of the Islamic Republic,

IQBAL FORUM

territorial integrity, national security, national sovereignty, independence, and strengthening national unity.

2.3.2. The interests willing to accept the world order and international system

This type of interest is to maintain the stability and establishment of the international political-economic order and system, including the world and the region where the Islamic Republic of Iran feels safe and can peacefully engage in political and economic activities outside its borders.The following values constitute the interests of the world order of the Islamic Republic of Iran: the establishment of the Islamic world community, the unity of the Islamic world, the change or reform of the existing international order and status, preventing US global hegemony and Israeli regional hegemony, seeking global, and practical equality of states.

2.3.3 The Economic Interests

These benefits include improving living conditions, favorable conditions, economic welfare, and national development of the Islamic Republic in relation to other countries and nations. Values and components that strengthen the economic or welfare interests of the Islamic Republic of Iran can be summarised as follows: development, welfare, and favorable economic situation; provision of livelihood and essential needs of the people; free access to capital, goods, and the world market; export and import of industrial goods and raw materials.

2.3.4. The Ideological Interests

Ideological interests are the preservation and development of a set of Iranian, Islamic,and revolutionary values that the Iranian people share and believe in for their correctness, desirability, generality, and universality. Thus, Islamic ideology and religious and revolutionary values are important parts of the Islamic Republic of Iran's national interests to maintain religious and revolutionary unity.These interests include the following elements and values: preservation of the unity of Islam;

IQBAL FORUM

preservation of religious and revolutionary values; preservation and continuation of the Islamic Revolution; export of the Islamic Revolution; and expansion of Iranian culture and civilization in areas of homogeneous and even heterogeneous civilization.

2.4. The Importance and Priority of National InterestsThe importance, urgency, and priority of each national interest of the Islamic Republic of Iran are different and variable. The degree of importance of the elements of Iran's national interests is defined and determined in terms of the value the Islamic Republic of Iran attaches to them and the spiritual and material costs it is willing to pay for their provision and preservation. In other words, the threshold of risk-taking and payment for the realization of a national benefit and value determines its degree of importance.Therefore, the importance and value of the benefits of the Islamic Republic in various thematic and geographical areas are determined by the cost-benefit calculation process.The priority of a national interest also depends on its degree of importance and necessity.The benefit with the highest importance, necessity, and value should also have more importance and priority.Therefore, the national interests of the Islamic Republic of Iran can be divided into four categories based on importance, necessity, preference,and priority:existential,vital,important,and marginal or insignificant.

2.4.1. The Existential Interests

Existential interests are those values on which the country's survival depends and without which its existence is threatened. These kinds of interests are non-negotiable and require compromise, and the Islamic Republic of Iran may even resort to force if necessary. Existential benefits are short-term values on which the attainment of other benefits is conditional. The defence and security interests of the Islamic Republic fall into this category. The preservation of the Islamic Revolution is also of existential importance for the Islamic Republic.

IQBAL FORUM

2.4.2. The Vital (crucial) Interests

Vital interests are values that, if seriously endangered, may threaten the country's long-term prosperity, political well-being, and economic development and pose a direct threat to the existence and life of the country. The most important difference between vital and existential benefits is their urgency and timing. Unlike existential benefits, which are urgent and time-bound, vital benefits are not as immediate. In such a way, the country has enough time and opportunity to enlist the help of allies, bargain, negotiate,or applymechanisms,arrangements, and countermeasures. These types of interests, in addition to some security interests, also include some interests in the global, economic, and ideological order. Therefore, the interests of the Islamic Republic in the world order are among its vital interests. Because the country's sense of security in the international order depends on it.Also, the ideological interests of the Islamic Republic, about which compromise is very difficult and even impossible, should be considered its vital interests. Perhaps a clear example of the vital interests of the Islamic Republic of Iran in the current situation is the preservation of the country's peaceful nuclear capability.

2.4.3. The Most Important Interests

Important or major interests are those national values that are very important for the political, economic, and ideological prosperity and health of the Islamic Republic of Iran. The most important feature of this group of interests is that they can be achieved through diplomacy and peaceful means without resorting to force or war. Major or important interests can be negotiated and compromised, but if diplomacy and negotiation fail, the government may use coercion to secure them. Many economic interests, world orders, and ideologies are important and major.

2.4.4. The Peripheral Interests

Minor or marginal interests are interests and values that are not directly related to the survival or security of the country, and

IQBAL FORUM

their threat does not endanger the country's life, survival, or security. Thus, it is achieved without resorting to military force. The country does not pay too much in resources, costs, or risk to provide them. The interests of Iranian citizens and companies operating abroad are considered examples of insignificant interests, but sometimes when the country's reputation is at stake, these interests may become important and major interests, such as the detention of ambassadors like the former Islamic Republic of Iran's envoy in Argentina and London and the arrest of Iranian diplomats in Erbil, Iraq, by US forces.

3. Targets and Objectives

A close and decisive relationship exists between national interests and foreign policy goals. In such a way, these twoare often used as synonymous and equal to each other.Because the relationship between national interests and foreign policy goals is global and specific, absolute, or general and specific, there is no consensus on which of the two is better. The prevailing view is that the abstract concept of national interests becomes the destination and objective of foreign policy when it becomes objective and operational.Thus, national interests are more general than foreign policy destinations.So that foreign policy objectives are defined and determined within the framework and based on national interests.

Another view, on the other hand, defines national objectives as more general than national interests.National objectives include all the country's aspirations, while national interests are only those national objectives that are practical and achievable. Hence, an inseparable link is established between national interests, national objectives, and national power.

In this book, based on the first approach, the foreign policy objectives of the Islamic Republic of Iran are considered specifically and, in more detail, than national interests. In such a way, the objectives of Iran's foreign policy are achieved by determining the values and elements that constitute the country's national interests. In other words, the objectives of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic are the values and objectives that

IQBAL FORUM

the country formulates and pursues practically in the global arena and in interaction with other international actors. Therefore, Iran's national power and geographical or environmental factors and conditions are also involved in defining and determining foreign policy objectives, in addition to national interests.

According to the nature, content, and examples of Iran's national interests, the foreign policy objectives of the Islamic Republic of Iran are divided into two categories: national and transnational, or Islamic.National objectives are aimed preserving and increasing the necessary and urgent values and have been determined within the framework of national and territorial borders in Iran.Transnational objectives originate from the nature of the Islamic Revolution and the Islamic identity of the Islamic Republic and are aimed at pursuing and providing values outside the territorial bordersof Iran to shape the external environment and international order.

3.1. The National Objectives

National foreign policy objectives include self-regarding values and interests that the Islamic Republic of Iran,as a nation-state, pursues in its interaction and competition with international players for its protection and prosperity. In other words, the national objectives of foreign policy to maintain or increase the acquired values, assets, and property of the Islamic Republic of Iran are pursued in international relations and interactions.These objectives that directly serve Iran's national interests are:
survival and national security; independence and national sovereignty; acquisition and increase of national power;economic development and prosperity; and a positive international reputation.

3,1.1.The Maintenance of National Security and the

Country's Entity or Sovereignty The most immediate goal of foreign policy is to maintain the existence and ensure the national security of the Islamic Republic of Iran. In a

IQBAL FORUM

decentralized international system without a central government or authority that cannot prevent aggression, the first goal and priority of the Islamic Republic of Iran is to maintain national security and protect the country.Because without national security and the survival of the country, the realization of other national goals will be impossible.Therefore, the security and survival of the Islamic Republic of Iran in the international system are prerequisites for its other objectives and interests.

National security is the lawyer of threats against the values of Dr. Hesabi of the Islamic Republic of Iran and not feeling threatened by them. Undoubtedly, the most vital and important national value is the preservation of the existence and survival of the country.The existence and survival of the Islamic Republic of Iran are also defined in terms of maintaining territorial integrity, national sovereignty,independence,the survival of a nation, and the system of the Islamic Republic. As stated in the third principle of the constitution,the government of the Islamic Republic is obliged to use all its means to maintain the country's independence, territorial integrity, and Islamic system.Article143of the Constitution stipulates that the mostimportant duty of the Army of the Islamic Republic is to protect the independence and territorial integrity of the Islamic Republic of Iran. Imam Khomeini has also said that defending Islam and Iran is one of the most important religious obligations for all classes.

a) Preservation of Territorial Integrity:

Territory is one of the components and elements of the nation-state, so the government will not be formed and will be destroyed with the loss of that country. Therefore, it is natural that the Islamic Republic of Iran must preserve the territory and territorial integrity of the country to maintain its existence. Accordingly, the constitution stipulates that one of the goals and duties of the government of the Islamic Republic, and above all, foreign policy, is to preserve the territorial unity and integrity of the country. In addition to the principles mentioned, Articles 78, 100, and 152 also emphasize the need to preserve the country's

IQBAL FORUM

territorial integrity. Article 176 also defines one of the goals of the formation of the Supreme National Security Council as ensuring the country's territorial integrity. In particular, Article 159 of the Constitution clearly states that the Islamic Republic of Iran's foreign policy is based on preserving the country's territorial integrity. The ninth article also considers preserving Iran's territorial integrity as the duty of the government and the nation's individuals. A review of the performance and practical behaviour of the Islamic Republic of Iran in the past 30 years shows that one of the most important goals of its foreign policy has been to preserve the country's territorial integrity. In general, the territorial integrity of the Islamic Republic of Iran, like that of other countries, may be threatened in two ways. First, due to the formation of separatist sentiments and movements in the country. Second, military strikes or foreign actions to occupy or separate parts of Iran. The Islamic Republic of Iran has experienced both types of threats during its thirty years of existence. Separatist activities in border areas, especially Kurdistan, with the support of foreigners in the first years after the victory of the Islamic Revolution are the most obvious examples of the first type of threat. The Iraqi regime's attack on the Islamic Republic of Iran in1980 in order to divide parts of Iran is an example of the second type of threat.The UAE's claims to the three Iranian islands of Abu Musa, Big Tomb, and Small Tomb are other examples of these foreign threats. The comprehensive and successful defense of the Islamic Republic of Iran's territorial integrity indicates the priority and importance of this objective in foreign policy.

b) Preservation of National Sovereignty and Independence

The second goal of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic, in the framework of ensuring survival and national security, is to preserve the national sovereignty and independence of the country. National sovereignty is another strengthening element of the government of the Islamic Republic of Iran. However, due to the violation of Iran's national sovereignty by colonialists and foreigners in contemporary history, as well as the anti-

IQBAL FORUM

colonial and anti-arrogant nature of the Islamic Revolution, this objective is of great importance in the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic. Preservation of independence was one of the main axes and goals of the Islamic Revolution, so much so that it was manifested in its main slogans. Furthermore, Islam, as a legitimizing ideology, requires the Islamic Republic to define and pursue independence and national sovereignty as one of the fundamental and vital objectives of foreign policy.

Various articles of the constitution emphasize the need to preserve national independence and sovereignty. In addition to Articles 3 and 143 of the Constitution, Article 176 states that one of the purposes of the Supreme National Security Council is to ensure national sovereignty.The second article of the constitution also states:The Islamic Republic is a system that ensures political, economic, social, and cultural independence. On the other hand, according to Article 67, MPs swear that they will take any action to protect the country's political, economic, and cultural independence. The ninth article also considers the preservation of independence as the duty of the government and individuals.

Accordingly, the Islamic Republic's founder has repeatedly preserved independence and national sovereignty as a main objective of the revolution and the Islamic Republic. Imam Khomeini: The school of dear Islam commands that we do not give up seeking freedom and independence.Elsewhere, he considers the objective of the revolution and the war to be the preservation of independence and says, "You have sacrificed so many martyrs in order to gain freedom and independence; you must preserve this freedom and independence with your hands and teeth".

National sovereignty means the supreme power of the government in proposing and implementing laws, creating internal order and authority, and freedom of foreign action without the interference, exercise of power, or influence of foreign countries and actors. Sovereignty has two aspects: monopoly of power, internal political legitimacy, and external autonomy and independence. But in international relations and

IQBAL FORUM

foreign policy, more emphasis is placed on its external aspect, i.e., the country's independence and autonomy, in such a way that national sovereignty and independence are usually used interchangeably.Therefore,national sovereignty or independence as a foreign policy objective is the freedom of action and independence of the Islamic Republic of Iran in making decisions, policies, and their implementation based on their national interests and values in the international arena. Of course, a distinction must be made between dependence and interdependence.What violates national sovereignty and independence is the dependence on other powers and countries so that the country's objectives, policies, and decisions are determined and adopted by foreign actors.Interdependence means the mutual influence of countries with autonomy and freedom of action in policy-making and decision-making.

c) Preservation of the Islamic Republic's System

Another existential and security goal in Iran's foreign policy is to preserve the Islamic Republic's system. The protection of the government of the Islamic Republic, as the most important achievement of the Islamic Revolution and one of the constituent elements of the country, is at the forefront of the foreign policy goals of the Islamic Republic.Objective, internal, and external threats against the existence of the Islamic Republic have also added to the importance, necessity, and priority of maintaining it in Iran's foreign policy. From the point of view of Islamic ideology, the survival of the Islamic Republic as an Islamic government and the beginning of the Islamic world government are necessary.

Accordingly, as mentioned, Articles 3 and143 of the Constitution determine the preservation of the Islamic Republic of the country, along with the preservation of independence and territorial integrity, as the government's main task. According to Article 121 of the Constitution, the President swears to be the guardian of the Islamic Republic. Imam Khomeini, the founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran, has repeatedly stressed the necessity of protecting the Islamic Republic. For example, they

IQBAL FORUM

have stated that maintaining the system is the most obligatory obligation According to him, the government(Islamic Republic) is one of the basic rules of Islam and
precedes all sub-rules,even prayer,fasting,and Hajj. Elsewhere, he has emphasized that the preservation of the Islamic Republic is a divine duty for all.

d) Protecting the Iranian Nation

The population is the most important element of any government because, without the people and the nation, forming a nation-state is impossible. Therefore, preserving the life of the nation and the lives of the people should also be the most important goal of foreign policy. Pursuing this goal in foreign policy is necessary in two ways: first, preserving the lives of the people as one of the strengthening factors of the government of the Islamic Republic of Iran; and second, maintaining the nation as the goal of a security authority independent of the state. Therefore, the protection and defense of Iranian citizens inside and outside the territorial borders of Iran are vital from both points of view. Thus, Article 9 of the Constitution mentions one of the duties of the government of the Islamic Republic of Iran, which is to ensure the comprehensive rights of men and women. Naturally, the right to life is at the top of all human rights that the government is obliged to ensure. Therefore, in times of crisis and foreign war, one of the most important objectives of foreign policy is to ensure the nation's and its citizens' lives.

3.1.2. Economic Development and Welfare

Public welfare and economic development are other objectives of the Islamic Republic's foreign policy, which is pursued alongside security and existential goals.The importance and priority of this goal increased in Iran's foreign policy, especially after the end of the Iraq-Iran war. First, after the victory of the Islamic Revolution, the Islamic Republic

IQBAL FORUM

became embroiled in internal crises and then a foreign war, which put security goals at the forefront of the country's foreign policy priorities.Hence, the Islamic Republic could not prioritise its economic development goals.Second,the Eight-Year War damaged Iran's economy extensively, making economic reconstruction inevitable. Third, the pattern of economic development changed from import substitution to export development, a delivery that increased the status of welfare and economic development in foreign policy.

However, it should be noted that ensuring public welfare and economic development is one of the goals mentioned in the constitution. Although economics is a means and not an end, strengthening economic foundations is based on the principle of meeting human needs during human growth and development, but meeting the needs necessary to continue the human movement is the responsibility of the Islamic government (Introduction to the Constitution).Furthermore, the third principle of the Constitution emphasizes that the government of the Islamic Republic of Iran is obliged to do everything in its power to establish a correct and just economy in accordance with Islamic rules in order to create welfare, alleviate poverty, and eliminate any kind of deprivation in the field of nutrition. Apply for housing,employment,health,and insurance expansion. Also, according to Article 44 of the Constitution, the economic system of the Islamic Republic is based on three sectors: public, cooperative, and private, in order to promote the economic growth and development of the country. But Article 44emphasizes that the eradication of poverty and deprivation, the satisfaction of human needs in the growth process, and the use of science and technology for economic development and the country's progress must be done to ensure economic independence. In other words, economic development and prosperity must bring the country to the stage of self-sufficiency, free it from dependence, and prevent foreign economic dominance of the country's economy.Therefore, the Islamic Republic's foreign policy,while pursuing economic, technological,and scientific development objectives, must

IQBAL FORUM

protect the country's independence. In particular, in the context of globalization, interdependence, the economic system, free trade, and the pattern of export development, a balanced pursuit of this objective becomes even more necessary.

Pursuing economic-technological development inforeignpolicy is important from two aspects. First, it is an independent goal to improve the living conditions of the people, ensure public welfare, and finally increase the country'seconomic,technological, and scientific power.The second is development as a tool and adaptation to increase the country's military power. Because a strong military force needs an advanced and developed economy and technology that can meet the needs of the country's military and defense industries.

Here is the first meaning: to pursue economic development as an independent goal to achieve the desired economic situation and public welfare. The government is trying to facilitate and accelerate access to the global commodity and capital markets through economic diplomacy. Secondly, it tries to provide the groundwork and possibility of exploiting the "resources" of internal capacities.The 20-year vision of the Islamic Republic also defines the country's economic,technological, and scientific development as an independent foreign policy goal.

3.1.3. Acquiring International Credit (credibility)

Gaining international prestige and a positive image is another Islamic Republic's foreign policy goal. Like other countries, the Islamic Republic of Iran has strived throughout its 30-year history to gain and increase the necessary international prestige and credit as a successful, responsible, and exemplary country.

Gaining international prestige is especially important for the Islamic Republic because some of the great powers have tried to project a negative image of it at the international level. Since the victory of the Islamic Revolution, due to the ideological confrontation between Iran and the United States, this country has made great efforts to introduce the Islamic Republic as a violator of human rights, anti-democratic,

IQBAL FORUM

supporter of terrorism, and belligerent. The ultimate goal of this country is to present the Islamic Republic as a threat to international peace and security.

Accordingly, the Islamic Republic of Iran has made it one of its foreign policy goals to gain international fame and prestige. Achieving this goalis done in three stages.First,the neutralization of propaganda and unrealistic images presented by the enemies and opponents of the Islamic Revolution, in other words, the attempt to destabilize the Islamic Republic of Iran in the international arena, so that it can be claimed that a large part of Iran's diplomatic activities is to provide This goal has been achieved because the first step in gaining international prestige is to prevent discredit on the world stage.

Second, presenting a real and positive image of the Islamic Republic in international public opinion because in international relations, countries regulate relations and establish ties with Iran based on their perception and image of Iran, Therefore, other countries' perceptions of the Islamic Republic are even more important than the facts. Also, based on the degree of prestige it has with others, the Islamic Republic can pursue and secure its interests and objectives. Because an actor or a country that is not reputable in the world cannot benefit from international resources, it cannot use the resources of its power and put them into action. Accordingly, Imam Khomeini emphasized "at this critical time that the Islamic Republic and the dear Islam have been attacked by the mass media propaganda related to the great powers and their affiliates... We, you, and all the supporters of Islam, in order to realize their rights, must be equipped with this winning weapon of the day and expose the true face of Islam and the Islamic Republic to everyone inside and more abroad.

The third stage in gaining international prestige is modeling the Islamic Republic. Because the Islamic Revolution is a transnational revolution that seeks goals beyond Iran's national borders and has a global mission, therefore, the Islamic Republic has sought to inspire Islamic countries and the Third World by providing a model government and political system. This inspiration and modeling are manifested in the form of

IQBAL FORUM

three sets of exercises and the general models of anti-arrogant government, developed government, and religious democracy. Following these three models puts the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran in a paradoxical situation. On the one hand, it promotes the position and status of the Islamic Republic in the Islamic world and the third world, but on the other hand, it degrades the image and position of Iran in the Western world. Because the world powers are trying to accuse and discredit the Islamic Republic. Therefore, the foreign policy directors of the Islamic Republic of Iran, especially in the third decade of the revolution, have tried to strike a balance between this dimension and the prestige of the country. A very important point about international prestige is its close connection with national power. In such a way, countries usually use their national power's elements and dimensions to gain international prestige. Traditionally, military power has been a factor in international prestige. Even today, countries like the United States are trying to use their Muslim military to gain prestige. But it seems that the capacity and credibility of military power have been reduced and even reversed.The factor of prestige for some countries is soft power, which means the civilising, cultural, scientific, and ideological capabilities of national sports, which they use to achieve international prestige.
The Islamic Republic, as mentioned, can be placed in this category. Although the Islamic Republic is trying to become the first economic-scientific power in the region, which can be a model for other countries, the inspiring power of the Islamic Republic stems from the values hidden in the Islamic Revolution. Values such as independence, freedom, democracy, justice,peace,and humanity.

4.1.4. Acquiring and Enhancing the National Power

Achieving all the aforementioned foreign policy goals requires a minimum of national power. Accordingly, in the most common sense, national power is defined as the ability of a country to achieve goals and achieve the desired results. Power has a dual nature: positive or negative, defensive or offensive,

IQBAL FORUM

instrumental or ultimate. In other words, power can be used as a tool for the defense and prosperity of a nation and may also be used as a target for aggression and destruction. Power also has different forms that are applied directly and indirectly, individually or structurally. The elements and components of national power are also divided into material and immaterial categories. Material elements include the geographical location of natural resources, economic, industrial, and technological development, population, and military might.Non-material elements also have the national characteristics, the national spirit, the quality of government, the international reputation of leadership, ideology, and diplomacy.

In foreign policy, the Islamic Republic of Iran, following the teachings and orders of Islam, seeks to acquire and increase its defensive and deterrent power in order to defend and ensure its national security. The Holy Qur'an states in verse 61 of Surah Anfal, "And provide whatever forces and equipment you can to confront them, so that you may frighten them except the enemy of God and the enemy of yourself and other enemies whom you do not know but God knows". Accordingly, in Article 151,citing the same verse,the Constitution of the Islamic Republic obliges the government to use all means for the armed defence of the country and the system of the Islamic Republic of Iran. Article 3 of the Constitution also states that the Government of the Republic In order to achieve the goals of the constitution, the Islamic Republic of Iran is obliged to use all its means to fully strengthen the national defence.

In his speech, the founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran also stressed the need to provide defence power. For example, he states that we need power today.Today, when Islam faces the enemy and all of Islam faces the whole world, we need power.

He also points out that the development of industries and tools related to the country's defence power is one of the basic objectives of reconstruction, and we must take seriously the possibility of aggression again by the superpowers and their servants given the nature of our revolution at any time. Elsewhere, inspired by the above verse, he warns that the

IQBAL FORUM

preparation should be such that those who think of attacking will be afraid. Your enemies are afraid of your forces.
Ayatollah Khomeini also recommends the use of power beyond gaining force, saying to exercise power according to the rules of the Holy Quran and tradition.

Of course, it should be noted that power is not limited to the material dimension and type of hardware, military and economic, but also the types, forms, and immaterial and soft habits of power, which are important and priorities. Although the Iraq-Iran war highlighted the need for defense and military power in the foreign and defense policies of the Islamic Republic of Iran, in the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran, based on the cultural nature of the Islamic Revolution, soft power takes precedence. Soft power is sometimes called civil power, normative power, persuasive power, ideological power, or ideological power. This type of power emphasizes the influence and role of immaterial and spiritual factors and elements of power in foreign policy. Soft power is defined as the ability to attract and persuade others to accompany and cooperate. This type of power is based on norms, values, ideas, ideology, a system of government, prestige, morality, culture, and religion.

Thus, soft power is exercised without the use of threats, coercion, reward, or bribery. That is, guiding others to want and pursue the goal by shaping their preferences and interests. Thus, the country tries to inspire and model through its values, norms, culture, way of life, and way of governing to attract others.
Therefore, as mentioned in the previous section, the Islamic Republic of Iran has tried to attract other nations and countries by relying on Islamic, revolutionary, and Iranian values. Especially by using and spreading the discourse of political Islam and the Islamic Revolution in Muslim countries and even non-Muslim nations to gain and increase their national power. Because, in addition to ideology, discourse, or productive power, is also one of the most important components and elements of national power.

IQBAL FORUM

3.2. Transnational Objectives

The transnational objectives of the Islamic Republic of Iran's foreign policy derive from the Islamic Revolution's transnational nature and the Islamic Republic's Islamic identity.These objectives are pursued to shape the appropriate external environment and to create favorable international conditions outside the territory for the national interests of Iran.

Transnational or Islamic goals are defined within the framework of the interests of the global and ideological order of the Islamic Republic of Iran. In such a way that their emphasis and focus are on how to change and reform the established international system and order. Therefore, although these goals may not seem to serve Iran's national interests at first glance, they at least indirectly facilitate their realization. They may even be tools for achieving foreign policy's vital interests and national goals.For example, the efforts of the Islamic Republic to create unity among Islamic countries or to establish an Islamic world order will ultimately provide a suitable context for ensuring national security and its survival. This means that there is no intrinsic conflict between national and transnational goals, and the two are complementary.

However, the given Iran's limited national power, national and transnational goals may conflict in practise. In this case, based on the necessity, importance, and urgency of each of these goals, foreign policy policymakers and decision-makers prioritize them and allocate the necessary resources to them.

Iran's foreign policy's transnational or Islamic goals can be summarised in five general objectives: preserving the existence and protection of the essence of pure Islam; ensuring human well-being; creating a single Islamic world community; uniting the Islamic world; and exporting the Islamic Revolution.Of course, there is a logical connection between these five bjectives, which are also closely related to the goals and principles of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic.

IQBAL FORUM

3.2.1. The Maintenance of Islam's Entity (existence)

The Islamic Republic of Iran defines itself as the center or capital of the Islamic world. So, protecting the existence of Islam is one of its primary duties and goals. This objective is pursued and achieved at two levels, or two stages. First, maintaining the existence of revolutionary Islam and the Islamic Revolution in the territory of Iran Therefore, maintaining the political system of the Islamic Republic is a prerequisite for the existence of the Islamic Revolution and revolutionary Islam. Because the Islamic Republic is one of the most significant achievements of the Islamic Revolution, its protection is its primary duty and objective.

Accordingly, Article 176 of the Constitution states that one of the goals of forming the Supreme National Security Council, in addition to securing national interests, territorial integrity, and national sovereignty, is to protect the Islamic Revolution. According to Article 167 of the Constitution, members of parliament swear to be the guardians of the sanctity of Islam and the achievements of the Islamic Revolution. Article 159 of the Constitution also mentions that one of the duties of the Revolutionary Guards is to guard the revolution and its achievements.The founder of the Islamic Republic has repeatedly emphasized the necessity of achieving this objective. Ayatollah Khomeini says in this regard: This is a very big task that is higher than all other tasks, which is preserving Islam in Iran. Elsewhere, he says, it is a public duty that we all try with all our might and strength to keep this movement safe.

Preserving the existence of Islam and the Islamic Revolution in Iran is an introduction and a necessity for protecting the unity of Islam and the Revolution at the international and regional levels. Therefore, the Islamic Republic of Iran, based on its transnational and Islamic duties and responsibilities and within the framework of the principle of protection and defense of Muslims, is obliged to defend the unity of Islam and the revolution. Hence, the Islamic Republic of Iran has supported the Afghan Mujahideen, the Palestinian people, the Muslims of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the Shiites of Iraq and Lebanon in

IQBAL FORUM

order to preserve the existence of Islam and Islamic countries. On various occasions, Imam Khomeini, as the determinant of the goals and general methods of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic, has stated the need to pursue this objective. He says that all Muslims must defend Islam. Defending Islam and Islamic countries is something that becomes a religious, divine, and national duty in times of danger.

3,2,2.The Dissemination of the Islamic Revolution (inqilab)

The global mission and universality of Islam, on the one hand, and the transnational nature of the Islamic Revolution, on the other, make the export of the revolution beyond the territorial borders of Iran inevitable.In such a way, the dissemination of the ideals and teachings of the Islamic Revolution to other countries and societies is defined and determined as one of the transnational goals of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic.Islam, as the ideology that legitimises the Islamic Republic, is a trans-temporal and trans-spatial religion that belongs to all generations and periods of history. The addressee of Islam is mankind, whose message must reach all human beings and nations.

Therefore, the promotion of Islam is in the form of an invitation to the duty and goal of the Islamic government and government everywhere in human geography and history.

Now that the Islamic Republic of Iran has become the center of the Islamic world, it is obliged to pursue this goal in the international arena. Furthermore, the transnational nature of the Islamic Revolution requires its export to other societies and nations.Unlike a national revolution, a transnational revolution has values and ideals that go beyond national geographical borders and do not belong to a nation within a national territory.Such revolutions call for structural and normative changes in other societies and countries.Therefore, in addition to establishing and stabilizing the Islamic Revolution in the territory of Iran based on the teachings of "continuous revolution",another strategic goal is to prepare similar

IQBAL FORUM

revolutions in homogeneous Islamic societies based on the thesis of "continuous revolution".The spread of revolutionary and Islamic values laid the groundwork for revolutionary change in the environment around the Islamic Republic of Iran and beyond.Accordingly,from the first days of the Islamic Republic's establishment, the Islamic Revolution's expansion was placed on the agenda of Iran's foreign policy as a strategic goal. Although the interim government did not agree with the idea of exporting the revolution, the founder of the Islamic Republic, citing the universality of Islam, emphasized its importance and necessity. Ayatollah Khomeini says that the Iranian movement was not and is not a movement on its own. Because Islam does not belong to a particular sect. Islam has come for mankind, not for the Muslims of Iran. Prophets were raised for human beings. As a result, we must export our revolution to the world as intensely as possible and put aside the idea that we cannot export a revolution.Because the revolution of the Iranian people is the starting point of the great revolution of the Islamic world.

Based on the above-mentioned Islamic and revolutionary theoretical foundations, two general patterns of coercive and peaceful export of the revolution are conceivable. The coercive model has a revolutionary origin and, within the framework of the "continuous revolution" framework, seeks to create repeated revolutions in Muslim and oppressed countries. This aggressive strategy's objective and practical manifestation is the arms and logistical support of liberation movements worldwide that fight against tyranny and arrogance to form revolutionary and Islamic governments.The pattern of forcible export of the Islamic Revolution has never been pursued as an official objective or strategy in the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

However, some revolutionary individuals and groups supported this method, citing some Islamic foundations and narrations and the words of Imam Khomeini.On the first anniversary of the victory of the Islamic Revolution, the Imam, for example, stated that we are exporting our revolution to the whole world because our revolution is Islamic and there is

IQBAL FORUM

a struggle until the cry of La ilaha illa Allah and Muhammad, the Messenger of God, resonates all over the world. Wherever the world is against the arrogant, we are ready. Elsewhere, Imam Khomeini emphasizes that Basij is not limited to Islamic Iran; it is necessary to create cells of resistance worldwide and stand against the East and the West.

While Imam Khomeini and the official policy of the government of the Islamic Republic of Iran to export the Islamic Revolution are peaceful models, he has explicitly emphasized the method of exporting the revolution peacefully. For example, he states that "we said from the beginning that we want to export our revolution; exporting the revolution is not a military one, but we want to tell the world that one of the centres for this is the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In fact, the objective is to explain and then peacefully promote the message and positions of the Islamic Revolution to the world. We want to export the spirituality of our Islamic Revolution to the world. We who say we want to export the revolution do not want to draw swords and guns and attack; we want to export our cultural revolution to all Islamic countries.

The peaceful export of the Islamic Revolution is achieved in three ways: moral and civilian support for liberation movements, modeling and presenting a model government of the Islamic Republic, and propaganda. As mentioned, one of the principles and pillars of the policy of exporting the revolution is to support and defend Muslims and the oppressed in the framework of supporting revolutionary and liberation movements. Still, in this way, contrary to the coercive model, the Islamic Republic does so through diplomacy and organizations. The international community supports these movements. Accordingly, Imam Khomeini states that we must support the oppressed of the world. We must strive to export our revolution to the world. Elsewhere, he explicitly states: We, following the great Islam, support the people and any organization in the world that has risen to save our country. Article 154 of the Constitution also proves the peaceful support of the struggles of deprived and oppressed nations. Because it states that the Islamic

IQBAL FORUM

Republic of Iran, while completely refraining from interfering in the internal affairs of other nations, supports the struggle of the oppressed against arrogance in the world.

The second mechanism and strategy for the peaceful export of the Islamic Revolution is modeling and presenting the government of the Islamic Republic of Iran to other countries and nations. The introduction to the constitution states about the way of governing in Islam: Our nation, during its revolutionary evolution, now intends to build its model society according to Islamic standards. Imam Khomeini also states that in the victory of the Iranian nation, there is undoubtedly a good example for other oppressed nations of the world, especially the nations of the Middle East. The model of government is also possible in the form of three models of government and political systems: the government of Islamic justice, the developed government, and religious democracy.Each of these three models of government has been pursued in different periods of the life of the Islamic Republic of Iran as a foreign policy goal.

The first example of a model government is to establish, explain, and introduce the political system and the government of Islamic justice to the world so that other nations can learn from the experience of the Islamic Republic of Iran and take action to establish a religious government. The presentation of this model of government by the Islamic Republic in the first decade of the revolution and again in the ninth government was pursued.Accordingly, the founder of the Islamic Republic emphasizes that if Islam is implemented as it is in Iran, it will be transmitted from us to other nations. We believe all lands should be Islamic and an Islamic government should be established. On another occasion, he states: We want to export Islam everywhere by invitation, not by bayonet." We want to show a model of Islam in the world, even if it is imperfect, so that all the wise in the world, in all oppressed nations, should understand what Islam has brought and wants to do in the world. According to Imam Khomeini, this model is also the government of Islamic justice: the same people who decide to export it not only to Islamic countries but also invite the

IQBAL FORUM

oppressed of the world to dear Islam and the government of Islamic justice by exporting their Islamic revolution .The second model of the exemplary government is to provide a model of a developed, advanced, and prosperous government in the Islamic Republic of Iran.The introduction of this model of government, especially during the so-called construction period, became one of the goals of Iran's foreign policy. During this period, the export of the revolution was synonymous with presenting the model of economic development of the Islamic Republic to other countries. It was believed that if the system of government in Iran, which has an Islamic nature, was developed economically and socially,other nations would voluntarily follow its example.For example, the Leader of the Islamic Revolution states that when nations see the successful experience of the Islamic Republic, they must learn from it. They see the successes of the Islamic Republic and the revolution and the dignity of Iran and Islam.Then they learn from it. Therefore, there is no need to export a revolution. Let the Iranian government know that the most extraordinary effort and jihad today is for Iran to be built and built in Islam, and afterward its blessings to be revealed. Life in this country should be a source of regret for other nations, and they should learn from it. The President of the time also says:

We are determined to present the model of an Islamic country to the world, and what we are looking for is economic,scientific-technical, and technological independence.

The third model of the Islamic Republic as a model government is realized by presenting a religious democracy. In this model of government, more emphasis is placed on socio-political development than economic progress.Because the creation of a religious democracy in the form of the Islamic Republic of Iran, which, in addition to economic efficiency, can meet the political demands of the nation, will attract other nations and countries.Through the dialogue of civilizations and cultures, the necessary ground can be provided for introducing this model of democracy. This type of modelling of the Islamic Republic of Iran was given more attention and emphasis during

IQBAL FORUM

the so-called reform period. Accordingly, the then President of the Islamic Republic said that he believes that the defence of Islam is possible if we can make Islam compatible with democracy, ensure the people's fundamental freedoms, and provide scientific and economic progress. Something that has begun to be experienced in Iran.

The third mechanism and strategy for the peaceful export of the Islamic Revolution is to propagate its achievements. In the era of the communication and information revolution, propaganda and information are important tools of national power. Advertising tools are necessary to reflect the facts and, in many cases, to make them up.Therefore, the Islamic Republic has tried to use this vital tool to truly reflect the facts and values of the Islamic Revolution and its achievements. In particular, explaining and introducing the three models of government of the Islamic Republic is of great importance and necessity for the world.Accordingly, the preamble to the constitution states:The mass media (radio and television) should be used to spread Islamic culture in the direction of the evolution of the Islamic Revolution and to build a model Islamic society that can succeed in being a model for all the people of the world.

The founder of the Islamic Republic has also emphasized the importance and necessity of propagating the values of the Islamic Revolution.Imam Khomeini says that today our revolution has been issued.They must introduce Islam to the world as it is with the right propaganda.When nations know Islam, they turn to it. Elsewhere, he states: When we say we want to export our revolution, we do not want it to be by the sword, but by propaganda.Imam Khomeini also mentions the characteristics of the propaganda of the Islamic Revolution as one of the duties of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs: You must spend those expenses on propaganda in every embassy you have... On the contrary, they propagandize from any kind of conversion that they do, answer and acquaint other states and countries with what is happening in Iran and how it is

IQBAL FORUM

happening in Iran, introduce people to Islam and the Islamic movement and the Islamic Revolution, etc. The bayonet is not the export of the revolution; the export is not the export of force.

3.2.3. The Solidarity (unity) of the Islamic World

The unification of Islamic countries and then the unity of the Islamic world is the third transnational objective of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran. According to the teachings of the religion of Islam, all Muslims form a single nation called the Ummah. Islam accepts the geographical and national boundaries that divide Muslims today as a secondary rule, but gradually they must be organized and united as one nation. Therefore, one of the important tasks and goals of the Islamic government is to strive for the unity of Muslims and Islamic countries. As an Islamic system, the Islamic Republic of Iran is obliged to pursue and achieve this strategic goal in foreign policy and the international arena. Accordingly, since the victory of the Islamic Revolution until now, the Islamic world's unity, despite conceptual and scientific changes, has been one of the goals of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic.

This objective is explicitly and specifically mentioned in the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran. As it is emphasised in the eleventh article, according to the verse of the Holy Quran, all Muslims are one nation, and the government of the Islamic Republic of Iran is obliged to base its general policy on the coalition and unity of Islamic nations and make efforts to achieve unity. Make all efforts to form political, economic, and cultural unity in the Islamic world. The importance of this goal is such that the issuance of the Islamic Revolution is the basis for the unity of the Islamic world in the form of a single Islamic nation and country.

According to Imam Khomeini, the architect of the Islamic Revolution and the founder of the Islamic Republic, the unity of Muslims and the Islamic world is of high status and importance.

IQBAL FORUM

We hope that the Islamic Republic, which is based on unity and efforts with the Muslim countries of the world, will play a decisive role in achieving the lofty goals of Islam and the happiness of Muslims around the world. Accordingly, he considers the provision of unity in the Islamic world as an important objective of the Islamic Republic and says that our programme is that of Islam, the unity of Islamic countries.

Based on the nature of transnational goals in Iran's foreign policy, efforts are made to unite the Islamic world within the framework of national interests and achieve national goals. There are several motives and interests for pursuing the goal of uniting Islamic countries in foreign policy. First, ensuring national security by creating a generation based on convergence and political unity. Given the threats and problems arising from the security environment around Iran and the exploitation of their supra-regional powers, the convergence order based on the unity of Islamic countries will ensure Iran's national security. Just as the European order of convergence-based security has achieved peace and security in post-World War II Europe. Second, using the strategy of alliance and coalition to increase national power by balancing extroverts against security threats against the Islamic Republic of Iran Because the Islamic Republic must have enough power to defend the Muslims,to support the oppressed, and to fight the arrogant and dominating powers,This power can be achieved in two ways. The first relies on domestic and national capabilities, and the second on alliances and unity with allied countries.

Therefore, unity and coalition are mechanisms and tools to increase power to achieve the above goals, especially the coalition and balancing to counter the threats and hostile actions of the opposition and enemy countries of the Islamic Republic. For example, this motive and goal are reflected in the words of the founder of the Islamic Republic: It is hoped that Islamic nations with more unity and cooperation can defeat internal and external enemies and be saved from the domination of Eastern and Western colonizers, especially the United States. I have

IQBAL FORUM

always insisted that Muslims around the world unite and fight their enemies, including Israel.

From a political point of view, the third motive and goal of the unity of the Islamic world is to create a bloc and pole of Islamic power in the international system that serves the interests of the Islamic world independently of other poles. In other words, just as the Third World countries have tried to become the centre of power in the world through the formation of the Non-Aligned Movement, the Islamic world can play such a role with its unity. This goal can be achieved by strengthening the Organisation of the Islamic Conference and promoting it to the level of a plant union of the Islamic Confederation. In the statements of Imam Khomeini, one can find this goal of unity and solidarity among Muslims.For example, he states:The program of unity of all Muslims and the unity of Islamic countries is obligatory in the face of colonial governments. Because if the Muslims unite, none of the superpowers will have the power to invade them.

Fourth, the unity of the Islamic world can also serve the economic interests of Iran and other Islamic countries. Just as in the political dimension, the union of Islamic countries can turn them into a pole of power, so convergence and economic union will turn them into a great economic power. In addition, Islamic countries' convergence and economic unity can meet their domestic economic needs. Hence, the economic convergence of the Islamic world both guarantees the external economic independence of the Islamic countries and guarantees it internally.The founder of the Islamic Republic says in this regard: If the Muslims of the world were united with these large reservoirs and the size of their countries, would they be dominated by two superpowers like today?

3.2.4 The Establishment of Islamic-world Society

The ultimate and strategic goal of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran is to form a unified world community of Islam. In fact, other goals are the basis for and facilitate

IQBAL FORUM

realizing this long-term goal. As mentioned, Islam's universal mission demands that all human beings invited to Islam and that a single global Islamic community be formed by Joining it According to Islamic-Shiite teachings, a single Islamic society and government will eventually be formed worldwide. The Holy Quran has promised such a society and government in several verses. For example, verse 5 of Surah Qasas says that we are willing to bless the oppressed of the earth and make them the leaders and heirs of the earth. In verse105 of Surah Anbiya, he also emphasizes that my virtuous slaves will inherit the earth. Therefore, the government and the Islamic state must work to form such a society and a single Islamic government worldwide. As an Islamic state, the Islamic Republic of Iran is no exception to this rule.

Likewise, the constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran explicitly mentions this Islamic goal and ideal.The introduction to the Iranian constitution states that this law, as the general principles governing the Islamic Republication to the Iranian constitution states that this law, as the general principles governing the Islamic Republic... Given the content of the Iranian revolution, which was a movement for the victory of all the oppressed over the arrogant, this provides the ground for the continuation of this revolution at home and abroad: Especially in expanding international relations with other Islamic and popular movements, it seeks to pave the way for the formation of a single world nation and to continue the struggle for the salvation of deprived and oppressed nations throughout the world. According to verse 5 of Surah Al-Qasas, this global struggle will be for the realization of the rule of the oppressed on earth.

Imam Khomeini also explicitly refers to this strategic and ideal goal of the Islamic Revolution and the Islamic Republic of Iran in his speeches: Dear people of Iran, we must try to accept the hardships and pressures for ourselves so that the country's top officials can fulfill their basic duties. Let them act, which is the spread of Islam in the world. And nothing should cause us to abandon the great goal of the revolution, which is to establish a

IQBAL FORUM

world Islamic government.The government of the Islamic Republic should do its best to govern the people as well as possible, but this does not mean that it should distract them from the great goal of the revolution, which is to establish a world-Islamic government.

4. The Orientation and Guideline: Non-alignment

The general orientation of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran is its approach, attitude, and obligations towards the foreign environment and the international system, as well as its main and general strategy to ensure national and Islamic interests and goals and to deal with lasting threats. The general orientation and strategy of foreign policy are manifested in the decisions, behaviours, and continuous actions of the Islamic Republic, which are adopted to adapt its interests, values, and goals to the conditions and characteristics of the internal and external environment. Based on its nature, identity, principles, interests, goals, and perceptions of the international system, the Islamic Republic has chosen a non-alignment strategy based on the principle of neither East nor West for its foreign policy. Therefore, Article 152 of the Iranian Constitution defines the general strategy and orientation of the Islamic Republic's foreign policy as "non-alignment".The foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran is based on non-alignment with the dominating powers. Therefore, immediately after the victory of the Islamic Revolution, the Islamic Republic cancelled its military commitments to the superpowers. As it withdrew from the Santo Pact inMarch1980,it dismantled the US eavesdropping bases in the north of the country, cancelled the defence pact with the US, and violated Articles 5 and 6 of the 1921 agreement with the Soviet Union. On November 4, 1979, the Islamic Republic of Iran also joined the Non-Aligned Movement.

IQBAL FORUM

4.1. The Principles and Reasons

The policy of non-alignment means the denial of any affiliation with or concession to the world's powers and the avoidance of a multilateral military alliance with them. This foreign policy strategy, also called non-negative or negative balance in Iran, which was institutionalized in the Non-Aligned Movement, contains important principles and features. Non-membership in military unions, non-transfer of military bases, concluding military contracts with great powers, autonomy and independence of all countries, decolonization, anti-arrogance, fight against racism, respect for national sovereignty and territorial integrity of countries, peaceful settlement of disputes within the framework of the United Nations and international law, general disarmament and commitment of the great powers to it, non-interference in the internal affairs of countries, detente and peaceful coexistence, combating underdevelopment and economic dependence, and assisting the liberation movements are among the principles of non-alignment. But perhaps the most important principle is the lack of military commitment and dependence on the great powers and the transfer of military bases to them. Accordingly, the Constitution of the Islamic Republic stipulates in Article 146 that establishing any foreign military base in the country, even for peaceful uses, is prohibited.

Military-security, political, ideological, historical, and economic reasons and motives can be mentioned for the Islamic Republic to adopt a non-aligned orientation.The cause and basis of ideology show that this strategy is mentioned in verses and narrations that deny and reject any affiliation of Muslims with infidels as well as their domination and dominance over Islamic societies. For example, we can mention this verse from the Holy Quran: "God has never set the way for the disbelievers to dominate the believers. Also, verse 144 of Surah Nisa says: O you who believe, do not take the disbelievers as your friends.

Culturally and historically, the adoption of a non-aligned strategy in the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic can be

IQBAL FORUM

traced. The interventions of foreign colonial powers and the rule of dependent governments in Iran, especially in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, made independence and anti-colonialism a common ideal of Iranians, so that this spirit and ideal in the anti-colonial movement of oil nationalization reached its peak. The oil nationalization movement inspired non-aligned leaders and the formation of the Non-Aligned Movement in1955. The failure of this movement caused independence, decolonization, and the severance of dependence to become the fundamental goals and ideals of the Islamic Revolution.One of the basic slogans of the people during the 1979 Islamic Revolution was "neither East nor West, the Islamic Republic."

Therefore, the most important political and security factor is the orientation of non-commitment to strive for independence, preservation of national sovereignty,liberation from dependence on great powers, and ensuring freedom of action in the domestic and international arenas.According to the leaders of the Islamic Revolution, membership in regional military alliances such as CENTO and concluding a military agreement with the United States deprived Iran of its freedom of action. In asymmetric and unbalanced alliances and coalitions, the authority and independence of action of weaker and smaller members are usually limited. Powerful countries always take a greater share in the distribution of the benefits of the alliance. Therefore, the leaders of the Islamic Republic believe that the alliance and commitment of the Islamic Republic of Iran with the West and the East, and especially the United States, is a constant threat to the independence and national sovereignty of Iran that must be avoided.

The most important economic factor and cause of the non-aligned strategy in the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic has been the attempt to diversify resources, create opportunities to meet domestic needs, minimise dependence, and ultimately achieve economic self-sufficiency. Because of non-alignment and depending on the superpowers or poles of global power, the

IQBAL FORUM

country provides more opportunities to use the resources and facilities of economic, financial, trade, and international markets. Because the alliance with one of the centers of power ensures the deprivation of opportunities and resources for others, complete dependence and reliance on one of the poles of power simply increases the country's economic and political vulnerabilities.

From what has been said, several logical conclusions and propositions can be deduced; first, non-commitment, either Eastern or Western, does not mean non-alignment with the centers and poles of international power but means no dependence on superpowers or major powers in the international system. Second, the collapse of the Soviet Union, the disappearance of the bipolar system, and the formation of a unipolar or multipolar system are not the same as the appointment of a non-aligned strategy,and the principle is neither Eastern nor Western.Because the center of gravity and central meaning of this strategy is independence from the centers of international power, it does not matter if there are one, two, or more powers at the top of the power pyramid or the structure of the international system.

Third, the international non-aligned orientation and strategy are used towards superpowers or power blocs and are not adopted towards all countries and global issues.Thus, while adopting a policy of non-alignment with the poles of international power, the Islamic Republic may benefit from the strategy of alliance or neutrality with respect to other countries or at the regional level in its foreign policy. Iran's efforts for the unity of Islamic countries, membership in international economic groups such as Groups 77 and 15, membership in the ECO, the Organisation of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), the Organisation of the Islamic Conference, and membership in the Shanghai Organisation are examples of this fact. The Islamic Republic's actions in the1991 and 2003 crises in Iraq and 2001 in Afghanistan also reflect a strategy of temporary neutrality in foreign policy.

IQBAL FORUM

4.2. The Variation of Non-alignments

Different definitions and interpretations of the non-aligned strategy, or the principle of neither Eastern nor Western influence in Iranian foreign policy, are presented. Some define it as isolationism in foreign policy. Others see it as disconnection and non-connection with the superpowers and poles of power at the international system level, which is defensive and passive in nature. Another group sees non-aligned, non-Eastern, or Western non-aggression as a policy of aggression and confrontation to fight the East and the West, or the centers of international power. Some also see it as more than a foreign policy strategy; it is a general policy or a way of governing the Islamic Republic at the domestic and foreign levels. In their view, non-alignment means directing and managing domestic and foreign policy in a different way from Eastern and Western models.

These different and even conflicting definitions of this strategy and principle, rather than resulting from different perceptions of a single concept and principle, indicate the existence of different types of non-commitment. In general, four types of non- commitment are conceivable: 1) conservative or acceptance of the status quo; 2) reformist or modification of the status quo; 3) revisionist or gradual change of the status quo; 4) revolutionary or urging immediate change and the widespread international order. Each of these has different and distinct goals and effects and has ruled the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran at different times.

4.2.1. The Conservative Non-alignment

This is the common policy and strategy that are defined and pursued in the non-aligned movement. It means accepting the existing international order and trying to maintain Iran's independence and national sovereignty through peaceful coexistence with the superpowers and centers of world power and non-commitment or alliance with them. This kind of non-ideological and non-revolutionary commitment does not seek to change the existing international order and is based on the

IQBAL FORUM

principle of balance.The principle and strategy have a long history in Iran's foreign policy, so their beginning can be found in the foreign policy of Mirza Taghi Khan Amir Kabir. And a policy based on positive neutrality and non-commitment to the two colonial powers of Russia and Britain, the non-granting of concessions to them, and the preservation of Iran's independence and national sovereignty. But the concrete example of this kind of non-alignment is the policy of negative balance during the time of Prime Minister Mohammad Mossadegh, which was manifested in Iran's foreign policy during the nationalization of the oil industry.

The fundamental goal of this policy was to end British colonial Rule without conceding to the United States or the Soviet Union Thus,the strategy of conservative non-alignment is defensive and passive in nature and does not pursue confrontation and struggle with the superpowers and poles of world power to transform the international system. Accordingly,thistype of non-alignment requires and guarantees non- dependence, alliance, and alliance with the centers of international power while coexisting and de-escalating with them. Furthermore, based on this strategy, the country not only de-escalates tensions with the major powers but also seeks to reduce tensions between them and in the international system. For this reason, this strategy is sometimes referred to as a positive neutral policy.In the context of positive neutrality, a neutral or non-aligned country, while maintaining the principles of avoidance and equality in interaction with the parties to the conflict, tries to use their conflicts and disputes to benefit its national interests.

The foreign policy orientation and strategy of the Islamic Republic of Iran during the interim government showed a lack of conservative commitment or positive neutrality. Hence, the Prime Minister of the Interim Government declared that Iran's foreign policy towards the powers and superpowers, like the policy of Dr. Mohammad Mossadegh, has a negative balance. Accordingly, neither Eastern nor Western non- commitment nor policy was an anti-arrogance to fight East and West and the US-

IQBAL FORUM

Soviet-led power blocs. In other words, the goal is not to change the ruling international order and the system of bipolar dominance by destroying the superpowers. Although the rejection of the United States and the Soviet Union and the rejection of colonialism and foreign domination in neither Eastern nor Western politics is a strategy of non-alignment, in its purely defensive sense of full independence and ideological reliance on Eastern and Western blocs, it is called political, economic, and military. Dr. Karim Sanjabi, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Provisional Government, also defined the policy of non- alignment based on the following four axes: "history and geopolitical position of the country, spiritual and human ideals of Islam, and the principle of retaliation in relations with other countries".As a result, a lack of conservative commitment or positive neutrality does not require the severance of ties with powers and superpowers, but rather that relations with the great powers continue and even expand based on the principle of equilibrium.

4.2.2. The Revolutionary Non-alignment

It has an aggressive and deconstructive nature and goes beyond the traditional meaning and concept of non-alignment, meaning non-dependence. This type of non-alignment is based on not accepting the existing international order and trying to change it fundamentally to establish the desired Islamic order. In this regard, the foundations of international order are considered unjust, as the Islamic Republic of Iran must fight to disrupt,transform, and collapse to replace the desired Islamic order. Revolutionary non-alignment involves a kind of political task and ideological mission that, in addition to denying any affiliation and commitment to the powers and centers of international power, also denies the oppressive order that governs international relations, the power structure, institutions, and rules governing international relations and interactions.

Changes in the foundations of the existing international order and system occur reluctantly and through immediate and drastic changes, in such a way that, in the case of revolutionary non-

IQBAL FORUM

alignment, a fundamental change in the international order and the achievement of the strategic goal of establishing an Islamic world order will be pursued in the short term. Hence, the orientation of revolutionary non-alignment, contrary to its protective nature, requires anti-arrogance and decolonization in the international arena. A goal that requires relentless struggle and an immediate fight against the arrogant superpowers in the international system, because non-alignment and alliance with the great powers are necessary but not enough. In other words, maintaining national independence and sovereignty is the first step in a non-aligned strategy, not its ultimate objective. The ultimate objective and mission of neither Eastern nor Western policy or general orientation is overthrowing the hegemonic system through the collapse of the hegemonic powers. After the removal of President Bani-Sadr in late June1981 to March 1984,when the discourse of expediency dominated Iran's foreign policy, the lack of revolutionary commitment became a strategy and orientation of Iran's foreign policy, so that the confrontation between the Islamic Republic and two superpowers reached its peak.

4.2.3. The Revisionist Non-alignment

Revisionist non-alignment is just like revolution; it is aggressive in nature, provocative, and groundbreaking. This strategy is also based on not accepting the existing unjust order and situation and the need to change it fundamentally, because the ultimate goal of foreign policy is based on non-alignment, changing the existing order, and establishing the desired Islamic order. Hence, the essence of this kind of non-alignment is anti-arrogance and decolonization within the framework of ideological and revolutionary commitments. Therefore, non-dependence on superpowers and great powers is only one of the requirements of revisionist non-alignment. The only difference between these two theories is the taste of this change in the foundation of the existing order and system. In this type of non-commitment, unlike its revolutionary type, the change of the existing order and system is achieved gradually and, through metamorphosis, the transformation of its foundations and

IQBAL FORUM

underlying principles. Hence, the fundamental transformation of the international system and the system based on it is a less urgent goal than revolutionary non-alignment, and there is more time and opportunity to achieve it. The non-revisionist non-alignment guided Iran from 1985 until the end of the Iraq-Iran war, and Iran's foreign policy began during the construction period. The foreign policy strategy of the ninth government is also revisionist non-alignment.

4.2.4. The Reformist Non-alignment

Reformist Non-alignment is the interface between the two types of conservatives and revisionists.This type of non-alignment is a critical, dynamic, active, but non-aggressive strategy. There is also a minimal concept of non-alignment and commitment to the great powers in this concept of non-alignment.But in addition, it also implies a change in the existing international order.This feature, on the one hand, distinguishes the reformist non-alignment from the conservative non- alignment, and on the other hand, pursues the change in the international order with the cooperation of other countries and within the existing structure and arrangements. The reformist non-alignment seeks to reform the existing order and system's superstructureto create a gradualmetamorphosisandinfrastructural transformation in its foundations and basics. This type of non-alignment temporarily accepts the existing international order to establish the desired order. This index distinguishes reformist non-alignment from revisionist and revolutionary types.

Therefore, reformist non-alignment implies dual policies and behaviors in the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran. On the one hand, it requires criticizing the unjust foundation and essence of the existing international order and consequently opposing the system of domination and protesting against the oppressive policies of the poles of power that form this system. On the other hand, peaceful coexistence with the great powers, active participation in international institutions and organizations, and acting within the framework of global rules and norms to implement gradual reforms are inevitable. In other words, confronting the system of domination is pursued through existing mechanisms in a peaceful and multilateral manner.The

IQBAL FORUM

expectations of the Islamic Republic from the Non-Aligned Movement, the Organisation of the Islamic Conference, and the UN General Assembly to adopt deterrent policies towards the great powers and to play an active role in the international arena stem from the reformist non-aligned strategy.

The orientation and strategy of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran during the so-called period of construction and reforms from 1989 to 2005 can be called a reformist non-aligned strategy. Because in this 16-year period, the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic, which was in conflict with the international system and the poles of power, gave way to a policy of reconciliation and interaction. After the war, based on the argument that neither the Eastern nor the Western principle meant severing ties with the great powers, the development of relations with the Soviet Union, Russia, and Europe became part of Iran's foreign policy agenda.

A de-escalation of tensions with the United States also began but did not materialize. With the beginning of the reform period, within the framework of reformist non-alignment, the expansion of relations with Europe and the detente with the United States was strengthened and intensified. However, the comprehensive and constructive dialogue between Iran and Europe and the opposition to US policies and actions in the Afghanistan and Iraq crises indicate the critical nature of Iran's foreign policy orientation.

Some propositions and conclusions can be drawn from the mentioned topics and issues. First, the orientation and strategy of non-alignment must be redefined per domestic, regional, and international changes. Second, non-alignment is more of an active orientation to play a greater role in the international system than a passive and reactive strategy. Third, non-alignment does not mean any connection with international countries and actors, even the centers and poles of world power. Fourth, the essence and foundation of non-alignment are non-dependence and maintaining independence. Still, dependence and independence interdependence and how power is

IQBAL FORUM

distributed internationally. must be defined in the context of globalization and Fifth, strategies that require isolationism and avoidance of international affairs are not appropriate for the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran and do not serve its national interests and objectives.

IQBAL FORUM

4

Chapter Four

Discourses of the Islamic Republic of Iran's Foreign Policy

IQBAL FORUM

Chapter4: Discourses of the Islamic Republic of Iran's Foreign Policy

"Discourse" is defined in different ways in this approach. But here, as explained in the first chapter, it means the system and semantic structure governing foreign policy, making a particular mode of action and behavior possible.Accordingly, foreign policy discourse is not the individual and personal values and beliefs of foreign policy decision-makers but rather the institutionalized public beliefs they agree with or the particular semantic structure they hold in a particular situation that reflects their attitudes towards strengthening international relations and the system. In fact, foreign policy discourse is a framework within which foreign policy makes sense. Discourse in foreign policy has a function similar to the structure of neo-realist theory.

Discourses are not connected and insatiable in nature, but because they are the product of the articulation of distinct and fluid linguistic identities, or what Wittgenstein calls a "linguistic game", they change form and substance over time. Due to the fact that in different foreign policy discourses, different concepts and meanings are found, So, with the dominance of special hegemony over particular discourse, concepts such as national identity, interests, goals, and national security, the international system, and even the government, change. Beyond this, discourse developments and changes are not limited to the linguistic and semantic spheres but also have tremendous effects on foreign policy behavior, in such a way that the political discourse governing foreign policy is one of the elements and factors that shape and consolidate it. Therefore, it is necessary to know, experience, and analyze foreign policy discourses and their changes and developments.

The foreign policy discourses of the Islamic Republic have emerged from within the discourses of the Islamic Revolution. In the process of the Islamic Revolution, a hegemonic discourse was formed that was rooted in the Islamic tradition. On the one hand, this revolutionary discourse redefined the socio-political order in the field of domestic and foreign policy and provided

IQBAL FORUM

distinct and new criteria for defining and determining oneself and others in the national and transnational arenas. On the other hand, the dominant discourse challenged international relations, the system, and consequently, the order established in it. Furthermore, it questioned and threatened the existing international order and system, organized various centers of resistance against world powers and superpowers, and introduced new and different variables into world relations. As a result, in the heart and context of the discourse of the Islamic Revolution, a distinct discourse of foreign policy was born. A discourse in the context of which the foreign policy behaviour of the Islamic Republic of Iran was formed.

Moreover, the discourse of the Islamic Revolution, according to the nature and identity of the discourses, has undergone changes and transformations over time and manifested in different forms and ways in different eras. Following the changes and developments in the great discourse of the Islamic Revolution, foreign policy discourse also underwent transformation and metamorphosis. So that each of these discourses was based on the ruling system of society, on specific centers, points, and elements. As a distinct semantic system, each of these discourses redefined and reconstructed the basic concepts and reasons of foreign policy in their own discourse context. Thus, over the past three decades, different foreign policy discourses have emerged that have influenced the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic and its elements in different ways.

Reasons and concepts such as interests, power, security, national identity, the Islamic Revolution, the international system, etc., found different meanings and connotations in the framework of each of these discourses. These changes in discourse did not remain only in the scope and field of discourse but also had a tremendous impact on the implementation and application of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic. The change in the field of foreign policy discourse also caused a difference in the behavior of the Islamic Republic.

IQBAL FORUM

Therefore, to understand the aspects and themes of foreign policy in the political system resulting from the Islamic Revolution, it is necessary to analyze and explain the discourse organizations and the dominant discourse in each period. In other words, the developments in the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran have been a function of the development of discourse in a specific socio-political context that has had different consequences and reflections in the practical and behavioral fields. Therefore, in order to understand and analyze the nature and behavior of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran in recent years, it is necessary to explain and analyze the prevailing discourses.

This chapter tries to identify and describe the discourses that have dominated the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic in the last three decades.This goal is pursued by discussing the evolution of discourses and describing the center of gravity, focus, issues, and elements of each. In fact, the aim is to answer the fundamental question:During the 30 years of the Islamic Republic of Iran's foreign policy, what discourses have emerged, and what discourse changes have it experienced? In other words, has the discourse change in the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic been "from" one discourse to another, or is the change "in" a single discourse?

1.Discourse Typology

According to the theory of critical analysis of discourse described in the first chapter, two types of discourse change in the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic are conceivable. First, the transformation from one discourse to another in such a way that a kind of discourse break occurs In this case, foreign policy undergoes immediate and obvious change and delivery. This situation occurs when the dominant propositions and theorems of the discourse change. However, if the changes are not fundamental to a discourse and are at the level of derivatives or sub-propositions, the nature and identity of the discourse will not change.In this case, we see a change "in" the discourse through which different sub-discourses were born.These

IQBAL FORUM

discourses are common to the governing principles and central propositions, and their distinction is precisely between sub- and superficial propositions.Therefore, two types of discourse typologies can be presented from the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic. Although both divisions agree on the evolution of discourse in the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic, they do not share the same views on its nature. The first classification in the evolution of the discourse is "from" one form to another.While the second typology, in addition to acknowledging the evolution of "from" to the evolution of "in " discourse.

1.1. Evolution "from" Discourse

In the analytical framework of the transformation from one discourse to another in the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic, two categories of foreign policy discourses are possible. On the one hand, two major discourses in Iranian foreign policy can be identified. First, the discourse of realism is based on the originality of the Iranian nation-state and the priority of Iran's national interests in foreign policy. Second, the Islamic ideological discourse is based on the originality of the Islamic Ummah and the priority of Islamic values and interests in the hierarchy of Iran's foreign policy objectives. Accordingly, the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic is divided into two periods of discourse. The era of the Interim Government, where the discourse of realism means that the national interests of Iran take precedence over the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic The second period since the ouster of President Bani-Sadr in 1981 has been dominated by Islamic ideological discourse. In this discourse period, Iran's foreign policy is based on the ideology of Shiite Islam and its teachings.

The foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran since its formation in 1979 has witnessed a transformation from a realist discourse to an ideological discourse, so that Iran's foreign policy has undergone a discourse break. But the discourse has not changed since the domination of ideological discourse in 1981,despite the changes in foreign policy. Even intra-

IQBAL FORUM

discourse developments have not taken place in ideological discourse, which has led to the emergence of sub-discourses from the inside.

The second classification of the foreign policy discourses of the Islamic Republic of Iran in the context of the evolution of "from" discourse is based on the emergence and existence of five independent discourses. From this perspective, five different and distinct discourses have overcome the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic: realism, idealism, economic pragmatism, political-cultural pragmatism, and fundamentalism. These five discourses are based on specific discourse principles and points and are independent of each other. Accordingly, the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic in the last three decades is divided into five periods of discourse. The era of the interim government and presidency of Bani Sadr, the era of war and holy defense, the era of construction, the era of reform, and finally, the era of Principlism. It is assumed that Iran's foreign policy in these periods and its principles and assumptions have been based on each other.

Neither of these two typologies based on the evolution of "from" discourse corresponds to the reality of discourse changes in the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic. Because they do not take into account changes in discourse. The division of the ruling discourses into two types: realists and Islamic ideology, is misleading. Although it well explains the replacement of ideological discourse with realist discourse, it ignores the internal developments of ideological discourse. The division of the foreign policy discourses of the Islamic Republic into five independent and completely distinct discourses, although it eliminates the shortcomings and problems of the first typology, itself has theoretical and practical problems.This discourse classification considers the discourses of idealism, economic pragmatism, political-cultural pragmatism, and fundamentalism as completely independent and distinct from each other. Whereas, as will be explained, these four discourses are sub-discourses within an all-encompassing and macro-Islamic

IQBAL FORUM

discourse.Therefore, in analyzing Iran's foreign policy discourses, one must also consider the evolution within the discourse, which requires another typology of Iran's foreign policy discourses.

1.2. Evolution "from" and "in" Discourse

The second typology of the foreign policy discourses of the Islamic Republic of Iran is based on the existence of both types of "from" and "in" discourse. In this type of typology, it is assumed that the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic in the last three decades has experienced two kinds of changes. On the one hand, after the removal of President Bani-Sadr in June 1981, the discourse governing the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran changed completely and gave way to another distinct and independent discourse. On the other hand, the macro-Islamic discourse that has dominated Iran's foreign policy since that time has undergone internal changes. Therefore, various sub-discourses were formed due to the evolution of "in" the macro-Islamic discourse.These sub-discourses are common to the governing principles and the main and central propositions, and the only difference between them is in the field of sub-derivative propositions. So, they cannot be considered independent discourses.

Different typologies and categories are presented in the framework of this perception of the evolution of discourse in Iran's foreign policy. All these classifications share the principle that the foreign policy discourse of the Islamic Republic changed fundamentally after the removal of President Bani-Sadr. Their disagreement is about developments and changes within the discourse that has ever since dominated Iran's foreign policy. Accordingly, two types of typologies of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic can be presented.

1.2.1 The Preliminary Typology

According to the first typology in this concept, the foreign policy discourses of the Islamic Republic of Iran are divided into five discourses. Realistic or interest-oriented, idealistic or value-oriented,pragmatic or expedient-oriented,cultural-

IQBAL FORUM

oriented or culture-oriented, principled or justice-oriented-these are the five discourses that have ruled the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic from the beginning.Realistic and Utilitarian discourse gained relative dominance over Iran's foreign policy during the interim government and presidency of Bani Sadr.The center of gravity of realist discourse is Iran's national interests. From the perspective of this discourse, the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran should be based on national interests, and all the possibilities of national capabilities should be used to ensure them.Therefore, national interests take precedence over Islamic interests, and even Islam and the Islamic world should be used to secure Iran's national interests.

On the contrary, idealist discourse believes that the Islamic Republic's foreign policy should be formulated and implemented based on Islamic teachings and norms and the realisation of Islamic ideals, values, and rules.The core of this discourse is Islam and Muslims.This discourse is divided into two other smaller discourses: ummah-centered idealism and centre-oriented idealism.Both sub-discourses emphasize Islamic principles and values and the interests of Islam. But in a centered discourse, if there is a conflict between Islamic interests and the security and survival of the (Umm al-Qura) center of the Islamic world, preserving the integrity and survival of the center is a priority. The discourse of idealism dominated Iran's foreign policy during the Iran-Iraq war.

Pragmatic or expedient discourse is the mediating goal between idealism and realism.The central element of this discourse is realism in formulating foreign policy based onIslamic principles and values.While believing in and respecting Islamic ideals and values, Pragmatism emphasizes that in foreign policy, national capabilities must also be taken into account. On the one hand, Islamic novels and transnational objectives are pursued in the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic, but to achieve the goals and ideals according to the rule of "ability" and "gradually," the Islamic Republic is responsible as much as its power and ability oblige it.This

IQBAL FORUM

discourse reached a hegemonic level during the construction period of Iran's foreign policy.

Culturalist discourse emphasizes the role of culture and civilization in foreign policy.The center of gravity of this discourse is the discourse of de-escalation. Foreign policy should be formulated and implemented based on building trust, detente, and peaceful coexistence through dialogue and communication to develop relations with the outside world. The Islamic Republic must act as a civil power internationally and strive to build a global civil society.The first step in this direction is to reform and change the international relations paradigm or model. The foreign policy discourse of the Islamic Republic of Iran during the reform period was cultural pragmatism.

Justice-oriented fundamentalist discourse is the fifth discourse that has prevailed in the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic under the ninth government since 2005.This discourse revolves around justice in foreign policy and international relations. Although there are many similarities between this discourse and idealism, these two discourses are not the same. Prioritizing transnational objectives and challenging the established order in the existing international system is one of the most important features of justice-oriented fundamentalism.

According to this classification and typology, the change of realist discourse to idealism and the transformation of "from" one discourse to another are considered because these two discourses are based on different and various governing principles and fundamental propositions. On the other hand, the division of idealism into two sub-discourses, ummah-centered and centre-oriented, indicates the evolution of the "in" discourse. Because, as mentioned, these two discourses are common in the governing principles and propositions and differ only in sub-derivative propositions.

This typology of the foreign policy discourses of the Islamic Republic of Iran has more explanatory power and

IQBAL FORUM

fewerobjections than the classifications of the type of discourse change, but nevertheless,it does not explain the process of discourse evolution in the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic with full accuracy.Because pragmatic, culturalist, and fundamentalist discourses share the prevailing propositions and fundamental theorems,their differences are limited to minor subdivisions.Therefore, it cannot be considered independent discourse.Even these three discourses have fundamental principles in common with both ideological sub-discourses. Hence, another typology needs to consider these theoretical and practical facts-a kind of discourse classification that complements and combines previous categories.

1.2.2. The Conflating-supplementary Typology

This kind of typology is a combination of the previous three discourse categories that corrects and complements them. In the context of this typology, the foreign policy discourses of the Islamic Republic of Iran have been divided into two main discourses: liberal nationalism and Islamism. The discourse of liberal nationalism that dominated the interim government's foreign policy continued with the ouster of President Bani-Sadr in June 1981. From this date onwards, the macro-discourse of Islamism, which is based on Islamic ideology and religious interests, has prevailed over the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic, which continues to this day. As a result of intra-discourse change in Islamism, five discourses-idealism, expediency,realism or pragmatism,foreign policy of the Islamic Republic is divided into six discourse periods.

This discourse typology has several advantages, both analytical and explanatory.First, a methodological combination of the three typologies has been proposed. The second considers both types of "from" and "in" discourse transformations.Because the replacement of the discourse of Islamism or liberal nationalism is a fundamental change "from" one discourse, which is considered another discourse, In a way, after the marginalization of liberal nationalism and the hegemony of Islamism, the foreign policy ofthe Islamic Republic underwent a kind of

IQBAL FORUM

discourse break. Third, this typology of discourse is not abstract and rhetorical but is based on theoretical and practical facts in the field of Iranian foreign policy. Theoretically, in the context of defining a discourse based on the semantic system, each of these discourses expresses a specific semantic structure and system of thought and is not just a literary and rhetorical name. From a scientific and real point of view, the points of each of these discourses are reflected in the foreign policy behaviour of the Islamic Republic.Therefore, this typology considers the interaction of object and mind or theory and practice.

2. Explanation of discourses

The nature, identity, and boundaries of each of these six discourses are explained based on identifying resistant elements and their differentiation in the form of three signs, or the general concept of the Iranian nation-state, the Islamic Revolution, and the international system.

Other elements and sub-signs are derived from these three general concepts, which are the rules and propositions that govern each discourse.The sign and concept of the national government of Iran, the complex of the three elements of the nature of government, national identity, and national interests in the general sense of the word The Islamic Revolution of Iran is also defined based on its nature and objectives. The constituent elements of the international system are: the nature of the system;international organizations and institutions; and international principles, rules, and norms.

The different articulation of these signs and elements in different semantic systems and the attempt to determine the meaning and significance of these floating signs cause a temporary obstruction and partial and relative identity of each of these discourses. This identification causes different discourses to differ from each other. Therefore, each of these concepts and signs in different discourses finds a different meaning and identity that can be understood and comprehended in connection with other signs and concepts because the meaning has a

IQBAL FORUM

conventional identity and its identity in the context. Discourses, as a system, acquire special meanings. In fact, meaning and identity result from the relationship between signifier and signified, but there is no intrinsic or priority relationship between the two.On the one hand, the contractual and fluid relationship reconciles signifiers and signified, or concept and instance. On the other hand, the set of these concepts and signals forms a single whole called discourse with an identity and existence beyond each.Asemantic system that is self-identifying and differentiating.

The propositions that form the first concepts are the governing rules and principles that define the boundaries and identity of each discourse. In such a way that, according to these principles, one discourse is distinguished from another. The derivative propositions of these central sentences determine the different sub-discourses in each discourse.Therefore, different definitions and meanings of these concepts or changes in their meaning distinguish one discourse from another.While disagreement about the meaning of inferential concepts from each of these main concepts and changes in derivative propositions are considered superficial changes, such changes bring about changes in the discourse and lead to the formation of micro-discourses within a large discourse.

Accordingly, the meaning of the sublime and fundamental signs and concepts of the nation-state, the Islamic Revolution, and the international system and their constituent elements in the two discourses of liberal nationalism and Islamism are entirely different.These, then, are independent and distinct discourses.But idealism, expediency, realism, pacifism, and principlism agree on the governing principles mentioned above, and their differences are in the field of sub-derivative propositions. Hence, they are different sub-discourses within the macro- discourse of Islamism.

IQBAL FORUM

2.1. The Discourse of Liberal Nationalism

This discourse is the system of thought and the network of meaning that, from 1979 to 1981, had a relative dominance over the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran. In the framework of customary politics, nationalism, democracy, and liberalism, this discourse elaborated on the central concepts of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic and determined the meaning of floating signs in this field. The manifestation of this discourse in Iranian foreign policy during the interim government and presidency of Dr. Bani Sadr is that nationalists such as Dr. Karim Sanjabi, Dr. Ebrahim Yazdi, Dr. Abolhassan Bani Sadr, and Sadegh Qutbzadeh were in charge of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

As explained in other typologies of the discourses of the politics of the Islamic Republic, this system of thought and meaning is referred to as interest-oriented and expedient-oriented realism.Compared to expedient-oriented realism, interest-oriented realism has more power of explain and adapt to the theoretical and practical realities of this period of discourse in Iranian foreign policy.Because in the semantic and intellectual systems of the Islamic Revolution and the Islamic Republic, the sign or concept of expediency has a definite meaning that did not play a role in Iran's foreign policy during this period. Therefore, if we apply realism to this period's semantic system, the utilitarian constraint is more appropriate. Because, as explained, the emphasis on Iran's national interests in this discourse makes it more justifiable to describe and bind realism to an adjective or utilitarian constraint.

However, using the term realism to describe this discourse does not have the necessary theoretical and practical accuracy. Because,theoretically, the most important principle and assumption of realism is the centrality and background of power in foreign policy, While the center and the basic principle of the intellectual and semantic system prevailing in this period are liberalism and peace-seeking, which are in conflict with realism, In practise, the foreign policy of the interim government is based on the non-use of force and the pursuit of power or

IQBAL FORUM

excessive peace. Thus, one of the most important criticisms of the fundamentalist and revolutionary opponents of the Interim Government was its excessive compromise in foreign policy. As a result, using the term "liberal nationalism" to describe this discourse is more accurate.

Liberal nationalism is based on the ideas of nationalism and liberalism. Two political ideologies or semantic systems have a logical connection and are two aspects of a single thing. Nationalism has been based on the nation's originality, and its fundamental principle is national sovereignty. Liberalism also implies the monopoly of power and the right to rule and legislate for the nation, which is not limited by any factor. Both of them are the result of human originality and the belief in the separation of the institution of religion from the institution of the state. Under the influence of nationalism, this discourse emphasizes the importance and priority of the country and the people of Iran and its national interests in foreign policy. The nation-state of Iran is the most important source of political reference for the citizens of the Islamic Republic, whose interests and exponents take precedence over any other interest or benefit.

In parallel with nationalism, this discourse looks at politics and government and the role and function of the government of the Islamic Republic of Iran within the framework of the liberal intellectual system and the ideas and teachings of liberalism. It, therefore, emphasizes the minimal role of government, political freedoms, the rule of law, and democracy. In the field of foreign policy, too, it is based on the policy of excessive peace and reconciliation based on norms, institutions, rules, and international law, as well as excessive international optimism. A kind of optimism and positivity rooted in classical and traditional idealism in international relations. Empty concepts and implications of the nation-state, the Islamic Revolution, and the international system and their derivatives are considered discourse elements.Concepts and elements that find identity and meaning as a result of how they are

IQBAL FORUM

placed in an interaction and their context and articulation, and in turn, reinforce the identity of the liberal nationalist discourse.

2.1.1. The Government-Nation of the Islamic Republic of Iran

In the literature of international relations, foreign policy is one of the aspects and dimensions of the territorial and national government, so without the formation and processing of the concept of the political unit of the nation-state, foreign policy will be meaningless because the requirement of foreign policy is the socio-political system of the government and the international system based on it. Thus, the meaning of the nation-state in the discourse of liberal nationalism plays a decisive role in its identity and nature. In particular, understanding the meaning and concept of the three fundamental elements of government,namelyits nature, identity,and national interests and goals, is necessary to understand and explain this foreign policy discourse.

a) The Nature of the Islamic Republic

The nation-state of the Islamic Republic of Iran, in the discourse of liberal nationalism, like other countries, has a national, customary, secular, and territorial basis. It is a political unit formed in a specific geographical area with sovereignty and responsibility.Therefore, the government of the Islamic Republic of Iran does not have a divine or religious origin. Still, it is a system that arises from the Iranian nation's and people's collective will, which also gives it legitimacy and acceptance.The government of the Islamic Republic of Iran has an inherent and primary origin.The ideology that legitimizes this national government is nationalism. One of its essential aspects and fundamental components is secularism.Two elements are pivotal in defining and determining its functions, responsibilities, and features.

Therefore, the national and territorial government of the Islamic Republic of Iran has a definite and independent

IQBAL FORUM

existence and identity, which are the source of the loyalties, expectations, demands, and political activities of the Iranian nation and people and its national institutions.The Iranian nation has originality and priority,not the Islamic Ummah or any transnational or sub-national political unit.Proponents of liberal nationalist discourse have explicitly expressed this definition of the national government of the Islamic Republic.

b) The identity and national role of the Islamic Republic

Iran's national identity finds meaning in the framework of the national government and the formation of the Iranian nation. This identity is different from sub-national and transnational identities. In such a way, insiders and outsiders, or Iranians and non-Iranians, are defined based on it. Iran's national identity has a territorial basis. This requires the existence of a national government in the geographical area of Iran and the distinct nation of Iran. Therefore, according to the elements and components of the Iranian nation, the principles and sources of Iran's national identity will be determined. In fact, the essential elements that make up the Iranian nation are the fundamental sources of Iranian national identity.

In general, the national identity of Iran is defined based on the three identifying elements of Islam, the Islamic Revolution, and Iranian nationality.Nationalists consider the main source of national identity to be Iran and Iranian nationality, which has a territorial and ethnic basis. This existence of nationalism is also divided into different types based on the nature of the central element of Iranian nationality in forming Iranian identity and its relationship with Islam and religion. Religious nationalism is one of the types of nationalism that emerged during the Constitutional Revolution and evolved after the victory of the Islamic Revolution.This kind of nationalism seeks to reconcile the principles and values of nationalism with Islamic principles, teachings, and beliefs. So, in the context of liberal nationalist discourse, not only is nationalism not an anti-value but also a positive thing that Islam has recognized. This means there is no inherent conflict between being Iranian and Muslim,

IQBAL FORUM

and Islam is part of Iran's national identity. Nationality and religion are accepted as two principles in the national identity of Iran, but nationality is always the primary and preferred principle. In other words, the most important source of Iran's national identity is nationality and being Iranian. Nationalism always takes precedence over Islamism.

Furthermore, the identity and national role of the Islamic Republic as a nation-state are defined and determined based on Iranian nationality and being Iranian, so that in the discourse of liberal nationalism, being Iranian has more security and priority than Islam and the revolution. Islam plays a role in shaping the identity of the Islamic Republic. The Islamic Republic of Iran's national identity and self-image are based on the perceptions and images of other countries. In fact, the national identity of the Islamic Republic is a cognitive issue based on a common understanding of the Islamic Republic, which expresses both internal similarity and solidarity as well as external distinction and difference. This common understanding is always formed around a central concept and value. At different times, different values and concepts, and even heterogeneity and incompatibility, maybe at the center of common understanding, which means the diversity and multiplicity of identity-building resources. Hence, the Islamic Republic of Iran simultaneously and at different times has many different identities, each of which forms a central value.

Determining and influencing national identity in foreign policy is done by defining and determining national roles for the Islamic Republic. Because different and multiple national identities require different national roles in foreign policy, The national role of the Islamic Republic of Iran is a definition that policymakers and decision-makers give in the context of the dominant discourse of the common types of decisions, commitments, rules, and actions appropriate for the country and the tasks and functions that must play in different thematic and geographical conditions. On the other hand, it is also recognised by other countries. National roles reflect and consolidate the main needs,tendencies,fears,and attitudes of the Islamic

IQBAL FORUM

Republic towards the international community and systemic, geographical, and economic factors and variables.

The Islamic Republic of Iran's national role in identity formation and identification is consolidated. Each value structure and system of meanings of Islam, the Islamic Revolution, and being Iranian create different identities that also create specific national roles.The discourse of liberal nationalism, which consolidates and develops the identity of the "secular national government" for the Islamic Republic of Iran, defines and explains its various national roles in foreign policy. Roles such as "non-aligned government", "active independent government", "neutral government", "role model government," and "liberal government" are defined in the framework of the liberal nationalist discourse for the Islamic Republic of Iran.

c) National Objectives and Interests

The national interests of the Islamic Republic of Iran as a sovereign nation-state include its highest goals, aspirations, values, and perceptual needs, which are formed in relation to other international actors and in its external nature. But the main issue is defining and determining these important and vital values. In other words, what is the most important and best value for the Iranian nation, and how can it be determined? Due to the nature of national interests and their close relationship with the values of society, the nature of the government and national identity of Iran play a decisive and consistent role in defining their meaning and examples.

Thus, given that in the discourse of liberal nationalism, the Islamic Republic of Iran is defined as a nation-state that has a national and territorial nature, its fundamental principle and beacon of foreign policy are also national interests. That is, the motive for the Islamic Republic of Iran's action in foreign policy is the interests of the Iranian people, which are defined in its geographical area, not the common interests and public good of Muslims or humanity. As a result, the interests of the Iranian nation take precedence over the interests of the Muslim

IQBAL FORUM

Ummah. Islamic interests can only be pursued as part of them if they are in line with Iran's national interests and do not conflict with them. In fact, as liberal nationalists argue, Islam and Islamic ideology are the nature and function of a tool to secure Iran's interests.

In addition, since the central element of Iran's national identity is nationality,not Islam or the Islamic Revolution, national interests take precedence over Islamic interests. For nationalist liberals, Iran's national interest is higher than any other. So that the criterion of right and wrong in any foreign policy or behaviour is evaluated based on the degree of success in securing the national interests of the Iranian nation. Thus, the meanings and examples of Iran's national interests and interests in the discourse of liberal nationalism are opposed in terms of national security, territorial integrity, independence, sovereignty, and national development.

2.1.2. The Islamic Revolution

The discourse of liberal nationalism defines the Islamic Revolution of Iran as a national revolution. Unlike the transnational revolution, the national revolution belongs to a specific nation that defines and pursues its ideals and statistics within that nation and country's geographical and territorial borders. The main purpose of this type of look is to change the structures, norms, and political, social, economic, and cultural-normative structures of the domestic society. In fact, the mission and responsibility of the Islamic Revolution as a national revolution are within the borders and do not go beyond the geographical borders of Iran. In such a way that the Islamic Revolution has no goals for other societies and countries and does not seek to change other societies and the patterns and ways of interaction between them; in other words, the Islamic Revolution of Iran is a mere uprising and movement of the Iranians that defines its objectives and mission only within the framework of Iran's geographical borders.

The definition of the Islamic Revolution as a national

IQBAL FORUM

revolution has two implications: theoretical and practical. First, the discourse of nationalism denies the nature and goals of Islam and the transnationalization of the Islamic Revolution. That is, the Islamic Revolution has no transnational and Islamic goals, and Islamism is not one of its existential causes and goals. As a result, the purpose of the Islamic Revolution is not only to implement the rules of Islam in Iranian society but also to fight against colonialism and arrogance, support Muslims and the oppressed, create a unified world Islamic society, and spread the Islamic Revolution beyond borders. Second, the national goals of the Islamic Revolution of Iran are also summarised and limited in anti-authoritarianism and freedom-seeking. In fact, the Islamic Revolution of Iran has the nature, identity, and goals of a constitutional revolution. In fact, the Islamic Revolution of Iran has the nature, identity, and objectives of a constitutional revolution.That is, liberation from imperial tyranny and establishing freedom and democracy in Iranian society andcountry.

2.1.3. The International Order and Structure

How to define and interpret the international order is one of the most important indicators and elements of foreign policy discourse. In such a way, different discourses of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic have different perceptions of the international order and system.The discourse of liberal nationalism also defines the international system and its established order in a semantic relation with its other signifiers and legal concepts. Given the meaning and concept of the state, the Islamic Revolution, and the goals of the two, the nationalist discourse has a conservative approach based on maintaining the status quo. Because it does not see the interests of the Islamic Republic in the foreign policy of the world and the ideological order, nor the transnational objectives of the Islamic Revolution.

This means accepting the existing international order, action, and interaction within the framework of this nation-state system. The basic and vital objectives and interests of the Islamic Republic of Iran are also pursued in the context of the

IQBAL FORUM

established international order and based on the existing rules, norms, laws, institutions, and international organizations. In this discourse, not only is it not desirable to disrupt the world order, but it is also necessary to observe the rules, norms, and principles governing the international system and to strengthen and consolidate international organizations.In such a way, objectives and ideals such as anti-arrogance, exporting the revolution, and countering domination, which seem to conflict with international lawstandards, are not among the goals of Iran's foreign policy and should not be pursued.

Neither Eastern nor Western principles, as the central ideal of the Islamic Revolution and the general orientation of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic, are conservative or defensive in nature. That is, the policy of conservative non-commitment or negative balance lacks any Islamic revolutionary and ideological meaning and content; neither Eastern nor Western nations depend on or grant concessions to the superpowers and great powers or alliances with them.Therefore, the Islamic Republic of Iran does not have the duty and responsibility to fight against the system of domination and arrogant powers in order to change the existing international system and order.

2.2. The Discourse of Revolutionary Islamism

Islamism, as a system of concepts and the structure of meanings, refers to an intellectual system in the Islamic Republic of Iran's foreign policy based on the teachings, ideas, and objectives of the Islamic Revolution.This discourse was formed on the basis of political Islam during the Islamic Movement and Revolution and was manifested in the Constitution of the Islamic Republic.The center of gravity and the central core of this discourse are the provision, expansion, and preservation of Islamic and revolutionary values and ideals, the most important of which is the protection of the Islamic Republic of Iran and the Islamic Revolution.

Islamism does not mean ignoring the realities of foreign and international politics. However, the placement of this discourse on Islamic-revolutionary principles and ideals distinguishes it

IQBAL FORUM

from the paradigms of idealism and realism in international relations. Revolutionary Islamism means that according to the nature and identity of the Islamic Revolution and its political system, Islam and the Islamic Revolution are the most important strengthening elements of the Islamic Republic, which determine and define its role and function in domestic and foreign spheres.Since Islam is a universal religion and the worldview is idealistic, the Islamic Republic of Iran also has a global mission and transnational Islamic objectives based on the guidance and prosperity of all humanity. Therefore, in the framework of Islamic ideology and the Islamic Revolution, the Islamic Republic of Iran has a different foreign policy from national governments, which pursues Islamic and revolutionary objectives and ideals.Also,the basic signs and concepts of nation-state, Islamic revolution, and international system in this discourse are defined based on Shiite Islam. In the context of revolutionary Islamism, these floating signs find special meanings and concepts that have a different meaning from liberal nationalism.From1979to1982,the discourse of Islamism emerged as the antithesis of the discourse of liberal nationalism in the field of Iranian foreign policy. Then, since 1982, the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran has been dominant in various sub-discourses.

All the sub-discourses of revolutionary Islamism agree on the minimal meaning of the three concepts of the state, the Islamic revolution, and the international order. They all accept Islamism's fundamental rulings and propositions regarding these basic concepts. Their disagreement is limited to derivative propositions of these ruling principles.Thus,the five sub-discourses of Islamism believe that the government of the Islamic Republic of Iran has an Islamic nature, identity, function, and responsibility.The first and most important elements and sources of the national identity of Iran and the Islamic Republic are Shiite Islam and the Islamic Revolution. The Islamic Republic of Iran has two categories of national and transnational or Islamic interests and objectives that must be pursued and ensured in its foreign policy: the Islamic Revolution

IQBAL FORUM

of Iran is a transnational revolution that has the nature and objectives of Islam and a transnational revolution identity; the existing international order and system has no religious credibility and is unfair and discriminatory.

Nevertheless, their views on the following sub-propositions and propositions differ: The relationship between divine sovereignty and national sovereignty in the political structure of the Islamic Republic of Iran and how the two work together The role and position of the elements of being Iranian and Iranian nationality in consolidating and forming the national identity of Iran and the Islamic Republic; Regarding these national expediencies and national interests and how to prioritise them in the hierarchy of foreign policy goals of the Islamic Republic of Iran; How to pursue and achieve the transnational objectives and ideals of the Islamic Revolution in foreign policy; how to pursue and achieve the goals and interests of the world order and the establishment of the Islamic world system in the international system based on the existing nation-state This disagreement causes each of these sub-discourses to offer a different priority and reading of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic.

2.2.1. Nation-centric Idealisation

The sub-discourse of Islamic-revolutionary idealism is a kind of idealistic, revolutionary, and maximal interpretation of Islam, the Islamic Revolution, and the thoughts of Imam Khomeini. The starting point of this discourse, before Islam's nature and universal character, is the transnational nature and mission of the Islamic Revolution. In such a way, a kind of commitment and obligation to the lofty goals and ideals of Islam and the revolution is formed in this discourse. A kind of action on a religious-revolutionary task, regardless of its material and non-material consequences, outcomes, and costs.

In the context of idealistic discourse, foreign policy follows the logic of opportunities or necessity instead of the logic of consequences; that is, the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic is role-oriented before it is goal-oriented. Accordingly, idealism

IQBAL FORUM

has a completely ideal definition of the Islamic State, the Islamic Revolution, and the international order and system. Indicators that distinguish it from other sub-discourses of Islamism.

The wisdom of the discourse of Islamic idealism from the victory of the Islamic Revolution in February 1978 to the ouster of President Bani Sadr in June1981 emerged as a counter-discourse of liberal nationalism in the field of foreign policy in the Islamic Republic of Iran. Then, after this date, until the end of 1984, it became more popular and influential in the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic and reached relative hegemonic status.

2.2.1.1. Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran

The nation-state of the Islamic Republic of Iran, which includes the nature of the state, national identity, and national interests, has a different meaning and significance in the discourse of revolutionary idealism from the discourse of liberal nationalism and other sub-discourses of Islamism. Therefore, in order to understand the theme of this discourse, it is necessary to explain these issues and elements of discourse.

a) The Nature of the State

In the context of idealist discourse, the Islamic Republic of Iran is a maximum Islamic state that derives its legitimacy from God and Islam.This ideal theory of the state is based on the principle and assumption of maximum religion. On this basis, not only the general principles and values and general rules of government are stated in the Holy Quran and the Sunnah of the Prophet, but also its form and all its aspects are defined and determined, so that all the duties and responsibilities of the Islamic government at the time The presence of the Innocent Imam (pbuh) has been fixed for the Islamic Republic of Iran and is obligatory if possible. Also, the Velayat-e-Faqih, as a legitimate Islamic ruler, is appointed by the Infallible Imam (as) and acquires his legitimacy from him. So that the vote of the Iranian people is not the reason for the proof of Velayat-e-Faqih

IQBAL FORUM

but the cause of enforcement and is effective in the efficiency of the government of jurisprudence and its acceptance.

Therefore, Velayat-e-Faqih, in addition to being absolute, also has generality; that is, Vali-e-Faqih not only has all the governmental powers of the Infallible (PBUH), but also has sovereignty and control over all Muslims in the world because the appointment of Vali-e-Faqih by the Infallible Imam (PBUH) is not only for the people and the nation of Iran but also includes all Muslims around the world. Due to the non-interference of the people and nation of Iran in the establishment and legitimacy of Velayat-e-Faqih, logically, they do not play a role in determining and threatening the dimensions and scope of its actions.

The logical and intellectual implication of the application and generality of Velayat-e-Faqih is the application and generality of his responsibilities and authorities towards all Muslims in the world. The Islamic Republic under Velayat-e Faqih, despite being formed within the territory and geography of Iran, is also committed and responsible to the Muslim Ummah. Just as the vote of the Iranian people is not involved in determining the constituency of Velayat-e Faqih, it is not involved in threatening and determining the transnational and Islamic responsibilities of the government under his rule.

All the activities of Muslims must be supervised by the Vali-e-Faqih of the Muslims of the world, and he must use all the resources of the Islamic world, including Iran, to change and secure the interests of the Muslim Ummah.

Therefore, the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran, as a state that belongs to all Muslims, even the oppressed of the world, will be different and distinct from the policy of other conventional national governments. Just as it has special functions and responsibilities in domestic politics, it also has duties, obligations, and missions in foreign policy beyond that of a territorial nation-state. Hence, Iran's foreign policy has a mission, is value-oriented, and is Ummah-centred.

IQBAL FORUM

b) National Identity and Role

The discourse of idealism considers Islam and the revolution as the most important elements of the identity of the Islamic Republic as well as Iranian identity. It defines national identity in terms of religious and revolutionary identities. The weight and role of Iranianness and nationality in forming and developing Iranian identity are reduced to a minimum. Because there is a kind of conflict between Islam and Iranianness, or between Islam and nationality.Thus, what distinguishes Islamic-revolutionary idealism from other micro-discourses of Islamism is the ineffectiveness or even ignorance of Iranian elements and components that create and consolidate Iranian identity.

In this reading and narration of national identity, nationalism as an ideology and system of thought based on the nation's originality is rejected. Even if this idea does not mean the originality and superiority of the Iranian nation and nationality over Islam, religion, and the Islamic Revolution, Because nationalism involves recognizing and prioritizing the distinct existence and identity of the Iranian nation, which is in conflict with the idea of the Islamic world and the body of idealism, Therefore, national institutions must be defined and established in a way that expresses Islamic and revolutionary identity. Even the constitution of the Islamic Republic should be drafted on the basis of Islamic internationalism and have global, Islamic, and transnational dimensions.

Defining and determining the Islamic-revolutionary identity for the people of Iran and the Islamic Republic also defines specific national roles for them in the field of foreign policy. Roles that are based on performing Islamic-revolutionary duties in the international arena The most important roles that this Islamic-revolutionary identity defines for the Islamic Republic in the field of foreign policy are: "revolutionary and revisionist state", "anti-arrogance and imperialism agent", "anti-Zionist agent", "defender of Muslims and the oppressed", "the liberating state", "the stronghold of the revolution", "the leader of the Islamic world" and "supporter of campaigns and movements".

IQBAL FORUM

National Goals and Interests

The national goals and interests of the Islamic Republic of Iran in the framework of the discourse of Islamic-revolutionary idealism are one aspect of its national identity and role. The revolutionary nature and identity of the Islamic Republic of Iran ensure that the interests and goals of foreign policy are defined in terms of Islamic interests.Values, goals, and ideals such as preserving the unity of Islam, strengthening and expanding its values and ideals, protecting the Islamic government and the Islamic Revolution, strengthening and increasing the power of Muslims and the Islamic world, ensuring the security of the Islamic Ummah and Islamic lands, independence and the sovereignty of Islamic countries,the political unity of the Islamic world, and the formation of the Islamic world community are among the most important issues of Islam.

Therefore, Islamic interests take precedence over the national interests of Iran, in such a way that in the event of conflict or antagonism between the two, Islamic interests always take precedence over national interests.Because the Islamic Republic of Iran is an Islamic state and government that, although necessarily located within the territory and geographical borders of Iran, has transnational responsibilities and duties, Its main and primary goal is to secure Islamic interests, and securing Iran's national interests is necessary and a prelude to achieving this goal. In other words, the national interests of the Islamic Republic of Iran take precedence over Islamic interests and enjoy secondary security and priority. In Iran's hierarchy of national goals and interests, ideological goals and interests focused on the Islamic world order have priority.

2.2.1.2. Islamic Revolution of Iran

The idealism discourse defines and imagines Iran's Islamic Revolution as a transnational and extraterritorial revolution. Unlike the national revolution, the transnational revolution has values and ideals that go beyond the geographical borders of Iran and do not belong only to the nation and people of Iran.

IQBAL FORUM

Therefore, the Islamic Revolution, as a transnational revolution, has transnational objectives in addition to national goals. In such a way that, in parallel with trying to fulfill the demands and needs of the domestic society of Iran, it seeks to achieve aspirations and objectives beyond the national borders of Iran. Structural, institutional, and normative changes inside Iran are just one of the objectives of the Islamic Revolution. Another group of goals and ideals of the Islamic Revolution is focused on the fundamental and basic change in the existing international order and system and in other societies and their patterns of interaction. The national goals of the Islamic Revolution of Iran include Islamism, freedom, anti- authoritarianism, justice, and independence. Transnational or Islamic goals also include ideals and goals such as anti-arrogance, the political unity of the Islamic world, the international Islamic community, the export of the revolution, and the defense ofMuslims and the oppressed.

In the discourse of idealism, the most important distinguishing feature of the Islamic Revolution that distinguishes it from other previous revolutions is its Islamic nature. In such a way, the primary cause and goal of the revolution inside Iran is the realization of Islamic ideals and values in the form of an Islamic political system. In the international arena, the first factor and goal of the revolution is to spread these values in other societies and countries in order to create a world Islamic society and establish the world Islamic system through the Islamic Revolution.

Islamic-revolutionary idealism prioritizes the goals andtransnational ideals of the Islamic Revolution over its national goals. This discourse especially believes in the doctrine of continuous revolution against the idea of revolution based in Iran, so that the repetition and continuation of the Islamic Revolution in homogeneous Islamic societies and even heterogeneous ones in the third world through the export of Islamic and revolutionary values and ideals is the first and most important responsibility, mission, and foreign policy of the resulting political system. Therefore, the export of the Islamic Revolution and the transformation of the world order and

IQBAL FORUM

system through the support of Muslims and the oppressed, the full support of liberation movements and campaigns, and the struggle against arrogance, imperialism, and Zionism are of special importance and priority.

What distinguishes the discourse of revolutionary idealism from other sub-discourses of Islamism is how to achieve the transnational goals and ideals of the Islamic Revolution. Idealists, unlike other Islamists, think of the revolutionary mission as the transnational goals of the Islamic Revolution, especially ideological goals aimed at the world order. They consider the realisation of these goals to be immediate, which should be a priority in the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic and should be pursued and provided by any possible means. In fact, they look at the ideals and goals of the Islamic Revolution and the way they were realised from a revolutionary and aggressive perspective.

The International Order and System

National and territorial borders and the international system based on the division of societies, such as the division of the Islamic ummah into nation-states, are not inherently original in the idealistic discourse because the world is based on the ideological boundaries of the Islamic world and the world of infidelity, or the ummah of Islam and the ummah of infidelity. The ummah and the Islamic state are obliged and forced to use all their power and authority for the rule of Islam over the world and the formation of the society of the world government of Islam.This objective is also achieved through the continuous revolution in Islamic countries, the struggle against the leaders of infidelity and arrogance, and the system of domination.

Therefore, the existing international order is illegitimate and unjust, and trying to fundamentally change it in order to establish the Islamic world order is a religious duty. From the perspective of idealistic discourse, achieving the desired world order is urgent. As a result, establishing an Islamic world order and system through the immediate and drastic transformation of the established international order and the existing international

IQBAL FORUM

system is a priority for foreign policy. In such a way, no other interest should lead to pursuing and providing this Islamic and revolutionary ideal.

Based on the offensive strategy and the revolutionary strategy of idealism, the fundamental transformation of the structural, normative, and institutional dimensions and elements of the existing international system is one of the most important priorities, objectives, and vital interests of Iran's foreign policy. Therefore, the Islamic Republic is obliged to use all its capabilities and power to unilaterally or multilaterally disrupt the international system, which is based on an unequal and unjust distribution of power. Achieving this structural and institutional change requires a relentless struggle against the world powers as the leaders of the global domination and arrogance system, as well as the full support of Muslims, the oppressed, and the liberation movements. Changing the nature and structure of international institutions and organizations, and consequently, the principles and norms governing international interactions, is another requirement for achieving this strategic goal. Hence, within the framework of the idealism discourse, the Islamic Republic's foreign policy will be revisionist and revolutionary in relation to the existing order.

2.2.2. Interest-centric Pragmatism

The discourse of expediency was the result of a transformation within Islamic idealism. Thus, although expediency and idealism are two micro-discourses of Islamism, they have many similarities. In some discourses on the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic, these two are referred to as two branches of idealism. However, due to the differences of opinion between the two on sub-derivative and derivative propositions, they are distinguished from each other.The sub-discourse of Islamic expediency, after the nation-centered idealism in the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic in1985,reached a relative hegemonic status and continued until the end of the Iraq-Iran war and the beginning of the construction period.

IQBAL FORUM

The center of gravity of expediency is the expediency of Islam and the system of the Islamic Republic as the only Islamic state and government in the contemporary world. The most important and first interest of Islam and Muslims is to preserve the existence of the Islamic Republic of Iran as Umm al-Qura and the centre of the Islamic world. This discourse is expedient-oriented, or in other words, centre-oriented, which is distinguished from value-oriented or Ummah-based idealism. Therefore, the concepts of the nation-state of the Islamic Republic of Iran, the Islamic Revolution, and the international order in this discourse are articulated differently.

a) The Nature of Government

According to the theory of the state in expediency, the Islamic Republic of Iran is an Islamic state based on divine and popular legitimacy. This theory of the government is based on the theory of Velayat-e-Faqih (the Guardian Jurist), which does not see a conflict between divine sovereignty and national sovereignty and considers the two to be compatible. In such a way, Velayat-e-Faqih (or Guardian Jurist) is in the direction of the sovereignty of the Iranian nation, which has voted for the Islamic Republic. Therefore, from the perspective of Imam Khomeini as the founder of the theory of the Guardian Jurist, or Velayat-e Faqih, and the founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran, this government and establishment have legitimacy and acceptance if they are "based on Islamic criteria and based on the votes of the nation".

In the discourse of center-oriented expediency, the limits of the powers of the government of the Islamic Republic under the absolute authority of the Guardian of Jurists are not limited to the primary and secondary rulings, and in case of conflict, they will be secondary to all sharia rulings.

Therefore, the expediency of the system is the most important and pivotal factor in the policies and decisions of the Islamic State under the supervision of Velayat-e-Faqih. The most vital interest is to maintain the existence of the Islamic Republic system.

IQBAL FORUM

From the point of view of expediency, like idealism, the guardian of jurists (Velayat-e-Faqih) is general; that is, the Supreme Leader is in charge of the imamate and leadership of the entire Islamic Ummah, and the territory of his province is all over the Islamic world, so he has authority and responsibility for all the Ummah and Muslims. A country that has such an imam and leadership will become the centre of the Ummah of the Islamic world. After the victory of the Islamic Revolution, as the Imam and leader of the Islamic Ummah, he was elected from among the people of Iran, and therefore the Islamic Republic became the centre of the Islamic world. As a result, maintaining its existence is necessary for all Muslims worldwide.

b) National Identity and Role

In the context of expediency discourse, Iran's national identity is defined in terms of two elements and sources, namely Islam and the Islamic Revolution. The most important source of loyalty for the people and nation of Iran is Shiite Islam, as represented by the Islamic Revolution. First of all, this nation considers itself a Shiite Muslim. Nevertheless, compared to idealism, Iranian nationality also has a role and weight and significantly completes and strengthens the national identity of Iran and Iranians.

Iranian nationality plays a strengthening role in national identity and, along with Islam, gives it an Islamic-Iranian form. Although the national identity of Iran and the Islamic Republic is a combination of Islam, the Islamic Revolution, and Iranian nationality, it is a central element. Its center of gravity is Islam and the Islamic Revolution so that the Islamic Republic and the people of Iran are identified by being considered the ummah of Islam and the center of the Islamic world; otherwise, Iran and being Iranian independent of these two elements of identity in themselves mean It makes no sense. Therefore, the Iranian nationality is consolidated into an identity under Islam and the Islamic Revolution. Acceptance of the government and nation of the Islamic Republic of Iran as the center of the Islamic world

IQBAL FORUM

and the need to preserve its expediency and existence is the second factor that increases the role and weight of the Iranian nation in national identity. Third, giving centrality to the Islamic Republic in the Islamic world requires the definition of a distinct identity for Iran and the Iranian nation based on Iranian nationality. Hence, nationalism is not rejected if it is not opposed to Islam and the Islamic Revolution. Nationalism is rejected when it opposes or confronts Islamism as an ideology and competes with it. The most important national role of the Islamic Republic of Iran in the context of expediency discourse is as the "center of the Islamic world" that shapes its behaviors and interests.

c) National goals and interests

Centre-oriented expediency also defines two categories of national interests and Islamic interests for the Islamic Republic of Iran that should be pursued in foreign policy. Because Vali-e-Faqih has two positions and responsibilities at the same time as the leadership of the Islamic Republic of Iran and the Imamate of the Islamic world, the Islamic Republic under Velayat-e-Faqih has an Iranian and Islamic identity that requires meeting the needs and demands of the Iranian people and the interests of the Islamic Ummah, on the other hand.

The provision of Islamic interests arising from the position of the governor of the Islamic Ummah always takes precedence over the national interests of Iran, except for the preservation of the existence of the Islamic Republic of Iran. Preserving the existence of the Islamic Republic of Iran as the center of the Islamic world takes precedence over any other interest or expediency, so the fulfillment of this divine and Islamic duty is obligatory not only on the Iranian nation but all Muslims and the Muslim Ummah. Protecting the Islamic Republic of Iran's territorial integrity and sovereignty and independence is the most important duty of the Shari'a to ensure that, even if necessary and expedient, the initial sub-rules of the Shari'a can be stopped. Because the defeat and destruction of the Islamic Republic of Iran is the defeat and destruction of Islam. The most

IQBAL FORUM

important difference between the discourse of expediency and the discourse of idealism lies in these propositions and principles.Because idealism always puts Islamic interests before the national interests of Iran.

2.2.2.2. Islamic Revolution of Iran

From the perspective of centrist-oriented expediency discourse, like nation-oriented idealism, the Islamic Revolution of Iran has a transnational nature with objectives and ideals that go beyond the geographical borders of Iran. But contrary to idealism, instead of the strategy of continuous revolution, it believes in the strategy of consolidating and stabilizing the Islamic Revolution within Iranian society. Therefore, on the one hand, based on the universality of Islam and Shiism, exporting the revolution, supporting the oppressed and defending the rights of Muslims, supporting liberation movements, and fighting global arrogance and the system of domination are among the most important goals of the Islamic Revolution. But, on the other hand, these goals and ideals must be realized in the interest of Islam and Muslims.

At the forefront of all the interests of Islam and Muslims is preserving the existence and protecting the Islamic Republic as the center of the Islamic world. Because the most important goal and ideal of the Islamic Revolution is the establishment of an Islamic government in Iran and then in other societies; therefore, if having a precedent and reference for transnational goals leads to the defeat and destruction of the Islamic system, it is a violation of purpose and not permissible. Thus, contrary to idealism, in this discourse, the Islamic Revolution's transnational ideals are among the Islamic Republic's strategic goals that must be achieved gradually and in the long run. Also, expediency, at least in the short run, has a conservative and defensive approach to the transnational Islamic goals of the revolution, especially the interests of the world and the ideological order.

IQBAL FORUM

2.2.2.3. International Order and System

The discourse of expediency, like idealism, does not consider the existing international order based on the nation-state to be desirable and compatible with the Islamic order. But according to necessity and, as a secondary ruling, according to the existing conditions and requirements of the time, it accepts the system of the nation-state. The ultimate goal and ultimate objective are the formation of a single Islamic nation and then the establishment of a world Islamic government that will lead to the elimination of current geographical boundaries, but until the establishment of this desirable order and the realization of this ideal situation, we must accept the existing facts. Within the framework of the established order and the existing system, efforts should be made to achieve the desired order and the international Islamic system. Indeed, in the current period of transition, this discourse recognizes the existence of national governments and geographical borders as a necessity.

This discourse also has a revisionist approach to international structures, organizations, and rules. Considers the international order to be unjust and undesirable and must be reformed and changed. But the realisation and provision of this strategic and long-term goal are possible gradually and peacefully because, according to necessity, expediency, and repulsion of more corruption among the corrupt, the established order can be accepted to achieve the desired situation and order and change and improve it. Thus, centrist-oriented expediency and ummah-centered idealism share a view on the necessity and nature of interests in the world order.Their disagreement is about prioritization, methods, strategies, tools, and how to pursue, provide, and achieve them.Therefore, in the framework of expediency, they can be used as a tool by participating in international organizations and respecting the rules and norms governing international relations.

IQBAL FORUM

2.2.3. Islamic Realism

The sub-discourse of Islamic realism can be considered the result of evolution within the centre-oriented expediency that dominated Iran's foreign policy during the so-called construction period from 1989 to 1997. This discourse is also based on the broader concept of expediency and the broader role of reason and rationality in formulating and managing foreign policy, so the emphasis on the element of expediency in foreign policy makes it more rational. The logical and essential consequence of rationality is also realism.Hence,the principles of wisdom, expediency, and dignity are the basis of foreign policy.

"Working on the basis of rational calculations and taking firm steps on flat ground and avoiding any ignorance is the wisdom of dealing with problems and cleverly solving problems, which is the concept of expediency".

Accordingly, realism in foreign policy does not mean neglecting or deviating from the ideals of the Islamic Revolution and Islamic values and rules; it involves considering the necessities, conditions, and spatial requirements of the existing international system for the implementation of the basic rules of Sharia, which is a duty.The Islamic Republic cannot always and under any circumstances fulfill its basic rules and goals of the Islamic Revolution.Therefore, in pursuing and realizing them, secondary rulings and titles such as necessity, rule of ability, gradation, and the principle of expediency and antagonism (more and more important)and governmental rulings should be taken into account. Also, the originality of duty and the performance of divine and Islamic duties and commands do not require ignoring the secondary rules, the principle of expediency, the existing facts and necessities of time and place, or paying attention to the results and consequences of actions and behaviors.

As a result, Islamic realism deals differently with the central signs and concepts of the national government, the Islamic Revolution, and the international system. Articulation and meaning that are distinct from other sub-discourses of Islamism.

IQBAL FORUM

2.2.3.1. Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran

In the discourse of Islamic realism, the government of the Islamic Republic of Iran has a specific identity, interests, and goals that are defined and explained in the context of Islamism. Therefore, while similar to other sub-discourses of Islamism, it also has differences.

a) The nature of the state in the discourse of Islamic realism, like expediency, is based on the rational maximalism of Islam. Based on this rational maximalism, only the general principles of values and general rules in the field of government are stated in the Holy Quran and the Sunnah of the Prophet. The form of government, the relationship between the people and the state, and the fundamental rights in general are integral parts, and the human intellect is loved, but the Al-Faragh area is saturated within the framework of the description and in the interest of Islam and Muslims. Hence, the Islamic Republic of Iran is based on divine and popular legitimacy, so that the sovereignty of the nation is exercised in the direction of the sovereignty of God.

Hence, the Islamic Republic of Iran has an Islamic nature and identity that distinguishes it from a mere national state, as it defines liberal nationalism. Although the Islamic Republic of Iran is a national and territorial state, as the ummah of the Islamic world, it still has transnational and Islamic duties and responsibilities, the limits of which are determined by expediency.The interests of the system are not limited topreserving the existence of the Islamic Republic of Iran but also include its other vital interests.

b) National Identity and Role

Like other sub-discourses of Islamism, the discourse of realism considers Islam and the Islamic Revolution as the focal elements and the core of the common understanding of the Iranian people and nation that distinguishes them from others. But he does not consider these two elements to be the only identifying components of the Iranian nation and government.

IQBAL FORUM

In addition to these two elements, Iranian nationality and being Iranian are another important components and factor of identity. Eight years of holy defense played a decisive role in strengthening and increasing the position of the Iranian element in consolidating the Iranian identity.Thus, in the discourse of realism, Islamic revolutionary and Iranian elements are again combined to reconstruct Iranian identity based on a mixture of Iranian nationality, Islamism, and revolutionaries. Therefore, in the framework of this discourse, different and distinct national roles are defined and determined for the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran. Among the most important national roles are "developed government","exemplary government","regional power" and "active independent government".

c) National goals and interests

The national goals and interests of the Islamic Republic of Iran in the discourse of realism are defined differently from the discourses of idealism and expediency. Although this statement of the mother, like the other two discourses, considers both categories of Islamic interests and national interests for the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic, she has a different view on the relationship and priority of the two. Realism, unlike expediency,believes that in the event of a conflict between Islamic interests and national interests, not only the preservation of the existence of the Islamic Republic is paramount, but also all the existential and vital interests of the Islamic Republic have logical precedence. Because if the criterion of precedence and latency of each of the Islamic and national interests is to observe the interests of the system and Islam, then if there is a necessary interest, this principle is also true and fixed for other existential and vital interests of the Islamic Republic.

From the perspective of realism, in addition to the principle of expediency, there are several other ways to resolve the conflict between Islamic interests and national interests.First, prioritizing time according to broad and gradual rules; second, prioritizing national and Islamic interests according to their degree of

IQBAL FORUM

importance and value according to the most important principle. Third, prioritise one benefit over another in terms of necessity and urgency in a state of emergency. Accordingly, the realists, after the end of the war, prioritized defense and economic interests over the interests of the global and ideological order, so that growth, development, and economic prosperity were the most important factors of national security for the Islamic Republic of Iranests according to their degree of importance and value according to the most important principle.Third, prioritize one benefit over another in terms of necessity and urgency in a state of emergency. Accordingly, after the end of the war, the realists prioritized defense and economic interests over the interests of the global and ideological order, so that growth, development, and economic prosperity were the most important factors of national security for the Islamic Republic of Iran. Foreign policy.

2.2.3.2. Islamic Revolution of Iran

Contrary to liberal nationalism, the discourse of realism defines and imagines the Islamic Revolution of Iran as a transnational revolution with an Islamic identity and nature. The Islamic Revolution has goals and ideals that go beyond Iran's geographical borders and the Iranian nation's basic necessities. Therefore, goals such as exporting the revolution, defending Muslims and their rights,supporting the oppressed and liberation movements, the unity of the Islamic world, confronting arrogance and the system of domination, and trying to establish the desired Islamic order and system are the basic values and ideals of the revolution. It is Islamic. Goals and values to be pursued in Iran's foreign policy.

But from the perspective of realism, the pursuit and realization of these ideals and goals in the existing international system are possible by observing broad principles and rules that are gradual, important, and necessary.The transnational goals and ideals of the Islamic Revolution should be prioritized and graded according to their importance, necessity, and urgency, and then pursued and provided according to national

IQBAL FORUM

capabilities. Accordingly, consolidating the Islamic Revolution internally and in the form of creating a developed Islamic state and a model for other societies is the priority of the Islamic Republic.

Therefore, the meaning and concept of the goals of the Islamic Revolution and its solution are different.Issuing a revolution means explaining and promoting this model government to other nations in the world.The unity of the Islamic world means the cohesion and solidarity of Islamic countries in the international arena. Support for Muslims, the oppressed, and liberation movements also manifests spiritually and within the framework of international organizations and regulations. Fighting with arrogance is not a physical confrontation with the arrogant and the leaders of the domination system, but it means confronting and opposing their hostile policies toward the Islamic Republic of Iran.

2.2.3.3. International Order and System

From the point of view of realist discourse, like other sub-discourses of Islamism, the established order and the existing international system are not fair and desirable. Therefore, in order to replace it with the desired Islamic order and system, it must be reformed and changed. But this reform and change will be pursued gradually, peacefully, and in accordance with national capabilities and restrictions.While criticizing radical policies and practices towards the international order and its three elements, this discourse mphasizes the policy of moderation and criticism.

Therefore,protesting against the unjust and discriminatory international system and criticizing its structural, normative, and institutional elements does not prevent acceptance of its laws and rules, peaceful coexistence with other countries, or participation in international organizations and institutions. As a result, while criticizing the existing international order, realism emphasizes the reconstruction of the Islamic Republic's relations with the countries of the world and the

IQBAL FORUM

region and the use of international organizations to ensure national and Islamic interests, on the one hand, with the new world order. It is based on American hegemony and its policies, but on the other hand, the expansion of relations with Europe and the Soviet Union, as well as the de-escalation of tensions with the Arab countries of the Persian Gulf, are on the agenda of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic.

2.2.4. Democratic Pacifism

With the election of Seyyed Mohammad Khatami as President in June1997, another sub-discourse was formed in the concrete of the grand discourse of Islamism. This discourse, which dominated the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran during the so-called reform period, can be called democratic or liberal pacifism. On the one hand, this discourse is a continuation of realism because it is based on rationalist expediency and nationalism in foreign policy. But on the other hand, it is the continuation of realism because it is based on rational expediency and pragmatism in foreign policy.It emphasizes politics and culture more than economics and considers political-cultural development more vital and necessary than economic development and social justice. Rationality and expediency are still the two basic principles of pacifism in foreign policy, but not mere instrumental rationality but rather communicative and moral one; a rationality based on intersubjective dialogue and communication, a society free from structural domination and violence, and the human right to free choice.

Islamic pacifism cannot be considered a discourse in the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic but a deconstructive reading of Islamism based on the requirements of the national government and the realities of the international system, which is mixed with points from the theory of idealism in international relations. This discourse is in fact the result of a kind of internal transformation in the super-discourse of Islamism, as it is common to other types of Islamism in underlying propositions and theorems, but it offers a completely free-spirited and

IQBAL FORUM

democratic narrative and reading of these principles and concepts. Hence, this sub-discourse can also be called liberal Islamism. Accordingly, pacifism should be considered a constructive deconstruction rather than a groundbreaking discourse of Islamist discourse to redefine, reconstruct, and re-articulate the concepts of nation-state, the Islamic Revolution, and the international system.

2.2.4.1. Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran

The concept of the nation-state of the Islamic Republic of Iran and the three elements of it which are nature of the state, national identity and national interests and goals are defined differently in the pacifist discourse so that redefining can be considered as the notion of pacifism in the heart of Islamism

A) The Nature of Government

The theory of government in the discourse of fundamentalism is based on the maximalist rationalist conception of Islam. In defining the nature and form of the Islamic Republic based on Islam, reason and wisdom play a greater and more important plan than expediency and realism. Peace within the framework of the "rational religious worldview" of Islam offers a democratic and liberal interpretation of the constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran in which "republic" and "Islam" are equal and equal to each other. Divine sovereignty not only has no conflict with national sovereignty,but is exercised through it.

In fact, the theoretical and jurisprudential foundations of the state and the political system in this discourse are a kind of theory of Velayat-e-Faqih or Guardian of the Islamic Jurist based on the views and ideas of Imam Khomeini and the constitution. Acceptance of national sovereignty during the divine sovereignty and belief in the elected Velayat-e-Faqih (Guardian of the Islamic Jurist) implies recognition of the national nature and territorial basis of the Islamic Republic of Iran. Because, as explained, there is a logical link between the elected Velayat-e-Faqih (Guardian of the Islamic Jurist) and national sovereignty on the one hand and the national

IQBAL FORUM

government on the other. But this does not mean believing in a secular national state, because the Islamic Republic still has a religious and Islamic nature and identity in the discourse of peace.

B) National Identity and Role

Belief in Velayat-e-Faqih and emphasis on national sovereignty during the divine rule and the fusion of republic and Islam in the discourse of pacifism implies and requires increasing the role and weight of the Iranian element in Iran's national identity because national sovereignty is the most important principle of nationalism that distinguishes one nation from another.National and Islamic values, which mutually reinforce each other, are the axis of solidarity of the Iranian nation and form its national identity. They are inseparable from Iran's national identity, which they consolidated with the Islamic Revolution. Accordingly, President Khatami explicitly states that "our identity is the same as the Iranian-Islamic identity" Therefore, in the discourse of pacifism, emphasizing national values and giving importance to the Iranian nation does not mean confronting Iran with Islam and replacing the ideology of nationalism with Islamism.

Within the framework of the Iranian-Islamic national identity, specific national roles are also defined and defined for the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran. Roles such as "democratic government", "peaceful government", "exemplary government","reformistgovernment","responsible government", "interactive government", and "politically developed government".

C) National Goals and Interests

Given that the national identity of the Islamic Republic of Iran plays a decisive role in shaping and defining its national interests and goals, it is logical for the national-Islamic system of the Islamic Republic to pursue both national and Islamic

IQBAL FORUM

interests in its foreign policy. Islamic interests and national interests do not inherently conflict with each other. In cases where there is a conflict between Islamic interests and national interests, resolution should be based on principles and rules of expediency, breadth and gradualism, importance and necessity, and urgency. Democratic realism, similar to realism, but unlike expediency, does not solely prioritize the preservation of the existence and the system of the Islamic Republic as vital national interests. It believes that, when necessary, the necessity and expediency of other vital interests may take precedence even over the Islamic Republic.

Therefore, in the discourse of pacifism, the security and economic interests and goals of the Islamic Republic of Iran take precedence over the interests of the world and ideological order. The realization and taste of these goals and interests also requires acquiring and producing national power, especially soft power. Because the approach of this discourse relies on the power and national security of software. In a way, the most important elements of national power are political legitimacy and democracy, which are achieved through political development and a developed government. The most vital dimension of the national security of the Islamic Republic is political security, which is achieved by increasing the legitimacy of the Islamic-revolutionary system and ideology, promoting the credibility and the international child of the Islamic Republic through de- escalation, confidence-building, dialogue, negotiation and compromise.

2.2.4.2. Islamic Revolution of Iran

From the perspective of democratic pacifist discourse, like other sub-discourses of Islamism, the Islamic Revolution of Iran is not just a national revolution with the internal goals and ideals of Iranian society and country. The Islamic Revolution is the opposite of a transnational revolution with extraterritorial goals and aspirations and beyond the geographical borders of Iran. Hence, the Islamic Revolution has two categories of national

IQBAL FORUM

and transnational goals. National goals arise from the demands and aspirations of the Iranian people, which are headed by freedom and democracy. On the other hand, other Islamic and transnational goals such as the unity of the Islamic world, anti-arrogance, support for Muslims, and liberation movements that originate from the nature of Islam are also necessary.
But the discourse of democratic pacifism, like realism, ranks and prioritizes these two sets of goals based on national and environmental constraints, time and place requirements, secondary and governmental rules and regulations. In such a way, the transnational goals and aspirations of the Islamic Revolution are defined in the form of the ideal and long-term goals of the Islamic Republic, which are gradually pursued and provided in accordance with the possibilities and national power. In this regard, the establishment of the Islamic Revolution and the system of the Islamic Republic through the establishment of religious democracy in Iran is a priority. Because the establishment and consolidation of a democratic system in Iranian society not only achieves the goals of the Iranian nation but also leads to the provision of transnational interests and goals of the Islamic Revolution.

The Islamic ideals and goals of the revolution also find a special meaning in the discourse of pacifism. Exporting the revolution means defining a democratic model of the Islamic Republic. Support for Muslims, the oppressed, and liberation movements is manifested in their spiritual support. Fighting arrogance is also pursued as a non-confrontational opposition to the hegemonic system, especially the United States, through multilateral and peaceful mechanisms. The unity of the Islamic world also means the diplomatic cooperation and solidarity of Islamic countries in international forums.

2.2.4.3 International Order and System

The discourse of pacifism has a different approach to the existing order and how to establish the desired order. So that the most important feature and distinguishing feature of this

IQBAL FORUM

discourse from other wisdom discourses of Islamism is this index. Pacifism also takes a critical and reformist approach to the existing international order. The existing international order is unjust, but to establish a just world order, we must act on the principles of detente, confidence-building, peaceful coexistence, mutual respect, dialogue and the logic of communication. To achieve this goal, the structure, relations and logic of power and the paradigm governing relations must be reformed. Also, in parallel with the establishment of a democratic order at home, efforts should be made to build a global civil society and a global democracy.

Thus, on the one hand, there are criticisms of the current situation and the attempt to reform the international system and the ruling paradigm. Still, on the other hand, this critique and reform is established within the framework of order and through peaceful coexistence. And cooperation with other countries and dialogue, understanding and interaction are pursued. After the Islamic Republic, by maintaining its identity, it tries to provide the interests of the world order not based on confrontation and conflict with others, but on the basis of commonalities and similarities with them. In fact, the questioning approach to reforming and changing the international order is based on Habermas's theory of communicative action. Because it attaches great importance and value to dialogue based on reasoning and logic in an atmosphere free of power relations. A process that will eventually lead to an order based on moral truth.

2.2.5. Justice-oriented Fundamentalism

After the ninth presidential election and the election of Mahmoud Ahmadinejad as President of the Islamic Republic of Iran in July 2005, the sub-discourse of justice-oriented fundamentalism prevailed in the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic. This discourse is common to other sub-discourses of Islamism in its governing principles and fundamental propositions. Their disagreement is limited to sub-propositions and derivative propositions of these principles and rulings. Therefore, the emergence of fundamentalist discourse in the

IQBAL FORUM

foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran is not considered a "change" from one discourse to another or a discourse break, but the formation and superiority of this discourse is a change "in" the revolutionary Islamist super-discourse.

2.2.5.1. The Transcendent Signifier of Justice

The nature, identity and boundaries of the fundamentalist discourse are defined based on how the three signs of the nation-state, national identity and the international system are articulated and interpreted. But the articulation and semantics of these concepts and elements of discourse in fundamentalism revolve around the focal point or transcendent sign of "justice". In such a way, "justice" is the center of gravity of the fundamentalist discourse, and all other signs and concepts find meaning in relation to it. In fact, it is the transcendent signifier that distinguishes the articulation of the three concepts and their derivatives in the fundamentalist discourse from other Therefore, the axis and basis of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran is in the framework of the discourse of fundamentalism, justice and justice in the international arena.

2.2.5.2. Fundamentalism

Although justice-seeking and the expansion of justice are central to the discourse of fundamentalist justice and the transcendent signifier of justice identifies it, this central signifier and concept is defined and presented within the framework of fundamentalism. The pursuit of justice and justice in the field of foreign policy and international relations is not the result of reform and innovation in the value system and ideals of the Islamic Revolution and the Islamic Republic, but the manifestation of a return to one of the basic principles and values of the Islamic Revolution. The ideas of the founder of the Islamic Republic are considered. In fact, the pursuit of justice is one of the principles and characteristics of fundamentalism in the context of the discourse of revolutionary Islamism. Accordingly, the Supreme Leader of the Islamic Revolution stated that "seeking justice and promoting justice" was

IQBAL FORUM

fundamentalism's first and most important indicator.

"Rationalism, prudence and wisdom in decision-making and action","Protest of Islam" are two important indicators of fundamentalism for the leader of the Islamic Revolution. These two indicators and criteria of fundamentalism are the two identifying principles of this Iranian foreign policy discourse. Because, as explained, years ago, the Supreme Leader declared dignity, wisdom and practicality as the three basic principles of the Islamic Republic's foreign policy. But in the discourse of fundamentalism, in both theoretical and practical contexts, the principle of dignity takes precedence over expediency. Because in the opinion of the Supreme Leader, this principle has not been sufficiently considered and emphasized in previous years.

Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, both as a presidential candidate and as a president, emphasizes that in domestic and foreign policy, he seeks to revive the principles, values and ideals of the first and foremost revolution and at the top of them justice. In this regard, the ninth government states in its one-year performance report that "the original slogans and ideals of the revolution were diminished in the expression and action of the executive authorities. Therefore, the ninth government has approached the implementation of these ideals in foreign policy with a dignified approach".

Therefore, fundamentalism, justice, and justice are necessary for each other and on two sides of the same coin. Two elements that simultaneously reinforce the discourse of justice-oriented fundamentalism. As mentioned, the articulation and semantics of floating signs and aspects of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic are also done in this context and discourse framework.

2.2.5.3. Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran

The nation-state of the Islamic Republic in the discourse of justice-oriented fundamentalism has a specific nature, identity, interests, functions, duties and responsibilities. In the discourse of fundamentalism, the nation-state of the Islamic Republic of Iran is defined as the discourse of Islamic idealism.

IQBAL FORUM

a) The Nature of the State

Like other sub-discourses of Islamism, the national state in the fundamentalist discourse is defined in the context of the Islamic-Shiite ideology and worldview. The government of the Islamic Republic of Iran has the same nature and identity in the discourse of fundamentalism and idealism. According to the political theory of the state in this discourse, fundamentalism and idealism have the same nature and identity. According to the political theory of the state in this discourse, the Islamic Republic is not only secular and secular in nature, but also has a purely religious and Islamic nature.An Islamic state or government is a state that considers judging, legislating and executing affairs according to Islamic-Shiite norms and rules as its religious duty and obligation. Executives and leaders of the Islamic government, with full knowledge of these principles, principles and laws of Islam, act within the framework of Sharia. Also, fundamentalism looks at the state and government from the perspective of moral policy, and establishing a religious community based on the principles and values of the transcendental and transcendental aspects of Islamic law is at its center of gravity. Principles and values that ensure the happiness of the world and the hereafter of human beings.

Theoretical and jurisprudential foundations of the government and the political system in this discourse are a kind of appointed and exploratory Velayat-e-Faqih theory. According to this theory, the appointment and discovery of the Supreme Leader as the Guardian of the Islamic Jurist gain legitimacy and sovereignty through its installation in the holy area of Imam Masoom (as).Therefore, obedience to him is obligatory on all Muslims, both Iranians and non-Iranians. Therefore, the role of the Assembly of Experts is to testify and introduce the Supreme Leader.

Accordingly, the Islamic Republic of Iran is an Islamic and divine government. The most important feature and consolidating element of this divine government, which derives its legitimacy from Islam and not from the people, is its Islamic nature.

IQBAL FORUM

Therefore, the responsibility of this Islamic state is to preserve Islam, commitment and practice of Islamic ideals and values. But the most important function and special work of the Islamic Republic of Iran is to ensure justice and its expansion at the national and international levels. Even national and international security does not depend on recognizing justice in the domestic and international community.

b) National Identity and Role

In the discourse of fundamentalism, the school of thought and Islamism replace nationalism.The identity-building element that defines "insider" and "outsider" is the religion of Islam and the Islamic Revolution. The focal point and center of gravity of the fundamentalist narrative of Iran's national identity is "being Islamic."The primary source of Iranian identity and its first layer is Islam and, consequently,the Islamic Revolution.

Therefore, the Islamic Revolution and its ideals, principles and values are one of the fundamental components and one of the defining elements of the national identity of Iran, so that the leader of the Islamic Revolution, the national identity of the Islamic Republic of Iran from the principles of the Islamic Revolution, is inseparable.Values,principles and ideals of oppression, justice, justice and the struggle against arrogance and the system of domination play the most important role in the formation of Iran's national identity.

Additionally, in the discourse of fundamentalism, the value and focal element of the identity of the Islamic Republic of Iran is "justice". The value and ideal that has a central place and status in all three sources of Iran's national identity, namely Islam, the Islamic Revolution and the Iranian nation. Justice in both positive and negative aspects distinguishes the nation and the government of the Islamic Republic from other nations and countries. On the positive side, the most important distinguishing feature of the Islamic Republic and the Iranian nation is seeking justice and promoting justice. On the negative side, the main indicator of the Islamic Republic and the people of Iran is the fight against injustice and oppression at the international level.

IQBAL FORUM

The national identity of a just nation and the government of Islamic justice for the people and the Islamic Republic's system also define and determine specific national plans for them in the field of foreign policy. Roles such as "just and anti-oppressive government", "anti-arrogance and anti-domination factor", "anti-imperialist and anti-Zionist factor", "stronghold of the revolution and liberation", "defender of Islam and Shiism", "supporter of the oppressed", "Inspiration in the Islamic World", "Center of the Islamic World", "Model Government", "Partner in the Unity of the Islamic World", "Reformist and Foundation-Breaking Government","Active Independent Government", "Supporter of Liberation Movements" and "non-aligned government."

However, in the discourse of fundamentalism, the national role of the "anti-arrogant and anti-hegemonic state" in the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran is a priority. As the Leader of the Islamic Revolution explicitly states that "Iran's foreign policy index is the denial of the hegemonic and domineering relationship, and the wise and intelligent confrontation with the system of world domination".

c) National Goals and Interests

In the framework of the fundamentalist discourse, the nature and identity of the Islamic-revolutionary Republic of Iran determine and define the meaning and significance of its interests and objectives. Since the basic elements of the Iranian political system are Islam and the Islamic Revolution, Iran's national interests and objectives are defined in terms of Islamic values, ideals and principles and the Islamic Revolution. So that the best and most important values for the Iranian nation are the same values and ideals that the religion of Islam has established and the Islamic Revolution emphasizes. In such a way, the leader of the Islamic Revolution considers the Islamic Republic's national interests inseparable from the revolution's principles.

Therefore, the Islamic Republic of Iran, as an Islamic state and government arising from the Islamic Revolution and

IQBAL FORUM

determined in the territory of Iran, in addition to pursuing national interests and objectives, must also pursue Islamic interests and ideals of the Islamic Revolution in foreign policy. Of course, this does not mean the duality of goals and interests and the conflict between them, but it does mean that the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic has two categories of national and transnational goals and interests. However national goals and interests are defined and determined within the framework and along Islamic interests. Because the values and ideals of Islam and the Islamic Revolution determine the meaning, significance and examples of national interests and objectives.

In addition to security and economic interests, the Islamic Republic of Iran must also pursue the interests and goals of the Islamic world and ideological order in foreign policy.The interests of the Islamic world order mean establishing and maintaining an international political-economic order and system in which the Islamic Republic feels secure and can act and act peacefully.The ideological interests of the Islamic Republic are the preservation and expansion of a set of Islamic-revolutionary values in which the Muslim and revolutionary nation of Iran shares and strongly believes in its universality and desirability. Hence, the mission and mission of Iran's foreign policy is to ensure the national interests of the Islamic Republic, which is defined in terms of "the long-term realization of the goals of the Islamic Revolution and the medium-term realization of the goals of the 20-year vision document". One of the important missions and tasks is "reforming the ruling system of the world based on justice, godliness, love, compassion and justice".

Nevertheless, what distinguishes the fundamentalist discourse from the realist and pacifist discourses is the prioritization of ideological goals and interests and the world order, even in terms of time, in the hierarchy of Iranian foreign policy goals. Fundamentalists argue that within the realm of the two discourses of realism and pacifism, the balance between

IQBAL FORUM

ideological goals and interests and the world order on the one hand and security and economic goals and interests on the other is disturbed. Therefore, restoring and restoring this balance between Islamic and national interests logically promotes the priority and importance of ideological interests and the world order in foreign policy.Furthermore, the fundamentalists believe that the pursuit of ideological goals aimed at world order will also accelerate and facilitate the realization and provision of security and economic interests of the Islamic Republic.

2.2.5.2. Islamic Revolution of Iran

The Islamic Revolution of Iran also has an Islamic and transnational nature in the narration and reading of justice-oriented fundamentalism. In a way that simultaneously pursues and demands two sets of national and Islamic goals and ideals; The national goals of the Islamic Revolution include the rule of Islam, independence, justice, freedom and democracy, and transnational goals that include ideals such as anti-arrogance, the denial of domination and domination, the unity of the Islamic world, the world government of Islam, the defense of Muslims and the oppressed, peace and Universal justice and ensuring human well-being.Thus,thediscourseof fundamentalism is not different in this respect from other sub-discourses of Islamism, even realism and pacifism.What distinguishes this discourse from other discourses is how these two categories of goals are prioritized and the internal hierarchy of each.

In the discourse of fundamentalism, first of all, the rule of Islamic rules and norms, and consequently the establishment of justice in foreign policy, takes precedence over other national goals of the Islamic Revolution. Because the fundamentalists believe that if the two central goals of the Islamic Revolution are met, other goals will be achieved. In particular, they believe that the rule of Islam and the formation of an Islamic government of justice include freedom,democracy and independence. Moreover, in their view, during the domination

IQBAL FORUM

of the discourses of realism and pacifism, the balance between these goals was upset in favor of economic and political development. In a way that Islamism and justice were diminished.

Second, compared with realism and pacifism, they attach more importance and priority to the goals and ideals of the Islamic Revolution. Among transnational goals, justice and anti-arrogance are becoming more important and preferred. Because in this case, too, the fundamentalists believe that the revolution's original and fundamental ideological slogans in the expression and action of the executive authorities of the country had diminished in recent years.Therefore,to re-establish this balance, they strengthened and developed the ideals of the Islamic Revolution. A strategy that, in their view, led to the re-emergence of the teachings of the late Imam as achievable teachings to free Muslim nations from the yoke of arrogance The Leader of the Islamic Revolution also states that the Islamic Revolution was established to realize the political, economic, social and cultural programs of Islam in Iran, and in the field of world relations, relying on Islamic teachings, rejected the oppressive system of domination and follows up peace, security and prosperity of the whole nation.

2.2.5.3. International Order

Undoubtedly, the meaning and position of the international order distinguish the fundamentalist discourse from other sub-discourses of Islamism. From the point of view of fundamentalist discourse, the existing international order is completely unjust, illegitimate and undesirable. The existing international system is a symbol of injustice, inequality, discrimination and domination. Therefore, this discourse, which is based on the transcendent sign of "justice" and defines all signs and concepts based on it, gives special importance and priority to justice in Iran's foreign policy. Justice demands that changing the current global situation in order to establish the desired Islamic order be a priority of foreign policy goals.This means rejecting the existing unjust system of world domination, confronting it and trying to reform and change its structural, institutional and normative.

IQBAL FORUM

Because, as mentioned, propagating the goals and ideals of the revolution and the Islamic Republic requires reform and change of the established international order and the three dimensions of the contemporary international system.

The expansion of justice and the establishment of the desired order in the international system have two positive and negative dimensions deconstruction and breaking the foundation of the existing international order is the negative dimention of it. Establishing a just world order is the positive dimension of it which means trying to explain, promote and establish a just Islamic order and provide its supplies, necessities and preparations. In other words, establishing a just international Islamic order and system takes place in two stages: the destruction and change of the existing order and situation, and then the promotion and consolidation of the desired Islamic order.

The deconstruction of the international order means showing the contradictions, dualities and hierarchies in which they are considered natural and legitimate, and then disrupting and displacing them.Deconstruction seeks to show this hierarchy's unnatural, irrational, and illegitimate nature and confrontation by reviewing and Double-reading the existing order. In fact, the established order is a text written in the process of history and time. This order is just one of the types of orders that have been able to be established. Thus, from the point of view of the fundamentalist discourse of nation-state order, the bipolar system during the Cold War, the post-Cold War order and finally the post-9/11 international order are not natural, rational and immutable, but vice versa. They are unnatural, irrational, and consequently unjust and illegitimate, and they must be changed.

Fundamentalism in both explanatory and Fundamentalism deals with the demolition of the existing international order and system in two explanatory and destructive dimensions. In the explanatory dimension, describing and explaining the unjust nature of the current situation and order tries to make it

IQBAL FORUM

Denaturalize and de-legitimize it. Denaturalize means showing that the existing international order is temporal and spatial, that it is possible under certain conditions and with the help of certain forces, and that it has been considered natural over time due to its dominance and sovereignty. The continuation of this supremacy and hegemony also brings with it a kind of legitimacy. In the process of not normalization, an attempt is made to deprive the legitimacy of the existing order by revealing the nature and occurrence of the existing order.

The second step in deconstructing the existing international order is to destroy and then change it to establish order and create the desired Islamic system. This goal is also pursued in several ways. The first is the struggle against the unipolar system of domination and the unjust relations of power. In such a way, the Supreme Leader of the Revolution introduced it as an indicator of Iran's foreign policy. We do not accept the behavior of the domination system in any way. We do not fall under the burden of domination in any issue, and we consider our diplomatic index to be confronting the behavior of the domination system and leaving the domination-domineering rule.

Second, the destruction and change of the existing international order and system is done by confronting and fighting the centers and poles of international power as arrogant and oppressors. Thus, the ninth government Defined one of its foreign policy priorities and goals as "countering colonialism and combating the tricks of the hegemonic system" and "combating the monopoly of power at the global level."

The third strategy is to change the international system by criticizing international organizations, institutions, rules, and laws and trying to reform and change them. Because one of the manifestations of an unjust international order is undesirable and inefficient organizations and institutions that institutionalize injustice and discrimination.

The positive aspect of the fundamentalist discourse for the development of justice and the establishment of the desired order at the international system level is the attempt to describe,

IQBAL FORUM

explain and promote a just Islamic order and system and its requirements and preconditions. Order and system that will be replaced after deconstruction and change in the existing order and system. In other words, after the deconstruction of the old order of logic, we should not rebuild and modernize the new order and system based on justice, dignity, equality, peace, and human and global security. Therefore, just and positive peace is emphasized as one of the important pillars and elements of the desired Islamic world order.

IQBAL FORUM

5

Chapter Five

Decision-Making Structure of Islamic Republic's Foreign Policy

IQBAL FORUM

Chapter5:Decision-Making Structure of the Islamic Republic's Foreign Policy

In foreign policy analysis, actions and decisions are usually attributed to the Islamic Republic of Iran, which is an abstract entity. In such a way that these behaviors and decisions are specific to human beings and intelligent people. Hence, sometimes these actions are attributed to decision-makers. Because in the final analysis, specific people make decisions and policies in the field of foreign policy, this perception of the decision-making method is also problematic.Because individuals do not have the authority to decide and act on their own. In such a way, the decisions of decision-makers and policy-makers are effective and effective as long as they are in charge and hold positions and positions in the government. Therefore, as soon as they are separated from that position and responsibility, their decision-making authority in foreign policy ends.

To solve these problems, the model of state as the decision maker is presented. According to this model, on the one hand, decisions are attributed to the foreign policy behaviors of the Islamic Republic, so that in international relations, the Islamic Republic of Iran is considered responsible for decisions and commitments. But on the other hand, these decisions and actions are taken by people who act on behalf of the Islamic Republic of Iran. Therefore, the decisions and actions of decision-makers are valid only as representatives of the nation and the government of the Islamic Republic. Accordingly, each of the foreign decision-makers and policymakers has specific competencies and powers in which they have only a framework of freedom of action. In addition, different decision-makers have different positions, status, and rank.

Accordingly, the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic, like other countries, has a special structure. Decision-making and policy-making structure means the hierarchy and position that decision-makers and policymakers observe in the process of formulating and implementing foreign policy. Foreign policy decisions are made by individual actors, institutions and

IQBAL FORUM

organizations that have a definite place and rank in the decision-making process.Therefore, the decision-making process is affected by the functioning of the decision-making structure, which affects foreign policy behavior. Decisions are the result of interaction, bargaining and compromise between actors and decision-making institutions. To make a decision, each of these actors takes on a part of this task to achieve the desired result.Decision-making and policy-making is a collective effort; the chosen option is a common output.

It is essential for foreign policy success, and the strength of the decision-making structure. The country will successfully formulate, formulate and implement foreign policy if it has a unified decision-making and policy-making structure. In this structure, decision-making individuals and institutions are specific and the position and status of each of them in the organizational and bureaucratic environment is determined and recognized.

Numerous policy-making and decision-making structures lead to conflicting policies and decisions,which may lead foreign policy to politics and indecision, and ultimately to failure.Suppose we define policy-making and decision-making as the process by which inputs are transformed into foreign policy outputs. In that case, it produces multiple structures, decisions, and policies that do not have the necessary consistency and coordination.

Multiplicity of decision-making and policy-making structure the integration of multiple decision-making and policy-making centers, which disrupts coherent and integrated policies and decisions. These numerous centers, which act as independent islands and are not connected and interconnected in the form of a single structure, each of them, based on their interests and goals, make decisions and policies that do not have the necessary coherence and compatibility and in practice, the performances neutralize and frustrate each other.Of course, it should be noted that a single structure does not mean centralized and undemocratic decision-making and policy-making. It is natural that in today's pluralistic societies, society is made up of

IQBAL FORUM

a set of different groups, each pursuing its interests. However, the crucial issue is that the position and function of each organization and agency that represents their interests in the decision-making structure is defined and defined.

1. Determinants in the decision-making structure

A vital issue in the foreign policy and decision-making process is how to define the structure of the decision-making system and it's determining factors. That is, the position and status of each decision-maker and decision-making institutions are determined and defined on what basis and by what authority. In general, the decision-making structure in the foreign policy of countries, including the Islamic Republic of Iran, like other political structures, is defined on the basis of three principles and components.These elements and components are: the ordering principle or regulating, the separation of the duties and functions of units and institutions, and the degree of ability of decision-making units and institutions in the process and decision-making system in foreign policy.Therefore, the arrangement of decision-making units and institutions in foreign policy is based on these three principles and elements.

The ordering principle in the foreign policy decision-making structure is the hierarchy.So that each unit and institution acquire its authority and legitimacy from the superior institution and unit. As a result, a hierarchy of upper and lower decision-makers is formed in which the competencies and powers of each actor are clear. The hierarchy of decision-makers is defined in the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran and in its various principles, the responsible and legitimate institutions of foreign decision-making and policy-making and the scope of their powers and competencies are specified. None of these decision-making bodies can act and behave beyond what is defined and defined in the constitution.

Although hierarchy is the most important determinant of foreign policy structure, this structure is not defined solely on the basis of this systemic principle.In other words, the

IQBAL FORUM

arrangement of each institution and actor in the foreign policy decision-making system is not necessarily formed as stated in the constitution. In addition, based on the principle of separation of duties and functions, a kind of division of labor and duties is done between different decision-making institutions, so that each of these institutions and agencies have a specific responsibility and function.These different functions and tasks are another determining factor in the position and rank of different institutions and units and, consequently, the foreign policy decision-making structure. For example, considering the executive responsibility and duty of the executive branch and the legal and judicial functions of the judiciary, the position and role of the two in formulating and directing foreign policy is not the same. It is obvious that the executive branch's role and prestige in foreign policy, policy-making and decision-making is higher and higher.

The third factor or principle of consolidation in the foreign policy structure is the degree of power and ability of each of these institutions and units in the system and the decision-making and policy-making process. Despite the legal hierarchy and segregation of duties of foreign policy-making institutions, they may have a higher or lower position, depending on the level of ability and power they have acquired in practice. Because each of the institutions and decision-makers can define their legal competencies in a broad or limited way.

Therefore, how power is distributed between institutions and decision-makers also plays a decisive role in shaping the ecision-making structure. For example, the role and position of the National Security Council in Iran's foreign decision-making and policy-making structure, especially in recent years, goes far beyond the status defined in Article 176. The most important reason for this promotion has been the formation of an issue density due to the emergence of important issues such as the nuclear issue and the crises in Afghanistan and Iraq. Conversely, the role and position of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has diminished, at least in these cases.

IQBAL FORUM

Thus, explaining the decision-making structure and explaining the position of decision-makers in the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic requires determining the share and role of each of these three principles and factors. Because these cases are not the same in different political systems. In particular, the nature and form of political-military,the degree of separation of powers, the level of institutionalization of foreign policy and the degree of determination and transparency of the roles, competencies and duties of decision-making institutions in the constitution and ordinary laws are very important.

The system of the Islamic Republic, as described in Chapter 2, is Islamic democracy.The most important indicator of this type of democracy is the combination of divine and national sovereignty. Although these two governments are located next to each other, the source and basis of legitimacy and authority of some institutions is religious and divine. At the head of these institutions is the Guardian of the Islamic Jurist (Velayat-e-Faqih) and the institution of leadership. On the other hand, the democratic nature of the Islamic Republic requires a kind of multiple decision-making process and a decentralized structure of foreign policy. A structure in which inferior institutions are also able to play a role.

Beyond that, the Islamic Republic is a semi-parliamentary and semi-presidential system, which means a balance between the executive and the legislature and no superiority over each other. In terms of the implementation and execution of the executive branch, the Islamic Republic is also a pillar.That is, the president and the supreme leader exercise the executive branch. Also, the three branches of government, the legislature and the judiciary, are independent and separate. But all three powers are "under the supervision of Velayat-e-Faqih and the Imamate of the Ummah" and are exercised. "Resolving disputes and regulating relations between the three powers" is also the responsibility of the Supreme Leader. Accordingly, the Islamic Republic has a unique political structure and a foreign policy decision-making structure.

The degree of specificity and role of decision-making

IQBAL FORUM

institutions in the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic and the limits of their powers, competencies and duties are also important factors in the structure of foreign decision-making and policy-making. As mentioned, the constitution defines the duties and powers of the institutions involved in foreign policy in a general way, so that there is always the possibility of different interpretations and readings of these general principles. Although the interpretation of the constitution is the responsibility of the Guardian Council, at least at the executive level, each of these institutions can act on its interpretation. In addition, it is possible to provide broad and limited definitions of these roles and functions. As a result, the foreign policy decision-making structure may not necessarily be formed in practice as defined in the Constitution. For example, disputes that sometimes arise between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and other agencies suggest this possibility.

The degree of institutionalization of the foreign policy process and the institutionalization of decision-making in specific institutions and agencies also play an important and effective role in shaping the foreign policy decision-making structure and its consolidation and continuity. The greater the degree of this institutionalization, the lower the possibility of change in the decision-making structure. Conversely, the lower the level and degree of institutionalization, the greater the likelihood of shifts in structure and overlapping tasks in the foreign policy decision-making process. Of course, it should be noted that this does not mean rigidity and focus on the foreign policy process, but the goal is to maintain a unified structure and prevent the overlap of responsibilities and the multiplicity of decision-making centers.Therefore,with the institutionalization of foreign policy, the possibility of forming parallel structures, intra-structural dispersion and the emergence of actors and supra-structural institutions in this field is reduced. Also, due to organizational and bureaucratic constraints, a kind of organizational decision-making procedure emerges that prevents the personalization of the decision-making process and structure in foreign policy.

IQBAL FORUM

2. Decision-making Institutions (organizations)

Numerous formal and informal actors and institutions are involved in the foreign decision-making and policy-making process of the Islamic Republic of Iran. So that in Iran, as in other countries, there are two types of formal and informal decision-making structures.The formal structure includes institutions and agencies that formally and openly play a role in the foreign policy decision-making process.The duties, competencies and powers of these institutions and agencies are defined and defined in the constitution and ordinary laws. But the informal structure includes real and legal actors and actors who are informally and implicitly active and influential in the foreign decision-making and policy-making process.

Two groups of actors shape the informal structure of foreign policy. First, non-governmental actors and activists such as the offices of Grand Ayatollahs, imams and congregations, interest groups and influential groups, trade unions, Islamic associations, political parties, the seminary teachers' association, the Society of Combatant Clergy, the Association of Combatant Clerics, Etc.The second category is semi-governmental and even governmental institutions that are not directly part of the formal foreign policy decision-making structure according to the constitution, but are indirectly and informally active in the foreign policy decision-making process.Institutions and foundations such as the Foundation for the Oppressed and Veterans, the 15 Khordad Foundation, the Martyr Foundation, the Imam Khomeini Relief Committee, the Basij Resistance Forces, the Permanent Secretariat of the Conference on Supporting the Palestinian Intifada affiliated to the Islamic Consultative Assembly, educational and research centers affiliated with government agencies, etc.

In the second chapter of this book, the influence of actors and informal institutions on the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran was explained. In this chapter of the book, the formal structure of the foreign policy decision-making system is explained. Therefore, the status, role and limits of powers and duties of official institutions defined in the constitution are

IQBAL FORUM

examined. Although only the tenth chapter of the Constitution is devoted to foreign policy in the form of four principles, some other principles, especially its introduction, have explicitly or implicitly dealt with foreign policy and its institutions. In general, according to the Constitution, the following institutions are present in the process and structure of foreign decision-making and policy-making: 1) The Supreme Leader 2) The executive branch including the president, the cabinet, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and other relevant ministries 3) Islamic Consultative Assembly and Guardian Council 4) Expediency Council 5) Supreme National Security Council 6) Armed Forces and especially the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps 7) Judiciary branch.

2.1. Supreme Leader Office

The institution of leadership is the highest pillar of the system, and the leader is the highest official of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

The Guardian of the Islamic Jurist (Velayat-e-Faqih) is the manifestation of the divine sovereignty and Islamic nature of the Islamic Republic, so that the legitimacy of the system stems from the justly elected jurist of the people.Therefore, based on continuous authority and imamate, the constitution prepares the ground for the realization of the leadership of a comprehensive jurist who the people recognise as the leader. In fact, the Guardian of the Islamic Jurist (Velayat-e-Faqih) provides and guarantees the combination of divine sovereignty and national sovereignty, and consequently the Islamism and popularity of the Islamic Republic. Because the fifth principle of the constitution states that during the absence of Hazrat Vali Asr (Ajal Allah Almighty Faraj), in the Islamic Republic of Iran, the guardianship and leadership of the ummah are the responsibility of a just and pious jurist, aware of the time, brave, a manager, and resourceful. But on the other hand, the appointment of the leader is the responsibility of the Assembly of Elected Experts (Article 107). Article 56 of the Constitution also states that absolute sovereignty over the world and mankind belongs to

IQBAL FORUM

God and that he has made man the ruler of his social life. No one can deprive mankind of this divine right. The expression and meaning of these principles clearly indicate that in the system of the Islamic Republic, national sovereignty and divine sovereignty are not in conflict and are applied throughout it.

Therefore, a qualified jurist, in the circumstances in which he is elected leader of the Islamic Republic of Iran, will be in charge of the affairs and all their responsibilities (Article 107). Most of the duties and powers of the Supreme Leader are stated in Article 110 of the Constitution.Many of these powers and responsibilities are directly or indirectly related to foreign policy and decision-making in this area.

In general, there are two views on the authority of the Supreme Leader. The first approach believes that the powers of the Supreme Leader and leadership are limited to what is stated in the constitution. The second view, on the contrary, cites the meaning and concept of "absolute guardianship of the matter" in Article 57, arguing that the principle mentioned in the constitution is only a part of some of the powers of the Supreme Leader and the Guardian of the Islamic Jurist and not all of them. Therefore, if necessary and expedient, in accordance with the rulings of the government, the Supreme Leader can use the powers of the Guardian of the Islamic Jurist beyond what is stated in the Constitution. The application of guardianship also means the existence and proof of all the governmental powers of the infallible Imams (pbut) for the Supreme Leader.

Therefore, after Egypt and Israel signed the Camp David agreement, Imam Khomeini wrote a letter to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Interim Government, Ibrahim Yazdi, asking him to cut off Iran's relations with Egypt. But regardless of these differences, even based on the powers specified in the constitution, the leadership is the most important and highest institution and decision-maker in Iran's foreign policy. The most important powers of the Supreme Leader in the field of foreign policy are as follows:

IQBAL FORUM

2.1.1. Determining the Major Policies and Monitoring their Proper Implementation

According to Article 110 of the Constitution, it is the Supreme Leader's responsibility to determine the system's general policies, including in the field of foreign policy, and to supervise their proper implementation. Therefore, the general policy and framework, priorities, orientation, and strategy of the Islamic Republic's general policies in the foreign policy field are defined and determined by the Supreme Leader of the Revolution after consulting the Expediency Council.The leadership also monitors the proper implementation of these general policies. This means that the role of the Guardian Jurist is not limited to formulating and drawing the general lines of foreign policy but also guarantees its full implementation in the field of action.

The general policies of the Fourth Development Plan in the field of foreign policy, which was announced in 2004, were: to formulate foreign policy in accordance with the Constitution; to observe dignity, wisdom, and expediency; and to strengthen foreign relations by expanding bilateral, regional, and international cooperation. Avoiding convulsions in relations with countries and strengthening constructive relations with non-hostile countries, using relations to increase national capacity to counter aggression in foreign relations, trying to free the region from the military presence of foreigners, countering the polarisation of the world, Supporting Muslims and oppressed nations, especially the Palestinian people, striving for greater convergence among Islamic countries, and striving to reform the structure of the United Nations.

Utilising political relations with countries to institutionalise economic relations, increasing the acquisition of resources and foreign investment and advanced technology and expanding Iran's export markets and increasing Iran's share of world trade and the rapid economic growth desired in the vision document, strengthening relations with The Islamic world and presenting a clear picture of the Islamic and natural revolution of these achievements and political, cultural, and economic experiences

IQBAL FORUM

of the Islamic Republic and introducing the rich culture and art and civilization of Iran and religious democracy, trying to turn the collection of Islamic countries and friendly countries into one pole Regional, economic, scientific, technological, and industrial are among these objectives. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs can also strengthen and facilitate the cultural presence of the Islamic Republic of Iran in international forums and international cultural organizations, strengthen the Islamic and Iranian identity of Iranians abroad, help promote the Persian language among them, protect their rights, and facilitate their participation in national development.

According to the 20-year vision document of the Islamic Republic, the principles and general policy of the Islamic Republic in the field of foreign policy are as follows: inspiring, active, and effective in the Islamic world, affecting Islamic and regional convergence based on the Islamic teachings and thoughts of Imam Khomeini (may God have mercy on him). Has a constructive and effective interaction with the world based on dignity, wisdom, and expediency principles.

2.1.2. Declaring Peace and War

According to Note 5 of Article 110 of the Constitution, the declaration of war and peace and the mobilization of forces are two of the powers of the Supreme Leader. Undoubtedly, this authority is one of the most important competencies of the leadership in the field of foreign policy because international relations in general and foreign policy in particular are not outside of these two states. Hence, many experts consider international relations to be nothing but war and peace.The country's most important and vital duties and responsibilities in the world arena are to try to avoid war, ensure national interests, and maintain its security in times of peace.

Accordingly, the unique position and role of the leadership institution in foreign policy are revealed.The fact that our country has always been attacked and invaded by foreigners and has had to defend itself throughout history highlights the

IQBAL FORUM

importance of this serious task. A contemporary example was the Iraq war against the Islamic Republic of Iran, which lasted eight years. The war ended with the adoption of UN Security Council Resolution 598 by Imam Khomeini in July 1988. The non-involvement of the Islamic Republic of Iran in the US-led international coalition war against Iraq in 1991, the declaration of neutrality in the US invasion of Iraq in 2003, and the prevention of a military confrontation with Afghanistan during Taliban rule are other examples of the role and prestige of the supreme leader in this area of decision-making for foreign policy.

2.1.3. Armed Forces Commander-in-Chief, Appointment and

Deposition of the Highest-ranking Officers Pursuant to Notes 4 and 6 of Article 110 of the Constitution, the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, as well as the dismissal, installation, and acceptance of the resignation of the Chief of Joint Staff, Commander-in-Chief of the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps, and senior commanders of the military and law enforcement forces, are among the supreme leader's responsibilities. As mentioned, maintaining the existence and national security of the country is the first priority of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran. Although the current threats against Iran are not only military in nature, given the security environment around the Islamic Republic, they are still the most important source and type of threat.Therefore, achieving this primary and vital goal requires preparing and equipping a powerful and united armed force with the power of military command and management.

The integration of both duties and responsibilities in the powers of the leadership institution indicates its exclusive and serious position in the decision-making process and structure in the foreign and security policy of the Islamic Republic. Furthermore, the importance and necessity of commanding power, managing the war, and uniting the armed forces have

IQBAL FORUM

been proven in the field of operations. In the early days of the Iraqi Baathist regime's invasion of Iran, in which Imam Khomeini handed over command of the armed forces to the then president, the country struggled to defend itself due to the weakness of the allied command and the lack of legal unity and coordination between the armed forces, which resulted in many obstacles. However, after the removal of President Bani Sadr from the General Command of Forces and the formation of a unified structure and unity of command, the Islamic Republic of Iran succeeded in achieving extensive historical victories in the operations of Fatah al-Mubin and Bayto almoghadas in 1981 and 1982.

2.1.4. Confirming Supreme National Security Council's Acts

In principle, one hundred and seventy-six constitutions are stated in the description of the duties and powers of the Supreme National Security Council. First, the competence and duty of this council are to determine the country's defense-security policies within the general policies set by the Supreme Leader; second, the resolutions of the Supreme National Security Council are enforceable after the approval of the Supreme Leader. Therefore, the leadership of the revolution, on the one hand, defines and defines the scope of decision-making and policy-making authority of the Supreme National Security Council, so that decision-making and determining security-defense policies as the center and core of the country's foreign policy are impossible and illegal outside of this council. On the other hand, if these decisions and approvals are outside the specified framework or contrary to the Supreme Leader's opinion Therefore, the implementation of the resolutions of the Supreme National Security Council is deferred and subject to the approval of the Supreme Leader. In addition, the Supreme Leader oversees its decisions through his direct representatives and appointees in the National Security Council. Because five members of the National Security Council are directly and indirectly assigned by the leadership.

IQBAL FORUM

2.1.5. Call for a Referendum

According to Article 59 of the Constitution, on very important economic, political, social, and cultural issues, the legislature may be exercised through a referendum and direct reference to the people's votes. The same principle stipulates that two-thirds must approve a request for a referendum of all members of parliament. But the third paragraph of Article 110 of the Constitution states that the issuance of a referendum decree is the authority of the leader.Therefore, holding a referendum on strategic issues in the fields of foreign policy and security is possible with the approval and discretion ofthe Supreme Leader. For example, in the sixth term of the Islamic Consultative Assembly, there were proposals by some deputies to hold a referendum on the nuclear program and relations with the United States.

2.1.6. Other mentioned powers in the constitution

Within the framework of the constitution, the Supreme Leader has other powers that indicate his high status at the top of the pyramid system of foreign decision-making and policy-making. These responsibilities and competencies directly strengthen the role and authority of the leadership in the decision-making structure in foreign policy, so that the umbrella of the leadership institution's oversight over the performance of other decision-making bodies in the foreign policy-making process. These include:

a) Resolving disputes and regulating the relations between the three powers

Although in the system of the Islamic Republic there is a separation of powers and they have independence of action, there is a possibility of disagreement between the three forces. Sometimes these differences may arise over foreign policy issues. If these problems are not resolved, the opinion of the Supreme Leader will be effective as the final decision and word.

IQBAL FORUM

b) Solving the Problems of the System

Another authority of the Supreme Leader is to resolve problems that cannot be resolved through ordinary channels and mechanisms.Therefore, if there are deadlocks in the field of foreign policy from which it is not possible to get out normally, the leadership will resolve them through the Expediency Council. It should be noted that the role of the Expediency Council is fully advisory and not binding on the Supreme Leader.

c) Signing the Presidential Decree

Enforcement of the presidential decree is also among the powers of the Supreme Leader. The principle of the president's inadequacy after the ruling of the Supreme Court on his violation of legal duties and the vote of the Islamic Consultative Assembly on his inadequacy is also in the hands of the leadership. Given the position and rank of the presidency in the structure of the country's foreign policy, the power to remove him from the Supreme Leader indicates the indirect role of the leader in this area.

Furthermore, according to Article 122 of the Constitution, the President is accountable to the leadership, including for his actions in the field of foreign policy. Also, according to Article 139 of the Constitution, the President submits his resignation to the Supreme Leader. Article 131 of the Constitution also states that in the event of the President's death, removal, or resignation, the First Vice President shall assume Bira's powers and responsibilities with the leadership's consent. If the president does not have a first vice president, the leadership appoints another person to replace him. These duties and powers of the Supreme Leader reflect his full oversight of the performance of the executive branch and the president himself. Undoubtedly, foreign policy is one of the most important areas of behaviour and performance for the presidency and the executive branch.

IQBAL FORUM

d) Government Authority

The dominant and official view in the Islamic Republic of Iran is about the scope of authority of the Supreme Leader, its absoluteness, and the authority of this institution as Guardian of the Islamic Jurist. Therefore, the responsibilities and powers of the leadership, including in foreign policy, are not limited to those mentioned in the constitution. Jurisprudential-theoretical, constitutional, and empirical-scientific reasons and documents are presented to prove and confirm this reading and interpretation of the powers and authorities of Velayat-e-Faqih.

From the jurisprudential and theoretical point of view, as mentioned, it is argued that absolute guardianship, especially from the point of view of Imam Khomeini, includes all the governmental powers of the Infallible Imam (as) for the Supreme Leader. Therefore, the limits of the powers of the government of the Islamic Republic under the absolute authority of the jurisprudent are not limited to the primary and secondary rulings of Islam, and if necessary and expedient, they are prior to all secondary religious rulings. Imam Khomeini explicitly states that the powers of the government are not confined to the framework of divine commandments. Government is one of the primary rules of the ummah and precedes all sub-rules, even prayer, fasting, and Hajj, and the government can prevent anything, whether worship or non-worship, the flow of which is against the interests as long as it is so. It is obvious and natural that the authority to recognise these matters and the interests of the government is the Supreme Leader as the comprehensive supreme jurist. As in the time of Imam Khomeini, after the killing of Iranian pilgrims during the Hajj in1987, no one from the Islamic Republic of Iran performed the Hajj for several years.

According to the provisions and principles of the constitution, it is also argued that the limits of the powers of the supreme leader and the position of leadership are absolute. For example, in Article 57 of the Constitution, the Supreme Leader is referred to as the "absolute guardian of the affairs and imam of the

IQBAL FORUM

ummah." This is while in the1979 constitution, Velayat-e-Faqih is mentioned without the adjective "absolute". Therefore, the amendment of this principle after the development of the theory of the absolute authority of jurisprudence in the mid-1980s indicates the absoluteness of the Guardian of the Islamic Jurist and the governmental authority of the Supreme Leader. Also, note 8 of Article 110 of the Constitution stipulates that solving the problems of the system, which cannot be solved through ordinary means, is one of the powers of the Supreme Leader. In some cases, resolving these problems and deadlocks mayrequire government rulings that Imam Khomeini necessary and useful for the Islamic government and the Supreme Leader.

Furthermore, the practical experience and historical background of the Islamic Republic, including in the field of foreign policy, show that the Supreme Leader has used government powers and rulings when necessary to ensure the interests of the system. In domestic politics, the most important example is the sending of disputes between the Islamic Consultative Assembly and the Guardian Council to the Expediency Council by Imam Khomeini before its recognition in the1989 constitution. Imam Khomeini used governmental decrees in several cases in the field of foreign policy.These include: the decree to cut off relations between the Islamic Republic of Iran and Bamsar after the signing of the Camp David agreement with the occupying Palestinian government; Salman Rushdie being sentenced to apostasy and executed for writing a book of Satanic Verses; the order not to send Iranian pilgrims to the Sacred House of God; and the temporary suspension of the Hajj after the killing of Iranian pilgrims in Mecca in1987. Imam Khomeini's successor, the Islamic Revolution's current leader, has also used his governmental decrees to resolve political issues. The issuance of decrees not to amend the press law in the sixth parliament and the approval of the qualifications of two presidential candidates in the ninth term are two clear examples of the issuance of government decrees by the leadership.

IQBAL FORUM

Thus, it is clear from the above explanations that even according to the powers mentioned in the constitution for the leadership institution and the next one, the Guardian Jurist, the leadership position is at the top of the pyramid structure of decision-making in the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic. Hence, leadership plays a decisive and main role in foreign decision-making and policy-making. So that other institutions operate under the direct and indirect supervision of the Supreme Leader and have more of an advisory role. However, it must be acknowledged that the Supreme Leader's decision-making process in foreign policy has been a consensus method since the beginning of the victory of the Islamic Revolution in1997. In such a way that the Supreme Leader of the Revolution, after consulting with the decision-making institutions in foreign policy and receiving different opinions and views, takes decisions by reaching a consensus. For example, a decision based on reaching a consensus on Iran's nuclear case can be seen.

2.2. The Executive Branch

In the structure of the decision-making system in the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran, the executive branch is in second place after the leadership institution.Therefore, the executive branch plays a greater role in foreign decision-making and policy-making than the other two branches. In general, the executive branch's position in the foreign policy decision-making structure can be determined and explained based on the roles of the presidency, the cabinet, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and other relevant ministries and organisations in this field.

2.2.1. The Presidency

After the revision of the constitution and the removal of the post of prime minister, the power and authority of the president increased compared to before. In such a way, the Islamic Republic's executive branch was strengthened in comparison with its parliamentary half. According to Article113 of the

IQBAL FORUM

Constitution, after the Supreme Leader, the President is the highest official in the country and is responsible for the implementation of the Constitution and the presidency of the executive branch, except in matters directly related to the Supreme Leader. Undoubtedly, part of the responsibilities of the executive branch, headed by the president, are in the field of foreign policy. Accordingly, the President swears to be the guardian of the official religion and the system of the Islamic Republic and the Constitution of the country and to spare no action in protecting the borders and the country's political, economic, and cultural independence. It is natural that the president should also have the necessary authority to perform these responsibilities and duties. The most important powers and mechanisms of the president's role in the foreign policy decision-making process and structure can be summarised as follows.

a) Head of the Executive Branch

The president's highest responsibility and most important position is as head of the executive branch. Within this framework, the presidency has powers through which it can play a significant role in foreign policy decision-making and implementation. Including determining the policy and general lines of foreign policy through preparing and drafting bills, regulations, and executive instructions for political, cultural, and economic purposes. In addition, the President, as the Chairman of the Cabinet, coordinates the policies and actions of the relevant ministries and agencies in the field of foreign policy, prevents the interference of their functions and duties, and monitors their proper implementation.Accordingly,the ministries are responsible for foreign policy in the general sense, before the leadership and the parliament are accountable to the president.

b) Appointment and Dismissal of Ministers

In order to optimally carry out his duties and responsibilities, the presidency selects ministers who agree with his general

IQBAL FORUM

views, programmes, and policies to run for various ministries and introduces them to the Islamic Consultative Assembly. Some of these ministers are in charge and executors of affairs that are directly or indirectly in the field of foreign policy. At the head of these ministers is the Minister of Foreign Affairs, who directs the country's diplomatic apparatus. The Ministers of Defence, Intelligence, and Oil also play important roles in the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran. In fact, the implementation of foreign policy, except in cases directly under the leadership of the Supreme Leader, is the responsibility of the relevant departments and agencies under the supervision of the President. Therefore, if the president finds that a minister or ministers do not act within the framework of his foreign policy programs or are dissatisfied with their actions, he can dismiss them. Beyond that, the secretary of the Supreme National Security Council is appointed by the president and plays an important role in the nuclear negotiations.

c) Signing Treaties, Agreements and Protocols

Another power of the president in the foreign policy decision-making process, according to Article 125 of the Constitution, is to sign treaties, agreements, protocols, and contracts of the Iranian government with other governments, as well as treaties related to international trade, after the approval of the Islamic Consultative Assembly.In the field of foreign policy and international relations, one of the most important and common mechanisms for establishing, strengthening, and developing relations and interactions is concluding bilateral and multilateral agreements and treaties. Therefore, the transfer of responsibility and authority to sign and their final approval by the President show his important role in foreign policy.

There may be a suspicion that the presidential signature is ceremonial and intended to fulfill the obligations of the Islamic Republic. Even in this case, contracts and agreements will not be implemented without the signature of the president.

However, it should be noted that such contracts and treaties are initially signed before being proposed and approved by the

IQBAL FORUM

Islamic Consultative Assembly by the President, his legal representative, or one of the ministers. Like the signing of the 93 + 2 Additional Protocol to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT), which was signed by the representative of the Islamic Republic of Iran in the International Atomic Energy Agency in 2004 and has not yet been approved by parliament.

d) Appointment of Ambassadors

According to Article 128 of the Constitution, ambassadors are appointed on the proposal of the Minister of Foreign Affairs and with the approval of the President. The President signs the credentials of the ambassadors and accepts the credentials of the ambassadors of other countries. The ambassadors of the Islamic Republic of Iran, in addition to representing the government, also implement its policies abroad. The political representations of the country, beyond the implementation of government policies and programs, also play an effective and significant role in gathering information on foreign policy issues the ambassadors and accepting the credentials of the ambassadors of other countries. The ambassadors of the Islamic Republic of Iran, in addition to representing the government, also implement its policies abroad. The political representations of the country, beyond the implementation of government policies and programs, also play an effective and significant role in gathering information on foreign policy issues. Thus, they are also effective in the decision-making process.

e) Individual Abilities

As explained at the beginning of this chapter, the legal powers of decision-makers define only part of their position and status in the foreign policy structure. Another part of this rank is determined by the degree of personal and individual abilities of decision-makers. People who are elected president and run for the presidency of the Islamic Republic of Iran have different personal and personality traits. These different characteristics, capabilities, and individual capacities enable them to act

IQBAL FORUM

distinctly within the scope of their powers and competencies in the foreign policy decision-making structure.

Thus, contrary to the view that the presidency does not have the necessary and sufficient freedom of action in foreign policy As a result, the powers mentioned in the constitution and individual capabilities indicate the high position of the president in the foreign policy decision-making structure. Of course, it should be noted that considering the structure and form of government (semi-parliamentary, semi-presidential, and two-pillar), the position and powers of the presidency in Iran are not the same as the role of the president in the presidential system or the prime minister in the parliamentary system, but the role of the president. In foreign and domestic policy, it is more like its role in the semi-parliamentary and semi-presidential systems. Accordingly, the position of the President in the foreign policy decision-making structure of the Islamic Republic of Iran is not comparable to that of the Supreme Leader but is located along it. That is, the presidency plays a role in the foreign policy field under the leadership's supervision and guidance and within the framework of macropolitics set by the leadership. However, changes in Iran's foreign policy during the times of different presidents indicate the high role and influence of the president in foreign policy.

2.2.2. The Cabinet Ministers

The Cabinet, or Delegation of Ministers, of the Islamic Republic of Iran, although composed of the President, his deputies, and his elected ministers, has a different legal and functional identity from each of its members. In other words, the cabinet as a whole is a unit with the powers, independence, and distinct roles of its members in the foreign policy decision-making process and structure. Of course, this does not mean that the Cabinet acts in foreign policy decisions outside the framework of the President's general views and policies. Still, it does mean that it decides collectively on some issues, tasks, and bills subject to the Cabinet's decision and approval.For example, according to Article127 of the Constitution, the President's

IQBAL FORUM

Special Representative's election must be approved by the Council of Ministers.The enactment of approvals and executive regulations and the preparation of bills in various fields, including in the field of foreign policy, are other tasks and authorities of the Council of Ministers.

Beyond this plan, the cabinet is very important in two influential areas of foreign policy. First, formulate general plans and outline government policy under the supervision of the president. Therefore, policies, programs, and general and executive lines of government foreign policy are also formulated and decided in the Cabinet.Second,the preparation of the annual budget bill for the country is done in the cabinet.The annual budget of the agencies, ministries, and organizations in charge of foreign policy is allocated within this framework. Therefore, through budgeting, the cabinet can prioritize certain agencies and ministries and strengthen their activities in the field of foreign policy.For example, in the framework of general policies and the policies of the country, more funds may be allocated to the Ministry of Defence or the Armed Forces to maintain and ensure national security. Or increase the budget of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs based on the development and expansion of foreign relations.

2.2.3. Foreign Affairs Ministry

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Policy are intertwined such that when Foreign Policy is discussed, the name of Ministry of Foreign Affairs is associated with it. Many people think that policy-making and foreign policy decisions are made only by

a) Implementation of Foreign Policy

Foreign policy decision-making data are decisions that are implemented in the international arena and in interaction with other countries.Various agencies and institutions are responsible for the implementation of these policies and decisions. At the head of these structures and organizations is the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In the structure of the Ministry of Foreign

IQBAL FORUM

Affairs, the political representations of the Islamic Republic of Iran abroad are at the forefront, and this time they bear the responsibility. The main task of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is to provide the human and intellectual resources of the political missions to conduct diplomacy in the political, economic, cultural, and military dimensions and to carry out consular duties. Therefore, in addition to political experts, there are also affiliates and economic-commercial, labour, military-security, and cultural advisers in foreign missions.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs' job description clearly shows that its executive duties and responsibilities go beyond political affairs and include other types of diplomacy. The most important of these tasks are.

•Political Responsibilities and Missions

1) Efforts and activities to ensure and advance the foreign policy goals of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

2) Planning to establish, maintain, and expand relations with international governmental and non-governmental actors through negotiation, communication, and official interaction and contact with them.

3) Determining the priorities and policies of the Islamic Republic of Iran in the field of political relations.

4) Providing practical policies and appropriate solutions to solve existing political problems between Iran and other countries

5) Arranging and facilitating relations and interactions between different agencies of the Islamic Republic with other countries and international organizations.

6) Review and submit proposals in the field of bilateral political cooperation and the preparation of political agreements.

•Economic Responsibilities and Missions

1) Conducting economic diplomacy through macro-planning and design of relations, coordination, and economic cooperation with other countries.

2) Maintaining and expanding the Islamic Republic's

IQBAL FORUM

relations, exchanges, and economic exchanges with other countries and international economic and commercial organizations.

3) Making efforts to facilitate and accelerate the country's access to markets, goods, technology, global capital, and export development.

4) Providing the necessary facilities to facilitate and develop economic and trade relations for Iran's non-governmental sector with other countries and international non-governmental organizations.

5) Planning and providing appropriate solutions to solve problems and meet the economic, industrial, and technological needs of different countries.

6) Supervising the holding of joint economic commissions between Iran and other countries and following their approvals

7) Studying and drafting agreements, memoranda, and economic agreements between Iran and other countries.

8) Evaluating and analyzing economic developments in Iran and the world and send them to political missions abroad.

- **Cultural Responsibilities and Missions**

1) Guiding and implementing cultural diplomacy to explain and promote the ideals of the Islamic Revolution and the objectives and achievements of the Islamic Republic to other nations through the mass media

2) Laying the groundwork for signing agreements and cultural agreements between the Islamic Republic and other countries and international cultural institutions and organizations and their optimal implementation.

3) Making Efforts to establish Iranian and Islamic cultural centers in different countries.

4) Establishing and expanding bilateral cultural relations and interactions.

5) Holding cultural-artistic exhibitions and scientific-cultural conferences.

6) Teaching and expanding the Persian language and

IQBAL FORUM

introducing and promoting the literary and artistic works of famous Iranian culture and literature.

7) Explaining and promoting the Shiite religion and Imam Khomeini's thoughts through various media.

8) Arranging Press and media activities and cooperation by inviting journalists, reporters, and members of foreign media to visit Iran and vice versa.

9) Organizing cultural-artistic exchanges, and scientific, and media delegations.

10) Expanding scientific-educational relations through academic exchanges and student-professor exchanges.

- **Consular Responsibilities and Missions**

Another duty of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is to protect and safeguard the citizens of the country and their rights abroad, which is pursued by the consulates and the consular section of political representations abroad.

The most important consular functions are:

1) Protection of the interests and property of the government of the Islamic Republic of Iran abroad.

2) Providing legal and ID card services to Iranian citizens residing in other countries.

3) Issuance of visas for foreign nationals to travel to the Islamic Republic of Iran.

4) Supporting and protecting the interests and rights of natural and legal citizens and Iranian companies residing abroad.

5) Taking care of the affairs of Iranians living abroad to solve their problems and issues.

b) Decision-making

In addition to implementing foreign policy in various fields, the Iranian Ministry of Foreign Affairs also plays an effective role in its decision-making process. Participation in foreign policy decision-making is done through the Iranian Foreign Minister. Iran's foreign minister is usually the most senior cabinet minister. In such a way, his presidential election is done with the coordination of the leadership.Therefore, naturally, the

IQBAL FORUM

opinion of the Minister of Foreign Affairs has special validity as the view of the ministry under his management and guidance. The Iranian Foreign Minister is also a permanent and important Supreme National Security Council member. Membership in the Supreme National Security Council also enables the Iranian Foreign Minister to raise the views and opinions of experts and experts of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs at the highest level.

Beyond this, the Iranian Ministry of Foreign Affairs plays a decisive role in the foreign policy decision-making process. Decision-making is the introduction and context of decision-making. The decision-making process means identifying foreign policy issues, gathering sufficient information and data about them, and truly understanding the operational environment of decision-making. According to this definition, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs participates in foreign policy decision-making in a number of ways.First, decision-making requires recognizing important and vital issues in the field of foreign policy. The staff and experts of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Iran are able to identify and prioritize issues and problems in the field of foreign policy through study and discussion and inform decision-makers.

Second, the Iranian Ministry of Foreign Affairs plays an important role in the foreign decision-making and policy-making process by gathering essential information through political representation and presenting it to decision-makers. Because one of the most important components of decision-making is access to reliable data and information, in such a way that foreign policy decision-makers can make the right and timely decisions and policies if they are sufficiently aware of the available options. Third, decision-making requires knowledge of the operational environment,especially the international system, and understanding global developments and processes. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs can be actively and constructively involved in foreign policy decision-making by analyzing international developments and trends and presenting them to decision-makers.

IQBAL FORUM

However, since the responsibilities and powers of the Iranian Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the foreign policy decision-making structure are not clearly defined, the role and position of the Foreign Ministry in the decision-making structure depend on several factors. The first factor is the personal characteristics of the Minister of Foreign Affairs.If the Minister of Foreign Affairs has the necessary and sufficient political knowledge, work experience, credibility, and internal and external trust, his role and, consequently the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Iran have a great role and influence in determining the position of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The third factor is the positive and effective function of the Iranian Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the policies and goals of the system and the accuracy of its analysis of the process of global developments.The fourth factor is the degree of coordination and sharing of views and opinions between the Iranian Foreign Minister and the President. Because, given the process of selecting the Foreign Minister, it may be a fruitless choice between balance and political compromise. The fifth factor is the political situation of the country's internal forces, how power is distributed and balanced, and the division between agencies active in the field of foreign policy. The sixth factor is the degree and level of foreign policy discourse unity governing the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and other components of the foreign policy decision-making system are also important. The greater the diversity of discourse, the less the role and influence of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs The seventh factor, the degree of coordination and unity of discourse within the Iranian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, is another determining factor in its role in the decision-making structure.

2.2.4. Other Ministries

Apart from the presidency, the cabinet, and the Iranian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, other components of the executive branch also play a significant role in the foreign policy decision-making and implementation process, including the Ministries of Defence,Intelligence,Oil,and Islamic Guidance,and the

IQBAL FORUM

Atomic Energy Organisation.These have an undeniable role and influence in the field of foreign policy.

a) Ministry of Defence and Armed Forces Support

Defense policies are an integral and vital part of the country's foreign policy. Pursuing and providing vital goals and interests of the Islamic Republic, such as maintaining its existence and territorial integrity, requires formulating and formingdefense policies and strategies and their implementation in defense and military diplomacy. Scientifically, the Iraqi Baathist regime's invasion of Iran and the imposition of military and defense sanctions against the country increased the role and position of the Ministry of Defence and the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps in foreign policy. Because the Islamic Republic needed efficient military and defence diplomacy to supply military weapons and equipment and spare parts for military equipment. After the end of the war, the country's defence and military reconstruction became the first priorities of foreign economic development policy. As a result, the role of the Ministry of Defence in foreign policy increased. In recent years, the nuclear crisis in the Islamic Republic and the US threats against Iran have enhanced the role and position of the Ministry of Defence in the foreign policy decision-making structure.

b) Ministry of Intelligence

Since the victory of the Islamic Revolution, the Islamic Republic has faced widespread foreign and domestic security threats. In a way, many groups and forces against the revolution and the opposition to the Islamic Republic, with the coordination and cooperation of foreign forces, have sought to create insecurity,weaken,and then overthrow the Islamic Republic.Separatist military actions and operations in the border areas, especially in Kurdistan, on the one hand, and large-scale terrorist operations in the first years of the Islamic Republic made providing and maintaining security one of the country's top priorities. The Iraq War increased security-centered policies in foreign and domestic affairs.

IQBAL FORUM

The war's end did not mean the end of security threats against the Islamic Republic. The presence of US troops along the country's land and water borders, especially after the Iraq crises of 1991 and 2003 and the Afghanistan crisis of 2001, continued to maintain security as a top foreign policy goal and priority. Therefore, it is obvious and natural that the Ministry of Intelligence plays a key role in foreign decision-making and policy-making to deal with these threats and ensure the security of the country. The performance and behavior of Iran's foreign policy in Afghanistan and Iraq will illustrate the important role and position of the Ministry of Intelligence in this area. The Minister of Intelligence is also a member of the Supreme National Security Council, which increases the role of the Ministry of Intelligence in the foreign policy decision-making structure.

c) Oil Ministry

Despite the Islamic Republic's extensive efforts to free itself from the monopoly economy and develop a non-oil economy, Iran's economy remains dependent on oil. In such a way, most of the country's budget is provided by the income from the sale of crude oil. Many industrial projects and foreign investments have been made in Iran's oil and gas sector.The Islamic Republic's bilateral and multilateral plans to export energy to other countries and transfer oil and gas from other countries outside the region will inevitably increase the role of the Ministry of Oil in the foreign decision-making and policy-making process. An example is the Iran, Pakistan, and India tripartite talks on the transfer and export of Iranian gas to India through the construction of a peace pipeline. Iran's membership in the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries is another factor that makes the role of the Ministry of Oil in foreign policy inevitable because regulating the oil market within the framework of OPEC requires the coordination and cooperation of member countries through negotiation, bargaining, and political compromise. In addition, oil is not just an economic commodity but also has political and strategic importance and

IQBAL FORUM

functions in the foreign policies of OPEC members, including Iran. So that energy-producing countries can use it as a political tool and weapon when necessary. In this regard, we can refer to the oil embargo imposed by Israel after occupying Palestinian territories in1973.

D) Ministry of Guidance, Islamic Culture, and Communication Organisation

Another ministry directly involved in foreign decision-making and policy-making and its implementation is the Ministry of Islamic Guidance. Until 1374, in addition to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Iran, the cultural relations and exchanges of the Islamic Republic were carried out through the International Deputy of the Ministry of Guidance. However, with the establishment of the Islamic Culture and Communication Organisation in 1374, all the responsibilities and cultural missions of the Islamic Republic abroad are performed by cultural agencies under the auspices of this organization. Therefore, the cultural and press duties of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Iran have been assigned to this organization, which is implemented through cultural agencies and representatives.Representatives and cultural representatives also operate under the supervision of political representation.

The Organisation of Islamic Culture and Communication is organizationally affiliated with the Ministry of Islamic Guidance and is part of the ministry. However, the organization has a kind of independence of action. Because general policies and guidelines are drawn up and determined by the Supreme Council of the organization. The head of this organization is also elected by this council and appointed by the decree of the Minister of Islamic Guidance.The Supreme Council of the Organisation is chaired by the Minister of Guidance and is composed of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs and Intelligence and other members. Considering the Islamic and revolutionary goals and ideals of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic, including the protection of Muslims and the export of the Islamic Revolution, cultural representations abroad have a

IQBAL FORUM

significant role in the implementation of foreign policy. Consequently,the Ministry of Islamic Guidance and the Organisation of Islamic Culture and Communication also play an effective role in the cultural decisions of Iran's foreign policy.

E) Atomic Energy Organisation of Iran

As vice president, this organization and its head also have an undeniable role and position in the process and structure of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic. Since the emergence of Iran and the formation of the Iranian nuclear crisis in 2003, the role of the Atomic Energy Organisation and its managers in foreign policy has also increased and improved. Because despite the fact that this case has become political, it still has important technical and legal aspects. The technical and legal issues of the Islamic Republic's nuclear activities are discussed at the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) and within the framework of its Charter for the Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and its Additional Protocol.

Therefore, in the technical nuclear negotiations between Iran and the International Atomic Energy Agency, the managers and experts of the Atomic Energy Organisation play an active and decisive role. Also, in the bilateral and multilateral political negotiations of the Islamic Republic with various countries, including three European countries, France, Germany, and Britain; five permanent members of the Security Council and Germany (P5+1); and two countries, China and Russia, the Deputy of the Iran Atomic Energy Organisation is a member of the Iranian delegation and the negotiating team. But perhaps the most important and significant role of the Atomic Energy Organisation of Iran in the formation of nuclear diplomacy is the participation of the head of this organization, who is also the vice president, in the central decision-making circle of the country in the nuclear case. As the case may be, the head of the Atomic Energy Organisation of Iran may also attend the Supreme National Security Council meetings to discuss the nuclear issue.

IQBAL FORUM

At the end of this section, it should be noted that playing the role and activities of the above-mentioned ministries and organizations in the field of foreign policy does not mean the fragmentation and multiplicity of decision-making centers within the executive branch.According to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs job description and Iran's third and fourth development plans, all activities of various institutions and organizations abroad must be done in coordination with and under the supervision of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. However,this coordination and cooperation are not fully operational and comprehensive. This coordination is currently taking place within the framework of the Supreme National Security Council.

2.3. The Legislative Branch

The legislature of the Islamic Republic of Iran consists of two pillars: the Islamic Consultative Assembly and the Guardian Council.The Islamic Consultative Assembly is the primary pillar of the legislature,and the Guardian Council is its complementary pillar.According to Article 93 of the Constitution, the Islamic Consultative Assembly has no legal validity without the Guardian Council. Therefore, in analyzing the position of the legislature in the foreign policy decision-making structure of the Islamic Republic, the role and influence of each legislature should be examined.

2.3.1. Islamic Consultative Assembly

Within the framework of the Islamic Republic and Constitution system, the Islamic Consultative Assembly has two functions, including a central function of drafting legislation and monitoring the performance of other powers. In the field of foreign policy, the parliament also plays a role based on these two tasks. The role of the Islamic Consultative Assembly in the process and structure of the foreign policy decision-making system, within the framework of these two functions, is done directly and indirectly.Therefore,the Islamic Consultative

IQBAL FORUM

Assembly has the power to legislate and have direct and indirect oversight in the field of foreign policy.

2.3.1.1. Direct Role

The direct role of the Islamic Consultative Assembly of Iran in foreign policy is the decisions and approvals that are taken based on the powers specified in the constitution and the actions that the members of the Assembly take directly in this area. The direct and explicit powers of the parliament in the field of foreign policy are as follows:

A) Adopt explicit and direct plans and laws on foreign policy.

Pursuant to Articles 71 and 74 of the Iranian Constitution, the Islamic Consultative Assembly has the authority to legislate and approve draught laws in general within the prescribed limits. One of these issues is foreign policy. Therefore, by approving two motions in 2006, the parliament obliged the government to resume uranium enrichment and review the country's relations with the International Atomic Energy Agency, if necessary.

B) Approval of treaties and agreements

According to Article 77 of the Constitution, the ratification of treaties, conventions, and international agreements is at the discretion of the parliament. The importance of this role of the parliament becomes clear when we recall that the greatest violation of Iran's independence and national sovereignty in contemporary history has been through the conclusion of imposed and colonial treaties and agreements. Therefore, such regulations have to be approved by the parliament to prevent the conclusion of such contracts and treaties.

C) Minor corrections in border lines

According to Article 78 of the Iranian Constitution, any minor reform of the country's border lines in accordance with the interests of the country, provided that it is not unilateral and

IQBAL FORUM

does not harm the independence and territorial integrity of the country, must be approved by four-fifths of parliament. Therefore, the parliament's high role and position in protecting the country's independence and territorial integrity are evident.

D) Approve receiving and paying foreign loans

Article 80 of the Iranian Constitution stipulates that the borrowing and lending of foreign loans or aid by the government of the Islamic Republic of Iran must be approved by the Parliament. This competence has also been transferred to the parliament by the legislator, knowing and considering the historical background of Iran's foreign policy before the Islamic Revolution. In the 19th and 20th centuries, borrowing from the colonial governments of Russia and Britain without respecting the interests of the country severely damaged Iran's independence and national sovereignty.On the other hand,giving loans and grants to other countries can facilitate the long-term interests and objectives of the country. In this regard, the assistance of the Islamic Republic of Iran to Afghanistan and Iraq for the reconstruction of these countries can be analyzed.

E) Approve the employment of foreign experts.

Article 82 of the Constitution allows the government to employ foreigners and foreign experts only in cases of necessity and with the parliament's approval.This is a very important authority in the field of foreign policy that has been delegated to the parliament. Because throughout contemporary history, one of the ways of foreign influence and domination over the Iranian nation and country has been through the use of foreign experts and advisers, on the eve of the victory of the Islamic Revolution, thousands of military and civilian experts and advisers in various agencies and organizations in the country worked.The most important example was the presence and activity of several thousand American military advisers in the Iranian army.

IQBAL FORUM

F) Peace in public property disputes

According to Article 139 of the Iranian Constitution, the parliament must approve the settlement of disputes over public and state property by referring them to arbitration in cases where the party is a foreign litigant.Therefore, in order to implement the clause related to the referral of Iran-US claims to international arbitration inThe Hague, in the Algerian statement, the issue was raised in the parliament and approved.

G) Other issues

In addition to the powers explicitly mentioned in the constitution, the Islamic Consultative Assembly has the authority to act in other direct ways in the field of foreign policy decision-making. First, the role and position of the Speaker of the Majlesas the Speaker of the Legislature in the decision-making process and structure of Iran's foreign policy, including the fact that the Speaker is a member of the Supreme National Security Council, It is natural that the views and opinions of the Speaker of the Majles, as a spokesman for the representatives of the nation, have a special status and importance. The Presidency of the Islamic Consultative Assembly also plays an active role in maintaining and expanding bilateral relations through interactions and negotiations with its foreign counterparts and other officials. Second, the parliament also influences foreign policy by establishing bilateral and multilateral relations with other parliaments, countries, and organizations, like the participation of MPs in the Inter-Parliamentary Conference, the parliaments of the NAM member states, and the Asian parliaments.

Third, the diplomatic activities of the Chairman of the Foreign Policy and National Security Commission play an effective role in foreign policy. Furthermore, the Parliamentary Foreign Policy Commission has a crucial role in foreign policy, particularly in overseeing the proper implementation of foreign policy.

IQBAL FORUM

2.3.1.2. Indirect Role

The Islamic Consultative Assembly and the nation's representatives also play an important role in foreign policy decision-making. Except for one case, the indirect roles of the Islamic Consultative Assembly in foreign policy are all played within the framework of oversight powers.

A) Approval of the budget of foreign policy-making bodies: As explained, the budget plays an important role in the formulation, regulation, and implementation of foreign policy because the actions and behaviors of the country in interaction with other international actors require spending. Therefore, according to Article 52 of the Constitution, by approving, amending, or not approving the government budget bill, the parliament can exert influence in the process of policy-making and the implementation of foreign policy. For example, the government may set up new political missions in a country or region to expand foreign relations based on its plans and programs. But if this budget line is not approved, this decision and policy will not be implemented in practice. This policy will not work if the government proposes a budget to strengthen, rebuild, or modernize the country's defense but the parliament does not approve it. The parliament can also increase or decrease the Iranian Ministry of Foreign Affairs budget.

B) Investigation and probe:

According to Article76 of the Constitution, the Islamic Consultative Assembly also has the right to investigate foreign policy issues and its executive bodies. Probe is one of the important mechanisms for monitoring and evaluating the performance of foreign policymakers. So that the parliament can take action to correct the foreign policy apparatus within its competence if it is found to be incorrect or inefficient. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs is one of the centers that the parliament may investigate.

IQBAL FORUM

C) Ministerial vote of confidence:

According to Article 87 of the Iranian Constitution, the President is obliged to nominate the Cabinet to the Islamic Consultative Assembly before taking any vote of confidence. Another way to monitor and influence foreign policy is to give or not give a vote of confidence to ministers. As explained, at the head of these people is the Minister of Foreign Affairs, who is the most important foreign policy apparatus. But the ministers of defense, intelligence, oil, and Islamic guidance are also directly and indirectly responsible for implementing foreign policy. Hence, the parliament exercises its views and opinions in the foreign policy field through a vote of confidence in the selection of the relevant ministers.

D) A question from the government in parliament:

The Islamic Consultative Assembly's oversight of the government's foreign policy performance does not end with a vote of confidence in the ministers and the cabinet; it also continues after the cabinet receives a vote of confidence from the parliament. Within the framework of the constitution, two specific mechanisms have been envisaged for the continuation of parliamentary oversight of the government's very performance in the foreign policy field. First, according to Article 88, the parliament can ask the president about one of his duties, including foreign policy, at the request of at least a quarter of the deputies. Each delegate can also ask the minister in charge of foreign policy. The relevant ministers are usually summoned to give explanations to the Parliamentary Committee on Foreign Policy and National Security.

E) Impeachment of the government and cabinet ministers:

The second mechanism of parliamentary oversight is the impeachment of the president, the cabinet, or any of the ministers. According to Article 89 of the Constitution, if at least one-third of the members of the Islamic Consultative Assembly impeach the President in the position of managing the executive

IQBAL FORUM

branch and directing the executive affairs of the country, he is obliged to provide sufficient explanations within one month in front of the Assembly. Hence, one of the tasks for which the president may be impeached is foreign policy. Also, at least ten members of parliament can impeach the cabinet or any of the ministers when they deem it necessary, including in the field of foreign policy.

Accordingly, the parliament can effectively guide and manage foreign policy through the impeachment of the president and the cabinet. Thus, contrary to the view that the Islamic Consultative Assembly does not play an important role in foreign policy, the Assembly can be very effective through legislation and oversight of foreign policy matters. Although the parliament does not have the power of innovation in foreign policy, it is one of the important pillars of policy-making and decision-making in foreign policy. Even in recent years, the power of parliamentary initiative in foreign policy has increased.Adopting the plan to oblige the government to resume uranium enrichment and review relations and interaction with the International Atomic Energy Agency is a clear example of a foreign policy initiative. The extensive activity of the Foreign Policy and National Security Commission of the Islamic Consultative Assembly from the sixth term onward is another example of the active participation of the Assembly in foreign relations.

2.3.2. The Guardian Council

As a complementary and legitimizing element to the parliament, this council plays an effective role and has influence in the foreign decision-making and policy-making processes. Due to the nature, competence, and function of the Guardian Council, its role in foreign policy is played both indirectly and directly.According to Article91of the Constitution, the primary and main function of the Guardian Council is to protect the rules of Islam and the Constitution in terms of not contradicting the resolutions of the Islamic Consultative Assembly with them. As a result, according to

IQBAL FORUM

Article 94 of the Constitution, all parliamentary resolutions must be sent to the Guardian Council for approval. Therefore, all parliamentary resolutions in the field of foreign policy will be legally valid if the Guardian Council approves them. In many cases, the Guardian Council does not approve these resolutions and returns them to the parliament for amendments, such as not approving the resolution of the sixth parliament on the accession of the Islamic Republic to the Convention on Women's Rights due to its contradiction with the rules and Sharia of Islam. Therefore, the legislative and oversight powers of the Islamic Consultative Assembly in the field of foreign policy are also mediated by the Guardian Council. Because of the legal validity of the parliament and its approvals according to Article 93 of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran, legitimacy is dependent on the existence of the Guardian Council.

The most important function of the Guardian Council is to oversee legislation and formulate and regulate foreign policy within the framework of the rules of Islam and the principles and goals mentioned in the constitution. The main goal is to prevent deviations in foreign policy. Because the history of Iran's foreign policy shows that many colonial treaties and treatises were ratified even in the National Assembly, national and independent representatives such as Ayatollah Modarres alone could not prevent them. Hence, the legislature has placed this serious responsibility and duty on the shoulders of the Guardian Council.

Furthermore, the Guardian Council can also play an indirect role in foreign policy by interpreting the Iranian Constitution, which is entrusted to it under Article 98. As explained, despite determining the powers, competencies, and positions of each of the institutions and agencies in the structure of the foreign decision-making and policy-making system, it is possible to redefine and interpret them extensively. In some cases, these different and conflicting definitions may lead to overlapping tasks and the formation of multiple decision-making centers in the field of foreign policy. In this case, the Guardian Council can use its legal authority and jurisdiction to make a final

IQBAL FORUM

arbitration decision and resolve the problem. For example, there may be disagreement over the president's interpretation of Article 125 of the Constitution, which requires the signing of treaties and agreements.

2.4. The Expediency Discernment Council

This institution did not exist in the1979 constitution of the Islamic Republic, but in February1987, due to disputes between the Islamic Consultative Assembly and the Guardian Council, heads of the three branches requested Imam Khomeini to convene an assembly to resolve them based on the country's interests.This assembly became one of the official institutions in revising the constitution, approved in 1989. After the establishment of the Expediency Council in1976, it was governed by the President. However, after the election of Seyyed Mohammad Khatami as president in June1997, the Supreme Leaderof the Islamic Revolution, Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani,was appointed chairman of the Expediency Council. The Expediency Council is formed in the presence of the heads of the three branches of government.

According to the provisions and principles of the constitution, what is the important duty and responsibility of the Expediency Council through which it can play an important role in foreign policy? These tasks include consulting with the leadership, solving the problems of the system to which it is referred by the Supreme Leader, and resolving disputes between the Guardian Council and Parliament on parliamentary approvals. According to Article112 of the Constitution, the primary and main function of the ExpediencyCouncil is to determine the expediency in cases where the Guardian Council considers the resolution to be against the norms of Sharia or the Constitution and the Assembly does not provide the Guardian Council with the expediency and benefit of the system. Given the nature and importance of foreign policy, this disagreement may occur between Parliament and the Guardian Council on foreign affairs.Inthis case,the finalarbiter will be the Expediency Council.

IQBAL FORUM

The second mechanism for the role and influence of the Expediency Council in the foreign policy decision-making process is to advise the Supreme Leader in all matters of reference and, in particular, to determine the general policies of the Islamic Republic of Iran in this area. Pursuant to paragraph 1of Article110of the Constitution, the Supreme Leader determines the general policies of the system, including matters related to foreign policy, after consulting the Expediency Council. The advisory procedure has been that the Expediency Council, after discussing cases and issues, prepares general policies for the final approval of the Supreme Leader. For example, the20-year outlook document for the country was first discussed in specialized committees and the Assembly itself and then approved and announced by the Supreme Leader.The general policies of the Third and Fourth Development Plans, an important part of which is related to foreign policy, were also prepared by the Expediency Council.

The third way for the Expediency Council to influence the foreign policy decision-making process is to resolve the system's problems, to which the Supreme Leader refers. According to the sevénth paragraph of Article 110 of the Iranian Constitution, the Supreme Leader solves the problems of the system that cannot be solved by ordinary means through the Expediency Council.Accordingly, in the event of unresolved problems in foreign policy, the leadership may refer them to the Expediency Council for resolution. In this case, it seems that the role of the Expediency Council may be more than just consultation; it can be considered a kind of delegation of authority to the Assembly. Because the first paragraph of Article 110of the Constitution stipulates that the Supreme Leader, after consultingthe ExpediencyCouncil,determinesthe general policies. However, the seventh paragraph of Articlel 10of the Constitution states that the Supreme Leader solves the country's problems through the Expediency Council. In other words, the Expediency Council is a mechanism the Supreme Leader uses to solve the system's problems.

IQBAL FORUM

Therefore, considering the high and unique position of the Supreme Leader in the foreign policy decision-making structure of the Islamic Republic, the Expediency Council as a consultative mechanism also plays a decisive role in foreign policy in such a way that it can be considered one of the pillars and subsets of decision-making within the leadership institution.

2.5. Supreme National Security Council

This council did not exist in the constitution approved in 1979. Still, it was established in the constitution adopted in 1989, so the thirteenth chapter of the constitution, consisting of Article 176, is dedicated to the formation of the Supreme National Security Council and its goals and tasks. This principle of the constitution states that in order to ensure national interests and protect the Islamic Revolution, territorial integrity, and national sovereignty, the Supreme National Security Council is formed under the chairmanship of the President. As can be seen, the goals of this council include all the goals of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic because its national interests alone cover all the national and transnational goals of the country's foreign policy.In addition, three other vital goals are affirmed:the protection of the Islamic Revolution, territorial integrity, and national sovereignty within the national interest.The definition and determination of the goals pursued in foreign policy by the Supreme National Security Council in the constitution indicate its status and strategic position in the process and structure of foreign policy decision-making.

The composition of the council also shows its position and strategic role in Iran's foreign policy. According to Article 176 of the Constitution, the members of the Supreme National Security Council are the heads of the three forces: Chief of Staff of the General Staff of the Armed Forces; responsible for program and budget affairs; two representatives elected by the Supreme Leader; Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Interior, and Information; according to the relevant minister and the highest official of the army and the IRGC. As can be seen, this council

IQBAL FORUM

is, in fact, the sum of all direct foreign policy-making bodies. So that all institutions and decision-makers, or their representatives, participate in this council. Therefore, the decisions that are made in this council, although the Supreme Leader must ultimately approve them, play an important role in shaping, formulating, and guiding foreign policy.

The duties and powers of the Supreme National Security Council are also indicative of their rank and strategic role in the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic. Article176 of the Constitution defines three general duties and responsibilities for this council: "1) Determining the defense-security policies of the country within the scope of general policies determined by the Supreme Leader 2) Coordinating political, intelligence, social, cultural, and economic activities in relation to general defense and security measures 3) Utilising the material and spiritual resources of the country to deal with internal and external threats."

These three tasks are all in line with policy, decision-making, and implementation of foreign and security policy, so they form three stages of the decision-making, policy-making, and implementation process.These three elements are: setting goals and policies; coordinating institutions, forces, and activities; and using the facilities, tools, and levers of national power. Accordingly, first of all, the council is obliged to make policies, goals, and decisions in the field of foreign policy within the framework of the general policies of the system. Second, it acts as a strategic and coordination center to prevent the formation of multiple decision-making centers and the interference of the tasks and functions of institutions involved in foreign policy.Third, in order to implement the policies and goals set, it must mobilize all the material and spiritual resources of the country.

The performance of this council in recent years, especially in the context of the crises in Afghanistan and Iraq and the country's nuclear case, shows that this council has become the center of foreign decision-making and policy-making.It has three functions:policy-making,decision-making,and

IQBAL FORUM

foreign policy mplementation. In particular, decisions in times of crisis are made by the council. Council meetings are often held in the presence of the Supreme Leader of the Revolution. In the field of foreign policy implementation, the guidance of the country's strategic issues, such as the nuclear issue, has been entrusted to this council. In a way that nuclear diplomacy is managed and directed by the secretariat and the secretary of this council.The role and influence of the Secretariat and the Secretary of the Council in conducting nuclear diplomacy are such that they have overshadowed the function of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

2.6. The Judiciary Branch

Due to the nature of its duties and responsibilities, this power plays a lesser role in the foreign policy policy-making process. Nevertheless, in terms of the position of its head in the country's political structure and its legal and regulatory powers, the judiciary influences foreign policy in various ways.

2.6.1. Role of the Judiciary's Head (Chief Justice)

According to Articles 110 and 157 of the Constitution, the head of the judiciary is appointed by the Supreme Leader as the highest judicial authority.The head of the judiciary has a high position in the political structure due to the presidency of one of the three branches and also the appointment by the Supreme Leader.In the field of foreign policy, specifically, his membership in the Supreme National Security Council and the Expediency Council of the system provides the possibility and context for his influence and role.These two institutions, as explained, have a decisive role in formulating plans for all foreign policy.

2.6.2. Monitoring the Proper Implementation of Legislation

One of the important duties and functions of the judiciary, according to Article 156 of the Constitution, is "monitoring the proper implementation of laws." Naturally, performing this task

IQBAL FORUM

requires and ensures the monitoring of the proper implementation of laws and the nature of government approvals and regulations in the field of foreign policy and implementing institutions. Thus, the judiciary plays an indirect role in overseeing the performance of the foreign policy-making bodies as well as the nature of government decrees and regulations in this area.

Like other matters, the judiciary's oversight of Iran's foreign policy is exercised through the Court of Administrative Justice and the General Inspectorate. Pursuant to Articles 170 and 173 of the Constitution, it can be inferred that the Court of Administrative Justice is responsible for dealing with complaints from foreign policymakers and objections to regulations and approvals in this regard. In such a way that, in case of opposition or contradiction of these by-laws and approvals with the rules and regulations, the Court of Administrative Justice can annul them. In addition, the General Inspectorate, in accordance with Article 174 of the Constitution, has the authority to oversee the proper implementation of affairs and laws in the administrative and organizational bodies of foreign policy.

2.6.3. Interaction and Decision-making about Human Rights

One of the important areas for the presence of the judiciary in foreign policy is the issue of human rights. The issue of human rights has been one of the most important issues and challenges in the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic since the victory of the Islamic Revolution. One of the tensions and challenges in Iran-Europerelations as well as international human rights organizations, is the issue of respect for or non-observance of human rights in the Islamic Republic.Western and European countries, and consequently human rights organizations, accuse the Islamic Republic of violating human rights, including women's rights and citizens' socio-political rights. Iran always denies this accusation and considers it a result of political

IQBAL FORUM

motives to put pressure on it. Most of these disagreements stem from the nature and manner of implementing Islamic rules and boundaries, which are within the judiciary's jurisdiction.

Accordingly, at least one of the most important institutions and centers for decision-making on the problem of human rights and how to interact with international institutions, especially the UN Commission on Human Rights, is the judiciary. This power can end or reduce misunderstandings, propaganda, and human rights allegations in several ways, first, by answering questions and accusations from international human rights organizations, including the United Nations Commission on Human Rights. Second, explaining the nature and philosophy of Islamic law and its rulings to world public opinion through the expansion of bilateral and multilateral legal interactions and cooperation In recent years, this important task has been the responsibility of the international department in the Judiciary.

Third, presenting a real and positive image of the Islamic Republic in the eyes of the world in order to gain international prestige as one of the objectives of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic is to gain and increase international prestige and fame, One of the mechanisms to achieve this goal is to provide a model of a just government that respects the dignity and rights of human beings. The judiciary can help achieve this objective by demonstrating Islamic compassion and justice, the fair, just, and humane implementation of Islamic law, and the formulation and approval of advanced judicial bills and judicial development.

2.6.4. Concluding International Contracts

The signing of memoranda of understanding, agreements, and judicial and legal agreements between the judiciary of the Islamic Republic and its counterparts in other countries is another way to play a role in foreign policy. Memoranda of

IQBAL FORUM

Understanding, agreements and contracts of judicial cooperation, and extradition of offenders are two clear examples of this type of judicial cooperation. These collaborations may be signed independently or within the framework of joint commissions between the Islamic Republic and other countries.

2.7. Armed Forces

In the Islamic Republic of Iran, as in other democracies, the supreme command and leadership of the armed forces are in the hands of civilian politicians. But this does not mean that the army of the Islamic Republic and the Revolutionary Guards do not influence and play a role in the foreign decision-making and policy-making process.The Armed Forces, especially the Revolutionary Guards, play a significant role in foreign policy for three reasons:the Islamic Revolution's realization,the Islamic Republic's goals, and the confrontation with security threats in Iran.

2.7.1. Providing National Security

The goals and tasks set by the constitution for the armed forces, especially the Revolutionary Guards, include and require the participation of activists in the policy-making and foreign policy-making processes. The primary and main function of the IRGC and the army is to ensure the national security of the Islamic Republic of Iran in the general sense of the word. Articles 143 and 150 of the Iranian Constitution consider the responsibility of the army and the IRGC to be the protection of the independence, territorial integrity, the system of the Islamic Republic, the Islamic Revolution, and its achievements.

2.7.2. Providing Objectives for the Islamic Revolution

The function and duties of the Armed Forces are not limited to ensuring the objectives and national security of the Islamic Republic of Iran. In addition, trying to achieve the transnational objectives of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic and the

IQBAL FORUM

ideals of the Islamic Revolution are among their other tasks. The preamble to the constitution defines the serious responsibility of the army and the Revolutionary Guards as an ideological army: "They will also be in charge." Obviously, the importance of this task requires that the army and the IRGC be actively involved in the foreign policy and defense decision-making processes. This necessity also enhances the position and status of these two military institutions in the foreign policy decision-making structure of the Islamic Republic.

2.7.3. Security-centred Foreign Policy

Another cause and factor that has increased the role and position of the army and the IRGC in the foreign policy decision-making process and structure is their security. Due to the formation of military threats against the Islamic Republic of Iran from the first days of the revolution's victory, the use of armed forces to defend the revolution and the country became necessary. Separatist movements and actions in some border provinces, especially Kurdistan, led to a foreign-led military coup and the subsequent Iraqi invasion of Iran, putting defence and security at the forefront of foreign policy objectives. The first priority of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic was to confront these threats, ensure security, and defend the existence of the country. Achieving this goal requires the inevitable presence and participation of the armed forces in foreign policy decision-making. Thus, in the revolution's first decade, the army and the IRGC played a role within the Supreme Defence Council.

After the end of the Iraq War, military threats against the Islamic Republic of Iran continued. The crisis of the security environment around the Islamic Republic with the invasion of Kuwait by Iraq and the subsequent war of the US-led coalition forces in the summer of 1990 kept security and defense at the center of foreign policy.

The events of Septemberl land the US invasion of

IQBAL FORUM

Afghanistan in 2001, followed by the US war with Iraq in 2003,strengthened a security-oriented foreign policy.

This means the continuation of the role and position of the armed forces in the foreign policy decision-making structure, so that the Revolutionary Guards,and especially the Quds Force,played the main role in managing the crises in Afghanistan and Iraq, which continues to this day.

IQBAL FORUM

Part Two

IQBAL FORUM

Part Two: Foreign Policy Evolutions of the Islamic Republic of Iran

From the beginning of the victory of the Islamic Revolution and the formation of the Islamic Republic in February 1978 until the date of writing this book in 2008, Iran's foreign policy has undergone many changes and developments, so that the first 30-year history of the Islamic Republic's foreign policy can be traced back to several periods. Although the principles and foundations of foreign policy have been continuous in each of these periods, it has undergone changes and transformations in some aspects and dimensions. In general, the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran from the beginning until now can be divided into 5 periods. The first period is from the beginning of the victory of Revolution to the end of the hostage crisis; The second period is from1980 to 1989 or the war period; The third period is from1989 to1997 or the construction period; The fourth period from 1997 to 2005 or the period of reforms; And finally, the fifth period from 2005 to the date of compiling this book, the period of principlism.

IQBAL FORUM

6

Chapter Six

From Interim Government to Algiers Accords

IQBAL FORUM

Chapter6: From Interim Government to Algiers Accords

The first period of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran began with the rule of the interim government and continued until the invasion of Iran by the Ba'athist regime of Iraq. For this reason, we consider the end of the first period to be the beginning of the holy defense, which was formulated and consolidated around the axis of providing security and maintaining territorial integrity with the invasion of Iran by Iraq. Hence, the nature and structure of Iran's foreign policy were affected by this incident. With the end of the war, foreign policy also changed. This chapter consists of two parts. In the first part,the foreign policy of the interim government is examined. The second part analyses the hostage crisis and its consequences.

Interim Government Foreign Policy Three days after arriving in Iran and one week before the victory of the Islamic Revolution on February 6,1979, Imam Khomeini, the Supreme Leader of the Islamic Revolution, appointed Mehdi Bazargan, the leader of the Freedom Movement of Iran, as Prime Minister of the Interim Government of the Revolution. The Interim Government's most important function and mission was to provide the necessary grounds for the transition from the imperial regime to the political system arising from the Islamic Revolution. As a result of the fundamental changes and transformations of the revolution, the political order and structure of the previous system had disintegrated, and no new political order had been formed.Hence, the most important objectives and tasks of the interim or transitional government were to consolidate and stabilize the Islamic Revolution within the framework of an Islamic political system.

1.1. Duties (obligations) and missions

Based on the grand goal of the transition from the political regime of the past to the Islamic political system, the interim government, in addition to managing the affairs of the country, had three very important responsibilities and missions.These three duties, which were also specified in the decree of Imam

IQBAL FORUM

Khomeini as Prime Minister to Mehdi Bazargan, were as Follows:

1.Holding a public referendum to change the country's political system to the Islamic Republic.As explained, establishing the Islamic system and government was the first step in establishing and stabilizing the Islamic Revolution and achieving its goals and ideals. This fundamental step was taken on April 3,1979, and the vote of the overwhelming majority of the Iranian people established the political system of the Islamic Republic.

2.Forming the Constituent Assembly from the representatives of the nation to draught and approve the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran. Naturally and logically, the constitution of the new political system must be formulated and approved after the formation of the political system within the framework of the goals and ideals of the Islamic Revolution. Because the pillars and structure of the political system cannot be defined without the constitution, therefore, after the elections, the Assembly of Constitutional Experts began its work on June 19,1979. Finally, in spite of disagreements and debates, the constitution was drafted and approved in a referendum on December11 and 12,1979, by a direct vote of the people.

3.Holding elections for the National Assembly to elect the representatives of the nation within the framework of the new constitution. Another task of the interim government was to try to hold elections to the Islamic Consultative Assembly. Because one of the most important pillars of the Islamic Republic of Iran is the parliament. However, due to his resignation on November 5,1979, the interim government failed to hold these elections, so a number of members of the interim government, including the prime ministers, were elected as members of the first term of parliament.

IQBAL FORUM

1.2. Orientation and Guidelines

With the victory of the Islamic Revolution, the orientation of Iran's overall foreign policy strategy changed from an alliance with the West to a non-aligned movement. Because one of the central slogans of the Islamic Revolution was "neither East nor West". This slogan arose from the historical ideal of the Iranian nation to be free from colonialism and the domination of foreigners, especially superpowers.The strategy of non-alignment has a long history in Iranian foreign policy and dates back to the time of Amir Kabir.The Ayatollah's Modarres policy of non-compliance and then Mossadegh's negative balance are other forms of policy that were later called the non-alignment movement.

Moreover, the Interim Government declared the foreign policy strategy of the political system resulting from the revolutionary non-alignment. Bazargan and other interim government officials explicitly defined non-alignment as Mossadegh's negative balance policy. The negative balance is the opposite of the traditional balance of power in international relations. Therefore, adopting and applying the strategy of non-alignment or negative balance in the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic means not granting political, economic, and military privileges to the two superpowers of East and West and not uniting with them.Because the Shah's regime was a strategic ally of the United States, this policy was torn apart by Iran, which withdrew from bilateral and multilateral alliances with the United States.

Accordingly, on March 13,1979, just one month after the victory of the Islamic Revolution, Iran withdrew from the Central Pact Organisation ("CENTO") and became a member of the Non-Aligned Movement, and the capitulation agreement was cancelled on May13,1979.Then, afterwards,the Islamic Republic of Iran, on November5,1979,one day after the US embassy in Tehran was captured by students following the Imam line,cancelled the Iran-US defense pact. In this context, two US eavesdropping bases near the Soviet border were dismantled.On the other hand, to

IQBAL FORUM

maintain the negative balance, on the same day, Articles 5 and 6 of the1921 Treaty of Iran and the Soviet Union were annulled .The Revolutionary Council also ratified these actions on November10,1979, and approved their repeal.

The interim government's non-aligned strategy, defined in terms of negative balance, was conservative in nature and based on maintaining the status quo.That is, the same non- commitment manifests itself in the form of the non-aligned movement. The center of gravity and the center of common non-commitment are also the lack of dependence and unity with the superpowers, not the disruption of the existing international order.This interpretation of non-commitment is quite evident in the words and interpretations of Ibrahim Yazdi, the then Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Interim Government. As he refers to the foreign policy strategy of the Islamic Republic of Iran as "positive neutrality"."We will not participate in the conflict between the superpowers, and we will adopt a positive neutrality. We will not take part in any confrontation, but at the same time we will not isolate ourselves and maintain a favorable relationship with the outside world," he said. "This good relationship and the favorable relationship of the Islamic Republic with other countries also include both superpowers".

Karim Sanjabi, the first foreign minister of the interim government, also explicitly mentions this aspect of the non-aligned strategy."Our country really wants to have friendly relations with the Soviet Union and will never accept that country as the base of attack or propaganda," he said. But to dispel any allegations of deviating from a non-aligned foreign policy and maintaining a negative balance, he added: "We will not allow unpleasant records such as the request for northern oil concessions, foreign exchange claims, or the declaration of the Republic of Kurdistan in Mahabad to be repeated.We will defend the independence and integrity of Iran at all costs".

Therefore, despite the fact that Karim Sanjabi considers the spiritual and human ideals of Islam, along with history, the

IQBAL FORUM

geopolitical position of the country, and the principle of full retaliation in relations with other countries, as the pillars of a non-aligned strategy, it is not Islamic. The revolutionary and ideological non-alignment policy differs from conservative non-alignment in several respects. First, the non-alignment of the appellant implies and requires a change in the status quo. Unless conservative non-alignment seeks to change the status quo, Second, non-alignment means a negative balance that does not involve confrontation with the superpowers of the East and the West, especially the United States. But the lack of revolutionary commitment and revisionism indicates the struggle against arrogance and the system of world dominance, especially by the United States. Third, the lack of Islamic and revolutionary commitment has an ideological and cultural nature that conflicts with the theological culture and ideologies of communism and liberalism. If the politics of negative balance lacks an ideological dimension based on ultural independence, In fact, confronting aggressive Western culture and Westernisation is one of the most important pillars of Islamic revolutionary non-commitment,which is not considered much in the politics of negative balance.

Thus,the interim government's non-aligned policy was defensive in nature.Whereas ideological non-alignment compared to the framework of Islamic and revolutionary principles is not aggressive,This distinction of the policy of conservative non-alignment or negative balance is expressed Bazargan's words: It was all about gaining our independence from foreigners and superpowers, and it wanted us not to rely on the Eastern and Western blocs.

Whether politically, economically, militarily, or in terms of adopting ideology from Marxist or capitalist schools, after the victory of the revolution and the end of the interim government, the above slogan was changed and distorted in terms of purpose and content, and in addition to the political offensive aspect,itbecame de -Westernised in the cultural and academicfields.

Accordingly, conservative non-alignment also has distinct

IQBAL FORUM

defensive and non-offensive goals. Objectives such as: achieving independence of foreign policy and decision-making; avoiding direct conflict in US-Soviet rivalry; ending unilateral dependence on an ideological camp; expanding relations with all states and nations (with the exception of the occupying regimes of Palestine and South Africa).

1.3. Principles and Foundations

Within the framework of liberal nationalist discourse based on the strategy of conservative non-alignment, the foreign policy of the Provisional Government was based on distinct principles and ideas. Because, as explained in Chapter 4, the ruling liberal nationalists in the interim government defined the Islamic Revolution as national and with Iranian goals and ideals, According to them, the system of the Islamic Republic is a national state government based on national sovereignty. Therefore, the principles and dimensions of the interim government's foreign policy were defined accordingly.

1.3.3. Policy Regarding the West

One of the key features and characteristics of the interim government's foreign policy was its view of the West.The policy of orientation, or looking to the West,was based on several principles and assumptions. First, from the perspective of liberal nationalist discourse and within the framework of a negative balance policy, there is no prohibition on establishing relations and cooperating with the West and the United States. Because, as mentioned, neither non-alignment nor the principle of neither East nor West was defined as anti-arrogance or anti- Americanism. The second reason was to try to build trust with the West and the United States and gain their consent and support. Because one of the main causes of the Islamic Revolution in Iran was the US intervention in Iran during the coup d'état of August 28, 1943, and the following years,Hence,it was equally revolutionary against domestic tyranny as it was against foreign intervention, especially the Western one in Iran.As a result,the interim government sought tomoderate this anti-American

IQBAL FORUM

tendency of the Islamic Revolution through a policy of looking to the West.In other words,the interim government was defusing tensions and building trust with the West.

Third, West-US policy aimed to strike a balance between US and Soviet policy. Because of the anti-American nature of the Islamic Revolution in Iran and the activities of left-wing and pro-Soviet groups and forces in Iran, including the Tudeh Party, a sense of Sovietism was formed in the interim government as well as in the United States. Thus, on the one hand, the interim government was concerned about Soviet influence in Iranian politics and government. This concern and insecurity were expressed explicitly or implicitly in the statements and actions of the interim government officials. On the other hand, they feared American reaction and intervention to counter the revolution by restoring the Shah's regime.Thus, the pro-American leaning could alleviate both concerns by balancing both, with the interim government proposing the exchange of classified information between the two countries to counter the Soviet and communist threat.

Fourth, the interim government leaders believed that Iran needed Western technical knowledge and technology to achieve economic and social development. "Iran can have a friendly relationship with the United States on the basis of mutual respect," the caretaker prime minister said bluntly. Why should Iran not buy weapons from the United States? We consider such a relationship our right". Ebrahim Yazdi, the Deputy Prime Minister of the Interim Government, also states in this regard: "The past is past, and Iranians are men of action, and there are many grounds for cooperation."Iran will need American technology over time".

The policy of looking to the West remained not only a theoretical lesson but also manifested itself in practise in the foreign policy behavior of the interim government.Thus, despite the cancellation of the Iran-US capitulation agreement and the US-Iran defense pact, the interim government took practical steps towards building mutual trust and rebuilding and normalizing relations with the West and the US, with then-

IQBAL FORUM

Deputy Prime Minister Abbas Amir Entezam as liaison. It was chosen to build a bridge between the interim government and the US embassy. He and other interim government officials took many steps to normalize US-Iranian relations.First,despite disagreementsover appointing a US ambassador,relations between the two countries eventually escalated to an ambassadorial level.The ambassador's exchange with the United States indicated the priority and importance that the interim government attached to its relationship with the United States. Second, to maintain and continue the work of American news and information databases. Third, the continued export of oil to the United States Fourth, the continued presence of American advisers and efforts to extend their presence Fifth, the proposal to exchange secret information between the two countries to counter the threat of the Soviet Union and communism Sixth, the authorization of US human rights activities in Iran. Seventh, several meetings with US officials tonormalize relations The meeting of Mehdi Bazargan and Ebrahim Yazdi with Brzezinski, President Carter's national security adviser, in Algiers on November 3, 1979, can be considered the culmination of a policy of looking to the West in the interim government. Of course, as will be explained later, this action had the opposite effect. Instead of de-escalating and normalizing relations, it led to a hostage crisis and made relations more tense and critical.

1.3.3. Non-interference in Internal Affairs of Other Countries

Non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries and nations was the second principle of the interim government's foreign policy.Because the acceptance of the existing international order in the framework of the discourse of liberal nationalism and the strategy of negative balance implies and requires non-interference in the internal affairs of other governments. As discussed in Chapter 3, non-interference in the internal affairs of others is one of the general principles of the Islamic Republic's foreign policy. But what distinguishes this

IQBAL FORUM

principle in the foreign policy of the interim government is its defensive concept. In fact, this principle means not pursuing Islamic goals based on the transnational responsibilities of the Islamic Republic as an Islamic state.The perception that the revolutionaries described as a kind of passivity and indifference toward Muslims and the oppressed.

The practical manifestation of the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of countries can be seen in the vision and performance of the interim government in pursuing the two goals of exporting the revolution and supporting the liberation movements. Therefore, the Prime Minister and the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Interim Government explicitly stated that, based on the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of others, this government would not pursue the export of revolution in foreign policy. For example, we quote the words of Ibrahim Yazdi, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Interim Government.

"In all the answers given to the question of exporting the revolution, we have always relied on the fact that the Iranian government does not intend to export the revolution. This is crucial in foreign relations. Exporting a revolution is one of the categories of government interference in the internal affairs of other countries. This principle has been recognized and accepted worldwide and is also specified in the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran. One of the foundations of the interim government's foreign policy has been to accept the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries. "Consequently, our repeated emphasis that the Iranian government does not intend to export the revolution has in fact been a reflection of this belief".

Furthermore, based on the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of countries and disbelief in the export of the revolution, the Interim Government pursued a cautious and dual policy in the field of liberation movements. On the one hand, it declared support for the struggles of the Palestinian people, as the first foreign minister of the interim government, Karim Sanjabi, wrote to the leader of the Palestine Liberation

IQBAL FORUM

Organisation: "The Islamic Revolution considers the pursuit of the full realization of their rights as one of the main tasks of its foreign policy".On the other hand, the Interim Government vehemently opposed to the armed and material support of other liberation and revolutionary movements and their organizations. Because such support for revolutionary movements was considered a clear example of interference in the internal affairs of other countries.

1.3.3. Irenicism and Pacifism

Philosophical, intellectual, political, and defensive principles led the Interim Government to pursue an extremely peaceful foreign policy. So pacifism became one of the pillars of Iran's foreign policy during the rule of liberal nationalists. Hence, within the framework of the idea of peace, the Interim

Government opposed the use of force and the military in both domestic and foreign policy. Because it was believed that all internal and international disputes and conflicts can and should be resolved peacefully and without resorting to force. The behaviour and political strategy of the interim government in managing the crises caused by separatism in the border areas, especially in Kurdistan in1979, is a clear example of excessivepacifism.The government refused to use military force at the height of the military crisis and the separatists' war and violence.

Lack of belief in anti-arrogance policy and practical support for liberation movements, on the one hand, and efforts to resolve differences with the United States, on the other, are signs of pacifism in foreign policy.Also, the peaceful diplomacy of the interim government in response to the provocations and military movements of the Ba'athist regime in Iraq before the invasion of Iranian territory can be considered another example of this policy. Because the revolutionaries and the revolutionary leaders wanted revolutionary actions in foreign policy on both fronts. Eventually, the interim government's conciliatory policy angered the revolutionaries, who ended what they considered a compromise by seizing the US embassy.

IQBAL FORUM

The interim government's excessive pacifism reduced the priority and importance of military power and security in the hierarchy of foreign policy goals. Arms deals with the United States were canceled, including orders for $12 billion in weapons and 80 F-14 fighter jets. Efforts were also made to replace agricultural orders for the purchase of six submarines from West Germany.Also, the military budget in1979 was reduced to less than half that of 1978. The length of military service was reduced from two years to 18 months while the country, more than ever, needed a large and ready military force due to the separatist actions of the counter-revolutionary groups and foreign military movements, especially from the Ba'athist regime in Iraq. However, despite pressure from some left-wing groups, the interim government strongly opposed the army's dissolution.

1.3.4. Expansion of Foreign Relationships

The interim government, within the framework of legal and political laws and regulations and official and intergovernmental relations, wanted to expand relations with all countries in the world except Israel and the racist regime in South Africa. Therefore, based on its foreign policy, the interim government tried to de-escalate tensions in the Islamic Republic of Iran's relations with Western countries.Therefore, in addition to listening to the normalization of relations with the United States, Iran tried to resolve its existing misunderstandings with Europe, especially on human rights issues, to develop relations with European countries.

On the other hand, expanding and deepening relations with third-world, Islamic, Arab, and neighboring countries was also a priority. Because the conservative and traditional Arab countries were deeply afraid of the Islamic Revolution, the interim government sought to address their concerns about the export of the revolution by de-escalating and building trust. Even the interim government's relations with the Soviet Union continued at the ambassadorial level, despite concerns about the dangers of communism and its influence on Iran's internal

IQBAL FORUM

affairs. Mohammad Mokri, the then ambassador of Iran to the Soviet Union, described the level of relations between the two countries as excellent and mixed with peace and tranquility.

1.4. Objectives

From the perspective of liberal nationalist discourse, the Interim Government considered the Islamic Revolution a national revolution with no ideals or goals beyond Iranian society and people. Hence, as explained in Chapter 4, wealth sets national goals for the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic. The objectives that the Islamic Republic must pursue in foreign policy focus on the needs and demands of the Iranian people and those who have strived to achieve this throughout history. Accordingly, Islamic and transnational objectives and ideals fall within the framework of the interim government's foreign policy goals. In general, the most important objectives and priorities of the foreign policy of the interim government are: the recognition of the revolutionary government system; the establishment of the Islamic Revolution; gaining international prestige and specialty; and preserving the independence and territorial integrity of Iran.

1.4.1. Identification of the Islamic Republic

One of the short-term foreign policy goals of the interim government was to recognize the government that emerged from the Islamic Revolution of Iran. Because, although the recognition of a state by other countries is not one of its constituent elements from a legal point of view, states can play a role in the international arena when the international community recognizes them. Hence, the Interim Government sought to pave the way for the recognition of Iran's revolutionary political system. This goal was pursued seriously, especially in relation to the great powers. As many believe, one of the goals of the Interim Government's policy of looking to the West was to gain the consent and trust of the United States and Europe to recognize the revolutionary system and to stop trying to overthrow the Pahlavi regime. On the other hand, some

IQBAL FORUM

believe that one of the reasons for choosing Bazargan and his associates to form an interim government was to accelerate and facilitate the realization of this goal.

Finally, the United States and European countries recognized it, despite some differences with the revolutionary government of Iran. Beyond that, they sought to normalize and maintain relations as before the revolution. As soon as US President Carter elected an interim administration, he expressed the hope that the establishment of a new administration would not harm friendly relations between Iran and the United States. He also declared the readiness of the United States to cooperate with the revolutionary government.

The then US Secretary of State Cyrus Vance also met with Shahriar Rouhani, the Imam's representative at the US Embassy,and called for friendly relations with the interim government.European countries also recognized the revolutionary government and, hoping to maintain moderate rule in Iran, normalized relations with it. Alexei Kosygin, President of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, also congratulated the businessman on his appointment and recognized the Provisional Government.

1.4.2. Acquisition of International Credit

Another foreign policy goal of the interim government was to gain international prestige asa legitimate, accountable, andcredible government. Hence, the interim government tried to act within the framework of the existing international system in accordance with international rules and laws.This goal can be achieved by gaining the trust of the international community and other countries worldwide.Thus, in the first days of the victory of the Islamic Revolution, the Interim Government declared that it "respects all the international obligations and agreements of the previous regime".

Pursuing the goal of gaining international credibility and trust in the interim government's foreign policy on human rights was so prominent that the leaders of the interim government

IQBAL FORUM

opposed the immediate execution and punishment of the leaders of the Pahlavi regime and counter-revolutionary groups. They argued that these punishments would tarnish the image and credibility of Iran and the Islamic Revolution in international public opinion. In particular, European countries and the United States have repeatedly protested the performance of the revolutionary courts, declaring them human rights violations. They launched a massive propaganda campaign against the revolutionary government and the Islamic Revolution in order to tarnish their image.

1.4.3. Maintaining Independence and National Sovereignty

Another goal of the Interim Government's foreign policy, pursued within the framework of liberal nationalist discourse and the orientation of the negative balance, was to achieve and maintain national independence.The leaders of the Interim Government, especially the Prime Ministers, stated that the main goal of the Neither East nor West principle and the negative balance was "to achieve our full independence from foreigners and superpowers and not to rely on the Eastern and Western blocs".Conversely,the interim government believed that contact with the superpowers did not necessarily mean dependence on them. Some revolutionaries believed that the pro-Western policy of the interim government would undermine Iran's independence and national sovereignty.

1.4.4. Maintaining Territorial Integrity and National Security

After the Islamic Revolution's victory, Iran's territorial integrity was observed by separatist tendencies and groups on the one hand and foreign threats on the other. Separatist actions in the border areas, especially in Kurdistan, severely endangered Iran's territorial integrity. Simultaneously with these movements, the Ba'athist government of Iraq also launched large-scale provocations and operations along its border with Iran. These seizures were evident in Kurdistan and Khuzestan. As will be

IQBAL FORUM

explained in the next chapter, the Ba'athist regime in Iraq was working hard to separate Khuzestan from Iran. Therefore, it was natural for the interim government to keep the country's foreign exchange temperature at the top of its foreign policy priorities. In this regard, securing Iran's borders, especially with Iraq, was of particular importance.

Nevertheless, it must be acknowledged that the interim government's excessive pacifism led it to seek peaceful national security and territorial integrity for Iran. In such a way, even in the fight against armed separatism and against the Iraqi military movements on the country's borders, it benefits more from diplomacy. This led to disagreements between the political leaders of the Provisional Government on the one hand and the Chief of the Joint Staff of the Army and the Revolutionary Council on the other. Because, unlike the government, they wanted to use military force and revolutionary determination in dealing with internal and external threats.

1.4.5. Reconstruction and Economic Expansion

As explained, the leaders of the Interim Government believed in the idea of an "established revolution" based on the consolidation of the revolution inside Iran instead of the "continuous revolution" model. Accordingly, they believed that the most important objective of the revolution was to overthrow the dictatorship.Therefore, after the end of the period of revolutionary destruction, it must now be established in the form of a developed national system.As a result, economic reconstruction became one of the foreign policy objectives of the interim government.Efforts to establish and normalize relations with the United States and Europe based on meeting economic and technological needs were on the foreign policy agenda. The resumption of Iranian oil exports to the United States and Europe based on this target logic was justified.

In addition to domestic reforms, the interim government also undertook foreign policy measures for economic reconstruction and development. It sought to free up $12 billion in frozen Iranian assets and assets. It also canceled many arms,

IQBAL FORUM

military, and economic contracts. For example, Fereydoun Sanjabi, head of the Atomic Energy Organization, announced that the contract to build the Bushehr nuclear power plant would be canceled.Trying to attract foreign capital, especially by encouraging European countries to invest in Iran, was another economic policy of the interim government.

2. Hostage-taking Crisis

On November 4, 1979, one of the most important developments of the Islamic Revolution took place. Today, a group of students from Tehran universities, who have since been called "Imam Khomeini students", seized the US embassy in Iran.Thus, the"spy den"fell into the hands of the revolutionaries, and thus the "second revolution" occurred. A revolution that swallowed the interim government and changed Iran's foreign policy. The 444 days of foreign policy crisis were just one of the consequences of this revolutionary movement. But the reflection of this revolution still casts a shadow over the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran. In a way that has created many threats, opportunities and challenges in Iran's foreign policy.Therefore,if we do not consider the hostage crisis as the most important development of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic, we should at least consider it as one of the biggest and most important developments.

2.1. Reasons and Objectives

They cite different and conflicting reasons and motives for capturing the US embassy. Some attribute it to the efforts of revolutionaries and revolutionary schools to refine the revolution from liberal and national moderate forces. Some believe the main reason is the influence of leftist ideas and leftist forces in the revolutionary forces. Some also consider it to be the result of the evolutionary and natural process of revolutions.Although each of these factors may have been instrumental in the occurrence of this incident, two fundamental reasons can be mentioned for the capture of the US Embassy on November 4, 1979. The first, US interventionist policies in Iran

IQBAL FORUM

from 1332 to that day. Second, the suspicion and distrust of the ideological forces and religious leaders of the revolution towards the policy of looking to the west of the interim government. By briefly exploring the evolution of the hostage crisis, the role and influence of these two factors in its occurrence can be understood.

As explained in the previous pages, the Islamic Revolution was a reaction to the Shah's domestic policies and his foreign policy as a puppet agent of the United States. Hence, one of the two inescapable causes of the Islamic Revolution in Iran was opposition to widespread interference and growing US support for the Shah's regime.The coup d'état of 28 August 1953 and the overthrow of the national government of Dr. Mohammad Mossadegh, the Shah's practical alliance with the United States, the country's support for the Shah in the post-28 August developments, especially the suppression of the June 5, 1963 uprising, US full support for the Shah during the revolutionary movement, are concrete examples of US intervention (38). Thus, the anti-American spirit of the Iranian people was manifested in the form of the student movement occupying the embassy of this country.The naming of the US embassy as a "spy den" well illustrates this Iranian perception of the role and function of the United States.

However, the immediate reason for the capture of the US embassy on November 4,1979, must be sought in the reaction of the Islamist ideological and revolutionary forces to the interim government's westward-looking policy.The interim government's efforts to defuse tensions and build trust with the United States aroused the suspicion and distrust of revolutionary leaders and anti-imperialist forces. The Interim Government leaned toward the West and the United States for fear of communist influence and Soviet penetration in Iran, and ideological forces opposed it for fear of the Interim Government falling into the hands of the United States and imperialism.

The US agreement and the Shah's presence in the country for treatment on October 19,1979, and the meeting of the Iranian

IQBAL FORUM

Prime Minister and Foreign Minister with Zbigniew Brzezinski, President Carter's national security adviser, intensified this suspicion. Although the Shah was apparently accepted with two conditions: no claim to the throne and no political activity in the United States, the memory of the coup d'état of August 28, 1953 made the revolutionaries not trust this country. Furthermore, the unexpected meeting of interim government officials with the then US President's national security adviser, just 15 days after the Shah's stay in the United States, was interpreted as a sign that the revolution had begun to deviate from its original anti-imperialist path. Thus, by seizing the US embassy, both goals were met.On the one hand, the American hand was cut off from Iran and the revolution, and on the other hand, the pro-Western political forces were forced to be marginalized from the political scene of the country and the revolution. This goal was achieved only one day after the US embassy's occupation with the interim government's resignation on November 5,1979 .

2.2.Emergence of the Crisis

Evidence and statements by Imam Khomeini students indicate that the original purpose was not to hold American diplomats hostage for long. Rather, the students sought to prevent the interim government and the United States from interfering in Iran's internal affairs and the revolution by warning them. But with the firm support of Imam Khomeini and the masses of the people for this revolutionary movement, this incident turned into a full-blown crisis and confrontation between Iran and the United States.The crisis lasted 444 days despite the mediation of international organizations, countries, and political and religious figures. Because the Islamic Republic had set special conditions for releasing the hostages, while the United States was unwilling to meet these conditions.

2.2.1. Iran`s Conditions and Actions

With the resignation of the Interim Government, the

IQBAL FORUM

Revolutionary Council took over the country's administration. Therefore, the management of the hostage crisis was entrusted to this council. The Islamic Republic initially set four conditions for the release of the hostages: A) The return of the Shah from the United States to Iran for trial in the Revolutionary Court. The students and revolutionaries, who held the United States directly responsible for the Shah's repressive and authoritarian policies, called on the US government to extradite him, who was currently living in the U.S., to Iran for trial before the nation.

B) The return of the property and assets of the Shah and the Pahlavi dynasty to the government of the Islamic Republic of Iran. When the Shah and his relatives left Iran before the victory of the Islamic Revolution, they had taken several billion dollars out of the country. The revolutionary government considered this property to belong to the Iranian nation.The US government was therefore asked to return the property to the nation and government of the Islamic Republic.

C) The United States should admit to interfering in Iran's internal affairs during the Shah's reign and apologize to the Iranian people. The American revolutionaries considered the US as a collaborator to the king's crime. Because the United States had directly and indirectly interfered in Iran's internal affairs to maintain the Shah as a strategic ally.Therefore, Iran asked the United States, firstly, to admit it's illegitimate interventions and, secondly, to apologize to the Iranian people for this. The United States must also pledge not to interfere in Iran's internal affairs.

D) Lifting the seizure of all Iranian property and assets on the United States of America territory. Because, US President Carter, on November14,1979,had frozen all property and resources of Iran and all its affiliated institutions and organizations. Iran adopted various policies and measures to achieve its goals.

IQBAL FORUM

First, based on Imam Khomeini's explicit stance, the Iranian government ruled out any meetings and negotiations with US officials before Iran's conditions were met. The second step was Iran's complaint to the UN Security Council over the Shah's asylum in the United States and the country's obligation toextradite him as a criminal.Third, Iran decided to suspend its oil exports to the United States on November13,1979. Fourth, on November14,1979,Iran closed its air and sea borders toAmerican aircraft and ships.Fifth, as Acting FM Abolhassan Bani-Sadr stated, the Iranian government withdrew all of its foreign exchange reserve deposits from US banks.

Following the complaint of the Islamic Republic of Iran, the then Secretary-General of the United Nations, Kurt Waldheim, requested a meeting of the Security Council to consider the issue of the Shah's extradition. Therefore, at the initiative of Kurt Waldheim, it was decided to establish an international commission to investigate human rights violations in the Shah's regime and the abnormal behavior and US intervention in Iran. The United States was also set to recognize Iran's legal efforts to extradite the Shah and his property Imam Khomeini and afterward the Islamic Republic of Iran also agreed to forming this commission. Despite the diplomatic efforts of Bani-Sadr and Ghotbzadeh, the then heads of the Ministry of foreign affairs for political negotiation and reconciliation with the United tates,the crisis remained unresolved due to the suspicions of the revolutionaries.As a result, the Supreme Leader of the Islamic Revolution, Imam Khomeini, handed over the decision on the hostages to the forthcoming Islamic Consultative Assembly on March25,1980.

2.2.2. U.S.A`s Conditions and Actions

In the first response to the hostage crisis, the US government, while rejecting any military action to free the hostages, insisted on a diplomatic and political solution.Therefore, Ramsey Clark and William Milo, two high-ranking American officials, decided to travel to Iran to meet and negotiate with the Supreme Leader of the Islamic Revolution, but Imam Khomeini

IQBAL FORUM

announced that he would not meet with them until the United States handed over the Shah and his property to Iran. The Supreme Leader of the Islamic Revolution also barred any other government officials from meeting and negotiating with US officials.

But the US government stated that it did not intend to persuade or force the Shah to leave the country. However, the Shah left the United States on December15,1979 and entered Panama. The United States, in response to Iran's insistence on the Shah's extradition, emphasized that the Shah could not be returned.The Carter administration also opposed investigating US intervention in Iran. Although US President Carter lamented the misunderstandings between Iran and the United States, noted that the conditions were not conducive to examining US policy in Iran during the Shah's reign. Finally, in a message to Imam Khomeini, Carter acknowledged the mistakes of the United States in Iran and apologized to the Iranian people.

The United States has adopted punitive policies on Iran as part of its diplomatic strategy for managing the hostage crisis. The purpose of these policies and measures was to put pressure on Iran to release the hostages. Even the United States took military action when it became frustrated with the effectiveness of political and economic pressure on the Islamic Republic of Iran. The most important US actions against Iran can be summarized as follows:

A) Seizure of all Iranian Assets in the United States.

US President Carter issued Executive Order number 12170 dated November14,1979, which said: All property and interests of the Iranian government, affiliated entities, and the Central Bank of Iran, which was under US jurisdiction or under the control of persons under US jurisdiction, must be blocked. President Carter also instructed the US Treasury Secretary to take all necessary measures to implement this executive order.

IQBAL FORUM

B) in retaliation for the seizure of its embassy in Tehran in its first retaliatory move, the US government asked all but 35 Iranian diplomats in the United States to leave the United States in less than a week. He demanded the expulsion of Iranian students who engaged in activities contrary to their entry visas to the United States.

C) The United States has called for a UN Security Council meeting to look into hostage-taking. The Security Council also issued a statement on December 4,1979,

1) Calling the Iranian government to immediately release American diplomats imprisoned in Tehran.

2) Resolve the issues between the two countries in a way that provides mutual satisfaction and satisfaction.

3) Urged the governments of Iran and the United States to *show maximum in the current situation.*

4) Asked the UN Secretary-General to make efforts for Jamileh to implement this resolution's provisions and achieve this goal.

D) The US government also requested the Security Council

under Chapter VII of the UN Charter to ratify international sanctions against Iran.The Security Council also met on January 13, 2000 to approve economic sanctions against Iran. But the Soviets vetoed a proposed US resolution imposing economic sanctions on Iran.As a result, the United States unilaterally imposed economic sanctions on Iran. The sanctions included:Cut off all US imports from Iran; Interruption all foreign exchange transfers except for journalists and hostage families; All military cargo previously purchased by Iran from the United States and previously seized should be sold to a new customer or provided to the US military; Cut ties with Iran and ask the Iranian Congress to allow withdrawals from blocked Iranian accounts.The United States has already cut off oil imports from Iran.

IQBAL FORUM

E) The US government also lodged a complaint with the International Court of Justice in The Hague, which heard the US complaint against Iran in a private hearing. The International Court of Justice in The Hague called for the immediate release of the hostages. Finally, the International Court of Justice in The Hague upheld the US petition that Iran had openly violated international law by taking members of the US embassy hostage in Tehran.

F) On April 10,1980, US President Carter issued a decree completely severing US diplomatic relations with Iran. He also announced that the remaining Iranian diplomats have 24 hours to leave the United States. The Iranian Revolutionary Council also announced that with the expulsion of Iranian diplomats from the United States and the Islamic Republic's diplomatic relations with the United States would be severed. Since then, diplomatic relations between the two countries have been severed.

G) Following the failure of the US strategy of exerting political and economic pressure on Iran, the country launched a military offensive on May 25,1980to secure the release of the hostages.However, the US military offensive to free the hostages failed when a US helicopter and a transport plane collided in the Tabas Desert, killing eight soldiers and wounding five others.

2.3. Algiers Accord and Negotiations

The defeat of the US military offensive in Tabas forced the country to return to a diplomatic and peaceful solution to releasing the hostages. In Iran, after the election of Bani Sadr as the first president on March 26,1980, the first term of the National Assembly was formed on June27,1980.The most important issue before the parliament was resolving the hostage crisis. Because, as mentioned, Imam Khomeini had left the issue of hostages to the parliament.

Therefore, on November 2,1980, two days before the US

IQBAL FORUM

presidential election, the parliament passed a resolution approving four conditions for resolving the hostage crisis. In fact, the parliament emphasized the same conditions that the Supreme Leader of the Revolution approved. These conditions were: 1) the commitment and guarantee of the United States not to interfere directly or indirectly in political and military affairs in Iran, 2) the release of all assets and the lifting of the seizure of Iran's frozen assets in the United States,
3) the cancellation
and Annulment of all economic and financial decisions and actions against Iran, annulment of all lawsuits and claims of the US government and American institutions and companies against Iran, failure to file any new legal, criminal and financial lawsuits by the US and its citizens in connection with the Islamic Revolution; Hostage-taking,4)Returning Shah's property and recognizing and enforcing the action of the Iranian government in confiscating the property of the Shah and his close relatives.

The parliament instructed the newly formed government to announce and implement these conditions. Beyond that, the Copper Council stressed that the hostages would be tried if the United States did not accept and fulfill all or part of these conditions.The government communicated the terms of the parliament to the US government through Algerian diplomats and received a positive response. As a result, with the consent of Imam Khomeini, the representatives of Iran and the United States entered into negotiations through Algerian mediators to resolve the hostage crisis based on parliamentary conditions.With the approval of a single article in the parliament on agreeing to refer to financial and legal disputes between Iran and the United States that do not result from the Islamic Revolution and hostage-taking, the ground was prepared for reconciliation between the two countries.

Finally, after several months of negotiations and bargaining, the governments of Iran and the United States agreed on a

IQBAL FORUM

statement prepared by the Algerian government on January 20, 1980, and signed it separately. According to the statement, the US government made the following commitments to the release of the hostages:

1) Liberation and return of all Iran's property and cash and non-cash assets. These included Iranian assets with the Federal Reserve, foreign branches of US banks, US bank branches in the US, and other assets in the US and abroad. But the United States excluded Iranian military assets, citing its neutrality in the Iraq-Iran war.

2) The United States has pledged that this is US policy and that it will, from now on, not interfere directly or indirectly, politically or militarily, in Iran's internal affairs. Thus, the United States lost the spirit that in the past had a direct and indirect involvement in Iran's internal affairs, but only made a commitment that it will no longer intervene in Iran as in the past.

3) The lifting of all trade sanctions the United States imposed on Iran since November 4, 1979.

4) Immediate withdrawal of all US claims before the International Court of Justice.Also, not filing a lawsuit against any claim by the US government and its citizens against Iran in connection with the events resulting from the Islamic Revolution and hostage-taking.

5) Terminate all legal proceedings in US courts involving the claims of American citizens and institutions against Iran and its state institutions.

6) The United States has filed a lawsuit against the United States in the courts of the United States in order to return the property belonging to Iran, which was under the control of the former Shah or any of his close relatives.The fights will be blocked and their transfer will be banned. The US government

IQBAL FORUM

and its citizens will also provide the Iranian government with any information they have about the Shah's property and assets in order to file a lawsuit against them through the judiciary.

2.4. Reasons and Conditions of Talk (negotiation)

Numerous reasons and motives led Iran and the United States to mediate political negotiations. Factors that provided different conditions for the two countries and prepared the ground for their compromise and agreement.

2.4.1. Iran

In general, two factors and the evolution of the Islamic Republic of Iran led to the adopting an indirect negotiation strategy to resolve the hostage crisis. The decisive factor was the invasion of Iran by the Ba'athist regime in Iraq and the imposition of an unwanted war on the country. The imposed war placed the Islamic Republic in special and exceptional circumstances. The state of emergency and war forced Iran to use all its national capacities and capabilities to defend its national security and territorial integrity. In other words, with the start of the war, Iran could not fight and resist on two international fronts. Common sense dictated that Iran seek to resolve the hostage crisis through negotiation and compromise.

On the one hand, it was not in the national interest of the Islamic Republic to continue the crisis by holding American hostages. On the other hand, despite the threat of the parliament and the government to try the hostages if the four conditions of Iran were not met by the United States, there were no international or domestic conditions to carry out this threat. The second factor that accelerated Iran's choice of negotiation and compromise was the victory of Ronald Reagan as President of the United States.As an extreme conservative,Reagan had threatened to take military action against Iran if he didn't win the release of the hostages.Therefore, the Islamic Republic was faced with a time limit for resolving the crisis, meaning that Iran had to end the crisis before Reagan's appointment to the White

IQBAL FORUM

House on February 22,1980. In addition, it was believed that Carter was more prepared to maintain his reputation, the Democrats were more willing to give concessions to Iran to maintain its reputation, and the Democratic Party was more willing to give concessions to Iran to resolve the crisis. So, on the same day that Reagan was sworn in and entered the White House as the new president, the hostages returned to the United States.

2.4.2. U.S.A

Democratic President Jimmy Carter made every effort to secure the release of the hostages in Iran. So he used all political, economic, and military tools to achieve this goal. He wanted to be elected president for a second term by resolving the hostage crisis. But Carter lost the presidential election. Therefore, the most important factor and motivation that prompted him to negotiate with Iran was maintaining his credibility and that of the Democratic Party. Because the issue of hostages had become a matter of prestige for Carter. Nevertheless, the United States was in a better position to negotiate with Iran. In fact, the two factors that limited the behavior of the Islamic Republic, namely the imposed war and Reagan's rise to power, provided a favourable situation for the United States. Because, as mentioned, Iran had to resolve the hostage crisis diplomatically to manage the war. Also, due to time constraints, the Islamic Republic must end this crisis as soon as possible. Therefore, the time factor favored the United States and to the detriment of Iran. Furthermore, due to economic and political sanctions and the lawsuits and complaints of the US government and citizens against Iran,the country had more and better leverage for bargaining than Iran.

2.5. Impact of the Crisis on the Foreign Policy of Iran

The capture of the US embassy and the formation of the hostage crisis had many long-term and short-term effects on the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran. So that some of

IQBAL FORUM

its long-term effects have continued to this day. These effects can be divided into foreign policy opportunities and challenges.

2.5.1. Opportunities

a) To promote and increase the anti-arrogance and anti-imperialist movement of the Islamic Republic of Iran in the third world and the Islamic world and attract revolutionary forces and movements.

b) To prevent the re-infiltration and political penetration of the United States in Iran in order to weaken and deviate from the Islamic Revolution and its ideals due to the ideology and revolutionization of foreign policy.

c) To lay the groundwork for the export of the Islamic Revolution by introducing the Islamic Republic of Iran as an independent country and a model for Islamic countries and the Third World.

d) To demonstrate the mobilizing power and resistance of the Islamic Republic of Iran against the US superpower so that the United States faced another defeat in the international arena after the Vietnam War. This failure damaged the credibility and prestige of the United States at the international and regional levels.

e) To improve the level of acting and role-playing of the Islamic Republic of Iran as a regional power with global influence.

f) To strengthen the spirit of independence and self-reliance in foreign policy.

g) To reveal the US interventionist policies in the Third World countries in general and in the internal affairs of Iran in particular, including the revelation of the decisive role of the US

IQBAL FORUM

in the military coup against the national government of Dr. Mohammad Mossadegh.The role that Carter implicitly acknowledged and regretted.

2.5.2. Challenges

The hostage crisis, in addition to creating opportunities and challenges, also created foreign policy for the Islamic Republic. Challenges that have continued for more than 30 years. The most important challenges are:

a) The United States' comprehensive hostility to the revolution and the Islamic Republic of Iran This enmity was implemented in various political, economic, military, and ideological dimensions in order to change the behavior of the structure and system of the Islamic Republic and has continued to this day.

b) Economic, trade, and military sanctions against the Islamic Republic of Iran, some of which are still unilaterally continued by the United States, so that some of Iran's military assets and equipment are seized in the United States.

c) Securing the identity of the Islamic Revolution and the Islamic Republic of Iran by the United States and some Western countries as a threat to international peace and security.

d) The tarnishing of Iran's international image and reputation as a result of its negative image as a country that breaks the law, violates human rights, and is irresponsible, so that the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran continues to face this challenge. Because the United States continues to spread negative propaganda against the Islamic Republic and works hard for its international discredit.

e) Reducing Iran's constructive and effective role in international organizations and institutions, including the United Nations, due to the Islamic Republic's suspicion and distrust of

IQBAL FORUM

them This pessimism and distrust of international organizations and institutions seem to have continued to this day.

f) Securing Iran's foreign policy due to US hostile actions against the Islamic Revolution and the Islamic Republic of Iran In other words, US hostile policies have placed maintaining security and survival at the top of Iran's foreign policy priorities and goals. Iran's foreign policy to counter and neutralize US actions devoted most of its power to securing security and military goals.

g) US efforts to isolate the Islamic Republic of Iran at the regional and global levels The United States has worked to isolate the Islamic Republic since the beginning of the hostage crisis.

h) US support for Iraq in the war with Iran to overthrow or at least control the Islamic Revolution and the Islamic Republic of Iran Although the United States declared neutrality in the war, over time it effectively sided with and supported Iraq

IQBAL FORUM

7

Chapter Seven

The Holy Defense Period

IQBAL FORUM

Chapter7: The Holy Defense Period

After months of border attacks and provocative clashes, the Ba'athist regime in Iraq finally officially began its aggression on September 22,1980, by bombing Iranian airports. A war that lasted eight years and inflicted great human and financial losses on both the people of Iran and Iraq. From this date on, although the hostage crisis had not yet been resolved, how to manage the war and defend the revolution and Iran became the first priority of the Islamic Republic's foreign policy, so that war on all issues and dimensions of Iran's foreign policy at all levels formed inter-regional, inter-national, transnational, and global organizations. The war index and the position of international actors towards the war also defined the package of Iran's foreign relations at all levels.

This chapter of the Foreign Policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran reviews the eight years of the Iraq-Iran war. Therefore, by focusing on the war and its developments, it examines the relations and developments of Iran's foreign policy at three levels of relations with governments, nations, and international organizations. To this end, first, the causes and motives of Iraq's attack on Iran are explained.Then, the orientation, goals, and characteristics of Iran's foreign policy in this period are explained, and then, with the subject of different stages and periods of the war, the behavior and performance of foreign policy are discussed.

1. Reasons and Objectives of Iraq's Invasion

Iraq's invasion of the Islamic Republic of Iran had ideological, political, and territorial causes, goals, and motives. Some of these long-standing causes and goals were formed after the Islamic Revolution. Among the most important causes and goals of Iraq's invasion of Iran were: full control of the Arvand River;occupation of parts of Iran; partition of Khuzestan province; occupation of Iran's three islands in the Persian Gulf; taking the leadership of the Arab world; playing a hegemonic role in the Persian Gulf; preventing the dissemination of the Islamic Revolution of Iran; and ultimately inciting and

IQBAL FORUM

encouraging the United States.

1.1. Full Sovereignty Enforcement Over ARVAND-RIVER

The history of territorial disputes between Iran and Iraq dates back to the Ottoman Empire, which continued after Iraq's independence, so Iraq claimed absolute sovereignty over the Arvand River immediately after gaining independence. But after years of controversy and negotiation, on June13,1975, with the publication of the Algerian declaration, the two countries signed an agreement on a common border and good neighborliness. Within the framework of this treaty, the Talug line in the Arvand River was designated as the common border between the two countries.

But after the victory of the Islamic Revolution, Iraq finally annulled the 1975 Algerian treaty by creating border conflicts and making excuses.In an official memorandum dated September17,1980,the Government of Iraq unilaterally repealed the Common Border and Good Neighbourliness Treaty with all its annexes (three protocols and four amendments to the agreement) .On the same day, Saddam Hussein, the President of Iraq, explicitly stated that the legal status of the Shatt al-Arab(Arvand River) must return to the status quo before March1975. This river is part of the Arab integrity of Iraq, with all the rights that come from the absolute sovereignty of Iraq.

1.2. Prevention of Revolution (Inqilab) Dissemination

The most important reason Iraq mentioned for attacking Iran was to prevent the dissemination of the Islamic Revolution within the framework of the principle of self-defense.Iraqi Baathist leaders argued that they had taken preemptive action to prevent the Islamic Republic of Iran from intervening to bring about a revolution in Iraq. For example, the representative of Iraq at the meeting of the Non-Aligned Movement stated that "the Iraqi government has been forced to wage this war to prevent the activities of the Islamic Republic of Iran in order to ensure the rule of Islam... The Islamic Republic wants to implement the rules of Islam according to the criteria of

IQBAL FORUM

Velayat-e-Faqih (the Guardian of the Islamic Jurist) and invite others to implement these rules, and this is a clear interference in the internal affairs of other countries".

The leaders of the Islamic Republic of Iran also believed that one of the causes and goals of Iraq's invasion of Iran was to prevent the dissemination of the revolution. For example, Hashemi Rafsanjani, the then speaker of parliament, stated that "the war that Iraq started was in fact to prevent the dissemination of the revolution. Because in some ways this country is similar to the past situation of the Iranian regime". But as explained in the third chapter, it is also noted here that the Islamic Republic has never sought to disseminate the revolution through war and conflict but rather to explain and promote the idea and program of the Islamic Revolution. However, the leaders of the Persian Gulf countries, including Iraq, were deeply concerned about the influence of the Islamic Revolution discourse and ideals among their nations. Because by issuing the thoughts and ideals of the revolution, their rule was threatened.

1.3. Temptation and Encouragement by the USA

Another reason for Iraq's invasion of Iran, at least from the point of view of the leaders of the Islamic Republic, was the incitement and encouragement of this country by the United States.

Because the United States was discredited and humiliated during the victory of the Islamic Revolution and then the rain of hostages, other US allies distrusted it.This discredited the United States as a true ally.On the other hand, due to the inability and weakness of the United States to release hostages in Iran, the country was severely humiliated globally and regionally.Thus, the United States encouraged the revolution and the Islamic Republic to rebuild their prestige and power in the Iraqi region in order to rebuild their credibility and power.

IQBAL FORUM

1.4. Occupation and Partition of Parts of Iran

Iraq's other goal for invading Iran was to improve its geopolitical position. Unfavorable geopolitical conditions created the Ba'athist leaders' perception of the geographical realities of Iraq.

The geopolitical conditions that are the product of colonialism have placed restrictions on Iraq's power and national interests. Hence, they were the level of opportunity to reduce these geopolitical limitations and weaknesses by occupying and dismantling parts of Iranian territory. According to them, the Islamic Revolution in Iran and the formation of the fledgling system of the Islamic Republic had provided the best conditions for realizing this goal.

Therefore, in addition to absolute sovereignty over the river, Iraq sought to occupy the border areas, occupy the islands of Big Tunb, Small Tunb, and Abu Musa, and divide Khuzestan. Because achieving these goals would remove the most important geopolitical constraint in Iraq, With full Iraqi sovereignty over the Arvand River, the country's access to the Persian Gulf was accelerated and facilitated. A development that enabled Iraq to use its ports freely and export its oil without security concerns. The occupation and disintegration of Khuzestan also improved the situation in Iraq in terms of establishing commercial oil ports. Second, it expanded its shores in the Persian Gulf so that it could become a regional power. The occupation of the three Iranian islands in the Persian Gulf also met Iraq's geopolitical and strategic goals. The occupation of parts of western Iran also added to Iraq's strategic depth, facilitating the defense of Baghdad and other oil-rich cities.

1.5. Hegemonic Enforcement in the Persian Gulf

One of Iraq's long-standing goals and aspirations, which culminated during the rule of the Ba'ath party, was to play a leading role and exercise hegemony in the Persian Gulf. The role that imperial Iran played on behalf of the United States

IQBAL FORUM

With the overthrow of the imperial system due to the victory of the Islamic Revolution, the balance of strategic forces in the Persian Gulf region was upset.Thus, through territorial expansion and aggression against the Islamic Republic of Iran, Saddam Hussein sought to balance the new regional power in favour of Iraq.

Immediately after the fall of the Shah in Iran, Iraqi leaders analysed national power and regional balance and concluded that the ideal conditions were in place for Iraqi hegemony and dominance in the Persian Gulf. Because the most important geopolitical obstacle, namely the hegemony of a powerful Iran, has been removed. "Given Iran's weakness, Iraq is currently the only country that can take advantage of the current situation to fill the power vacuum created in the Persian Gulf," the Christian Science Monitor reported, citing a report from the Iraqi government.

According to the leaders of the Ba'ath party in Iraq, the ground was prepared in every way to create a new geopolitical situation in Iraq.

1.6. Leadership of the Arab World

Another strategic goal of Iraq's attack on Iran was to take the lead in the Arab world. There has always been a kind of overt and covert rivalry between Iraq and Egypt to lead the Arab world. But, as in the case of superior power and prestige in the Arab world, it did not allow Iraq to play such a role. The new situation in the Middle East, especially the signing of the Camp David Peace Treaty between Egypt and Israel, led to the country's isolation and subsequent expulsion from the Arab League. This development meant providing a suitable regional political context for Iraqi sovereignty. Hence, Iraq could have acquired the components of power necessary to exercise leadership in the Arab world if it had won over Iran and achieved its strategic goals.

Accordingly, during the war with the Islamic Republic of Iran, Iraq always insisted that it fight on behalf of the Arab countries. By defining your donkey as the eastern front of the

IQBAL FORUM

Arab world. In terms of political ideology, the Ba'ath party also believes in a single Arab nation. Therefore, despite the division of the Arab nation into different nations within its national borders, efforts must be made to reunite it. Saddam Hussein sought to mobilize the Arab world in support of Iraq by turning the Iran-Iraq war into an Arab against non-Arab war.

2. Foreign Policy Orientation

Based on the dominance of Islamic idealism and expediency discourses during the war, dual revolutionary non-commitment and revisionism strategies dominated the country's foreign policy. Of course, it should be noted that during the presidency of Bani Sadr during the war, he pursued the same policy of negative balance as the interim government. Hence, he and Sadegh Qutbzadeh avoided confrontation with two superpowers, especially the United States. However, with the removal of President Bani-Sadr on July 1,1981, the strategy of revolutionary non-alignment prevailed in the country's foreign policy. However, with the transformation of the foreign policy discourse from idealism to expediency in1985, revolutionary non-commitment also gave way to non-commitment. The most important manifestation of non-revolutionary and revisionist non-commitment strategy is also in the country's relations with the two superpowers.

2.1. Revolutionary Non-alignment: Reciprocal Confrontation

The strategy of revolutionary non-alignment, as described in Chapter 3,is ideological in nature and goes far beyond the politics of negative balance that manifests itself in the non-aligned movement.This strategy involves denying the existing international order and trying to change it immediately and drastically to establish the desired order.Therefore, the foundations of the international order and the bipolar system are considered unjust, and the Islamic Republic must work to disrupt and transform them to replace the desired order. Therefore, in the framework of this strategy, in addition to

IQBAL FORUM

denying and rejecting any dependence on and commitment to the superpowers and centers of world power, the unjust international order and its principles are also denied. Beyond this, we must confront the system of domination and th arrogant policies of the superpowers as manifestations of this hegemony. Therefore, the orientation of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran in the first half of the war was based on the principle of neither East nor West or an ideological policy based on a balanced confrontation with two superpowers.

Accordingly, the end of the hostage crisis did not reduce the confrontation between Iran and the United States and increased the intensity of their confrontation. Because, as mentioned, the revolutionaries considered the United States to be the main cause of Iraq's invasion of the Islamic Republic. In their opinion, Saddam Hussein attacked on behalf of the United States and with the support of the United States to confront the Islamic Revolution and overthrow the Islamic Republic of Iran. Evidence also reinforced this suspicion. Genes, for example, spoke of a series of military operations against Iran. One of these attempts was the attack on Tabas, which failed. Thus, the invasion of Iraq could be another stage in this series of military operations. In May1980, while analyzing US plans for Iran, the New York Times spoke of the possibility of an Iraqi invasion of Iran. Also, despite the severance of diplomatic relations between Iraq and the United States, Brzezinski traveled to Baghdad secretly several times before Iraq invaded Iran and met with Saddam Hussein.

Thus, although the US Secretary of State, in a message to the then Prime Minister of the Islamic Republic, Mohammad Ali Rajai, declared the country's neutrality in the war, the US was pleased with the war for several reasons. First, the United States expected a foreign war to differentiate the Islamic Republic from it based on the balance of power logic. Because the war, on the one hand, increased Iran's arms and military needs for the United States and, on the other hand, enhanced the role and function of the military in Iran's foreign policy, The result of these two factors was a decline in anti-American sentiment and

IQBAL FORUM

behavior in Iran. Second, the war accelerated and facilitated a diplomatic and peaceful settlement of the hostage crisis. Third, the war moderated Iran's aggressive and anti-American foreign policy and brought it back into the Western security orbit. Fourth, the war prevented the dissemination of the revolution to America's allies. Fifth, as a result, the war could have ensured the survival and security of US allies in the Persian Gulf by weakening and controlling Iran. Thus, in America's view, the continuation of the war could have met American goals).

Contrary to US expectations, the war in Iraq did not meet any of the country's goals other than releasing hostages. On the contrary, it strengthened and intensified anti-American policies in Iran. In the first year of the war, moderate and pro-Western forces left the interim government and were ousted. Thus, after the removal of Bani Sadr from the presidency, the ideological forces took over the government in unison. As a result of the Third Revolution (the removal of Bani Sadr), the Islamic Republic's confrontation with the United States reached its peak. With the strengthening of the role of the Revolutionary Guards and the people's mobilization forces in the war, the position of the two in leading the country's defense and foreign policy also increased. The vast victories of the Islamic Republic in the operations of Fatah al-Mubin on March 19, 1981, and Beitolmoghadas on May 1, 1981, and then June 1982, highlighted the dissemination of the revolution and raised the concerns of the US allies.

The military victories and political developments of the Islamic Republic caused the United States to withdraw from its neutral position in the Iran-Iraq war and to provide practical support to Iraq. From the American point of view, Iran's victory over Iraq threatened US interests in several ways. First, energy security and the free export of oil from the Persian Gulf to the West were endangered. Second, the stability of America's conservative Arab allies was undermined. Third, the security and fortunes of America's strategic ally, Israel, were severely threatened. The fourth is the regional imbalance to the detriment of the United States in the Middle East and the Persian Gulf.

IQBAL FORUM

Accordingly, in the face of the Iran-Iraq war, the United States pursued a strategy of maintaining a regional balance based on a policy of non-winning war through proximity to Iraq. As part of this strategy, establishing and normalizing US diplomatic relations with Iraq were first on the agenda. As the US special envoy, Donald Rumsfeld met with Saddam Hussein to explore and provide ways to normalize relations between the two countries. But beyond that, the United States provided arms support to Iraq to maintain balance."The Iran-Iraq war may bring about fundamental and unpredictable changes in the balance of power in the region," said then-Secretary of State Alexander Hague."Since the start of the war 20 months ago, the United States has pursued a policy of complete neutrality and has refused to deliver any US-made weapons to the warring parties. But this neutrality does not mean we are indifferent to the war's outcome.The United States has friends and interests that have been threatened by the continuation of the war and is therefore determined to defend its vital interests in the region.

Two days after taking this position, the US Department of Commerce issued a license to sell six L-100 cargo aircraft to Iraq. Finally, in1984, US-Iraqi diplomatic relations were established.

Contrary to the logic of the balance of power, the Islamic Republic did not turn to the Eastern superpower to confront and balance the United States in the context of its lack of revolutionary commitment.

On the contrary, based on the "balance of confrontation", the Islamic Republic opposed Soviet policies, despite the policy of vetoing and vetoing the resolution on economic sanctions on Iran in the Security Council by Moscow during the hostage crisis.The Islamic Republic's confrontation with the Soviet Union culminated in Afghanistan in January1979. As Sadegh Qutbzadeh, the then Iranian Foreign Minister, openly called the Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan a "hostile act" against "all Muslims in the world", the Islamic Republic, based on the anti-arrogance principle,considered both

IQBAL FORUM

superpowers as manifestations of arrogance, colonialism, and domination which must be fought.

Also,the Islamic Republic did not benefit from the diplomacy of removing one of the superpowers to gain concessions from the other, contrary to the common practice in the non-aligned movement, and did not use the diplomacy of a play-off to benefit from the other superpower. Because of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and its occupation made relations between the two superpowers tense. So the Second Cold War began, and the Western bloc tried to isolate the Soviet Union. The logic of the balance of power dictated that Iran leans towards the Eastern superpower to take advantage of it in order to neutralize American pressure.

Beyond this, Iran's opposition to Soviet policies, on the one hand, and Iran's military victories in late1981 and early1982, on the other, led the Soviets to abandon their policy of neutrality and to actively support Iraq. So after the Beitolmoghadas operation, the freedom of Khorramshahr, and then Iran's entry into Iraq, the Soviet Union became one of Iraq's most important suppliers of weapons. The Soviet Union called for an end to the war while emphasizing the preservation of Iraq's territorial integrity. In response, Iran arrested Tudeh leaders as Soviet allies in1983 and expelled 18 Soviet diplomats from Iran. These relations between Iran and the Soviet Union became very dark, which continued until Gorbachev came to power.
Contrary to the logic of the Cold War, the two superpowers, East and West, therefore agreed to contain Iran by preventing it from winning the war with Iraq. Iran's confrontation with pro-Iraq Arab countries must also be analyzed in the context of the strategy of revolutionary non-alignment. From Iran's point of view, these countries were the puppets of the superpowers.

2.2. Revisionist Non-alignment: Multilateral Interaction

Revisionist non-alignment is another reading of neither the Eastern nor the Western principle as the general strategy of Iran's foreign policy.This type of non-alignment, like

IQBAL FORUM

revolutionary non-alignment, implies and requires a change in the status quo to establish the desired order. Hence, the international order has an unjust and illegitimate nature and basis that must be changed. Consequently, the bipolar system led by the United States and the Soviet Union is also illegitimate and undesirable.Therefore, revisionist non-alignment,in addition to not being dependent on the two superpowers, also requires fighting them.However,despite the lack ofcommitment, international order and system changes are pursued gradually and through reforms under their foundations. So, the small changes will gradually change the nature of the international order and system.Thus,in the context of this type of non-alignment, one can interact with the superpowers away from dependence and domination.

Accordingly, in1985, the Islamic Republic reviewed its foreign policy orientation based on developing and strengthening relations with other countries. So, Imam Khomeini, in a meeting with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Iran officials on November 2,1985, emphasized the necessity of strengthening foreign relations."We should not be passive," the Supreme Leader said. "We must have relations with the countries that are with us and do not harass uson based on developing and strengthening relations with other countries.So, Imam Khomeini, in a meeting with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Iran officials on November 2,1985, emphasized the necessity of strengthening foreign relations. "We should not be passive," the Supreme Leader said."We must have relations with the countries that are with us and do not harass us... Islam is a social and governmental system that wants to have relations with the whole world. However, we should not be under foreign domination; they should not interfere in our affairs or give us guidelines".Imam Khomeini exempted countries seeking to destroy the Islamic Republic from this principle unless reformed.

Several factors and developments necessitated a rethinking of revolutionary non-alignment and the adoption of revisionist

IQBAL FORUM

non-alignment. The first factor in Iran's strategy was to win the war operation and resolve the war diplomatically.After the beginning of the entry phase into Iraq during the Ramadan operation in1982, Iran had not achieved this victory despite conducting several operations.Therefore, to achieve this goal, Iran needed sufficient weapons and equipment to rebuild its military capabilities.

Second, by adopting the strategy of internationalizing the war and starting a war in the cities, Iraq had begun a large-scale diplomatic effort to hold Iran responsible for the continuation and spread of the war.Therefore, Iran needed active diplomacy through the expansion of foreign relations to thwart Iraqi propaganda and diplomatic efforts.The third reason was Iran's attempt to deprive the Iraqi regime of the full support of the conservative Arab states in the Persian Gulf by being close to them.

Therefore, in the framework of the new foreign policy orientation,Iran first achieved a percentage of reconciliation and normalization of relations with the Persian Gulf Cooperation Council members. As the then Minister of Foreign Affairs of Saudi Arabia, Saud Al-Faisal came to Tehran to negotiate with the officials of the Islamic Republic. But despite this interactive Iranian diplomacy, it did not change the Arab conservative policy of supporting Iraq. On the other hand, Tehran responded positively to the US desire to establish indirect contact with Iran to meet its weapons needs to defend its cities and win the battlefield. US President Ronald Reagan had agreed to authorize the export of weapons and equipment needed by Iran in exchange for Iranian mediation for the release of American hostages in Lebanon. Therefore, the first shipment of weapons, including Tow anti-tank missiles, was sent to Iran on December17,1985, and the second shipment was sent to Iran later that year (December 27). Weapons and equipment used in Operation Valfajr 8 on February11,1985, which led to the capture of Faw Island by Iran The culmination of the US effort to get closer to Iran came with the secret visit of Reagan

IQBAL FORUM

National Security Adviser Robert McFarlane to Tehran on May 25,1986. A mission that failed and marked the beginning of a new and intense confrontation between Iran and the United States.

On the other hand, the election of the reformist Gorbachev as the head of the Soviet presidency in March1984 provided the groundwork for more and better interaction between Iran and that country. In spite of the continuation of Soviet financial and weapons aid to Iraq, Saddam Hussein's visit to the Soviet Union in January 1985 was not very successful. Soviet officials did not accept Saddam's demands to call Iran's position in the war irrational and to prevent the transfer of Russian weapons to Iran through Syria and Libya. Thus, two months after Saddam's visit to Moscow, Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Kornenko arrived in Tehran for comprehensive, frank, and constructive talks. The Soviet objective was to persuade Iran to accept a ceasefire and end the war. But the capture of Faw Island led the Soviets to increase their arms and diplomatic support for Iraq.

2.3. Return of Revolutionary Non-alignment: Unilateral Confrontation

The capture of Faw by Iranian forces led both superpowers to realize the need to prevent Iran from winning the war in the context of an unbeaten war. But the policies and practices of the two superpowers towards Iran were different. The United States pursued an aggressive policy of dealing directly and indirectly with Iran from 1986 to 1988 in order to balance relations with the Arabs and gain their trust, as well as to rebuild its lost credibility during the Iran-Contra Affair. Hence, the United States used all its political, economic, intelligence, and military tools to control Iran. At the political level, it sought to impose sanctions on Iran through the Security Council and beyond. In addition, he provided extensive intelligence and propaganda support for Iraq. Trying to disrupt Iran's oil exports was another US move. But undoubtedly, the most important factor in US pressure on Iran was the presence of its marine forces in the Persian Gulf. So in April 1988, the United States destroyed

IQBAL FORUM

three oil wells and two oil rigs in Reshadat and Salman belonging to Iran. Also, as a result of the conflict between the US Navy and the Iranian Navy, two warships, Sahand and Sabalan, sank. The culmination of this confrontation was the attack of the USS Vincennes on the Iranian passenger plane, in which 290 passengers were killed.

3. Foreign Policy Objectives

The foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran during the war pursued dual national and transnational objectives. Islamic obligations and revolutionary missions require the pursuit of transnational and revolutionary objectives.While the requirements of the war gave priority to national objectives. But the necessities of war not only did not marginalize transnational goals but also added to their importance and priority. In such a way, pursuing national goals became necessary as a prerequisite for transnational and Islamic goals. Therefore, trying to achieve transnational objectives in this period was more than ever on Iran's foreign policy agenda.

3.1. National Objectives

The national goals of foreign policy that became necessary and priorities as a result of the war are: survival and national security; territorial integrity; maintaining independence; and ensuring a just peace.

3.1.1. National Security and Survival

The Iraqi military invasion of the Islamic Republic of Iran made survival and national security a top priority of foreign policy goals. Foreign military aggression is the most obvious and common threat to survival and national security. Thus, the Iraq war against Iran posed both objective and subjective threats to the survival of the Islamic Republic. In a way, both the Iranian leaders considered the main goal of the war to be the destruction of the revolution and the Islamic Republic, and the Iraqi rulers declared their main motive for the war to overthrow the Islamic Republic of Iran.For example,TahaYassin

IQBAL FORUM

Ramadan, the Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister, said in January 1981 that the most important goal of the war was to overthrow the Islamic Republic of Iran, which is a threat to Iraq.

Therefore, national security is defined in terms of preserving the vital value of the Islamic Republic of Iran.The three existential values are: the life of the people and nation of Iran; the survival of the Islamic Republic; and finally, the survival of the Islamic Revolution. On the one hand, the lives of the Iranian people were threatened by the war, especially by the spread of the war to Iraqi cities and mortars to residential areas. On the other hand, as mentioned, the survival of the government of the Islamic Republic was severely endangered.Therefore, the protection of the Islamic Republic became the most important object of national security. In such a way that Imam Khomeini considered the preservation of the Islamic government, which is "one of the basic rules of Islam and precedes all the sub-rules of fasting and Hajj prayers", as the most important obligation. Also, the protection of the Islamic Revolution of Iran, another referent object of Iran's national security, was prioritized in foreign policy. For example, the then-Prime Minister Mir Hossein Mousavi explains this goal of foreign policy as follows: With the facilities and levers at our disposal, we defend the Islamic Revolution around the world, and elsewhere he says the most important criterion of Iran's relations with other countries is the degree of security of the Islamic Revolution.

Furthermore, maintaining the security and survival of the Islamic Republic of Iran is necessary and obligatory due to its connection and solidarity with the security of Islam and the Islamic Ummah. Because, on the one hand, the Islamic Republic of Iran is the center and axis of the Islamic world. Therefore, its survival and its verses are necessary for the security and survival of Islam.On the other hand, the Islamic Revolution has a transnational nature and "is not a limited and nationalist revolution, but belongs to nations and humanity".Since the Iraq war against Iran is a war of infidelity against Islam,preserving the Islamic Republic and the Islamic Revolution will also protect Islam.Accordingly, Imam Khomeini states:"His (Saddam

IQBAL FORUM

Hussein) and his friends' motive is to suppress Islam in favor of the superpowers, and the motive of the Iranian nation and armed forces to defend Islam and the Holy Quran is in favor of Islamic nations and the oppressed of the world.

3.1.2. Maintaining Territorial Integrity

Iran's territorial integrity was violated by the invasion of Iraq. So that Iraqi forces occupied large parts of Iran in the first days and weeks of the war. One of the goals of the Iraqi invasion of the Islamic Republic of Iran was to occupy and divide parts of the territory of Iran, which were located in the oil-rich provinces of Khuzestan and the cities of Abadan and Khorramshahr.

Therefore, defending Iran's territorial unity and integrity was one of the important goals of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic. This goal was pursued especially in the first period of the war, i.e., until the conquest of Khorramshahr, within the framework of the internal defense strategy.Because the first priority of foreign policy was to provide the necessary grounds for repelling aggressors and occupiers beyond the international borders and the liberation of the occupied territories, Therefore, Iran did not accept Resolution 479 dated October 7, 1980, or other plans that did not provide this condition.

3.1.3. Maintaining Independence and National Sovereignty

Maintaining national sovereignty, independence, and freedom of action was another goal of the Islamic Republic's foreign policy during the Eight-Year War. Independence and national sovereignty are among the important historical values of the Iranian nation. Hence, seeking independence and fighting against foreign interference became two of the main slogans of the Islamic Revolution. According to the leaders of the Islamic Republic of Iran, one of the purposes of imposing war on Iran was to violate national sovereignty and undermine independence by making it dependent on superpowers.As a result, Iran's foreign policy, in addition to maintaining the security and

IQBAL FORUM

territorial integrity of the Islamic Republic, also sought to gain and maintain independence.Accordingly,Imam Khomeini states, "We do not compromise with any of the superpowers and powers. We are neither under American domination nor under Soviet rule".Hashemi Rafsanjani, the then Speaker of the Islamic Consultative Assembly, also states,We are fighting to maintain the independence independence of our country, and if the purchase of weapons makes us dependent on a bloc, we would rather fight without those weapons".

3.1.4. Fairly Peaceful

With the conquest of Khorramshahr on June 23,1982, the Islamic Republic of Iran liberated the occupied territories within the framework of internal defence. However, based on foreign defence, Iranian forces entered Iraq after the Ramadan operation in August1982.Therefore, the most important goal of Iran's foreign policy until1987 was to ensure security through achieving a just peace. Security also meant repelling future military threats from Iraq. The goal was achieved by punishing the aggressor and overthrowing the Ba'athist regime in Iraq led by Saddam Hussein.

Therefore, in order to achieve this goal, Iran announced four conditions for a ceasefire and the beginning of the peace process: 1) the withdrawal of Iraqi forces from Iran; 2) compensation to Iran; and 3) the determination, trial, and punishment of the aggressor, the Ba'ath party. 4) Return of Iraqi refugees to their country. As a result, the Islamic Republic of Iran rejected all plans, proposals, and mediations that did not meet these conditions. Of these, Resolutions 522 in October 1982, 540 in October 1983, 552 on June 1,1984, and 582 on March 26,1985 were not accepted due to non-consideration of Iranian conditions.

The positions and statements of the leaders of the Islamic Republic of Iran at this time show the importance and priority of this goal in Iran's foreign policy. Imam Khomeini stated on July 4,1982, a few days before the Ramadan operation:It is a rational thing.Even if there are individuals, there are governments that

IQBAL FORUM

want to do it without coercion.We are ready, but not with a peace that leaves Johnny alive for his crimes".The then-president also explicitly stated that "the struggle will continue until the aggressor is punished".In this context, Prime Minister Mir Hossein Mousavi stated, "We will continue to make progress as much as necessary to defend the border areas of our country".Hashemi Rafsanjani, the speaker of the parliament, says in this regard:"When we saw that these gentlemen who are intermediaries are not doing anything... we decided to put military pressure on Saddam to hand him over". Imam Khomeini reiterated about peace on October1,1982: "We welcome peace, but an honorable Islamic peace in which it must be understood what the aggressor has done and the aggressor must compensate the country".

In order to ensure a just peace, the Islamic Republic, in addition to adopting a military strategy by entering Iraqi territory, also put diplomatic work on the foreign policy agenda.The pursuit of political solutions intensified, especially after the failure to achieve a decisive and significant victory on the battlefields in1363. In such a way that the development and expansion of relations with the outside world,including the countries of the Persian Gulf and some developing and developed western countries, became a priority. However, with the failure of diplomatic measures to achieve the just peace that Iran wanted, at the end of 1985, Operation Valfajr 8 and the capture of Faw Island became a military solution.

The victory of Iranian forces in the area of operations and the occupation of Faw Island strengthened the position of Iraq and its regional and international supporters, rather than strengthening diplomacy and enhancing the country's bargaining power to ensure a just peace and then the end of the war. As a result, in 1988, after direct US military intervention in the Persian Gulf region in favor of Iraq and the recapture of Faw by Iraqi forces, the Islamic Republic resigned to the minimum peace conditions envisaged in Resolution 598, adopted on July 20,1987, and accepted it a year later on August 28,1988.

IQBAL FORUM

3.2. Transnational Objectives

During the eight years of the war, in parallel with the national goals and foreign policy of the Islamic Republic, it sought to achieve transnational goals and Islamic ideals. So that goals such as dissemination of the revolution, defending the existence of Shiite Islam, the unity of the Islamic world, and trying to establish a desirable Islamic world order were given priority and importance.

3.2.1. Defending Islam

The leaders of the Islamic Republic of Iran considered the Iraq war against Iran a manifestation of the war of infidelity against Islam. Therefore, the purpose of continuing the war after the conquest of Khorramshahr and providing national security was to maintain the existence of Islam and Shiism. Because the defeat of the Islamic Republic in the war was considered the defeat of revolutionary Islam, On this basis, Imam Khomeini stated that "His (Saddam Hussein) and his friends' motive was to suppress Islam in favor of the superpowers, and the motive of the Iranian nation and Islamic armed forces is to defend Islam and the Holy Quran in favor of the Islamic nations and the oppressed of the world".As a result, he always emphasized during the war that "the defense of Islam and Iran is one of the most important divine duties for all classes".

3.2.2. Dissemination of the Revolution

The dissemination of the Islamic Revolution to homogeneous Islamic and even non-Islamic societies and nations was another transnational goal of Iran's foreign policy during the Eight-Year War, as the Islamic Republic sought to explain and promote the opportunity gained after the invasion of Iraq. Benefit from the nature, goals, and ideals of the Islamic Revolution and the proof of the legitimacy and oppression of the Iranian nation. Hence, the defensive dissemination of the Islamic Revolution became a priority in the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic. Imam Khomeini, as the commander-in-chief and leader of the Islamic Revolution, considered it a peaceful issue while emphasizing

IQBAL FORUM

the necessity of disseminating the revolution."Another issue is the dissemination of the revolution; as I have said many times, we have no war with anyone.We must introduce Islam to the world with the right propaganda.We want nothing but the implementation of Islam in the world". Accordingly, then-Foreign Minister Mir Hossein Mousavi says that one of the two goals of Iran's foreign policy is to "convey the message of the Islamic Revolution to the world". After Iran's victories in the Beitolmoghadas operation, this goal's importance and priority in the Islamic Republic's foreign policy increased.Some analysts have considered the dissemination of the revolution the most important goal of Iran's foreign policy after the conquest of Khorramshahr in1982. However, after the dominance of the discourse of centralism based on Iran's foreign policy and the stagnation on the battlefields since1986, the importance and priority of this goal in Iran's foreign policy gradually decreased.

3.2.3. Solidarity of Islamic World

Another transnational goal of Iran's foreign policy during the war was to strive for Islamic unity and the unity of Muslim nations. The Islamic Revolution's transnational mission and the Islamic Republic's responsibility as the Islamic world's leader and center demanded that Islamic unity and the unity of Muslims be prioritized in foreign policy.Hence, during the Holy Defence, the Leader of the Islamic Revolution and other officials of the Islamic Republic set the political unity of the Islamic world as a goal of Iran's foreign policy. The Islamic Union has two functions: strengthening security and promoting the Islamic Revolution and the Islamic Republic. First, due to the unity of Muslim nations, the power and role of the Islamic world in the international system increased and are enhanced. Hence, the Islamic Republic sought to create a power bloc through the unity of nations so that it could defend the interests of the Islamic world in a bipolar system.According to Imam Khomeini,"I explicitly declare that the Islamic Republic of Iran is investing wholeheartedly in reviving the Islamic identity of Muslims around the world and that there is no reason not to

IQBAL FORUM

invite Muslims around the world to follow the principles of seizing power in the world." And do not stop the ambitious ambitions of those in power, money, and deception.

Second, forming an Islamic power bloc consisting of Muslim countries will pave the way for forming a single global Islamic community. A transformation that fulfills a strategic goal of the revolution and the Islamic Republic of Iran. Hence, the Leader of the Islamic Revolution and the Founder of the Islamic Republic explicitly state that "We have repeatedly stated this fact in our foreign and international policy that we seek to expand the influence of Islam in the world and reduce the domination of the cannibals, and we seek to dry up the roots of the corruption of Zionism, capitalism, and communism in the world. We have decided, with the grace and care of God Almighty, to destroy the systems based on these three pillars and promote the Islamic system of the Messenger of God, peace and blessings of God be upon him, in the time of arrogance".

As a result, the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran during the Eight-Year War pursued goals beyond vital and short-term interests, but in addition, those long-term strategic goals and aspirations were of great importance and priority in Iran's foreign policy. However, it should be noted that due to the lack of independence and very different perceptions of Islamic countries, the unity of Muslims was not formed. Hence, after the end of the war, this goal was pursued in other ways and by other means.

4. Principles and Specifications

The foreign policy of the Islamic Republic in the period of the Holy Defence had special features and principles that distinguished it from the previous and later periods. These features and principles were the result of the discourse that governed foreign policy and the extraordinary revolutionary and war conditions. The most important principles and characteristics of Iran's foreign policy during the war can be summarised as follows: 1) the denial of hegemony and dominance and anti-

IQBAL FORUM

arrogance based on neither Eastern nor Western principles; 2) relations with nations by supporting liberation movements and defending Muslims; 3) developing relations with revolutionary countries;4) pessimism and distrust of international organizations.

The foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran, after the removal of Bani Sadr on July 1,1981, and the beginning of the presidency of Mohammad Ali Rajai on August 8,1981,was based on these principles.On August16,1981, Mir Hossein Mousavi, the then Minister of Foreign Affairs, explained these principles and features of foreign policy as follows:"The foreign policy of the Islamic Republic will be ideological and constitutional, and the following will be emphasized: reliance on the principle of neither Eastern nor Western, the Islamic Republic. The negative and affirmative aspects of the above principle are inseparable, and following the above policy means that while denying any compromise with East and West, the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran will be based on a return to Islamic teachings derived from revelation, tradition, and Velayat-e-Faqih. ... The relations of the Islamic Republic of Iran with other nations and governments will be regulated within the framework of the Islamic value system.A foreign policy based on the above principles, against any positive balance in foreign policy, and also against compromise with a superpower to fight the cloud Power, or power, is another insurgent... The struggle against the arrogant powers of the East and the West and Zionism Proximity to all the oppressed nations of the world, especially the Muslim nations that fight global arrogance and Zionism, is part of this policy.The struggle for the liberation of the Holy Land and the struggle with occupying and racist Zionism are integral parts of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic. Supporting the struggles of the oppressed of the world and liberation movements is at the top of the foreign policy agenda of the Islamic Republic of Iran, and in this way, support is given to Islamic movements".

IQBAL FORUM

Therefore, during this eight-year war, these principles and values became the guide for Iran's foreign policy behavior, without which it would be impossible to understand and analyze them.

4.1. Neither East nor West: Anti-arrogance

Neither East nor West was one of the basic principles of foreign behavior in the Islamic Republic of Iran during the war. Although this principle defines the general direction of Iran's foreign policy, as explained, in this period it became the basis of anti-arrogance in foreign policy, so that the most significant feature of Iran's foreign policy is the confrontation with two superpowers.It was for America.As the determinant of the Islamic Republic of Iran's general policies, the Supreme Leader of the Islamic Revolution says:"We do not compromise with any of the superpowers and powers.We are neither under American domination nor under Soviet rule". Therefore, the interim Prime Minister Mohammad Ali Rajai, in his report on the work of the government to the Islamic Consultative Assembly, speaks of the rule of the Imam's "neither eastern nor western line" over Iran's foreign policy."A policy that, while fighting relentlessly against the criminal West, has not the slightest hope for the aggressor East and does not reach out to the heart in the face of Eastern domination Gave way to the aforementioned ideological foreign policy". President Rajai reiterated this principle as the foundation of the Islamic Republic's foreign policy and stated, “We will follow all countries on this condition".

The Minister of Foreign Affairs of Shahid Rajai’s government, as the custodian and executor of the Islamic Republic's foreign policy, defines the operation of the East, not the West, in the sense of anti-arrogance. "Iran's Ministry of Foreign Affairs will act as a principle in the fight against global arrogance, as stated in the government's program". Therefore, this Eastern, not Western, meaning of fighting

IQBAL FORUM

against superpowers and global arrogance should be considered the most important feature and pillar of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic during the holy defense.The principle on which other principles and features of foreign policy were defined and pursued.

4.2. Relationship with Nations: Supporting Movements and Muslims

The transnational nature of the Islamic Revolution, the dominant discourse, and the revolutionary orientation of foreign policy led to establishing relations with nations through the support of liberation movements over intergovernmental relations. Because, as will be explained in the next section, based on the criteria of the Islamic Republic of Iran in this period, a small number of countries and governments had the necessary conditions to establish relations.Support for liberation movements was identified as the most effective and best way to communicate with nations. Hence, a large number of foreign policy facilities and activities of the Islamic Republic were engaged in supporting liberation movements around the world.Thus, the Liberation Movement office was formed in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to manage relations with them.

Accordingly, in the first years of the war, supporting the liberation movements became one of the basic principles of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic. As the then Minister of Foreign Affairs,Mir Hossein Mousavi, stated,"The Iranian revolution from the beginning supported the liberation movements and declared its firm support for the rights of the nations under subjugation and colonial domination to achieve freedom and independence.".In this regard,"the State Department will respond positively to the oppressed voices of the oppressed nations of the world and assist the liberation movements that work for the rights and well-being of human beings".

Why is it important to support liberation movements? First, it provides the possibility and tools to fight the superpowers as the leaders of the dominance system. In other words, one of the

IQBAL FORUM

strategies and mechanisms to fight arrogance is to support the nations and movements that fight against it. Second, supporting liberation movements is a means of combating puppet states dependent on global arrogance and liberating nations from them.Third, through liberation movements, the Islamic Revolution can be disseminated to the aspiring and oppressed nations of the world. Dissemination of the revolution in this way will increase the national security coefficient of the Islamic Republic by expanding its sphere of influence and expanding the security borders of the Islamic Revolution beyond its geographical borders.

Active liberation movements in Islamic and non-Islamic countries are divided into three categories: Islamic, national, and socialist. The Dawah Party and the Supreme Assembly of the Islamic Revolution of Iraq were examples of Islamic movements operating in an Islamic country.The Polisario Front, which fought for the independence of the Western Sahara, was a national movement operating in an Islamic country. Palestinian groups led by Ahmad Jibril and George Habash were also considered socialist movements in the Islamic land. The Irish Republican Army in Britain, the Swapo in Namibia, and the Moro in the Philippines were national, socialist, and Islamic movements active in non-Muslim countries, respectively.

Although the Islamic Republic supported all these movements based on its revolutionary mission, the Islamic liberation movements had priority.Among the liberation movements active in Islamic countries, the Palestinian People's Movement had a special place in the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic. As Foreign Minister Ali Akbar Velayati stated,"Supporting Palestine is one of the strategic goals of our foreign policy".Therefore, unlike other movements that were supported materially,the Islamic Republic, in addition to material and financial assistance, declared its readiness to fight and jihad with Israel for the liberation of Palestine. Hashemi Rafsanjani, for example, stated,"We promise the Palestinian people to support them with manpower and finances". Two months later, as a spokesman for the Supreme Defence Council, he stated that

IQBAL FORUM

one of the conditions for ending the war in Iraq was that "another condition is that since we do not have access to Israeli borders, they must give us a way inside Iraq so that we can transfer our armour to Syria".

The Islamic Republic of Iran's support for liberation movements has strained its foreign relations with many Islamic and non-Islamic countries. The Persian Gulf countries felt more threatened and concerned about this policy than others. Hence, they formed the [Persian] Gulf Cooperation Council on the basis of the threat balance. The superpowers and great powers also tried to control and weaken the Islamic Republic based on the same logic. Thus, in the early years of the war, Iran's foreign relations were limited to revolutionary and independent countries that were independent of the superpowers.

4.3. Revolutionary-contractive Pattern of Interaction

Although it limited the Islamic Republic's relations with some countries, establishing relations with nations and liberation movements did not mean severing relations with all countries. On the contrary, in order to balance its foreign policy, Iran developed relations with revolutionary, anti-imperialist, and non-revolutionary superpowers in the Islamic world and the Third World.Because, in formulating foreign policy and regulating relations with other countries, the Islamic Republic considered multiple criteria and standards, the contraction and expansion of Iran's relations were based on these criteria.

4.3.1. Criteria and Priorities

The Islamic Republic considered five indicators and criteria for establishing and developing relations with other governments. These criteria are: political positions on the Islamic Revolution and the imposed war; independence from superpowers and independence of action; belonging to the Third World and the Islamic world; geographical proximity; and no colonial history in Iran.

IQBAL FORUM

a) Alignment with Iran

The most important criterion for Iran in establishing and developing relations with other countries in this period was the degree of their alignment with the Islamic Revolution and the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic. In this context, two indicators are very important.First, anti-colonial and anti-imperialist policies at the international level and second, support for Iran's position in the war with Iraq. Countries with these two characteristics were a priority in the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic.

b) Independence of Superpowers

The second criterion for establishing and expanding political relations with the countries of the world was the degree of their independence from the superpowers. Independence meant making decisions based on national interests and not following the hostile policies of the two superpowers, especially the United States, against the Islamic Revolution and the Islamic Republic of Iran. Therefore, based on independence of action, countries do not necessarily support the political positions of the Islamic Republic but are not influenced by the imperialist policies of the two superpowers. Independence of action also implied neutrality in the Iraq-Iran war.

c) Neighborhood

The third criterion and indicator in establishing and developing relationships was the neighborhood. Establishing relations with neighbours is a priority in the Islamic Republic's constitution. But geographical proximity and proximity alone were not enough to expand relations; they were considered an advantage if they were mixed with non-dependence on superpowers, neutrality in war, and non-confrontation with the Islamic Revolution and the Islamic Republic. Iran, therefore, not only did not give priority to its neighbors who supported Iraq and followed US policies but also considered them hostile.

IQBAL FORUM

d) Being a Muslim in the Third World

Iran's fourth criterion in prioritizing countries to establish and develop relations with was to be a Third World nation and a Muslim country. According to the principles of the Constitution and foreign policy of the Islamic Republic, establishing and developing relations with Islamic countries and the Third World are priorities. However, like the neighborhood, belonging to the Third World and the Islamic World would develop, strengthen, and stabilize relations if it included independence of action, neutrality, and non-alignment with the Islamic Republic. Hence, being Islamic and in the Third World did not necessarily lead to the consolidation and development of relations.

e) No Colonial Background

Another criterion for Iran to establish and expand relations with other countries was their lack of colonial history, especially compared to Iran.Since the Islamic Republic considered itself an anti-imperialist and anti-colonial state with a duty to support the oppressed, it could not have extensive relations with the colonial powers. Hence, the Islamic Republic's relations with European countries, which were considered colonial powers, were strongly influenced by this criterion.Because countries were given priority in Iran's foreign policy that, in addition to neutrality in the war and non-conflict with the Islamic Revolution, also did not have a colonial background, As a result, Iran sought to"shift the focus of its diplomatic activities from Europe and the Americas to Asia and Africa".

4.3.2. Types of Countries and Actions

According to the five criteria, the countries of the world were divided into several categories, and the Islamic Republic adopted a different pattern of behavior and action towards each of them.The different types of countries in the eyes of the Islamic Republic were: revolutionary and anti- imperialist, independent and non- ependent, neutral,neighboring,Third World,Islamic,colonial,and arrogant.The Islamic Republic's

IQBAL FORUM

pattern of behavior and action also included a range of alliances,cooperation,interaction,confrontation and conflict. Of course, Iran's pattern of behavior,towards each of these countries was not necessarily fixed and unchangeable,so during the war, the pattern of action and behavior of the Islamic Republic towards some countries changed.

a) Alliance and alliance with revolutionary countries: One of the most important features and priorities of Iran's foreign policy during the war was the development and deepening of friendly relations with revolutionary countries within the alliance and coalition strategy framework. Revolutionary countries included anti-imperialist governments that supported and aligned with Iran and the Islamic Revolution. Libya, Syria, North Korea, Nicaragua,Algeria,and South Yemen were among the revolutionary countries with which the Islamic Republic established extensive and friendly relations. So that the relations of the Islamic Republic with some of these countries, such as Syria and Libya, were raised to a strategic level in the form of alliances and coalitions.

On the basis of strategic relations, Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi supported the Islamic Republic's anti-imperialist positions. Libya also provided material and weapons support to Iran in the war with Iraq, making Libya one of the most important suppliers of Iranian weapons during the war. Furthermore, in June1982,after the visit of Abdul Salam Jalloud, a member of the Libyan Command Council, from Tehran, Iran and Libya issued a statement announcing that they would "confront the enemies in a stronghold for the goals of the Islamic Union."Therefore, the two countries exchanged views on forming the Islamic Liberation Army, and it was decided that the details would be submitted to a joint committee of the two countries.

The relations of the Islamic Republic of Iran with Syria, as the most important strategic ally in the war with Iraq and the fight against Israel, were also greatly expanded and strengthened. In a way, Iran, beyond its close ties with Syria as a member of the Arab Stability Front, fully supported Syria in its confrontation

IQBAL FORUM

with Israel. Hence, the Islamic Republic of Iran sought to form a united Islamic Front with the participation of Iran, Syria, and other leading Islamic countries.Iran also proposed the formation of the Quds Force, consisting of joint forces of Islamic countries, including Iran and Syria, to assist the country in its fight against Israel.

The relations of the Islamic Republic with other revolutionary and allied countries also expanded and developed significantly. In this regard, Iran and Algeria have established friendly and extensive relations. Thus, as explained, the hostage crisis at the US Embassy ended with the mediation of Algeria. Iran-NorthKorea relations were also strengthened.Hashemi Rafsanjani,the then Speaker of the Islamic Consultative Assembly, visited Korea on September 15,1981, and met with the President of the People's Republic of Korea, Kim Il-sung.The Islamic Republic of Iran also strongly supported the revolutionary government of Daniel Ortega in Nicaragua. The most important reason for this support was this country's anti-imperialist and anti-American positions and policies.

b) Development of relations with third-world countries: Due to the confrontation and conflict of the Islamic Republic of Iran with the superpowers and European countries, Iran tried to shift the center of gravity of its diplomatic activities from Europe and the Americas to developing countries in Asia, Africa, and South America.Therefore, the interaction and development of Iran's relations with third- world countries, especially Islamic and non-aligned governments with a policy independent of the superpowers and neutral in the war, became a foreign policy priority. Because, within the framework of neither Eastern nor Western principles, the independence of countries from superpowers and great powers was one of the important conditions for the development of Iran's relations with them (87).

The development of relations with third-world countries, especially after the adoption of the open-door policy by the Islamic Republic in 1983, became more important and a priority. Accordingly,Iranian Foreign Minister Ali Akbar

IQBAL FORUM

Velayati stated,"We have shifted the main focus of Iran's Foreign policy to third-world countries, especially Islamic countries".The policy of expanding and deepening relations with developing and Third World countries continued during the war. As the President of the Islamic Republic of Iran stated in December 1986,"establishing relations with African countries is one of the main axes of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic". Also, the relations between Iran and China, which considered itself one of the third-world countries, expanded a lot.

The expansion and strengthening of relations with the Third World and the Islamic world were done for several purposes. First, to convey the message of the Islamic Revolution to the nations and countries that were more willing to hear it due to common issues and problems with Iran. Second, reducing dependence on European countries and powers that shared strategic goals with the United States and pursued unfriendly policies towards the Islamic Republic Third, to prevent these countries from turning to Iraq by thwarting the propaganda of its diplomatic activities against Iran.Within the framework of the Non-Aligned Movement and the Organisation of the Islamic Conference, Iraq was trying to attract member states of these organizations to support it in the war with Iran.

c) Confrontation with dependent and pro-Iraq countries: The third pattern of behavior in the Islamic Republic's foreign policy during the war was confrontation with US-affiliated and pro-Iraqi countries.Because, as mentioned, Iran considered following the US olicy towards itself and supporting Saddam Hussein as a clear example of enmity.Thus, countries with these two characteristics were considered adversaries and had to be confronted. Because, on behalf of imperialism and the United States, they opposed the Islamic Revolution and the Islamic Republic and supported Iraq, Countries such as South Africa, Jordan,Morocco, and Egypt, followed by Kuwait and Saudi Arabia.

Therefore, despite its principled policy of expanding

IQBAL FORUM

relations with neighboring Islamic and Third World countries, the Islamic Republic did not have friendly interactions with all of them. Iran's relations with South Africa were severed due to racism and with Egypt due to the signing of the Camp David Accords with Israel.The Islamic Republic's relations with Jordan and Morocco were also severed in February 1980 due to the adoption of anti-Iranian policies and support for Iraq. Iran's relations with Saudi Arabia and Kuwait continued, despite the two ountries'unwavering support for Iraq, but were tenserld countries, did not have friendly interactions with all of them. Iran's relations with South Africa were severed due to racism and with Egypt due to the signing of the Camp David Accords with Israel.The Islamic Republic's relations with Jordan and Morocco were also severed in February1980 due to the adoption of anti-Iranian policies and support for Iraq. Iran's relations with Saudi Arabia and Kuwait continued, despite the two countries' unwavering support for Iraq, but were tense. Finally, Saudi Arabia severed diplomatic relations with Iran in May 1988 following the massacre of Iranian pilgrims in1991. In addition to providing billions of dollars in aid and facilities to Iraq, Kuwait also provided the strategic islands of Bubian and Warieh to Iraq.These islands played a very strategic role during the Iraqi military operation to retake Faw Island. Kuwait and Saudi Arabia, in cooperation with the United States, also formed the "Island Shield" military force for intelligence assistance to Iraq in1987.The biased positions and actions of the Arab countries in the Persian Gulf region,especially Kuwait and Saudi Arabia from Iraq and their strategic alliance with the United States, led to Iran's aggressive policy against them.Because the Islamic Republic of Iran considered them dependent and even hostile countries due to their full support of Iraq and gave military bases to the United States, Iran explicitly warned these countries to refrain from this hostile act. For example,the Iranian president declared,"We want our neighbors not to be bases of American domination. In particular, we want the Persian Gulf to be protected from the growing influence of

IQBAL FORUM

the United States, on the basis of which our relations with it are formed".He strongly criticized some countries in the Persian Gulf for granting a military base to the United States and warned them against fighting the Islamic Republic. Furthermore, in the view of the Islamic Republic of Iran,"the principle of forming the Persian Gulf Cooperation Councilwithout considering the fundamental role of the Islamic Republic of Iran is unrealistic".As a result,Iran's relations with these countries remained confrontational until the end of the war with Iraq. It was only after the war and then Iraq's invasion of Kuwait in1990 that tensions between Iran and the Gulf Cooperation Council eased.

4.4. Distrusting International Organizations

4.4.1. United Nations Organization

The distrust and pessimism of the Islamic Republic of Iran towards international organizations,especially the United Nations and its Security Council, is one of the important features of foreign policy during the war. The Islamic Republic of Iran has effectively sanctioned the UN Security Council as the sole international body for recognizing and ensuring international peace and security.In the early days of Iraq's invasion of Iran, the Islamic Republic did not participate in the council's meetings to discuss the war and issue a resolution. This distrust and suspicion of the United Nations and the Security Council continued until the last moment of the war. The Islamic Republic, without exception, formally did not accept any of the resolutions and statements issued by the Security Council. Iran considered this organization an instrument of the great powers, especially the United States, which was not a neutral authority by taking a pro-Iraq stance. The first decision and position of the UN Security Council on Iraq's blatant invasion of Iran was the issuance of the first statement in September 1980. The statement called on the two countries, as a first step in resolving the conflict, to renounce all armed action and any action that may exacerbate the current

IQBAL FORUM

dangerous situation and to resolve their differences peacefully. Neither Iran nor Iraq responded to the request.
Furthermore, the Islamic Republic of Iran, in the words of President Abolhassan Bani-Sadr and the then Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, rejected the issue in the Security Council."We have not yet referred to the Security Council because we have been victims of foreign domination since 1953, when the American coup took place in Iran, and we have obviously come to the conclusion from the experience of others that it is obvious that what will not get anywhere is shouting".

A) Resolution No. 479

The ineffectiveness of this statement caused the Security Council to unanimously adopt Resolution 479 on the establishment of a ceasefire between Iran and Iraq on October 27,1980.The resolution urged the parties to refrain from any use of force and to resolve their differences. Resolve peacefully in accordance with the principles of justice and international law. All other countries were also urged to refrain from any action that might escalate the dispute between Iran and Iraq. The Secretary-General was also tasked with resolving the Iran-Iraq dispute.

The resolution had several features that made it impossible for Iran to accept it. The first resolution was based on Article 24 of the Charter of the United Nations, which was a recommendation and not binding. Second, "situation between Iran and Iraq" was used instead of war or conflict, indicating that the issue was not serious and dangerous. Third, despite Iraq's apparent aggression against Iran for violating the principles of the Charter, the resolution was not drafted or issued under Chapter VII, which endangers international peace and security.

Accordingly, the Islamic Republic of Iran naturally refused to accept the resolution, arguing that Iraq violated the Charter by committing aggression and that a ceasefire was not acceptable as long as the aggression continued. Hashemi Rafsanjani,

IQBAL FORUM

Speaker of the Islamic Consultative Assembly, stated, "We have not started this war to raise the issue of a ceasefire with us now. Another country has invaded us.The invasion must be eliminated. In this new case, we must see how the aggressor must be punished and how the rights that have been deprived of the people of Iran and Iraq can be compensated".
Therefore, the representative of Iran, as a country that had been invaded, complained to the Security Council as the guardian of international peace and security. Even Iran was present in the council's discussions on the issue.The then Prime Minister Mohammad Ali Rajai, who attended the Security Council meeting a few days later, stated that the purpose was to express Iran's problems and positions, adding that Iran believes that the Security Council is under the influence of the great powers. It will not work in Iran's favor.

B) Resolution No. 514

The second Security Council Resolution No. 514 was issued on July12,1982, after Iran's victories on the fronts and the conquest of Khorramshahr.This resolution was similar to Resolution 479. So that it was not in the framework of the seventh chapter of the charter, and instead of using the word "conflict" or "war", the term "situation" was still used.

Therefore, it had a recommendatory aspect and was not binding.The resolution, which was adopted unanimously, included the following recommendations:
1) Establish an immediate ceasefire;2)Withdraw all forces to International borders;3) Establish a mechanism for eacekeepers; and 4) Encourage the parties involved to cooperate in implementation.All the provisions of this resolution and the strengthening of the peacekeeping forces;
5) Follow-up of the implementation of the provisions of the resolution by the UN Secretary General; 6) Emphasis on international mediation and avoiding the involvement of other countries in the war.

The Islamic Republic, which was in the best conditions of war, immediately rejected Resolution 514.

IQBAL FORUM

In addition,Iranianleaders and officials have sharply criticised the Security Council, questioning its legitimacy for supporting Iraq. Thus, Rajai Khorasani, Iran's representative to the United Nations, stated,"We oppose the Council and reject it, and of course, with the resolution, such an action by the Council is considered an indirect aid to Iraq". However, there was a sharp attack on the Security Council and the resolution issued by the then Prime Minister,Mir Hossein Mousavi."This was not expected from the Security Council, in which the world's five biggest bullies have a veto, and in fact, the Security Council vote is a vote of confidence by the Soviets and the United States in Saddam. If the Security Council issues another resolution, we cannot give up our deception". The Iranian Ministry of Foreign Affairs also issued a statement rejecting the resolution: "We will continue our relentless struggle until the realization of our legitimate demands, which have been expressed since the beginning of the invasion of the Islamic homeland by Iraqi mercenaries".Therefore, the Islamic Republic declared its conditions for ending the war and establishing a ceasefire as follows:

1) withdrawal of Iraqi forces from Iran and retreat to international borders; 2) designation of the Ba'ath party as an aggressor; 3) trial and punishment of the aggressor; 4) payment of compensation to Iran; 5) return of Iraqi refugees to their country; 6) use of Iraqi territory to send arms to Syria to fight Israel.

C) Resolution No. 522

Following the non-acceptance of Resolution 514 by the diplomatic efforts of Iraq and some other Arab countries in the United Nations, the Security Council issued Resolution 522 on October3,1982. The resolution, while regretting the non-acceptance of theprevious resolution and expressing concern over the endangerment of international peace and security, called for a ceasefire, an end to all militaryoperations,and an advance to international borders The Islamic Republic of Iran did not accept the resolution because Iran's conditions were not

IQBAL FORUM

included in it.The Iranian Ministry of Foreign Affairs issued a statement denouncing the Security Council as incompetent due to the presidency of Jordan's representative, Saddam Hussein's accomplice in the invasion of Iran, and ignoring the cries of the oppressed Iranian nation under aggression during the two years of the Iraq war.

D) Resolution No. 540

The fourth Security Council Resolution No.540was issued on November10,1983, after Iranian forces entered Iraqi territory and launched large-scale attacks on residential areas in Iran known as the war of cities.The resolution referred to the report of the Secretary-General's delegation to investigate the attack on the cities and, while regretting the continuing conflict between the two countries, stressed for the first time the need for a realistic review of the war. He also condemned human rights abuses in attacks on cities and called for an end to all military operations for civilian purposes.

The Islamic Republic of Iran did not consider the provisions of the resolution sufficient. Although the council had called for a realistic review of the war for the first time, its implementation was unclear. Furthermore, he refused to identify the perpetrator and punish him. Hence, Iran rejected this resolution as before because it did not consider its conditions.

E) Resolution No. 552.

After the Khyber operation in March1983 and the occupation of parts of the Hoor region and the Majnoon Islands, Iraq sought to internationalize the war. Thus, in May 984, Iraq intensified its attacks on ships and tankers in the Persian Gulf to cut off Iranian oil exports.The Islamic Republic also took retaliatory measures to prevent it.The Iranian Ministry of Foreign Affairs explicitly stated, "if the Islamic Republic of Iran is deprived of the possibility of exporting oil, no oil will be exported from the region".

Following retaliation against Iran, the GCC complained to the Security Council, urging it to respond to Iran's violation of free

IQBAL FORUM

shipping rights in the Persian Gulf. In response to this request, the Security Council issued Resolution 552 on June 1,1984. The provisions of this resolution were: 1) the observance of the right to free shipping by all countries; 2) the emphasis on the right of free navigation of the parties not in conflict and their use of waterways; and 3) the recognition of the territorial integrity of the countries that are parties. They are not hostile and refrain from attacking their ports and ships. 4) Condemnation of the recent attacks on Kuwaiti and Saudi ships and the need to stop these attacks immediately.

The Islamic Republic of Iran reacted strongly to this resolution and rejected it.As Prime Minister Mir Hossein Mousavi said in response to Resolution 552: "The Security Council, which is governed by the law of the jungle, cannot give us orders.We are determined to punish the aggressor.

A few days after the issuance of Resolution 552, in a letter to the Iranian president, Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar called for an immediate end to general military strikes on civilian areas, citing the Iraqi air strike on the city of Baneh. In response to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, the President of the Islamic Republic of Iran stated that this action of the United Nations should have been taken much sooner. However, he stated that"the Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran, in order to prove its good faith, responds positively to your proposal to stop any attack on civilian areas inspired by the objectives of the UN Charter".

This positive reaction of Iran took place in the framework of the open-door policy of the Islamic Republic based on the normalization and expansion of relations with the outside world, including international organizations. The move marked the beginning of Iran's correspondence with the UN Secretary-General. Ali Akbar Velayati, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Iran, on June 13,1984, after the Iraqi missile attack on the city of Dezful,sent a telegram to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, calling it a violation of international law and calling for it to be addressed. But Iran's critical tone and

IQBAL FORUM

discourse towards the United Nations continue."The Islamic Republic of Iran considers this long silence of international organizations, especially the United Nations, to be the main impetus for the development of the Iraqi regime's aggression," he said. The world's free nations are now waiting to see the actions of Your Excellency and the United Nations to condemn such crimes".

But the general issue of Iran regarding the ceasefire and the end of the war did not change much. The Islamic Republic of Iran continued to insist on the ffulfillment of its two conditions, namely condemning the aggressor and paying compensation.

Simultaneously with the Secretary-General's visit to Iran and Iraq in April 1985, Iraq re-used chemical weapons. Therefore, the Iranian Ministry of Foreign Affairs requested that the UN Secretary-General send a delegation to Iran.The Islamic Republic of Iran also called for a resolution by the Security Council condemning the use of chemical weapons by Iraq. However,onMay25,1985,the Security Council issued a statement condemning the use of chemical weapons against Iranian troops. Although the Islamic Republic of Iran welcomed the Issuance of this statement, it considered it insufficient due to the lack of explicit condemnation of Iraq in the form of a binding resolution. Subsequently, Prime Minister Mir Hossein Mousavi clarified that the condition for Iran's presence in the Security Council "is to adopt a clear position of this organization regarding Iraq's invasion of Iran and to implement the eight-article plan proposed by the UN Secretary-General".

F) Resolution No. 582

The sixth resolution of the Security Council was issued after Operation Valfajr 8 on February 11,1985, and the occupation of the Faw Peninsula.Resolution 582, which was adopted on March 26,1985, expressed concern about the prolongation of the war for six years and reminded the members of their commitment to the peaceful settlement of disputes. He also lamented the unacceptable seizure of land, the escalation of

IQBAL FORUM

attacks on civilian areas, attacks on neutral ships and civilian aircraft, and the use of chemical weapons.Theycalled for an immediate ceasefire,to return to internationally recognized borders, and to end the war through mediation. In addition, in order to comply with Iran's request to investigate the causes of the war, it generally and vaguely regretted the initial measures that led to the war.

But the Islamic Republic of Iran declared that parts of the resolution related to the whole war and the end of hostilities were incomplete, invalid, and unenforceable. However, Iran has stated its readiness to cooperate with the UN Secretary-General in implementing other international provisions. Thus, Iran's representative to the United Nations noted that "so many letters to the intentions of Saddam's criminal regime, if not resolved fairly, are a matter of responsibility to continue the war with the Security Council".

G) Resolution No. 588

The seventh UN Security Council Resolution was issued on October7,1986,following the increase in attacks on merchant ships of other countries in the Persian Gulf and the development of tanker wars. Letter No. 588 was also adopted following the UN Secretary-General's report on Iraq's use of chemical weapons. The provisions of Resolution 588 and the cases requested from Iran and Iraq were similar to Resolution 582. It was once again called upon to resolve their differences differences peacefully by declaring a ceasefire.

The Islamic Republic of Iran refused to accept the resolution due to the non-fulfillment of its conditions and expectations. Two days before the adoption and issuance of Resolution 588, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Iran spokesman said about the draught:``Let us continue it more decisively". Thus, nearly six years after the war, there was no change in Iran's policy or position towards the United Nations, and in particular its Security Council. The Islamic Republic continued to view the Security Council as a supporter of Iraq and as lacking the authority to impartially judge the war.

IQBAL FORUM

H) Resolution No. 598

The eighth resolution of the UN Security Council was adopted and issued on July 20,1987, No. 598. Resolution 598, which was adopted after five months of negotiations, is the first resolution to address the Iran-Iraq war under Chapter VII of the UN Charter.Decisions on this resolution's provisions were binding on the parties involved. Instead of the situation between Iran and Iraq, the title of the resolution became "Iran-Iraq War", which indicates that international peace and security are threatened. The most important provisions and requests of Resolution 598 are as follows: 1) requesting the two countries to declare and observe an immediate ceasefire and return to the international borders;2) sending an international monitoring group to review, approve, and monitor the ceasefire and the withdrawal of forces; 3)achieving a just solution with the mediation of the Secretary-General on all matters; 4) requesting other countries to exercise maximum restraint to prevent the outbreak of war;expertise in studying the subject of post-war reconstruction; 7) the release of prisoners of war; 8) examining ways to increase regional stability.

Resolution 598 had positive points compared to previous resolutions. For example, in the sixth paragraph, on a specific basis for Iran, the Secretary-General has been asked to appoint an impartial body to investigate the responsibility for the conflict.The first desire for a comprehensive, just, and honorable solution was also mentioned, another request from Iran. In fact, some conditions in Iran were considered minimal and implicit. Nevertheless, Resolution 598 could not meet the conditions and expectations of the Islamic Republic.Therefore, Iran did not accept this resolution."The UN Security Council has once again relinquished its most important role in maintaining international peace and security by adopting unjust resolutions," the Iranian Foreign Ministry said in a statement. Also, in the letter dated August11,1987, in response to the letter of the Secretary General of the United Nations, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Iran mentioned some of Iran's positions on the resolution. Among other things, it did not write Iran's secret opinions; the

IQBAL FORUM

lyric letter was drafted without consultation and Iran's opinion; the resolution supported the aggressor; and the Security Council was removed from the state of neutrality. Accordingly, Iranian Foreign Minister Ali Akbar Velayati stated that "Iran rejects the recent UN Security Council resolution because it does not take into account the conditions required by the Islamic Republic to establish a ceasefire and peace in the Iraq-Iran war.It does not introduce the aggressor, which is the minimum condition for Iran to accept a ceasefire".
Kamal Kharrazi, the head of the war propaganda headquarters, also announced on April 10,1988, that "the condition for accepting Resolution 598 by Iran is the explicit introduction of the aggressor and the punishment of the aggressor".

But developments in the war and Iran's lack of military victory on the fronts led Iran to reconsider its policy and attitude towards the United Nations.Some of these developments were the collapse of Faw Island in late April1988, the US Air Force and Navy attack on Iranian oil rigs and frigates on April 28,1988, the collapse of the Majnoon Islands on July 28, 1988, and the downing of an Iranian airliner on July3,1988. In addition, in the last year of the war, Iran was under intense political, economic, and military pressure to end the war by adopting Resolution No.598.

The first sign of a change in Iran's approach to the Security Council was Iran's complaint against the United States. Subsequently, Ali Akbar Velayati attended a Security Council meeting to review Iran's complaint and reiterated the position of the Islamic Republic of Iran. Hashemi Rafsanjani, the Deputy Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, also called Iran's complaint a historic test for the international community. Finally,on July18,1988,the Islamic Republic of Iran formally adopted Resolution No.598 for the Secretary-General of the United Nations.Thus, with the end of the Iraq war against Iran as the most important obstacle, the view and approach of the Islamic Republic of Iran to the United Nations changed. In a way, Iran tried to have a more active presence in these international organizations after the war.

IQBAL FORUM

4.4.2. Islamic Conference Organisation

The approach of the Islamic Republic of Iran to the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation was also not favorable or positive. In its revolutionary and idealistic discourse, Iran saw the organization as composed of conservative,dependent, and non-revolutionary governments influenced by the policies of the two superpowers.Therefore, the organization could not meet the goals and expectations of Iran's revolution and ideals of practical struggle against imperialism and Zionism, the unity of the Islamic world, and the creation of an independent power bloc against thesuperpowers.However, the Islamic Republic participated in using this organisation as a tool to achieve some of its goals.Iran's most important goals were to participate in theOrganisation of IslamicCooperation, to disseminate the revolution, to counter US pressure, and to unite anti-Zionist decisions.Before the start of the imposed war, the Islamic Republic managed to achieve some of its goals. He succeeded in persuading the organization to expel Egypt and issued resolutions condemning US political and economic pressure and the military invasion of Tabas.

Accordingly, the Islamic Republic of Iran hoped that the organization would quickly and explicitly condemn the invasion of Iraq, force Iraq to retreat, and seek to punish the aggressor. But the conservative nature of the members, especially the Arab countries, which themselves protected the Islamic Revolution, did not allow such a revolutionary action.Hence, this organization, like the United Nations, did not take steps to realize and provide the conditions for Iran to end the invasion of Iraq. Rather, it tried to persuade Iran to sit at the negotiating table and negotiate with Iraq without achieving its goals in the context of its diplomatic and mediation activities, which was rejected and unacceptable by the Islamic Republic.

The organization's first action was to convene a meeting of the ministers of Islamic countries on the sidelines of the UN General Assembly on October25,1980. In this emergency meeting,while examining the Iran-Iraq war, a "good faith

IQBAL FORUM

committee" was formed to mediate between the two countries and end the war.This committee,laterrenamed the "Islamic Peace Committee", was approved at the third summit of Islamic countries, held from February26 to 29,1980, in Taif, Saudi Arabia.

Therefore, Habib Shatti, Secretary General of the OIC, traveled to Iran and Iraq with the leadership of the then President of Pakistan, Zia-ul-Haq, to establish peace. In a meeting with the delegation, officials of the Islamic Republic explicitly stated that they would not accept any mediation for a ceasefire with Iraq until the withdrawal of Iraqi forces from Iran."We will not accept mediation," said Prime Minister Rajai. This war is not a war with the country but a war of belief with belief. We do not in any way accept political debate, negotiation, or goodwill in the sense of someone who wants to encourage us to negotiate". President Bani-Sadr also cited Iran's two conditions for accepting the ceasefire as "the withdrawal of Iraqi forces from Iranian territory and Iraq's full commitment not to interfere (directly or indirectly) in Iran's internal affairs".

The Secretary General of the Organisation and the delegation arrived in Tehran for the second time on October20,1980, tonegotiate with the Iranian leaders and persuade them to accept a ceasefire. But the effort and mission failed. Because the then Prime Minister emphasized and clarified that "no negotiations or action will take place before the departure of Iraqi mercenaries from Iran",The third visit of the Secretary General of the Organisation was made on February13,1980, in Taif to encourage Iran to participate in the Third Summit of Islamic Countries on February26–29,1980.However, the Islamic Republic of Iran did not attend the meeting due to the presence of Iraqi President Saddam Hussein.Therefore,the summit of Islamic countries was held without the presence of Iran. At the end of the meeting, a resolution was issued on the Iran-Iraq war.

The resolution called on the two countries to refrain from using force while establishing a ceasefire. Eight countries were also selected as members of the Islamic Good Faith Committee to mediate an end to the war.It was also decided that the

IQBAL FORUM

meeting of the organization's foreign ministers would be held on June 6,1981, in Baghdad. As expected, the Islamic Republic of Iran did not accept the decisions of this summit regarding the ceasefire before its conditions were met.

Members of the Islamic Good Faith Committee arrived in Tehran for the first time on March 30,1980, and met with Imam Khomeini, the President, Prime Minister, and Speaker of the Islamic Consultative Assembly.In a meeting with the delegation, Imam Khomeini stated that "the aggressor must go out, and an international delegation must investigate the crimes of Iraq". After meeting with Iranian and Iraqi officials, the committee presented its first peace plan. The plan addresses issues such as a ceasefire, respect for territorial integrity, retreat to international borders, and the two countries' use of the Arvand River waterway. However, the Islamic Republic did not accept the plan because it did not mention the invasion of Iraq and its punishment.Iran announced its conditions for ending the war as follows:unconditional withdrawal of Iraqi forces from Iranian territory; punishment for aggression; acknowledging the invasion of Iraq; and accepting the 1975 Algerian treaty that established Iran's sovereignty over half of the Arvand River.

The committee met nine times during the war, proposed peace plans, and sent several delegations to end the war. But none of them could satisfy Iran. Especially after the meeting of the organization's foreign ministers was held in Baghdad on June 6,1981, Iran's distrust of the organization and its goodwill and neutrality increased.

One of these plans was presented on April 20,1982, after Iran's victories in the Fath al-Mubin operation.This plan addressed most of Iran's demands, but Iran rejected it due to ambiguity in some cases. Another plan was proposed after the conquest of Khorramshahr, which addressed many of Iran's concerns. Iran's distrust of the countries of the region and other members of this organization caused it to reject this plan as well. The Islamic Republic was so skeptical of the organization that the Iranian presidency wrote in a letter to Ahmed Sékou

IQBAL FORUM

Touré, chairman of the Peace Committee:"The peace plan of the organization includes the open encouragement of the Iraqi regime. This plan not only does not bring peace but also creates sedition and insecurity all over the region more than ever.The motive for attacking Iran is the destruction of the Islamic Revolution". Finally, the Peace Committee of this organization held its seventh and eighth meetings in May and October 1985 and its ninth and last meeting in November 1986 in Jeddah.The committee's proposals were announced to the two countries, Iran and Iraq, without elaborating on the demands of the members of the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation: 1) a full ceasefire that culminates in negotiations to resolve the war; and 2) international agreements 4) Forming a commission to determine and identify those responsible for starting the war. However, the Islamic Republic of Iran, which had succeeded in capturing Faw in Operation Valfajr 8, was unwilling to suffice with these proposals without considering all its conditions and demands.

4.4.3. The Non-Aligned Movement

The approach of the Islamic Republic of Iran to the Non-Aligned Movement was also revolutionary. Revolutionary Iran expected non-aligned countries to pursue a policy independent of the two superpowers within the framework of the movement's primary goals and to counter their expansionism. Hence, from the beginning of the invasion of Iraq, the Islamic Republic adopted an active policy towards the Non-Aligned Movement and its non- aligned members. Iran hoped that at least the leading and revolutionary non- aligned countries, such as India and Cuba, would condemn the invasion of Iraq and take steps to punish the aggressor. Therefore, President Abul Hassan Bani Sadr sent a letter to the leaders of non-aligned countries, referring to the aggression of the Iraqi regime, asking them to condemn it and support the government of the Islamic Republic.

Also, Prime Minister Mohammad Ali Rajai officially

IQBAL FORUM

participated in the Non-Aligned Movement Conference in India in February1980. The representative of the Islamic Republic in this movement stated that since the Iraqi government has violated one of the main principles of the Non-Aligned Movement, the member states should condemn this regime and nominate its representative from the movement. Contrary to Iran's expectations, in its final resolution, the Non-Aligned Movement merely set up a goodwill committee to end the Iran-Iraq war.

The Islamic Republic of Iran considered this decision and the issue of the movement as pro-Iraq and objected to it. As a result, the Islamic Republic of Iran's approach to the Non-Aligned Movement also shifted from its initial hope to mistrust and pessimism. As the then Prime Minister Rajai puts it, "Our joining the Non-Aligned Movement was done with the hope that we would consider non-aligned countries dealing with a revolutionary issue, but now most of them." "We are neutral in the war, and this is unacceptable to us, and I do not see any expansion in our relations unless I find a convincing reason to do so".Relations between Iran and the Non-Aligned Movement not only did not expand, but became very cold and pessimisticfollowing the movement's decision to hold its seventh meeting of foreign ministers in Baghdad in June1982. Although the venue was moved from Baghdad to Havana through Cuban mediation and Iranian diplomatic efforts, it did not reduce Iran's distrust and suspicion of the movement.

Members of the Non-Aligned Movement's Goodwill Committee also traveled frequently to the two countries to peacefully resolve the Iran-Iraq dispute and end the war, presenting plans and proposals.But since none of these proposals and plans took into account Iran's conditions, especially the identification and punishment of the aggressor, Iran rejected them.Thus, on the sidelines of the Non-Aligned Movement in Havana,Velayati,the Minister of Foreign Affairs,stated:"So far, the first condition, the expulsion of the aggressor, is being fulfilled and the struggle will continue until other conditions are met.Therefore, the Non-Aligned

IQBAL FORUM

Movement, like the Organization of Islamic Cooperation, could not take a positive step in ending the war due to not paying attention to Iran's demands.

Nevertheless, within the framework of the open-door policy that began in1984, the Islamic Republic of Iran tried to have a wider and more active presence in international forums, including the Non-Aligned Movement, to explain its positions. In particular, this partnership was made to thwart the intense propaganda of Iraq against the Islamic Republic of Iran as a belligerent country.In this regard, the then president participated in the eighth meeting of non-aligned leaders in September1986 in Harare. At the summit, he called for the revival of the Non-Aligned Movement and its expulsion from Iraq. He described the trip's success:"We promised the leaders of Saddam's friendly countries that we would uproot Saddam in the near future" Iran's active presence at the highest level led the Non-Aligned Movement summit to issue a flexible and gentle statement on the Iran-Iraq war. However, Iran's relations with the Non-Aligned Movement did not develop until the end of the war and continued cautiously. But with the end of the war, Iran's approach to the Non-Aligned Movement also changed because the most important obstacle to the development of relations with this movement was removed.

IQBAL FORUM

8

Chapter Eight

Construction Period

IQBAL FORUM

Chapter 8: Construction Period

After the end of the Iraq war against Iran, a new period in the Islamic Republic's foreign policy began, known as the struction period. Consequently, the "Second Republic" foreign policy was completely different from the foreign policy of the"First Republic". But others, including Hashemi Rafsanjani,the president of the eight-year term, believe that the principles, foundations, and strategy of the Islamic Republic's foreign policy have remained the same and that only tactics, diplomacy, and the way of dealing with the world have changed.

However, it must be acknowledged that the Islamic Republic of Iran's foreign policy in this period has also undergone changes while continuing.This transformation results from multiple factors and variables at different individual, national, and nternational levels, leading to undeniable behavioral changes.In this chapter, in order to analyze the nature and behavior of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic, first its influential and determining factors are examined.Then, theforeign policy orientation of the construction period, which means reformist non-alignment, is analyzed, and finally, the principles, goals, and characteristics of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic in this period are explained.

1. Factors Affecting the Foreign Policy

All the factors and sources determining the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran at the individual, national, governmental, and foreign levels underwent changes during this period, which made behavioral changes inevitable. Therefore, in order to understand the developments of Iran's foreign policy during the construction period, it is necessary to explain these determining and influential factors and variables.

1.1. End of War

The end of the eight-year war is one of the important factors determining the evolution of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic. Because, as explained, the war affected all aspects of

IQBAL FORUM

Iran's foreign policy. In such a way, the goals, strategies, and methods of interaction and war diplomacy dominated the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic. Many countries were given priority in foreign relations, and many others were out of range. In a word, the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic became security-oriented during the war.Therefore, it was natural and obvious that after the end of the war, its foreign policy requirements would end and other requirements and goals would be replaced.

The end of the war affected Iran's foreign policy in several ways and changed its pattern of behavior. First, the priority and hierarchy of foreign policy goals changed, so the country's economic and defense reconstruction became the first priority of foreign policy.Also, the priority and method of pursuing transnational goals, especially the export of the revolution, changed.Second, Iran's pattern of behavior and foreign interaction with governmental and non-governmental actors also underwent changes and transformations.The objective manifestation of this influence was the normalization and improvement of relations with the PGCC and Europe. Developing and expanding relations with international organizations and forums and their active presence in them is another manifestation of this behavioral change in foreign policy.Third, the end of the war paved the way for the normalization of Iran-Iraq relations through negotiations for the implementation of UN Resolution No.598.

1.2. The Revision of the Constitution

The Iranian people approved the revised text of the1979 constitution in a referendum dated August26,1989, by the Review Council attributed to Imam Khomeini. The amended constitution changed some aspects of the government structure. The most important structural change took place in the executive branch. Because the post of Prime Minister was removed and the chairmanship and exercise of executive power were handed over to the President, except in cases directly under the leadership of the Supreme Leader,Thus, the government of the Islamic

IQBAL FORUM

Republic, which was a three-pillar military, became two pillars. This change meant increasing the president's position and power in the Islamic Republic's political structure, especially in the foreign policy decision-making structure. In such a way, the Islamic Republic's semi-presidency was strengthened and its presidential center was strengthened.

On the other hand, the constitutional amendments also strengthened the power and authority of the Supreme Leader and the institution of leadership. Because of the addition of the adjective "absolute" to "guardianship" in Article 57 of the Constitution, the scope of authority and powers of the leadership institutionwas expanded.The formation of the Supreme National Security Council and the Expediency Council were among the other changes that changed the structure of Iran's foreign policy decision-making from this period onward. In particular, the role of the Supreme National Security Council in guiding Iran's foreign policy in the face of Iraq's invasion of Kuwait and the second Gulf War was very prominent.

1.3. Change of Decision-Makers

The third determining and influential factor in Iran's foreign policy during the construction period was the displacement of the system's top leaders and decision-makers. One day after the demise of Imam Khomeini, the founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran, on June 5,1989, Ayatollah Khamenei, the then President, was elected to lead the revolution. As one of the close associates of the late Supreme Leader of the Islamic Revolution, in addition to the presidency, he held important positions and responsibilities such as membership in the Revolutionary Council and chairmanship of the Supreme Council of Defence. Hence, he was one of the prominent revolution figures and central decision-makers in the Islamic Republic.

The personality and views of the new leader of the Islamic Republic played a pivotal role in guiding foreign policy because he supported the development and expansion of the Islamic Republic's relations with other countries. So even during the

IQBAL FORUM

war in1985, he designed and announced the policy of open doors in foreign policy.

Now that the war was over, this policy had more opportunity to be implemented and pursued. Ayatollah Khamenei, in addition to the open-door policy, recommended that managed and controlled economic interaction and exchange with the world economy and market should be there for the reconstruction of the country like the model that was considered in the first and second development plans of the country.

Simultaneously with the change of leadership in the Islamic Republic,Hashemi Rafsanjani,another close ally of Imam Khomeini,was elected president.He was a sympathizer and companion of Ayatollah Khamenei during the Revolution and the Islamic Republic. Before his presidency, he held important positions and responsibilities. Membership in the Revolutionary Council, Imam Khomeini's representation in the Supreme Council of Defence, being the speaker of the Islamic Consultative Assembly from the beginning of its formation, and being the deputy of the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces were among these responsibilities. The new president was a moderate politician who advocated the restoration of the Islamic Republic's foreign relations within the framework of an open-door policy. Contrary to Islamic leftists,who saw neither Eastern nor Western politics as severing ties with international actors, he believed that relations with non-hostile countries should be developed and strengthened. In his opinion, during the period of Iran's foreign policy war, it could not use all its capacity and ability to defend the principles and goals of the Islamic Revolution.

Therefore, as the Deputy Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, Hashemi Rafsanjani stated a few days before the adoption of Resolution 598, "This was an incorrect method of creating an enemy for our country to attract the revolutionary forces."That is,we put countries that could be indifferent in front of us and at enmity with ourselves, or at least did nothing to attract them."Accordingly,Hashemi emphasized that"our foreign

IQBAL FORUM

policy will be such that we do not give the squares to the enemy unnecessarily.There are many governments that can be indifferent to the fact that the reactionaries or Iraq have absorbed those countries". Therefore, now that he was in the presidency, he tried to pursue an interactive and non-confrontational foreign policy while maintaining the principles and foundations of the revolution.

Hashemi Rafsanjani also defended the priority of development and economic prosperity in foreign policy based on personal, intellectual, and political interests. So, he can be considered one of the third-world development leaders, like the former Prime Minister of Malaysia, Mahathir Mohamad. Beyond that, Hashemi Rafsanjani wanted to place himself in the historical memory of Iranians alongside figures such as Amir Kabir through economic reconstruction and national development as a "commander of reconstruction." Hence, Hashemi Rafsanjani made economic rebuilding and development his top foreign policy priority.However,as much as he criticized the introverted, closed national economy, he did not see the indiscriminate opening of the country's doors to the world market and foreign goods as economic weapons.Accordingly,as he announced in August 1988, based on a moderate solution, he made the policy of economic adjustment the headline of the constructive government.

Thus, as a result of the emergence of a coalition and consensus leadership between the Supreme Leader and the President, a single structure was formed in Iran's foreign policy This moderate leadership provided the necessary. groundwork for the normalization of the Islamic Republic's foreign relations with other countries. Despite the emergence of various crises in the periphery of Iran, Iran's foreign policy has achieved significant success in economic reconstruction and detente. The turning point of modern Iranian diplomacy in managing and successfully managing the crisis resulting from the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait and the second Persian Gulf War was marked.

Iraq invades Kuwait. Iraqi military forces invaded and

IQBAL FORUM

occupied Kuwait on August 1,1990, following talks' failure to reduce oil production and repay Iraqi debts. With the beginning of the occupation of Kuwait and the crisis in the Persian Gulf region, Iran's foreign policy also faced a new challenge. Two days after the invasion, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Islamic Republic of Iran issued a statement condemning the Iraqi military invasion of Kuwait because, in Iran's view, "these measures will seriously affect national, regional, and global security and pave the way for the presence of expansionist powers."The region will increase". Iran also adopted an active policy of neutrality in response to the US-led invasion of Iraq on January17,1990, known as the Second Persian Gulf War. The policy of neutrality was adopted while some extremist groups wanted Iran to ally with Iraq in the war against the United States and its allies. Finally,on February 29,1990,Allied forces entered Kuwait and liberated the country from the occupation of Iraqi forces.

The Kuwaiti crisis and war affected Iran's foreign policy in several ways. First, as mentioned, it made foreign policy react to this crisis and war. Iran engaged in active diplomacy to prevent war and, after the start of military operations, "tried to achieve positive results to stop the war" . Second, the Kuwaiti crisis has prompted Iraq to seek to resolve its differences with Iran through the adoption of the1975 Algerian agreement. Therefore, a suitable and favorable ground was prepared for Iran's foreign policy to start peace negotiations on the basis of the1975 Algerian treaty. Because Saddam accepted the 1975 treaty in a letter to the President of Iran on August15, 1990, Saddam agreed to exchange prisoners, clauses6and 7 of Resolution 598, and Iraq's withdrawal from the occupied territories of Iran.

Therefore, Iraqi Foreign Minister Tariq Aziz visited Tehran on September10,1990to hold peace talks.A day later, diplomatic relations between Iran and Iraq were re-established. In response to this visit, Iranian Foreign Minister Ali Akbar Velayati visited Iraq on November14,1990,to continue negotiations.He met with Saddam Hussein and other Iraqi

IQBAL FORUM

officials to discuss issues such as the ongoing negotiations on the implementation of Resolution 598, bilateral relations, and the sensitive situation in the region. Following this meeting, Ezzat Ibrahim, Vice Chairman of the Iraqi Command Council, arrived in Tehran in January1990. During this visit, the full implementation of the provisions of Resolution 598 and the process of normalization of relations and peace between the two countries were discussed.

With the defeat of the Iraqi army in Kuwait and the liberation of this country, and then the uprising of the Iraqi Shiites, relations between Iran and Iraq became cold again. Iraq refused to fulfill its obligations under Resolution 598 and the peace talks. However, in his report to the Iraqi Security Council on December9,1991, the then Secretary-General of the United Nations declared that he was responsible for starting the war in Iran on September 22,1980. The UN Secretary-General also sought to implement paragraph 7 of Resolution No. 598, which estimates the amount of damage inflicted on Iran during the eight-year war. Thus, by adopting active regional and international diplomacy in the framework of realistic foreign policy, the Islamic Republic of Iran was able to achieve its goals regarding Resolution 598.

The third consequence of the Kuwaiti crisis and its effects on Iran's foreign policy was the normalization of relations with Persian Gulf Cooperation Council members. The condemnation of the occupation of Kuwait led to the close cooperation of the Islamic Republic with the countries in the southern part of the Persian Gulf, thus beginning the process of normalization and de-escalation of relations between Iran and the Arabs.

Fourth, Iran's realistic policy in the face of the crisis and the war in the Persian Gulf brought European countries closer to the Islamic Republic and their participation in the process of Iran's reconstruction. Even Iran's regional strategy,especiallyits positive performance during the Kuwaiti crisis, eased tensions between Iran and the United States.

Fifth, due to the actions of the United Nations, especially its Secretary-General,in paragraphs6 and 7 of Resolution 598

IQBAL FORUM

after the Second Persian Gulf War, the process of building trust between Iran and international organizations and forums began. Since then, the Islamic Republic has found an active presence in these organizations and institutions.

1.5. The Dissolution of the Soviet Union

The collapse of the Soviet Union on December 21,1991, was another foreign change that affected the Islamic Republic's foreign policy by changing Iran's security environment.The disappearance of the superpower of the East affected Iran's foreign policy in two ways. On the one hand, the bipolar regime ended, and on the other, the collapse of the Soviet Union led to the independence of the Central Asian and Caucasus republics in neighboring Iran.These cases marked a change in Iran's geopolitical and strategic position in the international and regional system, as a result of which Iran's foreign policy had to adapt to the newglobal and regional conditions in order to achieve its goals and interests.

The end of the bipolar system affected the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic in several ways. First, by removing the limitations of the bipolar system, the United States, as the only remaining superpower, sought to establish its order. An order that George W. Bush's father called the "New World Order" and was defined by greater American interference in international relations. In the "new order" context, " the US presence on Iran's periphery in the Persian Gulf region increased.After the liberation of Kuwait and then the collapse of the Soviet Union, the United States strengthened its military presence in the region by concluding military-security agreements with PGCC member countries. Consolidating the US presence in the Persian Gulf region meant more behavioral restrictions for the Islamic Republic. In a way, the United States tried, on the one hand, to establish security arrangements in areas without Iran, and on the other hand, within the framework of a bilateral containment strategy, to simultaneously control Iran and Iraq on the basis of a weak balance. Of course, given the weakness of Iraq after the

IQBAL FORUM

Second Persian Gulf War, the goal of this strategy was to further weaken Iran in the region.

Second, the collapse of the Soviet Union in the Middle East meant the elimination of the Arab powers in the conflict with Israel. The Arab-Israeli conflict was one of the hallmarks of the two superpowers. In a way, each of the two superpowers tried to prevent another unilateral influence in the Middle East by supporting their allies.Thus, with the collapse of the Soviet Union, the freedom of the United States The translation of the policy of balancing Iran's foreign policy was its proximity to Russia, the normalization of relations with Europe, and the expansion of regional relations in the north and south. Although Russia was not able to confront the United States at the level of the international system, given the common interests and threats with Iran, it could create a kind of regional balance towards it. Hence, a kind of close cooperation between Iran andRussia was gradually formed during the construction period. On the other hand, Iran expected that with the ratification of the Maastricht Treaty in1992 and the formation of the European Union, this international player would show more independence and freedom of action by gaining more autonomy than the bipolar system.Because a united Europe could at least act independently of the United States in the field of international economics and play a more active role in the process of rebuilding Iran's economy,As a result, the IslamicRepublic responded positively to the offer of critical European talks with Iran in1992. Consequently, Iran also took steps to normalize and expand relations with Europe. In this context, the Islamic Republic also pursued the process of de-escalation and expansion of relations with the Persian Gulf Cooperation Council.

The collapse of the Soviet Union for the Islamic Republic of Iran not only meant the end of the bipolar system but also the independence of the Central Asian and Caucasus republics in Iran's neighborhood.The newly independent countries created many challenges and opportunities for the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic. On the one hand, Iran's strategic environment

IQBAL FORUM

has changed over the centuries. Because the heavy shadow of a superpower over Iran was no more. A power that had threatened and limited Iran's independence and security for more than two centuries. But on the other hand, these countries were the inheritors of instability on the northern borders of Iran, the successors who soon experienced successive crises and affected the Islamic Republic. But Iran also had an important and great opportunity. Because the pristine region of Central Asia and the Caucasus could be a unique economic market and sphere of influence for Iran, the independence of Central Asian countries created new issues for the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic, which will be discussed below.

2.Orientation: Reformist Non-alignment

The orientation of Iran's foreign policy during the construction period, based on the principle of fighting, can be called a reformist non-alignment. This kind of non-alignment is the middle ground between conservative and revolutionary non-alignments. It is also distinct from revisionist non-alignment. Because, on the one hand, unlike the conservative non-alignment, it goes beyond maintaining the status quo and seeks to change the international situation and order established through reforms, and on the other hand, unlike the revolutionary non-alignment, it seeks immediate and drastic changes. It is not under the existing world order. Like revisionist non-alignment, it does not see the beginning of a change in the international order's underlying principles and rules. The reformist non-alignment calls for a gradual change in the existing international system order through superstructure reforms that will lead to a fundamental transformation in the long run. Hence, reformist non- alignment, as a critique of the unjustly established order and system, does not involve and requires the general rejection of the nation-state system and its rules of conduct. Instead, it believes that in order to change the existing order and system, it is necessary to act within its framework and criticize and reform it.

IQBAL FORUM

Accordingly, neither the Eastern nor the Western principles are construed as severing ties with world powers and pursuing their isolationism.The essence of neither East nor West is the denial of domination, the struggle against arrogance, and independence from the centers of world power to gain independence and freedom of action in foreign and international politics.Therefore,Hashemi Rafsanjani, before the presidency, in October1988,in interpreting this principle, defined it as"loyalty to the goals of the Islamic Revolution, independence, and the denial of foreign domination".A few months later, in August 1989,Ali Akbar Velayati,the foreign minister of the construction government, also confirmed President Rafsanjani's definition of the above principle. He stated that the principle "neither East nor West means the negation of the relationship with theworld. Of course,we oppose domination,but we welcome equal relations with the whole world except for a few terrorist and racist countries".

Therefore, based on this definition of neither Eastern nor Western principles, the Islamic Republic of Iran pursued a two-pronged and two-layer policy. On the one hand, it criticized the existing system of dominance and order. On the other hand, it pursued this goal within the framework of the established order and its rules and with the cooperation of other countries.The manifestation of this policy of the two layers can be seen inIran's critical stances towards the system of domination and arrogance and opposition to the new American order on the one hand and active participation in international organizations, expansion of relations with non-aligned countries, south-south relations,and normal establishment of relations with Europe on the other. For example, the Supreme Leader of the Revolution states that "the revolution and the system of the Islamic Republic of Iran are protesting against the common injustices in the world and will continue to protest". He also strongly criticized the new American-centred order, stating that "what the United States declares as a new world order is to the detriment of nations in favor of absolute American domination.

IQBAL FORUM

""Consequently,third-world countries need to communicate more with each other".

Another manifestation of Iran's reformist non-alignment policy was in the form of multilateralism and alliances with southern and non-aligned countries. In such a way that the Islamic Republic of Iran tried to confront the world dominance system with the cooperation of neighboring countries and through international organizations.This multilateral and coalition-oriented policy is evident in the speeches of the leaders of the Islamic Republic and its political behaviour. For example, Ali Akbar Velayati, Minister of Foreign Affairs, criticised the international economic order at the Extraordinary Summit of Foreign Ministers of the Non-Aligned Movement in May 1990, calling for a change in world economic cooperation in favor of developing countries and uniting the scattered southern countries. Invited against the rich and cohesive countries of the North. President Hashemi Rafsanjani also considered the way to counter American domination to be the unification of the Muslim and poor countries of the world.

Thus, the Islamic Republic of Iran provided a distinct definition of a new world order based on these principles and components: 1) the fundamental and pivotal role of the United Nations in guiding and harmonizing the new world order; 2) universal respect for human rights; 3) establishing mechanisms and structural guarantees and a suitable environment that will enable the use of potential and actual material andspiritual potential in third world countries; 4) attention of societies and countries to environmental protection; 5) disarmament; and 6) resolving regional problems.

In order to establish this international order, reforms must be made to the pillars and structure of the existing order. Redefining the structure, role, and position of the United Nations on the one hand and reviewing the role and function of the Non-Aligned Movement on the other hand are essential requirements of the new world order.

IQBAL FORUM

The behavioral-practical pattern of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran based on the orientation of reformist non-alignment is also evident during the construction period.Normalization of relations and de-escalation with Europe, efforts to reduce tensions and peaceful coexistence with the United States, active participation in the United Nations, the Non-Aligned Movement, the Organisation of the Islamic Conference in the form of multilateralism, the development of relations with the PGCC, and Asian countries The Middle East and the Caucasus, in the context of regionalism and close cooperation with Russia and China, were based on a reformist non-alignment orientation. In the following, we examine the behavioral pattern of the Islamic Republic's foreign policy in these areas.

3.Principles and Behavioural Patterns

Within the framework of the discourse of "Islamic realism" or, according to Hashemi Rafsanjani, the ruling "ideal realism", the general principles and foundations of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic remained the same, but its pattern of behavior changed. Thus, the Islamic Republic was still defined asan Islamic state that is a manifestation of a transnational revolution and has Islamic and transnational goals, ideals, and responsibilities. Iran's national interests were also defined on the basis of Islamic ideas and teachings. Hence, adherence to the basic principles of "Islam, independence, participation, and freedom of the people" continued. As a result, the commitment to the transnational and Islamic goals of the foreign policy enshrined in the constitution, such as the protection of Muslims and the oppressed, the Islamic world, the export of the Islamic Revolution, and the creation of an international Islamic community, continued.Nevertheless, between these transnational goals and other national goals, and above all, the preservation of the survival and national security of the Islamic Republic of Iran, according to the rule of ability, urgency, and gradual prioritization,Therefore,various national and transnational goals around the axis of preservation and

IQBAL FORUM

survival of the Islamic Republic of Iran were graded, prioritised, and pursued according to the capabilities and restrictions of the country.

Accordingly, the principles, goals, and behavioral patterns of Iran's foreign policy during the construction period can be examined in these axes and dimensions: the relative priority of national interests and goals over transnational goals; Developmentalism and central economics Normalisation of foreign relations and de-escalation in the framework of peaceful coexistence; Active participation in international organizations and forums and development of relations with the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation, the Non-Aligned Movement, the United Nations, and ECO in the form of a multilateralism strategy; Development of relations with the countries of Central Asia and the Caucasus and the Persian Gulf Cooperation Council within the framework of the regionalism strategy.

3.1. Priority of National Objectives

Based on the prevailing discourse of Islamic realism, in the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic, while adhering to the principles and ideals of transnational Islam, national goals were given relative priority. Hence, as the then President emphasized many years later., the preservation of the Islamic Republic, national unity and unity, territorial integrity, independence, national credibility and prestige, and the provision of technical needs and knowledge or economic development in Iran's foreign policy gained importance and priority. On the other hand, the nature, importance, and priority of goals such as the export of the Islamic Revolution, the support and defence of Muslims, and the Islamic world's political, economic,cultural unity underwent changes.

This prioritization and grading were based on capabilities, national capabilities, and the necessity and urgency of the goals. National goals were also graded and prioritized based on importance,urgency, and urgency.Rational and religious requirements put the security of the Islamic Republic as a

IQBAL FORUM

common value of national and Islamic interests at the top of foreign policy priorities.The necessity and urgency of the economic-defence reconstruction of the country after the war also caused survival and national security to be defined in terms of economic-technological development. In such a way that national security and national development were considered equal.Because Hashemi Rafsanjani believed that "these are the economic and social factors that today threaten the survival of the system"Therefore, ensuring economic development became the first priority of Iran's foreign policy, and other goals were drawn, determined, and pursued around it.

3.2. Economic Expansionism

Providing economic and technological development was the first priority of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran involved and required the reconstruction of the country's economic and defense infrastructure. Thus, the reconstruction of the country, as a first step in the national development process, became necessary and a priority.The urgency and necessity of rebuilding the economic and defence strength of the Islamic Republic were agreed upon by the supreme leaders of the system.In such a way, the leader of the Islamic Revolution and the presidency emphasized the necessity of reconstruction. reconstruction.Therefore, Ayatollah Khamenei, in the position of outlining the general policies of the regime on June 10,1989, stated: "Today, our most basic task is to join hands and build and develop our country. Provide prosperous living facilities for the people, especially the poor and deprived classes".

Economic development and prosperity,in addition to ensuring the national security of the Islamic Republic and its survival, also provide the necessary ground for the export of the Islamic Revolution. Because the purpose of exporting the revolution is to present a developed model of the Islamic Republic through modeling it, Hence, "when nations see the successful experience of the Islamic Republic, the heroes learn from it, and then they learn the successes of the Islamic Republic and the

IQBAL FORUM

revolution"(37).Therefore, in order to achieve both goals, the reconstruction and economic development of the countrybecome important and necessary, which the government and the nation must strive to achieve. "The Iranian nation should know that the greatest effort and jihad today is to build an Islamic Iran and to reveal its blessings. Then life in this country will be the envy of other nations; let them learn from it". Hashemi Rafsanjani, the then-president, also announced that the Islamic Republic had entered the stage of construction andorganization after the end of the war.Therefore, the mostimportant priority for the country is economic reconstruction and development to ensure security and modeling."We are determined to complete this long phase without compromising political independence and to present the model of an Islamic country to the world, and what we seek is economic, scientific, and technological independence".

Furthermore, to achieve the dual goals of economic reconstruction and modeling, the economic development model in the Islamic Republic was changed. The economic model of the Islamic Republic of Iran until1989 was the planned government economy based on internal self-sufficiency and self-reliance, in which the government had the largest role and share. The development model adopted to ensure economic independence was also an import substitution strategy. Based on this introverted strategy, an attempt was made to increase domestic production by relying on domestic resources and facilities with the least interaction and connection with the international economy and the global market, so that the country would not need foreign burdens. Due to the logic of self-reliance in this model,pessimism and distrust of the international economic order and the hegemonic and unjust nature of this economic system increase. As a result, economic ties and exchanges with the world and the influence of the global market are reduced to a minimum. In particular, relations with my capitalist system are severed, and no foreign aid or capital is accepted.

But during the construction period, the model and economic system of the country moved from a centralized state-centred

IQBAL FORUM

economy to a market and free economy, which is referred to as economic adjustment. The policy of economic adjustment was a step towards connecting with the global economy, attracting foreign capital, and transferring technology inward, which led to economic liberalization and privatization. As a result, an export development strategy was adopted in line with this type of economy.Within the framework of this strategy, the individual should try to reduce the restrictions related to the import of goods, provide the necessary facilities to increase exports, and provide the necessary basis for the internationalization of Iran's economy and industry in the global economy.

Therefore, the strategy of the first and second development plans of the Islamic Republic was the development exports, which meant economic extraversion.This development strategy's prerequisite and necessary precondition was a free-market economy based on economic liberalization and extensive and comprehensive privatization. Interconnection with the international economy and global markets also became inevitable. Therefore, one of the main policies of these two programs is active interaction with countries and institutions influential in the global economy in order to institutionalize economic relations, increase the absorption of foreign resources and investment and advanced technology, and expand Iran's export markets to increase Iran's share. It was global trade and economic growth.

The export development model also requires a development-oriented and extroverted foreign policy because the realization of this development model requires active all-around diplomacy to lay the groundwork for the optimal use of foreign and international resources, capital, and opportunities. However, different types of pro-foreign policies are not compatible with this model of development.In particular, confrontational extraversion not only does not provide the necessary ground for export development but also deprives the country of optimal use of domestic resources and opportunities.On the other hand, convergent or pro-status extroverted foreign policy, although it may pave the way for extroverted development, also entails

IQBAL FORUM

high costs for other national goals, especially independence and national security. Hence, an interactive, extroverted foreign policy that was consistent with the export development model was adopted.While providing the possibility of using international resources and opportunities, this type of foreign policy did not require the unconditional acceptance of the existing international political-economic order and system. On the other hand, interactive, extroverted foreign policy does not involve the costs and harms of isolationism. A policy that is passive and unable to positively influence and shape international events in the national interest.Also, since the goals of extroverted development in the age of globalization are more achievable through multilateralism, multilateral interactive foreign policy can better contribute to the provision and realization of this type of development.

Interactive developmental foreign policy has special requirements and measures that became the principles and features of Iran's foreign policy during the construction period. The first requirement or principle is peaceful coexistence and normalization of relations with other countries.Second, economic development requires de-escalating and reducing tensions in foreign relations.The third requirement is to build trust, which goes beyond peaceful coexistence and detente and provides the basis for cooperation between Iran and other countries. Economic and political multilateralism is also the fourth requirement or principle of interactive expansionist foreign policy. Regionalism and efforts to expand cooperation and convergence with countries in the region are the fifth requirement and principle of development-oriented foreign policy.Therefore, the foreign policy and diplomacy of the Islamic Republic of Iran were based on these principles to achieve the most important national goal, namely economic development and prosperity.

3.3. Peaceful Coexistence and Normalization of Relationships

As the first step towards achieving economic development,

IQBAL FORUM

interactive expansionist foreign policymakers sought to normalize the Islamic Republic's relations with other countrieswithin the framework of peaceful coexistence. Peaceful coexistence does not imply a deviation from the Principles of foreign policy (emphasized in the constitution and wisdom, dignity, and expediency) and neglect of national and Islamic interests. Rather, within the framework of this principle, an effort is made to secure the interests of the Islamic Republic of Iran by accepting international pluralism instead of following the pattern of confrontation and conflict based on cooperation and coexistence with other countries. Hence, the pursuit of national interests, the preservation of independence, and the non-acceptance of domination have an important place in the politics of peaceful coexistence and do not mean surrender and settlement in the international system. One of the important components of the policy of peaceful coexistence is mutual respect because the logic of coexistence dictates thatcountries recognize each other's rights and build their relations on the basis of mutual respect.

The policy of peaceful coexistence is based on the following principles and concepts:

- Acceptance of ideological differences and different values and norms between countries as a reality of international collective life.
- Recognition of the national interests and role of the Islamic Republic of Iran in regional and global issues and affairs, along with other regional and international actors.
- Denial of any acceptance of domination and the establishment of domination in foreign relations
- The existence of ideological and value differences andconflicting interests between the Islamic Republic of Iran and other countries does not necessarily imply conflict, war, or a lack of cooperation and interaction with them.
- Establishing foreign relations and relations based on mutual respect and interests with other countries
- Active participation in international organizations and

IQBAL FORUM

institutions to explain international positions and norms

•Reforming the power structure at the international level based on equality and participation by all countries

In the framework of the policy of peaceful coexistence, the process of normalizing relations with countries that did not have friendly relations with the Islamic Republic during the war was put on the foreign policy agenda. Before and after the presidency, Hashemi Rafsanjani was one of the designers and supporters of the policy of peaceful coexistence and normalization of relations with non-aligned countries. As he stated in March 1988: "To rebuild our vast country, Iran, and rebuild its ruins, we are ready to accept the help of friends and governments that do not have expansionist and colonial intentions". The most important reason for the normalization of relations with the outside world, especially in developed capitalist countries, was the need for economic development and, above all, the attraction of foreign capital and technology."If we want to develop the country at a good pace, with what we have and the talent we have in the country, we have to use some of the capital of others," the then-president said.'It grows both from the technologies of others and from the management techniques that are finally increasing in the world day by day" Therefore, the foreign policy agenda was on the normalization development of relations with Europe, the member countries of the Persian Gulf Cooperation Council, and the de-escalation of tensions with the United States.

3.3.1. The Persian Gulf Cooperation Council

The end of the Iraq-Iran war was the culmination of the most important challenge in relations between the Islamic Republic and the members of the Persian Gulf Cooperation Council. At the end of the war, both sides declared their readiness andwillingness to normalize and expand relations. Therefore, three weeks after the adoption of Resolution 598, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Oman arrived in Tehran on behalf of the Foreign Ministers of the PGCC on August 10,1988, to consult with Iranian officials on regional issues, especially the security

IQBAL FORUM

of the Persian Gulf. Iranian leaders also welcomed the offer of cooperation and participation by council members in the minesweeping operation in the Persian Gulf region five days later. Iran's relations with Kuwait and Bahrain improved in less than a month. At the same time, secret talks were underway between Iran and Saudi Arabia to re-establish diplomatic relations. At the same time, the Islamic Republic tried to normalize its relations with OPEC and its members. Hashemi Rafsanjani, as Deputy Commander-in-Chief and Speaker of the Islamic Consultative Assembly, took a conciliatory stance on Iran-Persian Gulf Cooperation Council relations in September 1988, stating, "We want to work with our southern neighbors to resolve oil market issues, the rules and regulations of maritime cooperation in the Persian Gulf, and the implementation of Resolution No. 598". In response to Iran's conciliatory policy, the leaders of the six PGCC member states in November 1988 supported the Iran-Iraq peace talks and called for the full implementation of Resolution 598 as the basis for the ongoing peace talks.

The process of normalization and expansion of bilateral relations between Iran and the Arabs of the Persian Gulf accelerated and intensified with the beginning of Hashemi Rafsanjani's presidency in July1989. In September 1989, he stressed the need to expand relations with the PGCC member states to ensure regional peace and stability. Relationships based on peace within the framework of independence, national security, and territorial integrity of all countries in the region In this regard, Ali Akbar Velayati, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Iran, visited this country for the first time after the Islamic Revolution in July1990 with a message from Hashemi Rafsanjani to the Emir of Kuwait.During this trip, he emphasized strengthening and expanding bilateral relations.

But a fundamental change in relations between Iran and members of the Persian Gulf Cooperation Council occurred due to Iraq's naked invasion and occupation of Kuwait. The Islamic Republic strongly condemned Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, despite Kuwait's unwavering support for Saddam Hussein during the

IQBAL FORUM

eight-year war. Immediately after the Iraqi military invasion of Kuwait, Foreign Minister Ali Akbar Velayati, who was carrying the President's message, traveled to the Persian Gulf to discuss developments in the region.

During this trip,Velayati met and talked with the Emir of Qatar, the King of Oman, the President of the United Arab Emirates,and the Emir of Bahrain.In these meetings,the parties considered the cooperation of the countries of the region as inevitable to maintain its security and stability A month later, the Minister of the United Arab Emirates arrived in Tehran to consult with the officials of the Islamic Republic. In a meeting with him, Ali Akbar Velayati emphasized Iran's readiness for deep and strategic cooperation with regional countries to solve the Persian Gulf crisis and return peace to this region.

Cooperation between Iran and the Persian Gulf Cooperation Council continued after the liberation of Kuwait. Following the talks with the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Oman, Velayati announced on March 2,1991, that the Islamic Republic of Iran and the Persian Gulf Cooperation Council are determined to expand their cooperation to ensure the region's security, especially after the crisis. The manifestation of cooperation was the holding of the joint meeting of the member states of the Persian Gulf Cooperation Council and Iran in New York in September 1991. Abdullah Bashara mentioned that the purpose of this meeting was to exchange opinions on ways to expand and strengthen the relations of the member countries of this council with the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Based on this, Iran's bilateral relations with the Persian Gulf Cooperation Council members were also deepened and strengthened. In particular, the relations between Iran and Saudi Arabia, which were severed in May 1988, were established and developed again on April 6, 1991. So that the Iranian embassy was reopened in that country in May 1991. After that, Saudi Foreign Minister Saud Al-Faisal visited Tehran on June 5th. He had long negotiations with Hashemi Rafsanjani and was invited by the King of Saudi Arabia to visit this country. In response to

IQBAL FORUM

the visit of Saud Al-Faisal, Iran's Foreign Minister also visited Saudi Arabia in July of the same year. After meeting with his Saudi counterpart, he announced that a very positive turn had begun in relations between Iran and Saudi Arabia. He emphasized that the positive process of developing and strengthening relations between Saudi Arabia and Iran results from the country's deep and realistic vision of the situation in the Persian Gulf region. Velayati also stated that the security and stability of the strategic and global region of the Persian Gulf, which was subject to unrest for some time, will only be ensured through cooperation between the countries of the Persian Gulf.
After these mutual meetings, commercial and economic relations between Iran and Saudi Arabia expanded.

Iran and Saudi Arabia continued in the period, despite some differences between the two countries regarding regional and international issues.The most important points of disagreement between Iran and Saudi Arabia were the presence of trans-regional forces in the Persian Gulf, regional security arrangements, the Arab peace process, and the occupying Palestinian regime. Nevertheless, Hashemi Rafsanjani visited this country to strengthen relations and expand cooperation between Iran and Saudi Arabia. A trip that started a new chapter in the relations between the two countries in the following years.

The good relations between Iran and Kuwait, which started with a provincial visit to this country in July1990, were also strengthened and deepened after the Second Persian Gulf War ended. Because during the crisis, Iran not only wanted the unconditional withdrawal of Iraqi forces from Kuwait but also strongly opposed the annexation of the Warba and Bubiyan islands to Iraq. Therefore, Iran's relations with the government continued as the legitimate government in the exile of the Al-Sabah family. After the end of the war, Iran sent equipment and technical experts to shut down the oil wells in Kuwait. Also, although the signing of the 10-year defense cooperation agreement between Kuwait and the United States caused Iran to express great concern and ask Kuwait for an explanation, this

IQBAL FORUM

issue did not prevent the development of bilateral cooperation. Velayati discussed the goals and motivations of these contracts during his two-day official visit to Kuwait in May1992. The formation of the Iran-Kuwait Cooperation Committee was another example of Iran's determination todevelop relations with this country.

The relations between Iran and Oman during the Iran-Iraq War adopted a moderate policy and position and developed and expanded during the constructive period. In such a way that this country played an active role in normalising and expanding the relations of the Persian Gulf Cooperation Council with Iran. Islamic social relations with Qatar also developed satisfactorily. First Vice President Hassan Habibi visited Qatar in May1992, which was considered a turning point in relations between the two countries. After that, the Minister of the Interior of Qatar visited Iran. Therefore, various agreements were reached in the fields of air and sea transportation, agriculture, media, customs, fisheries, the fight against drugs, the transfer of freshwater between Iran and Qatar, and how to exploit the joint gas field(55).

The relations between Iran and Bahrain also improved after the end of the occupation of Kuwait. As Hashemi Rafsanjani emphasized in his meeting with the Minister of Agriculture of Bahrain on July 18,1991, "Iran is interested in giving priority to its Muslim neighbors in terms of exchanges and economic cooperation, and in any field that Bahrain is ready to develop cooperation". Based on this, plans for cooperation in the fields of shipping, tourism, and transportation were put on the agenda. But over time, in early1996, in response to Bahrain's accusation that Iran interfered in the country's internal affairs, Iran's ambassador was recalled from Bahrain.Nevertheless, based on its peaceful coexistence and de-escalation policy, Iran showed self-restraint and prevented bilateral relations from becoming critical. Beyond this, Iran announced its readiness to mediate between the government of Bahrain and its opposition.

The pattern of relations between Iran and the United Arab Emirates was similar to that in Bahrain. So that after the Kuwait crisis, Iran's relations with the UAE expanded and developed. In

IQBAL FORUM

this regard, Hashemi Rafsanjani, in a meeting with the Minister of Defence of the UAE on March 21,1991, emphasized the establishment of more relations and work between the two countries, especially in the field of oil cooperation. But following the expulsion of non-UAE residents from Abu Musa Island, relations between the two countries became tense. Iran argued that it had acted according to the 1971 Memorandum of Understanding with Sharjah, but the rulers of Sharjah and the Emirates objected to this action and considered it to be against previous agreements.In any case, it was decided that from October 5,1992, the two countries of Iran and the UAE would enter into negotiations in order to develop and consolidate relations and good neighborliness with the Persian Gulf countries and to believe in the necessity of a peaceful solution to the issues between them. But the bilateral negotiations did not lead to the desired results for the parties. For example, by issuing a statement, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Iran named the Emirati side as responsible for the suspension of negotiations due to unprincipled issues that had nothing to do with the issues raised around Abu Musa. However, while emphasizing the non-discrimination of its policy towards Abu Musa Island, Iran declared its readiness to continue negotiations based on respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, good neighborliness, and maintaining peace in the region. On June 16,1996, the Islamic Republic of Iran again, in response to the statement of the foreign ministers of the Persian Gulf Cooperation Council member countries, called it an undeniable fact that the islands of Big and Small Tunb and Abu Musa belong to it. But at the same time, the Islamic Republic declared its readiness to discuss and resolve any differences and misunderstandings according to the 1971 Memorandum of Understanding and Sheikh Zayed bin Sultan's letter to Hashemi Rafsanjani.

Despite the differences between the Islamic Republic and the Persian Gulf Cooperation Council member states, both sides tried to prevent tension in bilateral relations. As the Saudi Foreign Minister announced on June 12,1996, at the height of

IQBAL FORUM

Iran's disputes with the UAE and Bahrain, Iran is an important country in the region, and the member states of the Persian Gulf Cooperation Council are interested in having friendly relations with Iran. He emphasized that the relations of the countries of the region with Iran should be based on common interests, mutual respect, and good neighborly policies. In a meeting with the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Kuwait on January 22,1996, the deputy of the Middle East, Arab, and African Affairs of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Iran announced that the improvement of Iran's relations with the countries of the Persian Gulf Cooperation Council and the efforts to deepen bilateral cooperation are among the priorities of Iran's foreign policy in the future.

3.3.2. Europe

Relations between Iran and Europe had many ups and downs after the victory of the Islamic Revolution. One of the important challenges to the relations between Iran and Europe was the Iraq war against Iran, which prevented their development. Therefore, it was natural that with the end of the war, relations between Iran and Europe would normalize and expand. But after the publication of the book Satanic Verse written by Salman Rushdie, an English writer of Indian origin, and Imam Khomeini's fatwa regarding his death sentence on February 14,1989, relations between Europe and Iran became tense.Because the member countries of the European Economic Community recalled their ambassadors from Iran. In response, the Islamic Republic of Iran called its ambassadors from European countries to Tehran. As a result, Iran officially severed diplomatic relations with this country on March 16,1989, in protest against British policies. Therefore, although in May 1989 several member countries of the European Economic Community returned their ambassadors to Tehran, the political relations between Iran and Europe remained cold and undeveloped. So, for the second time in June 1989, the European Parliament issued a resolution asking the members of the European Economic Community to sever their relations

IQBAL FORUM

with Tehran and take strict measures against Iran's interests.

With the election of Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani as president of the Islamic Republic of Iran in July 1989 and the beginning of the constructive period, the process of normalization and expansion of relations between Iran and Europe also began. So that the British Foreign Minister announced for the second time on December 18,1989, the desire of the British government for better relations with Iran.The Director General of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs also arrived in Tehran at the head of a delegation to negotiate with the Iranian authorities on April 13,1989. Also, Iran's diplomatic efforts to release the European hostages in Lebanon played an effective role in the normalization of relations between Iran and Europe. However,the normalization and expansion of relations between Iran and Europe during the construction period were the result of the economic interdependence of both sides and the developments of the international system, including Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, the end of the bipolar system, and the formation of the European Union.

a) Objectives

The first factor to improve relations with Europe was common and mutual interests. Iran and Europe needed normal political and economic relations with each other to secure their interests and goals. In order to realize its most important national goal, i.e., economic development, Iran urgently needed the European market, capital, and advanced technology. Also, for the export of oil and the sale of non-oil goods, a wide European market was needed. Attracting investment from European countries in the oil and gas industry, which needed to be modernized, also required the development of relations with Europe. Receiving a foreign loan to accelerate the process of reconstruction and modernization of the economy was alsoconsidered another reason for expanding relations with Europe. Balancing against America in order to neutralize economic pressures was another motivation that led the country to develop relations with Europe.

IQBAL FORUM

The European Economic Community and its members also had an urgent need to normalize and develop relations with Iran.

Because, first of all, Europe was the most important and biggest trading partner of Iran in the post-revolution period, even during the war. Therefore, with Germany at their head, European countries had significant economic interests in Iran's economy and market. Second, Europe could compete with America and Japan in the economic arena by gaining Iran's market as a large regional country. Third, Iran has been one of the four major oil suppliers to the European Economic Community. Iran, in particular, could provide a part of Europe's gas needs. Fourth, Iran's strategic position in the strategic region of the Persian Gulf allows Europe to play a greater role in the international system.

b) Necessities

Iraq's attack on Kuwait in August 1991 served as a catalyst that facilitated and accelerated the process of normalization and expansion of relations between Iran and Europe. Less than a month after the occupation of Kuwait in September of the same year, the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Italy traveled to Tehran on behalf of the European Economic Community. In a meeting with Iranian officials, he announced Europe's desire to be more active and develop relations with the Islamic Republic. President Hashemi Rafsanjani stated in September 1990 that major issues and problems in relations with Western European countries have been resolved and there is no obstacle to developing these relations. Based on this, Iran's Foreign Minister Ali Akbar Velayati met and discussed with the foreign ministers of the member states of the European Community on the sidelines of the 45th session of the UN General Assembly in November of the same year. These negotiations accelerated the process of normalization and development of relations between Iran and Europe, so much so that the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ireland visited Iran in December of the same year. This visit was considered the cancellation of punitive measures by the European Economic Community against the Islamic Republic

IQBAL FORUM

after the crisis of Salman Rushdie. In the same month, Iran's Foreign Minister traveled to this country to negotiate and exchange views with French officials and met with French President Francois Mitterrand. In this meeting, the President of France emphasized the determination of this country to resolve the financial disputes with Iran.

Thus, at the end of 1991, diplomatic relations between Iran and England were established, and the development of relations with other European countries was also provided. To remove this obstacle and challenge, on April 15, 1991, the foreign ministers of Luxembourg, the Netherlands, and Italy came to Tehran as the troika of the European community.The purpose of this meeting was to exchange views on the relations of the European community with Iran and the issues of the Persian Gulf region. Following this meeting, Iran and the Netherlands upgraded their political relations to the ambassadorial level. At the same time, the foreign minister of Switzerland also arrived in Tehran to discuss the consequences of the Persian Gulf War, bilateral relations, and the country's participation in the country's development and reconstruction plans. In his meeting with Hashemi Rafsanjani on October 24,1991, both sides emphasized the normalization of Iran's relations with the European Economic Community Hashemi Rafsanjani again stated in March1991 that the policy of the Islamic Republic was to expand relations and cooperation with the European Economic Community.

c) Critical Conversations.

The collapse of the Soviet Union in December 1991 and the formation of the European Union at the end of the following year made the United Europe play a greater and more effective role in the international system. The strategic region of the Persian Gulf was one of the important regions that the European Union was determined to play a role in, and to play such a role, it needed a partner in the region with the necessary capacity and capability.The Islamic Republic of Iran had these characteristics and capabilities.The opinion of the decision-makers in the

IQBAL FORUM

Islamic Republic was also consistent with this perception. Ali Akbar Velayati, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, said: "We are ready for mutual cooperation with Europe, and if Europe wants to have an independent policy in this sensitive region, it is the only country that remains, and others do not influence it. It is independent and can cooperate with mutual respect and maintain equal rights. No other country has this authority and this independence in this very sensitive region".

Based on this, the heads of 12 European countries discussed their relations with Iran in the final statement of the Edinburgh summit in England. In this statement, referring to the importance of Iran in the region,they emphasized the necessity of maintaining and continuing dialogue with Iran. They stated that this conversation should be critical and include the concerns caused by Iran's behavior.They have also emphasized that in this conversation, under the guise of improving the human rights situation in Iran, the fate of Salman Rushdie's execution fatwa, terrorism, Iran's weapons, and the adoption of a constructive policy and behavior towards the Middle East peace process will be resolved. The leaders of Europe pointed out that observing and improving these issues will have a great role and importance in establishing close relations with Iran.

Although this policy and the position of Europe were critical, it clearly meant rejecting the US policy of threats and sanctions against the Islamic Republic. In fact, unlike America, Europe wanted to resolve differences through critical dialogue instead of sanctions and threats.Therefore, Hashemi Rafsanjani, President of the Islamic Republic of Iran, sent a message to them on March 2,1992, in response to the statement of European leaders. He declared, "We are also ready and willing to discuss and exchange serious, frank, and critical opinions with the European community and its members, and we believe that with the problems and challenges that arise in the world, especially in your region and ours, the necessity of such calls and consultations has increased".

The Prime Minister of Denmark, as the rotating president of the European Union, emphasized to the First Vice President of

IQBAL FORUM

Iran on April17,1992, "The European Community and its member states continue to attach the greatest importance to a constructive, comprehensive, and free dialogue of any kind with the Islamic Republic of Iran".

Based on this, several rounds of critical talks between Iran and Europe were held from1992to1995.Iran's most important goal in continuing these talks, in addition to the benefits and economic-commercial exchanges, was to counter the American sanctions and threats through balancing. After the election of Democrat Hillary Clinton to the presidency of the United States in January 1992, a policy of sanctions and threats was adopted by this country towards Iran. So, at the same time as the critical talks between Iran and Europe began, the policy of bilateral containment was announced and implemented by the United States towards Iran in February1993.Then, within the framework of this strategy, economic sanctions against Iran were imposed and enforced. First, through two executive directives on March 24,1993, and May 16,1993, Clinton prohibited any assistance or supervision of American citizens in Iran's oil operations. Finally, in early August 1996, the Iran-Libya Sanctions Act (ILSA), known as the D'Amato Act, was passed in the US Congress. According to this law, investment of more than 20 million dollars in Iran's oil and gas industry was prohibited, and it was decided that companies that disobeyed this law would be sanctioned and punished by the United States.

European countries, individually or within the framework of the European Union, strongly opposed this law, which had a cross-border nature. French President Jacques Chirac declared, "if French companies are directly affected by such actions, France must immediately take retaliatory measures." England also said, "We are not at war with the goals of the US Congress, but we strongly disagree with the means they use. No country has the right to tell the companies of other countries what to do with a third country".

IQBAL FORUM

Then-German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel threatened the US with a trade war. He emphasized that the only way to deal with Iran is through dialogue and cooperation with this country, and the policy of isolating Iran will be ineffective.The European Union also rejected D'Amato's law immediately after its approval. European leaders also accused America in April 1996 of violating international laws in implementing foreign policies.Critical dialogues between Iran and the EU were useful in understanding the political views of both sides and continuing economic and commercial cooperation. But these talks could not resolve the political differences between Iran and Europe and did not achieve much success in expanding and consolidating political relations. So that after issuing the final verdict of the German court of Mykonos against the high-ranking officials of the Islamic Republic on April 21, 1997, the political relations between Iran and Europe became strained. The governments of Germany and 14 other European Union member states said that Google had criticized Iran and recalled their ambassadors from Tehran.This way, relations between Iran and Europe returned to the situation before Hashemi Rafsanjani's presidency after eight years.

3.3.3 USA

The confrontation between Iran and America reached its peak in the final months of the imposed war and led to a military conflict in the Persian Gulf. The end of the war caused both countries to try to reduce the tension and prevent another clash, so much so that the US foreign minister at the time, George Short, expressed his desire to meet with his Iranian counterpart on August 10,1988. He announced that the United States had informed this country of its desire to talk with Iran through a third country.At this point,one of the important goals of America's approach to Iran was the release of the American hostages in Lebanon. Therefore, on December10,1988, Jimmy Carter, the President of the United States, wrote a letter to the Speaker of the Islamic Council demanding the release of the American hostages in Lebanon and the renewal of relations

IQBAL FORUM

between Iran and the United States. The Speaker of the Islamic Council also expressed his desire to hold the United States responsible for rescuing the hostages. In his Friday prayer sermons in Tehran, he emphasized the peaceful solution to the hostage issue in Lebanon and announced Iran's efforts to free them. With the release of some of the hostages, the ground was laid for the settlement of some of the lawsuits between Iran and the United States in the Hague Court of Arbitration. American officials also talked about lifting the seizure of Iranian assets.

With the election of George Herbert Walker Bush (his father), Reagan's vice president, he adopted a conciliatory tone towards Iran. In his first speech in February 1988, he addressed Iran and emphasized that "good intentions lead to good intentions". It meant that if Iran tried to free the American hostages in ·Lebanon, this country would also release some of Iran's seized assets. The Islamic Republic of Iran responded positively to this request and helped to release the American hostages through the Secretary General of the United Nations.

On the other hand, with the election of Hashemi Rafsanjani to the presidency of the Islamic Republic of Iran in July1989, the hope of de-escalation in relations between Iran and the United States increased.Therefore,Attaullah Mohajerani, the president's then-parliamentary deputy, mentioned the necessity of direct negotiations with America in a short article published in the daily newspaper. America immediately welcomed this proposal and declared its readiness to improve relations with Iran. However, the leader of the Islamic Revolution strongly opposed the proposal to negotiate with America and considered it completely out of the question. Nevertheless, the legal negotiations between the representatives of Iran and the United States continued in The Hague to resolve the financial disputes between the two countries, and 3,500 lawsuits were also closed.

With Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, its occupation in August 1990, and the changes in regional conditions, Iran-US relations entered a new phase. While condemning this open aggression,

IQBAL FORUM

Iran sought a peaceful solution to the crisis through cooperation with the Persian Gulf Cooperation Council member states and the United Nations. Also, contrary to some radical views of supporting Saddam and fighting against America, Iran adopted a policy of active neutrality towards crises and war. Hence, while opposing the presence of foreign forces in the Persian Gulf region, Iran followed the UN resolutions. Iran expected that America would respond positively to this policy and take steps to remove the restrictions imposed against Iran. But the American government again extended the emergency situation in relations with Iran in November1990.

After the end of the war and the liberation of Kuwait, although Iran emphasized the security of the Persian Gulf by the countries of the region, it was at least expected that new security arrangements would be formed with the participation of Iran. Even though James Baker, the foreign minister at the time of the George Bush administration, spoke on February 18,1991, in the heat of the war with, Iraq, in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee about the need for Iran's participation and presence in the regional security arrangements, Iran was excluded from these arrangements immediately after the end of the war.In such a way that there was no sign of Iran's presence in George Bush's security plan, which was announced on March 15 of the same year. The Damascus declaration, which was issued at the same time by the six member countries of the Persian Gulf Cooperation Council and the two countries of Syria and Egypt, proposed a security plan of six plus two, which meant eliminating Iran's role.

On April 5,1991,Hashemi Rafsanjani announced Iran's dissatisfaction with this situation but simultaneously ruled out the possibility of a conflict between Iran and America. He stated that the presence of American forces in the Persian Gulf "is not useful, but it is not a threat to us either."We are not afraid of them because we do not want to start a war against America". At the same time,US President George W.Bush called for improving relations with Iran. Also, according to the

IQBAL FORUM

Washington Post newspaper, in a message to Iranian leaders, he asked for direct negotiations with them about the hostages and improved relations between the two countries. President George Bush again announced on October 12,1991, that he wanted to improve relations between the United States and Iran.

He described Hashemi Rafsanjani's policy as moderate and positive. He added that Iran should use its influence to free all Western hostages. In order to show Iran's goodwill, the government of Hashemi Rafsanjani convinced the revolutionary forces in Lebanon to release the Western hostages. So until the end of 1991, all hostages except two Germans were released. But this goodwill, despite the promise of President George W. Bush, did not meet with the mutual goodwill of America.

Hence, once again, mistrust and suspicion prevailed in relations between Iran and America. From now on, the Islamic Republic of Iran has made it a condition of negotiations with the United States to lift the seizure of Iran's frozen assets and property as goodwill.On the other hand, the US made the normalization of relations with the Islamic Republic conditional on changing Iran's behavior in the fields of nuclear activities, the Middle East peace plan, terrorism, and human rights. Because the Bush administration accused the Islamic Republic of trying to produce weapons of mass destruction, supporting terrorism, disrupting the Middle East peace process, and violating human rights.On the other hand, Iran also accused America of interfering in Iran's internal affairs, being hostile to the Islamic Revolution, and obstructing Iran's activities in Central Asia and the Persian Gulf. As a result, until the end of George W. Bush's presidency in 1993, there was no significant opening or change in Iran-US relations.

With the beginning of Bill Clinton's presidency in early February of the same year, Iran-US relations entered a new phase. Because Clinton, under the influence of Jewish lobbies in the United States, strongly supported Israel and the Middle East peace process that began with the Madrid Conference in the fall of 1991, Therefore, Clinton adopted a policy of sanctions and threats to change Iran's behavior, especially regarding the

IQBAL FORUM

Middle East peace plan.

In the Clinton administration, on the recommendation of the US National Security Council, the traditional strategy based on the balance of power between Iran and Iraq was changed. The new American strategy, which was called dual containment, was based on the containment of two countries, Iran and Iraq. In justifying this policy, Clinton said, "We don't need one trying to control the other. Because America, as the superior power and the triangle in the Persian Gulf, has the ability and power to control both regimes".

The essence of the dual containment policy was to weaken the two countries of Iran and Iraq within the framework of the balance of weakness. Since Iraq was severely weakened after the first and second Persian Gulf wars, this policy aimed to weaken Iran more than Iraq.The purpose of the dual containment policy, which was first announced on March 22, 1993,by Martin Indyk, the foreign affairs officer in the US National Security Council, was to change the behavior of foreign policy in the following cases: 1) Iran's non-support of international terrorism and 2) Iran's opposition to the Arab-Israeli peace process should end. 3) Iran should stop trying to produce weapons of mass destruction, especially nuclear weapons. 4) Iran should respect human rights and democratic principles.

In the first step, the policy of double containment was applied in the form of restrictions on Iran's military purchases, prohibition of aid and credit allocation, control of exports and imports, prevention of granting loans by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, and continued seizure of Iranian property and assets. America's punitive measures against Iran increased suspicion and mistrust towards this country. As Hashemi Rafsanjani stated in an interview with Time magazine on May28,1993,"We do not trust the establishment of a political relationship with the United States because we believe that the United States has good intentions and because there is no goodwill in the United States, so we do not consider it

IQBAL FORUM

expedient to start negotiations." Because we believe that there are false goals behind it. He went on to explain that Iran's policy is not based on severing relations with other countries. Hashemi added, "With the decision to kill, we did not establish a business relationship with America, and we do not consider it right either."Most of our military equipment and factories are American. We can throw away huge national funds while we have no alternative".

Based on the reconciliation policy based on the separation between economic and political relations, the Islamic Republic signed a one-billion-dollar oil and gas contract with the American Kenoco company a few months later. But Clinton ordered the cancellation of this contract on March 23,1994. The next day, he signed Executive Order No.12957, prohibiting certain transactions related to the development of Iran's oil resources.In this way, American companies were prohibited from investing in Iran's oil and gas sector. The President of the United States again imposed new sanctions against Iran in May of the same year through Executive Order No.12959. On this basis, among other things, American companies were prohibited from buying Iranian oil.

The most important goal and motivation of these sanctions and economic and commercial punishments against Iran was to change Iran's policy towards the Palestinian issue and the Middle East peace process. Therefore, in a statement addressed to the Secretary General of the United Nations while explaining Iran's policy towards Middle East peace, the Islamic President of Iran strongly criticized the policies of the Democrats in the White House. In response to these sanctions, he called them ineffective and declared the condition of negotiations with America to be the release of Iran's blocked assets as America's goodwill.

On July12,1995, Hashemi Rafsanjani emphasized Iran's mistrust of the American government on CNN while denying the American accusations that Iran was trying to produce nuclear weapons. But he noted that "Iran has no problem with the American people and prefers to re-establish economic and

IQBAL FORUM

cultural relations between the two nations of Iran and the United States, and that the two nations have continuous cooperation in various fields. There is still the possibility of improving relations."

Contrary to Iran's expectations,America continued and increased its punitive policies against Iran. In November of the same year, the US Congress allocated an 18-million-dollar budget to overthrow the Islamic Republic of Iran.Then, on August 14,1995, Bill Clinton signed the sanctions law against Iran and Libya, which the US Congress approved. According to this law, known as D'Amato, non-American companies that invest in the oil and gas sectors of Iran and Libya will be punished. Therefore, in addition to American companies, all other foreign companies were prohibited from investing more than 20 million dollars in Iran's oil and gas industries. In response to these hostile and interventionist actions, the Islamic Republic of Iran filed a complaint with the Iran-US Claims Arbitration Court based on the first paragraph of Algeria's statement.

Based on this, Iran-US relations did not improve significantly despite Iran's conciliatory policy during the construction period. Iran only managed to avoid confrontation and conflict with America. Also,through the development of relations with Russia, China, and Europe, Iran was able to reduce the severity of the restrictive effects of American sanctions and economic sanctions against it. As a result, Iran's pragmatic de-escalation policy, which was based on the separation of acute and mild policy issues, did not succeed in the Iran-US relations field. As Hashemi Rafsanjani assessed in the last months of his presidency, "I don't predict that there will be any change (in relations). The situation between us and America has notchanged since years ago, and the prospect of relations does not show any change".

IQBAL FORUM

3.4. Multilateralism: Interaction with International Organisations

Multilateralism is another behavioral principle of Iran's foreign policy in the constructive period. This principle is manifested as a behavior pattern of active interaction with international organizations. Iran's more active principles in the United Nations, the Organisation of the Islamic Conference, and the Non-Alignment Movement were expressions of this change in the behavior pattern of the Islamic Republic.

3.4.1. United Nations Organisation

The adoption of Resolution No. 598 was the beginning of the reconstruction of Iran's relations with the United Nations. Although the Islamic Republic was critical of the nature and performance of the United Nations, despite this, it adopted a pattern of active interaction with it. Unlike in the past, Iran expanded its presence and activity in this international organization within the framework of its multilateralism policy. Iran's presence and interaction took place with several goals and on several axes. The most important goals and cases of cooperation with the United Nations are: following up on the realization and implementation of Resolution 598; clarifying positions; participating in the management of international crises; and using specialized organizations for the reconstruction of the country.

a) Implementation of Resolution 598

One of the important priorities and goals of Iran's foreign policy after the eight-year war was the full implementation of Resolution 598 to achieve a just and lasting peace. In particular, the withdrawal of Iraqi forces behind the borders determined in the1975 Algerian agreement and then determining the responsibility for starting the war and the losses caused by the war were important and a priority.Because Iraq refused to evacuate Iran during the repeated ceasefire violations. Therefore, in a speech at the United Nations, Ali Akbar Velayati asked the Security Council to support the efforts of the

IQBAL FORUM

Secretary General in implementing Resolution 598. Velayati stated: "The Secretary General of the United Nations alone is not capable of solving the issue of the Iran-Iraq war, and the Security Council and the United Nations must seriously support the Secretary General during the peace negotiations".

Finally, after Iraq's invasion of Kuwait on August11,1990, Saddam Hussein accepted all of Iran's conditions regarding the full implementation of Resolution 598 within the framework of the 1975 Algerian Agreement. But Iran's success and victory were achieved with the Secretary General of the United Nations report that introduced Iraq as the initiator of the war on December20,1991.The identification of Iraq as the one responsible for starting the war required the payment of compensation by this country to Iran.Thus, Iran achieved its long-standing goals during the war through diplomacy.

b) Explanation of Positions

Another goal of the active presence of the Islamic Republic of Iran in the United Nations was to explain its positions and policies. During the war, Iran learned that it could express its positions and views through the United Nations. Especially with regard to changing the model of the order of the revolution and providing spiritual and diplomatic support for Muslims and the oppressed, the United Nations provided the appropriate tools and mechanisms to realize this goal. Therefore, the Islamic Republic tried to criticize the policies of the United States, Israel, and other great powers through its presence at the United Nations. On the other hand, to defend and support the Muslims and the oppressed, especially the Palestinian nation, For example, Ali Akbar Velayati said the following about Palestine in his speech at the 47th session of the United Nations General Assembly on the first of the month of 1992: "Iran expects that the international community will deal seriously with the aggressive policies of the Zionist regime, and only through the complete restoration of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people and the establishment of an independent Palestinian state will peace and tranquility return to the region". In the

IQBAL FORUM

continuation of his speech, he protested against the ethnic cleansing in Bosnia and demanded the cancellation of the arms embargo on this country.

c) Participation in Crisis Management

The Islamic Republic of Iran supported its active role in the management of international crises based on the definition of the new world order and the central position of the United Nations in the management of world affairs. The role of the United Nations in managing the crises served Iran's goals in two ways: first, it prevented the unilateral actions of the United States; second, it provided the possibility of Iran's role and participation in the management of international crises. However, the Islamic Republic of Iran's participation in crisis management requires Iran's active presence in the United Nations on the one hand and compliance with its decisions and arrangements on the other. Therefore, for example, Iran observed and implemented all the resolutions issued by the United Nations in the context of the crises in Iraq and Bosnia. Iran's goal was to lay the groundwork for playing a role in crisis management and preventing war, which would lead to a US military presence in the region. Based on this, in a letter to the Secretary General of the United Nations dated February 4, 2000, Iran's Permanent Representative to the United Nations announced the readiness of the Islamic Republic to cooperate with the Secretary General of the United Nations Security Council in order to end the Kuwait crisis.

Iran adopted the same policy of cooperation and participation during the Bosnian crisis in 1991. In such a way that Iran first declared its full support for Security Council Resolution No. 757 regarding the imposition of heavy penalties against Serbia, then its readiness to seriously cooperate with the Security Council to manage and resolve the crisis, informing the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Austria as the chairmanship of this council, Beyond this, the Islamic Republic of Iran requested to

IQBAL FORUM

participate in the UN peacekeeping operation in Bosnia and Herzegovina. As the foreign minister suggested to the then Secretary General of the United Nations, Potros Ghali, Iran is ready to send 10,000 peacekeepers to Bosnia and Herzegovina. The cooperation of the Islamic Republic of Iran with the United Nations for the peaceful settlement of the Tajikistan crisis in 1996 is another example of its interactive behavior model with this organization.

d) Using UN facilities for Reconstruction

Using the facilities of the United Nations for the economic reconstruction of the country was another goal of Iran's cooperation and participation in this organization and other specialized organizations affiliated with it. In paragraph 7 of Resolution 598, he demanded the participation and collaboration of this organization in the reconstruction of Iran.

3.4.2. Islamic Conference Organisation (OIC)

Iran's policy of multilateralism during the construction period was fully manifested in its behavior and performance in the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation. With the end of the war between Iraq and Iran, the most important obstacle to the active participation of the Islamic Republic in this organization was also removed.The normalization of relations between Iran, Saudi Arabia, and some other Arab countries also created a suitable platform for the role of the Islamic Republic. Changing the pattern of issuing the revolution and the unity of the Islamic world, adjusting Iran's foundation-breaking approach to the international order and system, and meeting Iran's needs for economic reconstruction led Iran to adopt the policy of seeking participation in the Islamic Conference. Also, Iran's experience during the war proved that, unilaterally and without the cooperation of other Islamic countries, the possibility of playing a role at the international level and in the Islamic world is reduced. On the other hand, due to the overwhelming majority of conservative and pro-status quo countries, the Islamic Republic of Iran can only benefit from the Islamic

IQBAL FORUM

Compact to provide functional and minimal goals. In other words, the Islamic Republic found that the organization of the Islamic Conference does not have the ability and capacity to fully realize the goals and ideals of the Islamic Revolution. Therefore, based on the minimal role of this organization, Iran pursued the following four goals: full implementation of Resolution 598; establishing Iran's position and status; crisis management; and using the organization's facilities for economic reconstruction.

a) Full implementation of Resolution 598

The Islamic Republic of Iran expected that the Organisation of the Islamic Conference, which was working hard for the acceptance of Resolution 598 by Iran, would also take action in its realization and full implementation by Iraq. Therefore, in the 18th meeting of foreign ministers of the Organisation, which was held in Riyadh on March 22–25,1988,the Islamic Republic tried to get the support of the members for the full implementation of the resolution. Beyond this, as the first step in implementing the solution to achieve lasting peace, Iran wanted Iraqi forces to withdraw behind the borders determined in the 1975 Algerian agreement. However, due to the issue of the need for the release of prisoners by Iraq and the emergence of disagreements over the priority of withdrawal or the release of prisoners, this organization did not actually take effective action to put pressure on Iraq to implement Resolution 598. Finally, in the 19th meeting in Cairo in 1989 after the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, the OIC supported Iran's continuing negotiations within the framework of Resolution 598 and international agreements.

b) Improving Iran's Position in the OIC

Iran was one of the founders of the Organization of the Islamic Conference in1970 and played an active role in its dministration along with other conservative Islamic regimes. However, after the victory of the Islamic Revolution and the

IQBAL FORUM

imposed war, the participation of the Islamic Republic of Iran in this organization decreased drastically. Sierra of the Islamic Republic considered this conference to be a collection of reactionary and conservative countries that have fortified themselves against the Islamic Revolution.But in the construction period, the Islamic Republic again tried to rebuild and restore its position and dignity in the Organization of Islamic Cooperation.

In order to raise the dignity of this organization, the Islamic Republic took many cooperative measures. In the first step, Iran increased its participation and activity in various meetings of the conference. The turning point of the Islamic Republic's active participation in these summits was President Hashemi Rafsanjani's presence at the organization's sixth summit on December20,1996, in Dakar, the capital of Senegal. Following the positive positions of Hashemi Rafsanjani in this meeting, it was decided that the eighth meeting of Islamic leaders would be held in Tehran in1997.

Beyond this, in1991,the Islamic Republic established a permanent representation at the headquarters of the organization, located in Jeddah, to restore its real position and dignity.Then, he hosted and held many specialized meetings of the organization in Tehran. Among them, the final expert meeting of the Islamic Human Rights Committee in1991,the fourth meeting of the ministers of agriculture in1995,the seminar on the role of women in Islamic development, and the third meeting of the ministers of posts and telegraphs of Islamic countries in1996 were held in Tehran.Holding some specialized positions and expert jobs in different departments and offices of the organization has been another of Iran's actions. Also, Iran tried to have an active and effective presence and role in specialized agencies and sub-committees of the organization. Among others, it is possible to participate in the Permanent Committee for Information and Cultural Affairs (COMIAK), the Permanent Committee for Business-Economic Cooperation (COMSC), the Permanent Committee for Scientific and Technological Cooperation (COMSTEC) of the Islamic Development Bank, the Islamic Jurisprudence Forum, and the Islamic

IQBAL FORUM

Solidarity Fund.The Islamic Foundation for Development Science and Technology and the Islamic Organization for Cultural, Scientific,and Educational Affairs (ISCO) were mentioned.

c) Applying the Economic Possibilities of OIC

Another goal of Iran's active participation in this organization was to use its economic facilities and capabilities for economic reconstruction and development. So that Iran's cooperation with the organization's economic agencies, especially the Islamic Development Bank, increased significantly. In this regard, the Islamic Republic joined the agreement on trade preferences between Islamic countries and tried to implement the common employment market plan. Also, Iran announced its readiness to transfer its experience in the field of Islamic banking to other members. But Iran's most important economic goal has been to increase its share in the Islamic Development Bank and participate in its decision-making and policy-making structures to use its facilities. So Iran managed to obtain a loan of about 200 million dollars from the Islamic Development Bank for implementing industrial and agricultural projects. Beyond this, with Iran's efforts and consultation, the24th meeting of foreign ministers of the Organization in December1996issued a resolution strongly condemning the D'Amato Act on sanctions against Iran.

d) Participation in Crisis Management

One of the important reasons for the formation and existence of the OIC has been the problems and dilemmas of the Islamic world and crisis management. Therefore, Iran tried to use the capacities and capabilities of the organization to participate in the crisis management of Islamic countries.Among other things, the Islamic Republic of Iran managed to take an important step in managing the crisis in its relations with Europe by gaining the support of the organization for Imam Khomeini's historic fatwa on the execution of Salman Rushdie at the 18th meeting of the Islamic Foreign Ministers on March25,1988.

IQBAL FORUM

Because this fatwa has a religious and Islamic nature, Iran considered Salman Rushdie's crisis an Islamic issue and not an Iranian one.

Iran's diplomacy reached its peak during the Bosnia and Herzegovina crisis between1992 and1994. Iran, through its membership in the Islamic Contact Group, which the OIC formed, played an effective role in adopting its independent positions regarding the crisis. For example, Ali Akbar Velayati, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, in a message to the Secretary General of the OIC in April1992,demanded an economic embargo on the Serbs, recognizing Bosnia, and sending aid to the people of this republic. The proposals that were approved within the framework of the organization Beyond this, Velayati stated that the four countries that are members of the Islamic Contact Group played a decisive role in the decision of the UN Security Council against the Serb invasion of Muslims.

3.4.3. The Non-Aligned Movement

Iran was not satisfied after the victory of the Islamic Revolution, and then during the war, the movement was not satisfied. Because it did not fulfil the idealistic and revolutionary goals of Iran.The end of the war and the beginning of the construction period caused the transformation of Iran's revolutionary approach to this movement.He adopted a pragmatic approach to the movement. An approach that was based on pursuing functional and practical goals within the framework of the basic principles of the movement in changing global conditions. Despite this, Iran still maintained its critical view of the movement's nature, function, and performance. Iran believed that,according to international developments, the movement should be reviewed and re-evaluated to play an active role. Iran's goals and behavioral pattern in the movement can be examined in two periods: before and after the collapse of the Soviet Union.

IQBAL FORUM

a) During the Cold War Era

Before the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the bipolar system, Iran pursued two goals in the form of active interaction while maintaining its critical approach to the movement. First, the full implementation of Resolution 598, and on top of that, the withdrawal of Iraqi forces, and then the identification of the aggressor. Iran expected that this movement, unlike in the past, would force Iraq to fully implement the resolution in the process of peace negotiations. Therefore, Velayati said at the movement conference in Belgrade on September12,1989,referring to the sixth paragraph of Resolution598and criticising Iraq's excuse-making and delaying the implementation of the resolution, "We finally accept that the withdrawal of troops to the international borders should be done completely, and the prisoners of the two countries should be exchanged."He emphasized that "any action should be taken within the framework of UN Resolution 598 and the1975 agreement".

The second goal of the Islamic Republic at this point in time was to activate the non-commitment movement based on the principles and strategy of non-commitment in the international arena. Iran was of the belief that the movement should be unified and take a timely stance against the hegemonic policies of the hegemonic powers against the third world. This also requires "a review of the way of working and past positions of the movement" in relation to international issues and crises.

b) After the Cold War

The collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the bipolar system questioned the existence of the Non-Aligned Movement. This movement was a consequence of the bipolar system and the Cold War between the two superpowers, which was formed to ensure the interests and non-dependence of third-world countries.Therefore, after the Cold War, two views emerged about the necessity of continuing the non-alignment movement. The first point of view, referring to the existential philosophy of

IQBAL FORUM

the non-alignment movement, argued that this movement has lost its importance and necessity with the destruction of the bipolar system. The collapse of the Soviet Union practically means the end of the Non-Aligned Movement.

On the contrary, the second point of view believed that the non-alignment movement was the product and result of the anti-colonial struggles of the third-worldcountriesogaincomprehensive independence and greater freedom of action in the international system. In particular, one of the important goals and ideals of the non-alignment movement is to achieve independence and economic development.Therefore, the collapse of the Soviet Union and the failure of the socialist economic system are like the hegemony and conquest of the capitalist system led by the northern countries.Therefore, the continuation of the non-alignment movement on the basis of South-South cooperation became more necessary than during the Cold War.

These two views faced each other at the first summit of non-aligned countries after the Cold War in Indonesia in1992. Hashemi Rafsanjani, the President of the Islamic Republic of Iran, who was present at this summit, strongly supported the second approach. He called for the development and strengthening of South-South economic cooperation in the form of the Non-Alignment Movement. In this way, the most important goal of the Islamic Republic after the Cold War was to redefine and rebuild the role of the non-alignment movement based on cooperation and economic convergence among the southern countries in order to increase their bargaining power against the northern countries. Beyond this, the Islamic Republic tried to use the experience and expertise of countries such as China and India to meet its economic needs by developing and strengthening South-South cooperation. In addition to meeting some of Iran's industrial and technological needs, these two countries also provided a wide market for the export of Iranian goods.

3.5. Regionalism

Regionalism is one aspect of multilateralism on a regional scale. Regionalism is one of the ways to realize multilateralism

IQBAL FORUM

and is considered its first step.This process means regional convergence and cooperation in the form of an autonomous and non-aggressive political-economic plan and program.

Regionalism is divided into different types based on different levels of regions, which include "geographic unit", "social system", "organized cooperation","regional civil society" and "regional identity."

In the first sense, regionalism means the geographical proximity of several political units. The second theme is a kind of transnational political, economic, social, and cultural relationships and interactions between different communities in a geographical area that form a kind of regional complex.

At the third level, regionalism is defined by the formation of regional institutions and organizations, and the boundaries of the region are determined by membership in these organizations.

Regional civil society emerges when organized cooperation within the framework of regional organizations increases social connections, strengthens common values, and ultimately leads to greater convergence. Regional identity also implies a sense of region-ness and a common destiny and identity among the countries and peoples of a region.

Therefore, the process of regionalism requires a transition from the status of distinctions and relative differences to news trade and increasing political, security, economic, and socio-cultural affinities at the regional level.

Therefore, regionalism in the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran means cooperation, convergence, and alliance with the countries of the peripheral region. Therefore, regionalism implies and requires a multilateral effort to realize all levels of convergence and cooperation in the region's security, political, economic, and socio-cultural dimensions. Intra-regional dialogue to discover and strengthen common values and norms and create a socio-cultural order in accordance with political-economic convergence and security cooperation is one aspect of regionalism. Establishing multilateral security arrangements and structures, formally or informally, for the collective management of regional security

IQBAL FORUM

and the resolution of regional conflicts is another dimension of regionalism. Collective management does not necessarily mean collective security and common defence; it can also be formed in the form of security regimes and concerted order. The establishment of political order through the establishment of regional political arrangements, institutions, and mechanisms to coordinate policies and consult on regional affairs is another dimension of regionalism.

But as the regionalism concept reveals, its most important aspect is convergence and economic cooperation. Considering the division of labor and functional separation in the field of international economics and the limitations of economic unilateralism, the Islamic Republic tried to provide the ground for convergence,cooperation,and the formation of a regional economic bloc through the process of development-oriented regionalism. Because the integration of Iran's economy with the international economy is gradually possible, which is made possible by economic regionalism, the Expansion of economic cooperation is one of the requirements of economic regionalism that Iran has tried to realize. Beyond this, the establishment of new economic institutions and organizations at the regional level to guide and jointly manage economic affairs was another effort by Iran in the form of regionalism. Because the Islamic Republic believed that it could achieve better and easier economic development by using the capabilities of group-to-group diplomacy, scale policy, and regional convergence and cooperation.

3.5.1. Persian Gulf Region

In the framework of regionalism, the Islamic Republic of Iran first tried to develop and deepen interaction and cooperation with the member countries of the Persian Gulf Cooperation Council. The manifestation of Iran's regionalism policy in the Persian Gulf was in the form of proposing joint security arrangements to ensure peace and stability in the region.The Islamic Republic opposes the presence of foreign forces in the Persian Gulf and wants to ensure the security of the region

IQBAL FORUM

through the joint cooperation of its coastal countries. In other words, Iran sought to create a collective security system with the participation of all countries in the region. Because the establishment of collective order, in addition to providing Iran's national security, would also increase its role and position in the region.

But Iraq's military invasion of Kuwait and then the start of the Second Persian Gulf War practically ruled out Iran's collective security plan for the Persian Gulf region. Because the formation of the collective security system required the withdrawal of extra-regional forces while the Kuwait crisis consolidated and stabilized their presence, In such a way that with the issuance of the Damascus Declaration on March15,1990,regarding the establishment of 2+6 security arrangements, the Islamic Republic of Iran was excluded from the management of the security order in the region. After implementing this plan, the region's countries sought to ensure their security by signing bilateral security agreements with the United States. An action that was like ignoring the Islamic Republic in the security arrangements of the region.Therefore, Iran's extensive and comprehensive efforts and measures for cooperation and convergence with the countries of the Persian Gulf region remained fruitless.This caused Iran to focus its regionalism policy on Central Asia and the Caucasus around the ECO axis.

3.5.2. Central Asia and the Caucasus: ECO

A) Dimensions, goals, and works

The stalemate of Iran's regionalism policy in the Persian Gulf coincided with the collapse of the Soviet Union and the independence of the countries of Central Asia and the Caucasus. According to the discourse of realism ruling Iran's foreign policy in this period, the collapse of the Soviet Union and the independence of the republics of Central Asia and the Caucasus were considered fundamental geopolitical transformations in Iran's geographical and security environment. A change that had a dual strategic meaning for Iran. On the one hand, it meant the formation of the new geopolitical domain of

IQBAL FORUM

Northwest Asia. This geostrategic and geoeconomic area has features and dimensions that have very important strategic implications for Iran. First, Northwest Asia has a unique geographical location. In such a way that it is located in the center of the "heart of the earth", that is, Eurasia, which is of strategic importance.

Second, the region of Central Asia and the Caucasus is rich in oil and gas resources, which has made it one of the largest and most important energy reservoirs in the world. Third, this area is landlocked. So that the way and path of energy transfer and access to the global market are one of the important variables shaping the pattern of relations within it. Fourth, Northwest Asia's emergence represents a new and untouched economic and industrial market. A wide market that can be the destination for the export of goods and services and the origin of the import of raw materials. The result of these four factors was the formation of new geostrategic and geoeconomic relations in the form of a new "big game" in the region. It means a kind of competition and power conflict between regional and extra-regional powers and the Islamic Republic.

Fifth, his collapse and the rise of the North-West Asia region were caused by the disappearance of the threat of a stable superpower and the emergence of unstable and unstable actors in the north of Iran. Because the newly established political units of the region lack homogeneity and ethnic-racial balance. This heterogeneity and disharmony could lead to ethnic-racial conflicts that provoke minorities of the same race and language in Iran. This reality and transformation result in the emergence of insecure borders and territorial threats.

On the other hand, the formation of the geostrategic area of Northwest Asia will change the geographical location and enhance Iran's dignity and geopolitical position. First, Iran was located at the intersection of the north-south axis of energy production and the east-west axis of its consumption. Second, Iran became a bridge between the two strategic regions of northwest Asia and the Persian Gulf. Third, due to the nature and location of the land and the lack of access of the countries

IQBAL FORUM

of the region to international waters for energy export, Iran became the shortest and most economical energy transfer route. Fourth, these changes put Iran at the center of the region's new geopolitical system and security-economic order. The result of these four elements significantly increased the level of acting and role-playing power of Iran in the region and the international system.

These changes and developments made defense and welfare interests aimed at regional order gain priority and importance in Iran's foreign policy. Also, efforts to use geographical factors and elements and geopolitical and geoeconomic developments to provide this group of benefits increased. From this, ensuring national security, maintaining territorial integrity and national unity, gaining political-economic power and influence, and economic-technological development were prioritized. Confidence-building, stability-building, peace-making, regional cooperation, and convergence to secure and develop common interests were placed on the foreign policy agenda. In addition, they also used the new conditions and the new geopolitical situation to increase the restrictions created by Iran's regional and extra-regional actors and competitors.

Therefore, the Islamic Republic of Iran adopted a specific pattern of behavior in its foreign policy. Iran's effective role as a mediator and peacekeeper in managing and resolving regional conflicts was one aspect of this behavioral pattern. Iran's mediation in the Karabakh crisis and its role in establishing peace in Tajikistan took place in this framework. By adopting this policy, the Islamic Republic pursues several strategic goals. First, repelling threats and solving security challenges caused by war by preventing the emergence of centrifugal separatist tendencies among racial and linguistic minorities in the country Second, presenting a new and conventional image of the Islamic Republic as a peace-loving and pragmatic country that does not act in the direction of launching a revolution in the region Third, gaining the trust of the newly established countries and Russia by removing their concerns and misunderstandings about Iran.

IQBAL FORUM

The expansion of communication routes and networks and the development of roads and ports in Iran were other aspects of Iran's foreign policy, so that the country became a commercial and communication bridge between Central Asia, the Caucasus, and the Persian Gulf. Based on this, the Islamic Republic put it on the agenda to carry out large and important projects for the expansion of railway networks and communication lines. The most important step in this direction was the construction of the Mashhad-Sarakhs-Tajan railway with a length of 295 km, which was put into operation in May 1996. Iran's goals for this policy were: earning money through the transfer of imported and exported goods from the region; reducing the exclusive dependence of regional countries on Russia by creating an alternative communication route to open waters; enhancing Iran's regional status and dignity; and breaking the American political-economic blockade against Iran.

The third aspect of Iran's foreign policy behavior pattern was establishing strategic and well-developed relations with Russia and expanding relations with Armenia.The main goal was to neutralize the restrictions the US, Turkey, and Israel imposed and reduce their deterrent influence in the region. Oil and gas resources and the method and route of their transfer outside the region formed a new strategic map and geo-strategic and geo-economic relations, a factor that provides the context for the intervention of extra-regional powers. As a result, to secure its national interests, the Islamic Republic tried to establish a balance against America and Israel by creating and developing regional cooperation and alliances.

b) Strengthening and developing ECO

Undoubtedly, the most important aspect of Iran's regionalism policy in the region of Central Asia and the Caucasus was the development and strengthening of the ECO Economic Cooperation Organisation. Considering ECO's history and long-standing activity, the Islamic Republic of Iran aims to form a powerful and efficient economic union and bloc by consolidating, strengthening, and then developing it. Therefore, as a first step,

IQBAL FORUM

Iran tried to make the countries of Central Asia and the Caucasus members of ECO in1993.Such a developed economic organization could meet many needs and necessities for Iran's economic development. Hashemi Rafsanjani said about Iran's expectations from ECO and its functions at the fourth meeting of foreign ministers of the10ECO member countries that were held in Tehran in1993:

"Cooperation among developing countries is a strategy to achieve collective self-sufficiency and makes the efforts of developing countries fruitful in the process of growth and development. It can also play an important role in national reconstruction and economic development as an effective means to face the problems caused by world economic developments. By consolidating and strengthening economic cooperation, it is possible to strengthen the economic structure and sustainable growth".

Beyond this, ECO could help to ensure and maintain peace and security in the region by preventing and controlling instability and political crises.Because, as mentioned, the newly independent Soviet countries were subject to unrest, internal instability, and border disputes with each other, Crises and conflicts that directly affect Iran's national security.Therefore, ECO played a decisive role in managing crises and resolving disputes and conflicts. In a speech in February1993, Hashemi Rafsanjani explained this function of ECO as follows: "What is of serious importance for this very sensitive and strategic region of the world is stability and peace in the long term, and this very important goal cannot be realized without the comprehensive efforts of the countries in the region".

In the framework of economic regionalism, Iran also tried to establish ECO cooperation with other regional economic organizations and unions through diplomacy and group-to-group interaction. Therefore, he proposed the ECO cooperation plan with ASEAN.This plan aimed to use ASEAN's experiences and capabilities to reduce the pressures and effects of American economic sanctions. On January19,1990, the

IQBAL FORUM

Minister of Foreign Affairs of Iran welcomed the interaction and establishment of communication between ECO and ASEAN and said that from the perspective of the Islamic Republic of Iran, as one of the main members of ECO, communication between regional organizations, especially successful organizations whose members are in developing countries, can be fruitful for exchanging experiences and increasing bilateral and multilateral cooperation".

Based on this, President Hashemi Rafsanjani first officially proposed the idea of cooperation between ECO and ASEAN during his trip to Indonesia, Malaysia, and Brunei. Then, in a meeting with the Secretary General of ASEAN in1995, he said: "These two organizations can work with a better understanding of the existing facilities and capacities of the member countries to clarify specific ways of cooperation in such a way that these countries meet many of their needs through regional cooperation by the member countries".

IQBAL FORUM

9

Chapter Nine

Reformations Period

IQBAL FORUM

Chapter9: Reformations Period

With the election of Seyyed Mohammad Khatami to the presidency of the Islamic Republic of Iran on June 2,1997, a new era in the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic began. In this period, which became known as the reform period due to the president's plans and reform programs, Iran's foreign policy, while continuing, underwent dramatic behavioral changes. Prioritizing domestic political development putpacifism, de-escalation, trust building, dialogue, and multilateralism on the agenda of foreign policy, so that a kind of political-cultural developmental foreign policy was formed.

In thelightof this foreign policy, the process of normalizing foreign relations based on peaceful coexistence and de-tension, which had faced challenges at the end of the construction period, was pursued again with more intensity and speed. Therefore, in addition to continuing the talks between Iran and Europe and building trust with the Persian Gulf Cooperation Council, an indirect dialogue with the United States was also started. On the other hand, as a result of internal and external changes, Iran's foreign policy faced new and severe challenges and crises. The terrorist attacks of September11,2001, led to the emergence of two regional crises in Afghanistan and then Iraq. Crises that at least required the reaction of Iran's foreign policy. Iran's peaceful nuclear activities, which became public in early 2003, gradually became a crisis in the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic. From now on, nuclear diplomacy will be one of the most important issues on Iran's foreign policy agenda.

This chapter of the book will discuss and analyze the principles, goals, strategy, and various aspects of Iran's foreign policy from1997 to2005. For this purpose, first the general strategy and orientation of the foreign policy, then its principles and characteristics, and finally the Afghanistan, Iraq, and nuclear crises are analyzed.

IQBAL FORUM

1. Guidelines and Orientation

The direction and strategy of Iran's foreign policy during the reform period, like the construction period, was reformist non-alignment. As explained in the previous chapter, this type of non-alignment implies and requires non-dependence on international power centers and efforts to reform the existing international order and system. Its practical and behavioral translation in foreign policy means criticizing the existing situation, opposing the system of domination and unilateralism, and trying to reform the structure of the United Nations. This goal is pursued and secured through peaceful means within the framework of international dialogue and by changing the discourse and examples governing international relations.

Therefore, President Khatami said in the meeting of the heads of the Islamic Republic's foreign missions in1999:"The Islamic Republic of Iran not only wants to establish a democratic system within itself but also heralds and invites a kind of international democracy.The requirement for establishing this international democracy is to reject the hegemony, supremacy, and dominance of any world power like America, which aims to impose its will and hegemonic political order on the international system. Because "society is neither dominant nor dominated, and it recognizes the rights of nations to rule over their destiny and to achieve the possibilities of an honorable life". Opposing the unipolar system based on American unilateralism is one of the requirements of reformist non-alignment in the international arena. Therefore, Seyyed Mohammad Khatami states, "Islamic Iran does not accept the idea of hegemony, and Iran itself has no intention of hegemony...We have a unipolar world, meaning a power wants to impose its wishes and policies on the world due to its material resources."We strongly disagree".

However, the effort to change the existing situation and order and confront the unipolar system based on the dominance of the United States is pursued peacefully and through dialogue in order to change the discourse of the ruling power in

IQBAL FORUM

international relations.Because the discourse of reformism is based on the belief that, with the change and transformation of the paradigm and discourse governing international relations, the existing power-oriented order and system will also be transformed, the theory of the dialogue of civilizations was presented by the president of that time to change the conditions governing the international system based on it and with the participation of all countries, nations, and cultures. But "in order to change the existing situation and enter the desired world of the dialogue of civilizations, it is necessary to create a transformation in the intellectual foundations and methods, so that the world and man himself will also change based on that".

Another requirement and dimension of the reformist non-alignment strategy is the effort to reform international institutions and organizations, with the United Nations at the top of them. Reforms that, on the one hand, increase the role of the United Nations in the management of international affairs and, on the other hand, are based on the maximum participation of member states. It is possible to achieve this goal in two ways. First, upgrading the position and role of the General Assembly compared to the Security Council; second, increasing the number of permanent members of the Security Council in such a way that representatives from the Third World and Islamic World are also included.Therefore, in the opening speech of the 8th Islamic Summit in Tehran in 1997, the Leader of the Islamic Revolution proposed tostartdemocratizing the UN Security Council by allocating a permanent seat in the council to a representative of the Islamic world".

Activating the Non-Aligned Movement to play a greater and more effective role on the world stage to secure the common interestsof third-world countries is another necessity for reforming the international order and system. In particular, one of the solutions and mechanisms to deal with America's unipolar system and unilateralism is to strengthen multilateral organizations and structures. Strengthening and consolidating the solidarity of Islamic countries within the framework of the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation is necessary to create a

IQBAL FORUM

pluralist international order.Therefore, during its three-year presidency of the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation, which began with the Tehran Summit, the Islamic Republic of Iran made great efforts to increase its role in the international arena.

2. Principles and Objectives

The foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran in the reform period, while continuing, has certain principles, goals, and dimensions that distinguish it from the previous and later periods.In this period, national objectives were prioritized over transnational ones. Among the national objectives, gaining and increasing the international prestige and reputation of the Islamic Republic of Iran as a reasonable, conventional, and responsible government was given more importance and priority. Therefore, Iran tried to correct the unrealistic image of the Islamic Republic in the international arena through a positive and realistic portrayal of itself. Based on this, the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic during the reform period was based on principles such as political and cultural development, de-escalation, trust-building, pacifism, and multilateralism.

2.1. Political Expansionism: Dialogue of Civilizations

After eight years of emphasizing and focusing on economic development during the construction period,political and cultural development became the focus of the Islamic Republic. In response to the political demands of society, the new president, who himself had personality and cultural interests, put political-cultural development at the top of his government's priorities.The centrality of political reforms based on democracy, freedom, and civil society in domestic politics led to adopting a political-cultural developmentalist foreign policy. Hence, political development and national security were considered alike. Because people's participation, satisfaction, and support of the political system of the Islamic Republic of Iran increase its efficiency and legitimacy.

IQBAL FORUM

Increasing the legitimacy and acceptability of the system also increases the national security factor in three ways. First, it reduces internal vulnerability as one of the threats to national security. By reducing internal vulnerability, the effectiveness of external threats is also reduced. Second, as a result of increasing the legitimacy of the political system, threats and security challenges from outside will not decrease. Because it will be very difficult to act against a democratic system that relies on people's votes, consent, and support. Third, religious democracy inside draws a positive image of the Islamic Republic in the eyes and minds of the international community, which enhances Iran's reputation and global image. An increase in international credibility and prestige will also mean an increase in national power and national security.

Therefore, to develop the security and national credibility of the Islamic Republic, the dialogue of civilizations was processed and presented as a central theory and concept in the political-cultural development-oriented foreign policy. This focal concept or transcendental signifier, as an all- encompassing system principle, gave order to the whole of Iran's foreign policy. So that all the principles, goals, and dimensions of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic were defined and determined around this prevailing theory and found meaning. Seyyed Mohammad Khatami proposed the theory of dialogue of civilizations in response to Samuel Huntington's theory of the clash of civilizations, at the eighth meeting of Islamic leaders in Tehran on December18,1997. This plan was then presented to the United Nations General Assembly on November13,1998. The General Assembly also unanimously named2001 the year of the dialogue of civilizations.
This meant the acceptance of the theory of the dialogue of civilizations by the international community, which speaks to the international image and credibility of the Islamic Republic.

The theory of the dialogue of civilizations is a culturalist approach to politics and international relations that sees it as a function of culture. Culture and civilization are considered the foundations of international relations and play a decisive and

IQBAL FORUM

consistent role in world politics. In this approach, politics and human life are viewed from the perspectives of "culture, spirituality, and thought" and international relations. This view calls for the removal of power politics from the face of the world and the "liberation of politics from domination and force". Instead of conflict, the dialogue between civilizations emphasizes the logic of understanding, which has these characteristics and behavioral principles: 1)the logic of understanding recognizes the existence of another and considers others to have independent values and rights; 2) it rejects cultural absolutism and instead believes in cultural pluralism; 3) while recognizing its rights, it also recognizes the rights of others; 4) it has transformed the way of acquiring individual and national identity and made it confrontational; and 5) it does not define conflict with others. Therefore, the dialogue of civilizations, away from the logic of deterministic and dogmatic realism, emphasizes cultural and political understanding and interaction, global democracy, the centrality of international organizations, and participation and peace.

Seyyed Mohammad Khatami considers the theory or idea of the dialogue of civilizations as a new example in global relations that strengthens international relations in a different way. Khatami says in the Italian Parliament: "The main meaning of the proposal for the dialogue of civilizations is, in fact, the design of a new model in international relations. This statement becomes clear when we compare it with other examples that are the basis of international relations in the new era. With fundamental criticism, we can identify the reason for the need for a new plan. Without learning from the political past of the world, without exploring the causes of major globaldisasters in the 20th century, and in short,without criticizing the precedents that govern international relations, which rely on the discourse of power and the sanctification of authority, we cannot understand the governments and people of the world. Let's invite the example of dialogue between cultures and civilizations. The dialogue of civilizations is to abandon and

IQBAL FORUM

leave the will directed to power while clinging and tending to the will directed to love".

Based on this, the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran was based on different principles, which led to different behaviors. In particular, the peace-centered theory of the dialogue of civilizations pushed Iran's foreign policy towards a kind of democratic pacifism, which provided the basis for de-escalation, trust-building, cooperation, and alliance- building at the regional and international levels for the Islamic Republic of Iran.

2.2. Positive Pacifism

Pacifism is one of the necessities and requirements of dialogue between civilizations. Because this theory emphasizes dialogue between cultures and nations instead of confrontation and war between civilizations and countries, In this way, the center of gravity and the center of dialogue between civilizations, as an international example, is peace and cultural and political understanding, which are achieved through exchange, understanding, and negotiation-free of power relations. Because he considers the most important factor and cause of conflict and war to be a lack of proper understanding of the culture, intentions, and thoughts of people and nations.The dialogue of civilizations helps to resolve these misunderstandings and misconceptions in two ways.

First, the dialogue becomes a cultural understanding, which reduces the possibility of confrontation and war. Because the more countries have cultural understanding, the more likely they are to resolve their differences peacefully. Because war and confrontation originate from ethnocentric presuppositions and prejudices, which are reduced with cultural understanding, the possibility of establishing peace increases.In fact, war and confrontation are rooted in people's thinking, and by changing their minds and thoughts towards understanding, war and violence also disappear from world society.

Based on this, President Khatami considers the dialogue between civilizations to be one of the most important

IQBAL FORUM

requirements and tools for positive international peace. Khatami considers the peace based on understanding and dialogue to be more stable than the powerful peace:
"Dialogue is a necessary condition to achieve peace, which is known as the Roman or Italian peace, and it has been called a powerful peace, a dynasty that is guaranteed by power and law. With such righteousness, you will be in power and benefit. However, the chain obtained through dialogue and as a result of man's intellectual and emotional development will be subject to its existence, that is, intellectual and psychological development. And since the course of regression in intellectual development is almost impossible, such a peace is necessarily a long-term thing, and secondly, its scope will be extensive".

Second, cultural exchange and understanding between nations and eliminating ethnic prejudices lead to creating an international society free of force and violence and, as a result, world peace. As a result of the development of relations and cultural-political negotiations between nations and countries, a balanced global society is formed.The formation of such a society leads to the reduction of nationalistic and ethnocentric tendencies and the promotion of human and global loyalties, which play a decisive role in creating international peace and security. From this point of view, Khatami emphasized that achieving a balanced and peaceful international society requires two very important requirements and preconditions: first, the joint military strengthening of closer and more homogeneous countries and societies, based on which it is easier to find common ground and make bilateral and multilateral efforts to provide protectiveshieldsagainst global superiority-seeking programs. Second,strengthening international institutions and organizations and their appropriate and timely responses to manage crises, resolve conflicts, and resolve various international discriminations.

Furthermore, peace is more than the absence of widespread war and physical and naked violence at the international level. In this view, peace is defined positively. Therefore, peace is the convergence of human society and social justice based on

IQBAL FORUM

democracy and global pluralism. Positive peace places violence in the broader context of socio-economic processes and does not limit it to political processes. Violence and political war are only manifestations of deeper social and economic gaps and inequalities. Therefore, to establish peace, any kind of physical and structural violence should be avoided. Structural violence is a type of social relationship in which the other party is subjugated as a result of the complete domination of one party. Deprivation, famine, crackdowns, hunger, racial inequality, imperialism, and underdevelopment are examples of structural violence.

Based on this, there is a close relationship between justice, democracy, and sustainable international peace. So, without justice based on internal and global democracy, lasting peace will not be achieved. Because only through justice based on democracy can international peace and security be achieved by discarding the structures of violence. Therefore, the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran, in parallel with the dialogue of civilizations,began to pursue the creation of a global civil society and the establishment of international democracy. President Khatami says the following about the alignment of justice, democracy, and sustainable world peace:

"We all need democracy in the international arena, and it is necessary that, for example, if the citizens of a country are people who have equal rights, the citizens of the world community are also nations who should have equal rights. If global democracy is established, the relationship between governments will be based on dialogue, logic, and mutual respect, and double standards and instrumental uses of science, technology, human rights, and freedom will be eliminated. Sustainable peace will not be established in the world unless justice prevails in the world."

The alignment of justice, democracy, and peace means that the establishment of international peace requires the collective efforts of all nations and countries. Because no nation and no country alone, unilaterally,can establish democratic peace.

IQBAL FORUM

Therefore, President Khatami proposed the idea of a "coalition for peace" against George Bush's proposal of a "coalition for war" to fight terrorism. "Coalition for Peace" is a multilateral approach to world peace. From this point of view, achieving sustainable international peace is possible through collective efforts and countries' joint and coordinated action to prevent war. In fact, "the Islamic Republic of Iran, with its plan for the dialogue of civilizations and the policy of de-escalation, was the herald of the world's invitation to peace based on justice, equality, and the elimination of force in international relations".

2.3. Détente

All-round detente was one of the intermediate principles of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic during the reforms. Because one of the essential and vital requirements and preconditions for the dialogue of civilizations and democratic peace at the international level is to reduce tensions between different countries, Detente was a process to minimize differences, disputes, and tensions between the Islamic Republic of Iran and other international actors. So that these tensions are resolved peacefully without resorting to force and violence. In other words, détente is a persuasive policy based on the logic of cooperation, interdependence, and political processes such as diplomacy, treaties, negotiations,bargaining, compromise, economic cooperation, and competition in the form of internationally accepted rules.

In general, détente is a kind of pragmatic policy that places the principles of coexistence, convergence, and cooperation at its center of gravity and follows the logic of understanding. Détente is the basis for building trust in foreign policy. Detente is a process of normalizing relations with all countries that have legitimacy and formality in the eyes of the Islamic Republic and treating them based on mutual respect. Therefore, the Leader of the Islamic Revolution states, "Detente is one of the declared policies of the Islamic Republic of Iran.The same with the Zionist regime, whose existence is based on accepting our

IQBAL FORUM

problem with America, not a problem of détente, because the arrogant policy of America relies on creating disturbance for the Islamic Republic of Iran and opposing the economic progress of our country". Also, in the general policies of the third development plan, the Supreme Leader determined "avoidance of tension in relations with non-belligerent countries" as a general principle of Iran's foreign policy.

The goal of détente policy is to strengthen, develop, and stabilize the national interests of the Islamic Republic of Iran in the direction of political-economic development and international peace and security. In other words, "détente means securing, strengthening, developing, and stabilizing national security and interests, keeping in mind the principles and values accepted in the constitution". Therefore, détente policy does not mean neglecting national security and national interests. Also, the adoption of this strategy is not due to weakness and passivity but is based on reason, wisdom, and concern about the increase of hostilities and threats towards Iran and the world. President Khatami, in explaining and defining the détente policy, says:

"The policy of détente... must be organized with the aim of securing national interests and security, otherwise, it will be a passive movement. Détente does not mean neglecting and being unaware of threats, but recognizing the boundaries of the enemy and trying to strengthen friendships and aspects of sharing and vigilance against threats. We believe that the détente policy will minimize the cost of running the country".

In this way, détente became one of the central and fundamental principles of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic. A policy that has gone far beyond tactics and is pursued as a strategy in Iran's foreign policy. Because it is considered the main one in accordance with reason and logic, the principles and ideals of the Islamic Revolution, and the historical and civil identity of the nation and the country of Iran. Therefore, President Khatami admits, "Detente is the central principle of our foreign policy, the principle based on logic and reason, which is precisely based on the revolution, our Islamic doctrine,

IQBAL FORUM

historical characteristics, and our civil identity. This is the first and main principle for establishing diplomatic relations with all world nations".

Based on this, the normalization of relations with other countries, which started during the construction period but was stopped at the end of this period, was pursued with more intensity and speed. During this period, détente and the development of relations with the Persian Gulf Cooperation Council, the European Union, and then the United States were placed on the agenda and priority list of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic. In such a way that, within the framework of the policy of discursive détente and democratic pacifism, direct negotiations with the European and Arab countries of the Persian Gulf and indirect dialogue with America were strategically pursued.

2.3.1. The Persian Gulf Cooperation Council

As explained in the previous chapter, relations between Iran and the Persian Gulf Cooperation Council members, which expanded during the first term of Hashemi Rafsanjani's presidency, turned cold at the end of his second term. Therefore, within the framework of the dialogue of civilizations and the principle of détente, the reconstruction and development of relations with the Persian Gulf Cooperation Council member countries were placed on the agenda of Iran's foreign policy. In such a way, the president and the new minister of foreign affairs announced the expansion of relations and cooperation with the Arab countries of the Persian Gulf as the basis of one of the main principles and priorities of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic. In a meeting with the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Oman, the President emphasized: "Iran's strategic policy is to expand friendship with all countries in the region." We believe that the problems in the region can be solved with wisdom and tact, negotiation, and understanding, and the closer the countries of the region are to each other, the more the scope for foreign interference will be reduced, which will bring peace to the region".

IQBAL FORUM

The new foreign minister, Kamal Kharrazi, in a meeting with the Iranian ambassador and businessmen of foreign countries in Tehran, emphasized the principle of detente as one of the axes and priorities of Iran's foreign policy and stated: "The policy of the government of the Islamic Republic of Iran is on good neighborliness with its neighbors. And the promotion of mutual trust is based on reassuring measures". The tendency of the Islamic Republic of Iran to develop and deepen relations with the member countries of the Persian Gulf Cooperation Council had a strategic and practical nature. In such a way that Iran was trying to improve the cooperation between Iran and the Persian Gulf Cooperation Council to the level of economic convergence. Therefore, in a meeting with the Secretary General of the Persian Gulf Cooperation Council, Iran's ambassador to Saudi Arabia expressed the desire of the Islamic Republic government to develop cooperation with regional governments in all economic, cultural, and other fields. Beyond this, he called on the member states of the Council to form a regional organization with the participation of Iran. Based on this, Iran's Foreign Minister Kamal Kharrazi went on a periodic trip to Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Bahrain, Kuwait, and the United Arab Emirates to announce the message of goodwill of the Khatami government on November16,1997.

The beginning of the application and implementation of the détente policy was the eighth summit of the Islamic Conference on December18,1997,inTehran.The Tehran meeting provided a very suitable atmosphere and issues for the leaders of Iran to discuss and consult with the Arab leaders participating in the meeting about bilateral, regional, and international issues. In particular, they had the opportunity to discuss the most important issue of dispute, i.e., the three Iranian islands in the Persian Gulf. Other issues, such as the Iraq crisis, the Middle East peace plan, and the security of the Persian Gulf region, were also discussed.

In a meeting held in December of the same year, the heads of the Persian Gulf Cooperation Council once again supported the

IQBAL FORUM

claim of the United Arab Emirates to the three islands. But at the same time, they welcomed Iran's desire and intention to open a new chapter in relations with the Council's member states. They also emphasized "the need to establish good relations with the Islamic Republic of Iran based on good neighborliness, mutual respect, and non-interference in internal affairs". Despite this, Seyyed Mohammad Khatami, the Islamic President of Iran, in order to build trust and show the goodwill of the Islamic Republic, announced his readiness to meet with the President of the United Arab Emirates, Sheikh Zayed Al Nahyan, which was welcomed. Although this meeting did not take place and the differences between Iran and the UAE regarding the three islands continued, the Islamic Republic tried to prevent its negative impact on bilateral relations with other members of the Council.

Undoubtedly, the most important achievement of the Islamic Summit in Tehran was the development and deepening of relations between Iran and Saudi Arabia, which began during the Hashemi Rafsanjani period. Amir Abdullah, Crown Prince of Saudi Arabia, who participated in the meeting, called it a historic meeting and praised Iran's role and historical position. Saud Al-Faisal, the foreign minister of Saudi Arabia, said after the Tehran meeting that the participation of Islamic countries in this meeting is a sign of respect for the Iranian nation and its role and hope for this country. He emphasized that "we believe that this meeting will lead to the improvement of bilateral relations between Riyadh and Tehran and will lead to greater cooperation and coordination between the parties".

After the Islamic Summit in Tehran, the efforts and diplomatic activity of the Islamic Republic to expand all-round relations and cooperation with the member countries of the Persian Gulf Cooperation Council and especially Saudi Arabia intensified and increased.Afew days after the end of this meeting, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Iran stated that "improving Iran's relations with neighboring countries is one of the most important priorities of President Khatami".

IQBAL FORUM

Subsequently, the spokesperson of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in an unprecedented position, announced that conducting all-round talks on full cooperation with the countries of the Persian Gulf is one of the priorities of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran. Let's settle our differences; the United Arab Emirates is no exception to this rule." Before this, he expressed his hope that the Persian Gulf Cooperation Council member states would encourage and persuade the UAE to participate in bilateral talks to resolve bilateral issues.

On this basis, Hashemi Rafsanjani traveled to Riyadh on March 2,1997, as the initiator of détente in the relations between Iran and the Arab countries as well as the architect of the new relations between Iran and Saudi Arabia. Hashemi met with King Fahd and Crown Prince Abdullah of Saudi Arabia. In these meetings, the two sides discussed issues and areas of joint cooperation, especially how to prevent the decline in oil prices. Also, the parties emphasized the peaceful settlement of the issue of the three islands in the Persian Gulf through bilateral negotiations between Iran and the UAE. In order to build trust with Bahrain, Rafsanjani unexpectedly visited the country. In such a way that the two countries decided to upgrade their diplomatic relations to the ambassador level after twenty years. A few days after the end of this visit, then-Foreign Minister Kamal Kharrazi, positively evaluating the relations between Iran and Saudi Arabia, announced Iran's readiness to sign a security agreement with the Persian Gulf Cooperation Council member states. Emphasizing mutual understanding and confidence in the talks between Iran and the United Arab Emirates, he wanted to continue these talks.

Since then, the mutual conflicts between the authorities of Iran and the Arab countries have continued and increased. So, Saud Al-Faisal, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Saudi Arabia, visited Iran in April 1999. In his meeting with Hashemi Rafsanjani, he emphasized the need for stronger and more appropriate cooperation between Iran and Saudi Arabia. Also, in his meeting with him, Kamal Kharrazi mentioned the

IQBAL FORUM

cooperation between the two countries in the field of oil prices in OPEC as a successful example of bilateral cooperation. However, the turning point of relations between Iran and Saudi Arabia and the Persian Gulf Cooperation Council was reached with President Khatami's visit to Saudi Arabia and Qatar in May 1999. In the joint statement that was published at the end of this trip, the two sides emphasized issues such as common Islamic interests, non-interference in the internal affairs of others, and peaceful coexistence. This showed the common opinion of the two countries in the field of many bilateral and regional issues.

The visit of the Interior Minister of Saudi Arabia to Tehran in April 2001 opened a new chapter in relations between the two countries. During this trip, a security agreement was signed between Iran and Saudi Arabia. This contract showed the good faith and trust of the two countries in each other. Because the two sides committed not to support the opposition groups in the two countries.In addition, this agreement improved Iran's relations with other member countries of the Persian Gulf Cooperation Council.The Islamic Republic hoped that this agreement would be the beginning of achieving a comprehensive solution to ensure the security of the region with the cooperation of all countries in the region. In this way, the relations between the two countries were developed and strengthened in such a way that even the American accusations that Iran was involved in the explosion of the Al-Khobar base in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia, could not distort them. Beyond this, a similar security agreement was signed between the Islamic Republic of Iran and Kuwait. The expansion of commercial and economic relations between Iran and the Persian Gulf Cooperation Council indicated the success of the détente policy between the two sides.

2.3.2. Europe

In light of the principle of détente in the foreign policy of the new government, the Europeon countries that had recalled their ambassadors from Tehran after the verdict of the Mykonos

IQBAL FORUM

court on April21,1997,once again tried to rebuild their relations with the Islamic Republic of Iran.Therefore,with the establishment of the new government, European countries welcomed Iran's new foreign policy based on dialogue and détente, either unilaterally or within the framework of the European Union. After that, the European Union showed its desire to expand relations with Iran.

In the shadow of the political will of Iran and Europe to expand bilateral relations, mutual meetings between Iranian and European officials began. In the first step, Lamberto Dini, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Italy at the time, visited Tehran in March 1997 and met with President Khatami. He spoke about the desire of Europe and Iran to establish direct talks. He also pointed out that the European Union was pleased and encouraged by the developments in Iran's foreign policy, which played a decisive role in Europe's decision to expand relations with Iran.

After this trip, Romano Prodi, the Prime Minister of Italy at the time, also arrived in Tehran in early July1998 and met and talked with President Khatami and Foreign Minister Kharrazi. In these meetings, Khatami called for expanding cooperation between Iran and Europe. President Khatami considered mutual respect and securing common interests while maintaining national interests as one of the principles of bilateral cooperation. Khatami once again emphasized Iran's détente policy in the region and the world. In his meeting with Kamal Kharrazi, Romano Prodi considered his trip to Tehran the beginning of a new phase in the relations between Iran and Italy and a symbolic trip with a very strong message, and he declared his talks in Tehran as a turning point in the history of relations between the two countries.

At the end of July1998,the Troika delegation of the European Union arrived in Tehran to start comprehensive and constructive negotiations.This meeting discussed regional, international,and bilateral issues, especially disarmament, human rights, and the fight against terrorism. In this way, the constructive talks between Iran and Europe replaced the critical

IQBAL FORUM

discussions that were interrupted in April1997. At the same time, the Minister of French Industries in Tehran wanted to increase economic and industrial relations between Iran and France. Then, French Foreign Minister Jean-Yves Le Drian visited Tehran in August1998. He called his visit to Iran "useful, constructive, and very positive" and considered it the beginning of a new chapter for Iran-Europe talks in all fields. He also noted that making this trip will help open wide horizons for bilateral cooperation.

The ground for diplomatic settlement of the Salman Rushdie case as one of the obstacles and challenges to the expansion of Iran-Europe relations was also provided in September 1998, when President Khatami, in a news conference on the sidelines of the 53rd United Nations General Assembly on September 31 of the same year in New York, referred to the jurisprudential nature of Imam Khomeini's fatwa and declared the issue of Salman Rushdie completely finished. A few days later, after the meeting on the summit's sidelines, Kamal Kharrazi and Robin Cook, the foreign ministers of Iran and the UK, issued a statement expressing conciliatory positions in an effort to rebuild and expand bilateral and European relations. Robin Cook lamented the resentment of Iranian Muslims over the Book of Satanic Verses. He also announced that "the government of the Islamic Republic of Iran will not send any person to threaten the life of Salman Rushdie". In this way, one of the major obstacles on the way to improving relations between Iran, Britain, and the European Union was removed, and accordingly, a new chapter in Iran's relations with England and the European Union will be opened. As a result, the two sides agreed to upgrade the diplomatic relations between the two countries to the ambassador level.

The turning point of Iran-Europe relations in this period was Khatami's visit to European countries as the first Islamic President of Iran. These visits started with Khatami's trip to Italy in March1998. This trip was a response to Romano Prodi's visit and an attempt to develop, strengthen, and consolidate

IQBAL FORUM

comprehensive relations with Italy and the European Union. The background of Italian civilization, as one of the ancient civilizations that had signed the dialogue between civilizations document with Iran and Egypt a month before this trip, gave Italy priority. President Khatami also met and talked with Pope John Paul II during this trip.

President Khatami arrived in Paris in early November1999 to visit France and Europe. During this trip, he met with French officials, including Jacques Chirac. Khatami considers the expansion of bilateral relations as one of the achievements of this trip, which can effectively develop relations between Iran and the European Union.The French Ambassador to Iran, Philippe Sarme, also stated before the trip that this visit would warm the atmosphere governing relations between Iran, France, and Europe. Murtaza Sarmadi, Deputy Europe and America of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs announced that this trip aims to consolidate, develop, and deepen trade and economic relations and exchanges, attract foreign capital, and increase Iran's exports to the French market. On the third day of his trip to France, President Khatami attended the annual meeting of UNESCO and explained his views on the fundamental and necessary developments for the objective realization of the dialogue of civilizations.

President Khatami's visit to Germany in July2000 showed the determination of the Islamic Republic for détente with this country and the European Union. Because, as explained, the most important cause of tension in the relations between Iran and Europe was the verdict of the Mykonos court in April 1997. Thus, after two years of reforms, the Islamic Republic managed to expand its relations with major European countries. In addition to gaining international credit, the most important goal of détente and developing relations with Europe was to meet economic,technological, and foreign capital needs, especially in the oil and gas sector. Beyond this, through the development and expansion of relations with Europe, the Islamic Republic sought to use the weight of Europe against the United States in the framework of elimination diplomacy. So

IQBAL FORUM

that Foreign Minister Kamal Kharrazi clearly pointed out this goal a few days after Khatami's visit to Germany and said, "I think the expansion of relations between Iran and Germany will increase the awareness in America that America has no choice but to improve relations with Iran".

During the first four years of Seyyed Mohammad Khatami'spresidency,political-economic relations between Iran and Europe developed and expanded significantly. In such a way, the European Council approved the report of the European Commission on the development of relations with Iran two weeks before the eighth presidential election was held on June18,2001.This resolution emphasizes the gradual development and strengthening of EU relations with Iran. Also, the Council asked the European Commission to evaluate all the fields related to the relations between Iran and Europe and present its proposals in the framework of the development of cooperation and the expansion of bilateral trade relations.

After the re-election of Khatami as president, inclusive and constructive talks between Iran and Europe continued. The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Kamal Kharrazi, arrived in Brussels one day before the September11,2001,incident at the invitation of Xavier Solana, who was in charge of European common foreign and security policy.In the third and fourth months of October of the same year, the European Troika delegation headed by Belgian Prime Minister Louis Michel traveled to Tehran for discussions with Iranian officials. They wanted to improve and expand relations with Iran, provided that Iran participated in the anti-terrorism coalition. British Foreign Minister Jack Straw also visited Tehran for the first time after the Islamic Revolution in the first days of October and December 2001. These meetings were held to consult with the Islamic Republic of Iran regarding the Afghanistan crisis.

Talks between Iran and Europe regarding the Trade and Cooperation Agreement (TCA) continued after the US attack on Afghanistan and Iran's inclusion in the Axis of Evil.Because the European Union was against the unilateral policies and

IQBAL FORUM

militarism of the United States.This union wanted to adopt a political solution to deal with international security challenges. As Joseph Pique, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Spain and the rotating president of the European Union, stated, "The European Union seeks maximum cooperation with Iran in the fields of trade, the fight against terrorism, and human rights". Therefore, the eighth round of constructive and inclusive negotiations between Iran and Europe was held on February 17, 2001, in Madrid. In these talks, topics such as trade cooperation and investment, the fight against drugs, counterterrorism, reconstruction of Afghanistan, cooperation in the field of energy and transportation, important international issues, the situation in the Middle East and the Persian Gulf, and the issue of disarmament were discussed.

After that, the Islamic Republic of Iran put the IRA's new diplomatic activities on its foreign policy agenda to reduce American pressure. President Khatami visited Vienna on March 20,2001, at the invitation of Austrian President Thomas Klestiel, to negotiate with the authorities of this country. During this trip, contracts and cooperation agreements in commercial and economic fields were signed. It also occurred during the trilateral talks between Iran, Austria, and Xavier Solana. After leaving Vienna, Khatami also visited Greece for three days.Therefore, inclusive and constructive talks continued despite America's clear opposition to Europe's positions.

However, due to differences of opinion between European countries, the leaders of the European Road did not succeed in preparing and approving the final document of these talks at the May 2002 meeting in Madrid. A number of members wanted to prepare a comprehensive document including commercial, economic, and political issues.While the second group was against making commercial-economic cooperation with Iran conditional on improving the human rights situation, fighting terrorism, and not opposing Middle East peace and nuclear activities.Finally,at the summit on June 27,2002, in Luxembourg,

IQBAL FORUM

European leaders took a middle path with a kind of compromise. In such a way that they agreed that the cooperation with the Islamic Republic of Iran should be regulated and followed up within the framework of two separate economic-commercial cooperation documents and a political cooperation document. The approval of two separate economic and political documents was considered to indicate the failure of the policy of American pressure on Europe and the relative success of Iran's diplomacy.

Based on this, Xavier Solana arrived in Tehran on August 7, 2002, to negotiate the conclusion of the cooperation and trade document. During this trip, he discussed political issues such as Middle East peace, terrorism, human rights, and democracy in Iran with President Khatami, Foreign Minister Kharrazi, and his deputy Mirdamadi. These negotiations showed that although the two political and economic documents were prepared separately, Europe pursued these two documents in parallel. Therefore, in the ninth round of negotiations between Iran and Europe, which was held in Tehran on September 19,2002, both categories of political and economic issues were discussed. The acceptance of Richard Dalton as the British ambassador to Iran on October 2nd of the same year, the visit of the Swiss Foreign Minister to Tehran on November 5th of the same year, and Khatami's visit to Spain on November 6th, 2002, indicate the determination of Iran and Europe to continue the talks. It was constructive.

Therefore, on December 21,2002, representatives of Iran and Europe exchanged views on the fundamental principles of the bilateral agreement in Brussels. After that, at the height of the Iraq crisis, Chris Patten, the European Union's foreign relations representative, came to Tehran on March 14,2002. At the same time, Foreign Minister Kamal Kharrazi sat down to negotiate with Tony Blair and British Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Jack Straw in London. Chris Patten stated that his negotiations aimed to reach a trade agreement and economic cooperation with Iran on terrorism, human rights, and weapons

IQBAL FORUM

of mass destruction. Then, the 10th round of inclusive talks between Iran and Europe was held on May 9,2003, in Athens. In these negotiations, economic cooperation and past political issues such as the non- proliferation of nuclear weapons, human rights, terrorism, and peace in the Middle East were discussed.

From this date on, as a result of the disclosure of Iran's nuclear activities, comprehensive talks gave way to conditional talks. In June 2003, the European Union, by publishing a statement, clearly stated that its talks with the Islamic Republic were conditional and subject to Iran's positive actions in the fields of human rights, the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, and the Arab-Israeli peace process. In particular, due to the presentation of Iran's nuclear case at the International Atomic Energy Agency, this topic was included in the negotiations between Iran and Europe, which will be examined in the following sections.

2.3.3. USA

The most important and difficult aspect of the détente policy in this period was reducing the tension and confrontation between Iran and America. In such a way, President Khatami tried to deepen Hashemi Rafsanjani's policy through direct dialogue with the people and indirectly with the American government to avoid confrontation with this country. Therefore, Khatami first announced "the level of self-respect of the American people" in a speech on December 23,1997,addressed to the people of the world. Then, on January 17th of the same year, in a message to the American people through CNN, he extended his message to the American nation and praised its religious foundations and freedom. Khatami once again spoke about the necessity of dialogue between civilizations and called forex changing rofessors,writers,researchers,artists,journalists, and tourists. Also, the Islamic president of Iran condemned terrorism, expressed his views on Middle Eastpeace,and clearly stated that Iran is not seeking to acquire nuclear weapons.

IQBAL FORUM

After three weeks, US President Bill Clinton responded to Khatami's initiative. On February9,1997, in his congratulatory message on the occasion of Eid al-Fitr, Clinton called Iran "an important country with an ancient and rich cultural heritage" and regretted the distance between the two nations of Iran and America. Clinton also stated,"although we have serious differences of opinion with this country regarding some of Iran's policies, I believe these can be resolved." Clinton then expressed hope that "more exchanges will take place between the two nations, and soon we will see a day when we can once again enjoy friendly relations with Iran".

Then, on June 27,1997, US Secretary of State Madeleine Albright took another step towards getting closer to Iran and welcomed President Khatami's proposals. "We are ready to explore new ways to build mutual trust and clear up misunderstandings if the Islamic Republic of Iran also takes similar steps." Secretary Albright also said: "If such a day begins and the concerns of the parties are expressed, we can hope for the establishment of diverse relations, the collapse of the wall of distrust, and the development of relations between the two countries". Therefore, the United States reducedsome economic sanctions against Iran and implemented the D'Amato Law.

But as Khatami declared, the wall of mistrust between Iran and America was too high to be removed with a few mutual speeches. Therefore, Khatami emphasized that the relations between Iran and the United States should be free of domination, based on mutual respect and the elimination of mutual suspicion. Fulfillment of these conditions also requires sufficient time. Therefore, in his first reaction to Bill Clinton's proposal for real reconciliation with Iran on July11,1998, Khatami welcomed the change of tone and discourse in America towards Iran. But at the same time, Khatami demanded practical action from America and stated that "Iran expects to see American goodwill in action and not in words".

Regarding the president's position, Iran's foreign minister did not consider it sufficient to change America's tone without

IQBAL FORUM

changing its behavior towards Iran to start political negotiations between the two countries. He considered the illegal decision of the United States to allocate funds for sabotage in Iran and support a radio station for bad propaganda to be interference in Iran's internal affairs and evidence of hostile behavior in this country. Kharrazi considered the confrontational policies of the United States with the Islamic Republic of Iran in Central Asia and the Caucasus as another example of the country's lack of change in its behavior towards Iran. For example, the United States strongly opposed the transfer of gas and oil from these countries through the construction of a pipeline in Iran.

In April 1999, US President Bill Clinton, in an unprecedented position, declared that, according to Western countries, Iran had committed few violations. He also stated that it should be accepted that sometimes other countries have the right to be upset and worried about some things in America.

But at the same time, the US Secretary of State published a list, including the Islamic Republic of Iran, among the countries supporting terrorism. This dual policy of America's behavior and speech towards Iran caused Kamal Kharrazi to declare that "all our officials have doubts about the sincerity of the Americans and their treatment. If we want to collapse this high wall of mistrust, America must act in such a way that trust will be created, and, first of all, America must show its honesty". President Khatami also stated in the context of the American officials' proposal to negotiate with Iran that the Islamic Republic rejects any conditional negotiation that is not based on mutual respect, which requires deviation from Iran's goals, principles, and ideals.

Undoubtedly, US Secretary of State Madeleine Albright took the most unprecedented conciliatory position towards the Islamic Republic of Iran after the victory of the Islamic Revolution. On March 26,1999, in a speech at the Iran-America Association, affiliated with the Georgetown Middle East Institute, he praised Iran's high cultural and civilizational status and geopolitical importance.On the one hand, the US Secretary of State repeated the past

IQBAL FORUM

accusations that Iran supports terrorism, opposes the Middle East peace process, and attempts to acquire nuclear weapons. On the other hand, he stated that "now we have concluded that the time The time has come to further expand one's horizons. More importantly, Albright admitted that "in 1953, the United States of America played a prominent role in the overthrow of the popular prime minister of Iran, namely Dr. Mohammad Mossadegh... his coup obviously affected the political development in Iran, and now it is easy to understand why many Iranians are angry and opposed to American interference in the internal affairs of Iran". Albright also acknowledged that "after a quarter of a century later, Western countries and the United States continued to support the Shah's regime."

Therefore, Albright emphasized that "as President Clinton has said, the United States of America must bear its fair share of responsibility for the problems that have arisen in Iran-US relations." Furthermore, the US Secretary of State admitted that "some US policies towards Iraq during the country's conflict with Iran have been woefully shortsighted." Albright then, referring to Iran and America's fields and common interests, declared, "We want to work with Iran to remove what President Khatami calls the wall of distrust. In order to remove this wall of mistrust, we must be willing to deal directly with each other as two independent and proud nations and deal with the issues that have kept us apart on a mutual basis". However, Albright clarified that economic sanctions will remain in place until Iran's behavior changes.

America's conciliatory tone and confrontational behavior towards the Islamic Republic of Iran, especially putting pressure on Iran to change its foreign policy behavior, did not play a practical role in removing mistrust and improving relations between the two countries. In such a way that, on August 25, 2000, in a meeting with the Minister of Foreign Affairs and the heads of the Islamic Republic of Iran's representative offices abroad, the Supreme Leader strongly criticised the negotiation with the United States based on

IQBAL FORUM

changing the behaviour of foreign policy. The Supreme Leader noted that "now there is practically no common ground between us and the Americans on any of the world's issues. We have no trade-offs with the Americans. In front of the power you have placed, like the power of the United States, whatever you give, there is another one you have to give. Behind the negotiating table, America will find a way to tell you from the position of a superpower, which it cannot say today".

Also, President Khatami, in a press conference on the sidelines of the Millennium Summit of the United Nations member states, did not consider America's actions and dialogue changes to be sufficient to resolve existing misunderstandings between Iran and the United States for political negotiations. Referring to the admission of the American officials regarding the interference of this country in Iran's internal affairs, Khatami stated: "If the Americans actually comply with the requirements of this admission, we can hope that an important step will be taken to resolve misunderstandings, which unfortunately was not the case in practice". Khatami stated that "the detente policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran includes all countries, and we do not welcome enmity or the escalation of enmity in any way, and currently the relations between the nations of Iran and the United States are positive".The Islamic President of Iran considered Albright's apology to start political negotiations with the United States insufficient and said, "There are still sanctions and hostile behavior against Iran, and an apology alone is not enough, and it should be accompanied by a series of practical behaviors that the Americans have shown less of".

Indirect contact between Iran and the United States continued within the framework of international mechanisms to discuss and investigate regional issues. For example, the foreign ministers of Iran and the United States met for the first time after 20 years of breaking diplomatic relations between the two countries at the 6+2 Summit on the Afghanistan Crisis, held in New York on September 27,2000. Although it was the first time that the foreign ministers of Iran and the United States sat facing each other, both sides emphasized that there was no

IQBAL FORUM

negotiation on bilateral issues. Despite this, no practical progress was made in improving Iran-US relations until Bill Clinton's presidency ended on February 1 of the same year.

With the beginning of the presidency of George W. Bush Jr., relations between Iran and the United States entered a new phase. After less than 7 months of George W. Bush Jr.'s presidency, the September 11,2000 incident occurred, which changed the process of detente between Iran and the United States. In such a way that, with the formation of crises in Afghanistan and Iraq, the type of interaction between Iran and America found a different direction.

2.4. Confidence Building

Another principle of the Islamic Republic of Iran's foreign policy during the reform period was comprehensive trust building. Building trust in foreign relations goes beyond coexistence and détente. Trust building is a process of a military and security nature that is used to increase and promote stability in the military and security relations of two or more countries. This goal is achieved through transparency, information exchange, and communication. The basic concept of building trust is transparency, and all definitions are based on it. Transparency is meant to reduce the uncertainty and concerns of both sides about each other's military situation, which leads to trust. In other words, confidence-building refers to the measures and arrangements that regulate the military behavior of countries in conflict and reduce uncertainty in the fields of increased military mobility and crisis, surprise attack, and low-intensity and milder violence than war.

The mistrust and uncertainty of countries in the international arena are the result of a lack of government and central authority in the international system. The mistrust of countries towards each other puts them in a situation similar to the prisoners' dilemma, which creates a "security problem". The basis of this security problem or mystery is the suspicion of countries towards each other and their lack of awareness of the intentions of others. This concern and pessimism exist even

IQBAL FORUM

between friendly and allied countries. Because today's friends may become tomorrow's enemies due to the change in mentality and people. Therefore, in the international system and relations, the principle is based on suspicion and mistrust, unless it is proven otherwise, and this is where building trust becomes relevant and necessary.

It may not be possible to achieve complete trust in the field of international relations, but by adopting reassuring strategies, solutions, and measures, it is possible to remove the suspicion and pessimism of other countries.

This is especially important and necessary for countries that, rightly or wrongly, are introduced and known as unreliable. Unfortunately, the Islamic Republic of Iran is in such a situation from the point of view of the great powers and their allies. Although this perception, or, to be more precise, misperception, has always dominated the political and economic relations of these countries with Iran, But depending on the success rate of the Islamic Republic's foreign policy in the trust-building process, there have been strengths and weaknesses.

As explained, the developments in relations between Iran and Europe and the member states of the Persian Gulf Cooperation Council confirm this claim. Beyond this, the history of Iran's foreign relations with these countries clearly shows that both sides prioritize politics over economics. In such a way, the development of economic-commercial relations and transactions is a function of the development of political relations. Therefore, the political-economic variations in Iran and Europe during the reform period are analysed on this basis.

Therefore, the mistrust of many countries towards the Islamic Republic of Iran is a result of misunderstanding and a lack of mutual understanding due to a lack of knowledge of Iran's intentions. During this period, Iran's foreign policy agents tried to correct these misunderstandings and scepticism and gain their trust based on communication rationality, dialogue, and interpersonal understanding. Kamal Kharrazi, the Minister of Foreign Affairs at the time, said in this regard, "Our foreign

IQBAL FORUM

policy has entered a new phase with strategies such as détente, trust building, and collective participation... In the bilateral and regional dimension, our foreign policy, in opening the doors of intelligent dialogue and listening, expanding trust building, increasing fruitful cooperation, and improving the level of relations with neighbors and other regions of the world, from Europe to Africa, has achieved significant successes for Iran. Today, the process of building trust with our neighbours has deepened to such an extent that it has also included security cooperation in the regional dimension".

Building trust requires transparency and information about foreign policy intentions and objectives, but it is obvious that providing information does not mean revealing the country's military, political, and economic secrets. Rather, it is meant to make other countries aware of reasonable and common behavioral motives in international relations and foreign policy. Based on this, building trust does not require ignoring the capabilities and components of national power, even military power. Because, rather than being worried about the power of others, countries are afraid of their motivations and intentions to use this power. Therefore, in an interview with CNN about Iran's attempt to obtain nuclear weapons, President Khatami stated that one of Iran's foreign policy goals is to institutionalize international law. Therefore,the Islamic Republic has placed the greatest emphasis on building trust by committing itself to a significant number of international treaties.Iran's Foreign Minister Kamal Kharrazi also says the following about the principle of trust-building in Iran's foreign policy in the military-security field: "In the process of disarmament and international security,the government of the Islamic Republic of Iran places the highest value on trust-building by committing itself to a considerable number of international treaties.Today, no country in the Middle East, and perhaps I can say in the entire West Asia region, has joined disarmament conventions as much as Iran".

IQBAL FORUM

Motivating assurance in foreign policy behavior through trust building requires conventional rationality, mutual predictability of behavior, and mutual accountability. In order to gain the trust of others, Iran tried to practically show that the logic and rationality governing its foreign policy are not unique and unconventional but are based on cost-benefit analysis like those of other countries. Beyond this, based on this rationality, the Islamic Republic of Iran is a calculable actor whose decisions, intentions, and actions can be speculated on and predicted. It was believed that if other international actors are not able to calculate and predict the behavior of Iran's foreign policy, they will look at its foreign actions with doubt and suspicion and react on this basis. Also, it was argued that mutual accountability is one of the tools for building trust. This means that the Islamic Republic should be able to respond peacefully to the actions and consequences of others.

2.5. Multilateralism Discourse

Discursive multilateralism goes beyond the coordination of policies and behaviors with other countries and multilateral actions. This model of foreign policy behavior is based on principles and rules that include norms, common identities, formal and informal institutions in the field of cooperation, and joint efforts in managing political, economic, and security affairs over a long period. In other words,multilateralism is a form of self-improvement, cooperation,and inclusion in order to expand the territory and scope of cooperation and promote it to higher levels in interactive areas where there is no cooperation. Therefore, it creates specific values, norms, and methods of interaction among countries participating in international management (both global and regional).

Beyond this, discursive multilateralism in foreign policy is an approach that manifests itself in the mind and thought before and more than it manifests itself in actions and behaviors. Also, it is more than a system of mutual relations; it is a global and international approach.Therefore, multilateralism is related to this theme and concept before it is manifested in institutions,

IQBAL FORUM

laws, and rules, as well as in cultures, civilizations, and values. In fact, this approach implies and requires pluralism, which provides for and makes possible the coexistence and synergy of nations, cultures, and civilizations. From this point of view, nations are cultural entities that have a territorial nature and identity, but civilizations are systems of common concepts and meanings that do not necessarily have a geographical identity.

Accordingly, multilateralism is a dialogue, negotiation, and agreement-making process that has real relevance among the interests articulated in the discourses. Interests that are embodied and determined in the framework of values, beliefs, rules, and programs. In other words, multilateralism is an interdiscursive approach based on cultural-civilizational pluralism, which manifests itself in the dialogue of civilizations. The dialogue of civilizations is also a method used to discover the principles and foundations of common values and norms for coexistence and synergy in order to establish an international and regional trans-hegemonic system.Therefore, global and regional systems are realities that are created by common meanings between soćieties and human groups. A non-hegemonic international and regional order is based on inter-civilizational and cultural multilateralism, which is able to find common values to create peaceful coexistence, détente, and trust-building between them.

Therefore, discursive multilateralism, in the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran, means cooperation, convergence, coalition, and alliance building based on dialogue,understanding, and norming at the international and regional levels. In the global arena, multilateral foreign policy is dialogue and understanding instead of conflict and confrontation to find common values and norms to guide action, which is complementary to détente, peaceful coexistence, and trust building. This type of foreign policy is based on the logic of understanding, which considers international relations a game with a positive algebraic sum with a non-controversial and non-aggressive nature.

IQBAL FORUM

Based on this, discursive multilateralism required the active and comprehensive participation of the Islamic Republic in international security, political, economic, and cultural organizations, assemblies, institutions, arrangements, and regimes. This active and inclusive participation aimed to shape international processes, rules of the game, norm-making, and the management of regional and global affairs. In fact, the Islamic Republic of Iran defined its national interests in line with those of the international community within the framework of discursive multilateralism. Then, based on understanding and constructive interaction, Iran cooperated and coordinated with other countries and nations to secure national interests. Therefore, unlike the economic one, discursive or cultural multilateralism is based on shared values, norms, and identities. The economic multilateralism in the construction period was based on common interests.

2.5.1. United Nations Organisation

In the framework of discursive multilateralism, the participation of the Islamic Republic of Iran in the United Nations increased and expanded more than in other periods. The Islamic Republic of Iran pursued many objectives through this participation and wide presence. But its most important goal and motivation was to participate in norm-making, setting the agenda, and arranging these international and regional rules of the game.The activities and performance of the Islamic Republic in the United Nations and its affiliated specialized institutions clearly reveal this objective. This pattern of behavior by Iran was more manifested in the General Assembly of the United Nations and UNESCO. Because placing the idea and thought of the dialogue of civilizations as a new example of international relations on the global agenda required its design and approval in international organizations and assemblies.

Based on this, the design and approval of the dialogue of civilizations as an international rule and norm in the United Nations were placed on the agenda of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic. First, President Khatami, participating in the

IQBAL FORUM

53rd General Assembly of the United Nations in October 1998, proposed the dialogue of civilizations and the naming of 2001 under this title. He noted in this meeting: "In the name of the Islamic Republic of Iran, I suggest that 2001 be called the Year of Dialogue of Civilizations by the United Nations as a first step.With the hope that the first necessary steps for the realisation of justice and freedom in the world will be taken with the dialogue.One of the greatestachievements of this century is accepting the necessity and importance of dialogue, preventing the use of force, developing interaction and understanding in cultural, economic, and political fields, and strengthening the foundations of freedom, justice, and human rights.The establishment and development of civilization depend on the dialogue between societies and civilizations with different tastes, votes, and opinions, both in the domestic scene of countries and in the global arena".

The international community welcomed this plan and proposal. Kofi Annan, Secretary General of the United Nations, called Khatami's proposal a brave initiative. On November4,1998,the United Nations General Assembly unanimously approved naming 2001 the Year of Dialogue of Civilizations in Resolution No. 53/22.Thus, the Islamic Republic of Iran succeeded in playing an effective and important role in international norm-making.The approval of the dialogue of civilizations in the General Assembly and its approval by the international community caused Iran to try to institutionalize it at the international level. Therefore, one year later, on November7,1999, President Khatami attended the annual meeting of UNESCO and explained his views on the basic and necessary preconditions for the objective realization of the dialogue between cultures and civilizations. In his speech, Khatami mentioned the dialogue of civilizations as a new plan to replace the current paradigm of international relations. Then, on the basis of discursive multilateralism, he considered tolerance or positive cooperation as one of the preconditions for the implementation of the dialogue of civilizations.

IQBAL FORUM

According to Khatami, "If the dialogue wants to emerge as a new headline (paradigm) in the world, it must elevate its basis from the stage of negative tolerance to joint cooperation". Khatami emphasized that "all human beings should be able and have the right to cooperate in the design and construction of the world at the beginning of the third millennium... This cooperation is not only social, economic, and political.In order to bring the hearts of mankind closer to each other, we should also think about bringing the human mind closer".

President Khatami also participated in the Millennium Summit of the United Nations in the middle of September 2000 and once again spoke about the importance and necessity of dialogue between civilizations as a new example of international relations. In the final resolution of this summit, the idea and plan of dialogue between civilizations were emphasized as a global solution to face the challenges of the next century. This was another sign of the success of the multilateral diplomacy of the Islamic Republic in the framework of the United Nations and its related institutions.

2.5.2. Islamic Conference Organisation (OIC)

Holding the 8th Islamic Summit in December 1997 in Tehran is considered the high point of Iran's multilateral diplomacy. It was decided to hold the summit in Tehran at the sixth summit of the Islamic Conference in1991 in Dhaka, Senegal. But the proper holding of this meeting indicates the success of Iran's policy. Because America tried for months to prevent the participation of many influential and large Islamic countries in the Tehran Summit, Also, the unprecedented presence and participation of heads of Islamic countries in the Tehran meeting also showed the dignity and high status of Iran in the Islamic world and the region, as in the 8th meeting of Islamic heads, they included the Secretary General of the United Nations, the Deputy Secretary General of the Non-Aligned Movement, the Secretary General of the Arab League, the Secretary General of UNESCO, the Secretary General of the Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations

IQBAL FORUM

(FAO),27 presidents,3 kings,7 prime ministers,3 crown princes, and 3 vice presidents. Due to the large number of high-ranking participants and the decisions made in this meeting, some have called it the most successful meeting of the leaders of the Islamic Conference in the history of this organization.

Seyyed Mohammad Khatami, the Islamic President of Iran, presided over the meeting and used this historic opportunity to explain and promote the principles of his foreign policy, especially the theory of dialogue between civilizations. For the first time, he proposed the idea of dialogue between civilizations in this meeting, and based on that, he announced the policy of multilateralism. In such a way that it was formed in the atmosphere of discourse, the Islamic Republic had the opportunity to sit down to talk with Islamic and neighboring countries and start the détente and trust building process. Consolidating the political and economic relations of the organization's member countries, making it active to play a greater role in the world arena, was one of the other goals of this summit.

The way in which negotiations and decisions were made by the heads of Islamic countries at the Tehran Summit made it different from previous meetings. So that the most important issues and problems of the Islamic world were raised in this meeting and decisions were made based on the views of the members. Considering the stagnation and impasse that had arisen in the Middle East peace process, the issue of Palestine was the most important focus of the Tehran meeting. As the Islamic president of Iran, Khatami declared that "peace will be realized only when the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, including their inalienable right to determine their destiny and the return of the displaced, and the freedom of the occupied territories, especially the Holy Quds, will be realised". In the paragraph related to the peace of the Middle East and the Palestinian issue in the final statement of the summit, the participants, including Iran, condemned the continued occupation of Palestinian lands, the construction of Jewish settlements in "the occupied Palestinian territories, and the

IQBAL FORUM

creation of demographic changes in Jerusalem al-Quds." They also demanded "the creation of an independent Palestinian state with Jerusalem al-Quds as its capital".

One of the important achievements of the Tehran meeting was the rejection of the D'Amato law by Islamic countries. So that the participants rejected the Tehran statement and unilateral and cross-border laws in general. Also, the Tehran Declaration, a document approved by the organisation, strongly asked all countries to consider the D'Amato law based on economic sanctions against Iran null and void. Issuing a declaration that explicitly opposed the American economic sanctions against Iran was considered a significant success for Iran's diplomacy and foreign policy.

In this session, Seyyed Mohammad Khatami was unanimously elected as the head of the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation for three years. Thus, the Islamic Republic assumed the presidency of the largest and most important Islamic organization for three years. During this three-year period, the Islamic Republic of Iran tried to pursue its foreign policy objectives at the international and regional levels from the position of head of the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation. Therefore, the Islamic Republic of Iran tried to increase its role in managing the affairs of the Islamic world and international relations by activating the organization. Therefore, a few days after the Tehran meeting, President Khatami stated, "The Organisation of Islamic Cooperation must leave the traditional and transformative mode so that the world understands that the Islamic world is serious about its principles and common goals".The diplomatic activity of the Islamic Republic was carried out in the form of the Islamic Contact Group to participate in the management of the Kosovo crisis towards this goal.

Also, the Islamic Republic tried to benefit from its privileged position in the organization to advance the policy of détente and build trust with Islamic and neighboring countries. Iran's Foreign Minister Kamal Kharrazi says,"After the Islamic

IQBAL FORUM

Summit in Tehran, which was a very suitable ground for the engine of this détente to start and for quick steps to be taken," When the leaders of Islamic countries came to Iran, their mentality changed, and an opportunity was created for us to build, strengthen, and advance these relations. Since then, we have witnessed the improvement of our relations with Arab and Islamic countries. "Consequently, strengthening the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation and improving our position in the world are among the primary goals of us and all the organization members".

Beyond this, Iran used the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation to neutralize the accusations and pressures of human rights organizations regarding the violation of human rights in the Islamic Republic. So that the member countries of the organization openly praised the improvement and progress of the human rights situation and demanded that it be removed from the agenda of the United Nations Human Rights Commission. The pursuit of these goals continued in the organization after the end of the presidency of the Islamic Republic. In particular, the Islamic Republic provided a lot of support for this organization to play a more active role in solving the issues and crises of the Islamic world, including Palestine, Afghanistan, and Iraq.

2.5.3. The Non-Aligned Movement

The Islamic Republic of Iran also actively participated in the non-alignment movement within the framework of its policy of discursive and cultural multilateralism to achieve its goals. Therefore, Iran tried to use the base and position of the Non-Aligned Movement to explain and promote the principles of its foreign policy, especially the dialogue of civilizations' plan. President Khatami did not call the Non-Aligned Movement a unique organization due to the plurality and cultural diversity that govern it. Khatami considered the Non-Alignment Movement a forum for South-South dialogue that could initiate and organize the North-South dialogue. From Khatami's view:

"The South-South dialogue, which is a kind of dialogue within the family, needs to strengthen the foundations of

IQBAL FORUM

independence and intellectual and political harmony... The South-North dialogue should be based on the new philosophy and international transformations, that is, pluralism and equality of rights and dignity of nations and the negation of guardianship,and to organize a discussion between civilizations and cultures to reach greater understanding and also towards universal peace and justice".

In addition, the Islamic Republic of Iran tried to play an effective role on the world stage by promoting the position of the Non-Aligned Movement. Especially during the second term of Khatami's presidency,Iran tried to neutralize American pressures after the September11,2001,incident in the framework of the non-alignment movement. The introduction of Iran's nuclear case and its inclusion in the agenda of the International Atomic Energy Agency significantly increased the importance and priority of the non-alignment movement in Iran's foreign policy. In such a way that contacts and close cooperation between Iran and the members of the non-aligned movement known as NAM were formed in the context of this case in the agency.

2.5.4. ECO (Economic Cooperation Organisation)

The active participation of the Islamic Republic of Iran in the Economic Cooperation Organisation, known as ECO, began after the collapse of the Soviet Union on the basis of economic multilateralism in the construction period. In this period, as explained, the main motivation and goal of the Islamic Republic was to pursue and provide economic benefits based on the common interests of ECO members. However, after the rule of the discourse of democratic fundamentalism over the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic and the preference for discursive multilateralism, in addition to common economic interests, the common cultural-civilizational identity also became the basis of Iran's policy in the eco-region. Because most of the ECO member countries are part of the "Iranian world" and the field of Iranian civilization. Therefore, the intra-civilizational dialogue in the ECO framework can be a prelude to the cultural dialogue

IQBAL FORUM

at wider extra-regional and global levels. Especially in ECO, unlike other economic unions, politics has always been prioritized over economics. In such a way, political differences have been the main obstacle to economic cooperation and convergence and the formation of a powerful economic block. Therefore, the members' discussion to reach mutual understanding is a necessity and precondition for cooperation and economic-commercial convergence.

Based on this, President Khatami always emphasized cultural commonality along with common economic interests as an advantage for ECO member countries' cooperation and convergence. Because, in his opinion, "it is easier to reach a just, free, and oppression-free society with regional solidarity and homogeneity, and ECO can open this perspective to the members and bring them to greater understanding and cooperation". Also, Khatami, aware of the political obstacles in the way of cooperation and convergence among ECO countries, notes:

"The common history and culture of the nations living in Central Asia and the Caucasus, Iran, and Asia Minor is a valuable asset that should not be sacrificed for everyday and transient issues. The sovereignty of joint governments over this vast land before Islam and during the Islamic period gave this region a single historical and cultural identity, and economically, the Silk Road from East to West and the Caspian Road from North to South have been the source of prosperity for centuries. These common material and spiritual capitals can be a suitable basis for common thinking and action even today".

The Islamic Republic of Iran generally pursued several important and strategic goals by participating in ECO. First, Iran was trying to form a cultural-civilization block through the use of historical,cultural,and civilizational commonalities. Second, Iran's geopolitical and geoeconomic position enables it to play the role of a bridge between North and South and Asia and Europe through the region. Third, the Islamic Republic was trying to improve its position and act as a regional power in the framework of ECO. Fourth, a developed, powerful, and active ECO, in addition to meeting Iran's economic and commercial

IQBAL FORUM

needs, can free it from the American blockade and economic pressures. Fifth, Iran believes that the best way to maintain peace and stability in the region is through convergence and cooperation within the ECO.

3.Foreign Policy Issues

In this period of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran, an important event took place: the American attack on Afghanistan after the incident of September11,2001;the American attack on Iraq on March 30,2002; and the filing of the case of Iran's nuclear activities in the International Atomic Energy Agency were developments that emerged as crises in the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic.

3.1. The 9/11 Attack and the USA's Invasion of Iraq

The terrorist attacks of September 11,2001, in America gave Iran's foreign policy a big challenge. Despite opposing the policies and behavior of the United States, the Islamic Republic immediately considered these attacks to be terrorist acts and condemned them. Considering the nature of relations between the two countries, this quick reaction was considered a turning point in the history of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic. The most important goal of the Islamic Republic's clear and quick stance was to ensure national security in such a way that Iran tried to prevent jeopardizing its security.

After the initial excitement and feelings subsided and the relative success of the Islamic Republic in warding off the danger caused by security on the one hand and the confirmation of the American military action against the Taliban on the other, Iran's foreign policy was placed in a paradoxical and enigmatic situation. This puzzle and paradox were due to the nature of the actors involved in the crisis and the objectives of the Islamic Republic. On one side of this confrontation was the Taliban regime, which had overthrown the pro-Iranian government in Kabul and threatened its interests in Afghanistan. Beyond this, with the massacre of Iranian diplomats, he progressed to the border of war with Iran and directed the most security threats

IQBAL FORUM

towards it. Therefore, the American attack on Afghanistan and the overthrow of the Taliban as an ideological rival and a clear security threat againstIran served the country's national interests. This also meant the common interests of Iran and America and the existence of a kind of "natural alliance" between the two countries.

But on the other side of this conflict was America, which is considered the most important and biggest enemy, security threat, and even existential threat against the Islamic Republic. Therefore, America's balance towards Afghanistan and its dominance over this country were like the establishment of the military forces of the Islamic Republic's number one enemy on its eastern borders. In fact, the disappearance of the Taliban threat meant the emergence of another security threat in Afghanistan.Therefore,theIslamic Republic was at a strategic crossroads where it had to make a strategic choice in foreign policy by applying strategic management. In such a way, the Islamic Republic of Iran should have adopted a policy in the war between its two enemies so that the destruction of one of these two does not end in the victory of the other.

This puzzle and paradox caused by the nature of the crisis and the goals of the Islamic Republic led to the formation of different approaches and discourses in foreign policy towards Afghanistan. The definition and interpretation of each of these discourses about the crisis and the national interests of the Islamic Republic were different and even contradictory. In general, there were four discourses about Iran's foreign policy towards Afghanistan, which continued until the reconstruction phase of this country. The ideological discourse looked at Afghanistan from a maximalist point of view, and based on ideological commitments, it preferred to support the Shiites and Islamists and finally to form a pro-Iranian Shiite or Islamic government. But this discourse never achieved hegemonic status in Iran's foreign policy and remained on the sidelines.

The second discourse is the geopolitical discourse, which is divided into two sub-discourses: maximal and minimal. From the point of view of maximum geopolitical discourse,

IQBAL FORUM

Afghanistan is considered the strategic depth of Iran, in which Iran should play a major role in the future and strive to form a friendly government. Regardless of religious and ethnic ties, the formation of a pro-Iran government in Afghanistan has strategic and geopolitical importance. At the same time, the minimalist geopolitical discourse attached the same security and strategic dignity to Afghanistan, but based on realism, it considered the achievement of such a goal out of reach in the current situation. Therefore, he considered the formation of a stable and responsible government, regardless of ideological and rescue ties, as a provider of Iran's national interests.

Civilization discourse was the third approach in the Afghanistan crisis. According to this discourse, Iran and Afghanistan belong to the same civilizational and cultural domain, which forms the center of the "Iranian world".Therefore, the Islamic Republic of Iran should engage in interaction and cooperation based on Afghanistan's cultural, civilizational, and historical commonalities in order to achieve some kind of convergence. In this discourse, Afghanistan is considered Iran's cultural obstacle, and the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic should be formulated and implemented without regard to ethnic, racial, or religious variables.

Isolationist discourse, unlike the aforementioned three discourses that emphasized the need for the active presence and comprehensive participation of Iran in the Afghan scene, was based on the belief that there is no need for Iran's involvement in Afghanistan's issues and thus recommended a kind of isolationism. This discourse emerged especially after the end of the war in Afghanistan and the beginning of the reconstruction phase of this country. The discourse of isolationism relatively dominated Iran's foreign policy between September 25 and October23,2001, but it has been marginalized since then.

The discourse that shaped the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran regarding the Afghanistan crisis was a combination of minimal geopolitical and cultural-civilizational discourse. Therefore, Iran's foreign policy came out of isolation for a month and chose the direction of active neutrality. This

IQBAL FORUM

policy was based on "separation" and "deterrence" principles. This strategy aimed to overthrow the Taliban without resorting to military force from the United States and to dominate Afghanistan. As a result, the Islamic Republic tried to distinguish the Afghan crisis as a "special case" from the general topic of negotiations and normalization of relations with America.Within the framework of this policy, there was a possibility of Iran's active presence in Afghanistan and maintaining the issue of opposition to American policies.

Therefore, the Islamic Republic tried to prevent the American military from balancing against the Taliban by supporting the central role of the United Nations in crisis management. The diplomacy of the Islamic Republic of Iran was based on Horus and the principles of opposition to the unilateralism of the United States, the centrality of the United Nations, and active participation in diplomatic negotiations within the framework of the 6+2 conference (composed of the six neighboring countries of Afghanistan, the United States, and Russia). Therefore, on the one hand, Iran's foreign minister went to regional countries for consultations, and on the other hand, officials of other countries, including the British foreign minister, Jack Straw, entered Tehran for negotiations and discussions.

Finally, the forces of the international coalition led by the United States attacked Afghanistan with the permission of the United Nations Security Council. The beginning of the war meant the end of the policy of political deterrence as one of the principles and axes of the active neutrality strategy of the Islamic Republic. As a result, Iran tried to play an effective and active role in the crisis and war by strengthening the principle of separation while opposing American military action in order to secure its interests through active participation in shaping the future of Afghanistan. The best option for Iran to achieve this goal was to cooperate closely with the forces of the Northern Alliance as its long-time allies. In this way, the Islamic Republic could not directly cooperate with America and play a role in the Afghan scene.

The peak of Iran's diplomacy and cooperation in the

IQBAL FORUM

Afghanistan crisis was manifested at the Bonn Conference in Germany, from which the future political structure of Afghanistan was founded. While the battle between American forces and the Taliban was going on inside Afghanistan, Afghan political groups opposed to the Taliban gathered in Germany to define and determine the nature and form of the political system in this country after the fall of the Taliban. In addition to Afghan groups, regional and extra-regional countries active and influential in Afghanistan, including Pakistan, Russia, America, China, and Iran, also participated and attended the conference.

Among the possible options for the future government of Afghanistan, it was acceptable for the Islamic Republic of Iran to form a military that would have these characteristics: an inclusive government consisting of all Afghan ethnic,racial, religious, and jihadist groups; relative stability;responsibility; reliability; and predictability.The government that emerged from the Bonn conference was the result of a triple consensus at the internal, regional, and international levels.

Therefore, if this government did not meet the maximum goals and interests of the Islamic Republic of Iran, it was definitely not the worst option either. Because the government that was founded was not headed by one of Iran's allies, the Northern Alliance, the presence of its leaders in the sensitive and key positions of the interim government gave them a great role and weight.The holding of the important ministries of foreign affairs, defense, and interior by Abdullah, General Fahim, and Yunis Qian from Iran's allies expressed this fact.

After the fall of the Taliban and the formation of the transitional government of Afghanistan headed by Hamid Karzai, which had the full and extensive support of the United States, the Islamic Republic of Iran continued to play a role in this country. The foreign policy of the Islamic Republic was based on active participation in Afghanistan's political, economic, scientific, and educational reconstruction.

In the field of political reconstruction in Iran, he tried to establish and stabilize the rule of the critical government within the framework of the United Nations and in close cooperation

IQBAL FORUM

with its representative, and then help in its development in other provinces of Afghanistan. For this purpose, the Islamic Republic, by focusing on relations and relationships with the central government in Kabul, encouraging former warlords and rulers of other provinces to accept its rule, and not supporting centrifugal forces, helped the formation of an inclusive central government. The purpose of this constructive partnership was to establish order, security, and political stability in Afghanistan, which would meet the goals and mutual interests of both countries. President Khatami's visit to Kabul in August 2003 as the first foreign leader expressed Iran's satisfaction and support for the transitional government of Afghanistan.

The Islamic Republic of Iran also actively participated in the reconstruction process in Afghanistan. Iran played an effective and active role in the economic reconstruction of Afghanistan by participating in construction and service operations such as road construction, electrification,establishing health and hospital centers, establishing goods transfer lines through Chabahar, and sending humanitarian aid. Beyond this, Iran pledged to grant 560 million dollars in grants to the Afghan government for the implementation of reconstruction programs.The operation of the Herat-Dogharoon Road Road in February 2004 is one of the achievements of Iran's constructive participation in the reconstruction process of Afghanistan. In addition, the Islamic Republic played an active and leading role in Afghanistan's scientific, educational, and cultural reconstruction. In such a way that the Minister of Higher Education of Afghanistan, Sharif Fayez, visited Tehran in the spring of 2002. Subsequently, in September of the same year, a delegation from the Ministry of Science of Iran went to Afghanistan to follow up on the memorandum that was signed during SharifFayez's visit.

Iran's indirect cooperation with the United States during the Afghanistan crisis, especially at the Bonn Conference, did not reduce the tension in relations between the two countries. So after the end of the war in Afghanistan, in the state of the union address in February2002,US President George Bush called Iran, along with North Korea and Iraq, the axis of evil.

IQBAL FORUM

This indicated the fact that America's neoconservatives want fundamental changes in the behavior and foreign policy of the Islamic Republic. Therefore, the natural alliance that occurred in the Afghanistan crisis did not prevent the previous American policies towards Iran.

Iran's response to this American policy neutralized the accusations by persuading international public opinion in the framework of active comprehensive deterrence. The axes and elements of Iran's active all-round deterrence were:bargaining, avoiding military conflict, all-round defense, unity for peace, and de-escalation. In particular, the Islamic Republic tried to neutralize and illegitimate America's accusations and actions within the framework of international rules and norms and through multilateral diplomacy without giving excuses toAmerican politicians. In this regard, Iran's diplomatic activity in the field of negotiation and consultation with international powers such as Russia, China, and the European Union was developed and intensified. The Islamic Republic's cooperation with international institutions andorganizations, especially the United Nations and the International Atomic Energy Agency, was another manifestation of the multilateralism policy to deal with American threats in the form of an active deterrence policy. Iran's adherence to disarmament treaties and regimes was another attempt to nullify American accusations and claims regarding Iran's activities to acquire nuclear weapons.

3.2. Iraq's Crisis

The Iraq crisis started with George Bush's state of the union address on January 29,2002, declaring the axis of evil. In this speech, Bush considered Iraq one of the three countries that are trying to produce nuclear weapons,threatening the national security of the United States and international peace. Since then, America's policy to deal with Iraq has become one of the regional international crises. Finally, this crisis entered the military stage on March 20,2003. In such a way, intelligence forces led by the United States attacked the soil without the permission of the Security Council.

IQBAL FORUM

With the beginning of the Iraq crisis and then the US military attack on that country, the paradox in Iran's foreign policy that emerged during the Afghanistan crisis intensified. This time, it was America's confrontation with the vast project of Iraq, which had imposed an eight-year war on Iran. Undoubtedly, the overthrow of this regime served Iran's national interests.

But on the other hand, the fall of Saddam Hussein meant the establishment of American military forces in Iraq and the occupation of this country. So with the occupation of Iraq, the military blockade of Iran by the United States was in a way completed. Based on this, Iran could be indifferent to the developments in Iraq. This caused the Islamic Republic to strive to secure its national interests and influence the crisis and war.

3.2.1. Objectives of Iran's Foreign Policy

Iran pursued several strategic goals before the US military attack on Iraq that shaped its foreign policy behaviour towards the Iraq crisis.The first goal was to provide and maintain national security by trying to get out of the axis of evil and not being targeted by America.The full implementation of Resolution 598, the stabilization of the legal status of the 1975 Algeria Treaty, and the payment of compensation by Iraq were other goals of Iran. The third goal before the beginning of the military phase of the crisis was the overthrow of the Iraqi regime and the removal of Saddam Hussein from power. Iran wanted to change the regime in Iraq peacefully and without US military operations.The fourth goal before the war was to prevent the US from going to war with Iraq. Because the US military invasion of Iraq seriously threatened Iran's security. In particular, America's unilateral and preventive invasion of Iraq could create a procedure in international relations that the US could use against other countries, including the Islamic Republic of Iran.

3.2.2. Active or Positive, Impartial Orientation

The Islamic Republic of Iran adopted a strategy or

IQBAL FORUM

orientation of active or positive neutrality regarding the Iraq crisis. Because of the victory of negative neutrality and isolationism, considering Iran's international nature and geopolitical position, it did not provide for its national interests. Also, the direction and strategy of the alliance and coalition in the sense of Iran's cooperation with one of the parties involved in the crisis and war were not possible. Because, on the one hand, the Islamic Republic lacked common interests with the Iraqi regime to rationally justify alliance and strategic cooperation with it and, on the other hand, the nature and mission of the Islamic Revolution and the value and ideological conflicts of the Islamic Republic of Iran with the United States It did not give the possibility of an alliance with this country. Also, the experience of Iran's indirect and limited cooperation with the United States in the Afghanistan crisis, which led to Iran being on the axis of evil, made the alliance and cooperation with the United States illogical.

The policy of active or positive neutrality required and implied Iran's presence and active participation in the course of events and crises to influence and shape Iran's national interests and goals without following the US. In the framework of this foreign policy strategy, the Islamic Republic, despite observing the principle of avoiding aid and cooperation with America and Iraq and treating them equally, tried to actively participate in crisis management and guidance.Trying to prevent the escalation of the crisis and reduce the level of tension between the parties was another measure in the form of active neutrality.

Therefore, in the Iraq crisis, as in the Afghanistan crisis, Iran tried to support the Iraqi people against the American intervention and oppose the war but not to support Saddam Hussein's regime based on the principle of separation.The perception of the decision-makers and foreign policymakers of the Islamic Republic of the Iraq crisis was that it was a confrontation between two strategic enemies, and cooperation with neither of them was rational. Nevertheless, using the opportunities created in the form of elimination diplomacy to score points from the parties to the conflict was part of the policy of active neutrality.

IQBAL FORUM

3.2.3 Behavioral Principles of Foreign Policy

The Islamic Republic of Iran has adopted and implemented certain policies and behaviours towards the Iraq crisis in order to achieve its goals within the framework of the foreign policy strategy of active neutrality.The behavior of Iran's foreign policy before the US military presence in Iraq can be analyzed in terms of the following dimensions and axes:

A) **Supporting Crisis Management within the**
B) **Framework**
of the United Nations

One of the behavioral principles of Iran's foreign policy was to support the central role of the United Nations in managing and guiding the crisis peacefully and then using force as a last resort. In this regard, Iran supported all Security Council resolutions regarding the need to disarm Iraq.

B) Encouraging Iraq to Accept International Obligations

To commit Iraq to international rules and laws and also to prevent the US from attacking this country under the pretext of violating international obligations, Iran encouraged the rulers of Iraq to accept the resolutions of the Security Council.
In addition, Iran offered to hold elections in Iraq and accept Saddam's voluntary resignation.

C) Negotiating with Iraq to Secure National Interests

Another behavioral principle of the Islamic Republic in the Iraq crisis was negotiation and diplomatic talks with Iraq through the visits of the country's officials to Iran. In addition to encouraging Iraqi decision-makers to accept international obligations, these negotiations for the Islamic Republic aimed to try to secure national interests.The closeness of Iran and Iraq during the crisis fueled suspicions of cooperation and unity between the two countries to confront America.

D) Supporting the positions of war opponents In order to

IQBAL FORUM

prevent war based on the logic of diplomatic deterrence, the Islamic Republic supported the policies and positions of countries opposing the war at the international and regional levels.Therefore, during the crisis, Iran consulted and negotiated with countries such as France, Germany, Russia, Syria, and Turkey in order to stop or delay the unilateral American attack on Iraq. The aim of Iran's multilateral diplomacy in opposing the war was to avoid being shown as a supporter of Saddam and then to preserve the territorial integrity of Iraq in the event of an American invasion.

E) Support for the Iraqi Opposition

Iran tried to secure its national interests by creating a balance between opposing the war and supporting the Iraqi people without being accused of supporting the Saddam regime or America. The best mechanism and solution to realize this policy was to support the Iraqi opposition groups. Therefore, Iran indirectly supported the opposition's participation in the conferences held in London and the Salah al-Din province of Kurdistan in Iraq. In particular, the presence of the representatives of the Supreme Parliament of the Islamic Revolution of Iraq, who were considered allies of Iran, was an expression of Iran's effort to actively participate in crisis management.

3.2.4. Positioning on War

Despite the efforts of countries opposing the war, including Iran,U.S.A invaded Iraq on March 20, 2002.With the beginning of the war, the active neutrality policy of the Islamic Republic faced a tough test. Because, on the one hand, Iran welcomed the overthrow of Saddam Hussein, but on the other hand, it did not want the American occupation of Iraq. In such a way, Iran could not openly and practically support the invasion of America as a domineering country against the Muslim people of Iraq. In addition, the presence of America within Iran's borders threatened the national security of the Islamic Republic. Therefore, Iran explicitly condemned and opposed the unilateral US invasion of Iraq.

IQBAL FORUM

Accordingly, now that Iran's first priority, i.e., the non-occurrence of war, had not been achieved, the second priority, the defeat of America, or at least the grounding of this country in an attrition war, was raised. The prolongation of American military operations in Iraq served the goals and interests of the Islamic Republic in several ways. First, it undermined and weakened the strength and military power of the warring parties. Second, the erosion of American military power in Iraq would reduce the importance and desirability of the military power of the preemptive strategy. Third, with the failure of pre-emptive military operations, the possibility of the United States unilaterally choosing a military option against Iran would decrease. Fourth, the deadlock in the war between America and Iran would directly and indirectly increase the possibility of Iran's role and influence in Iraq. Because America needed the cooperation and help of Iraqi (opponents) and regional actors, including Iran, to get out of the crisis. Fifth, the Islamic Republic of Iran could achieve goals beyond Iraq by creating an issue between different areas and regional and international issues. In other words, the level of acting and role-playing in Iran was increasing at the regional level.

3.2.5. Post-war Period

Anyway, the war in Iraq did not last as long as predicted. Therefore, Iran tried to minimize the threats caused by the US occupation of Iraq. Using the tools and levers of power in Iraq, the Islamic Republic was pursuing goals and interests at Iraq's three internal, regional, and international levels. At the domestic level of Iraq, Iran's foreign policy was formed around three strategic axes: the formation of a democratic and national unity government that is not anti-Iran and a puppet of America; stabilizing and consolidating the role and position of the Shiite majority in the structure of power and government in Iraq; and reducing the negative effects of future developments in Iraq on the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Based on the principle of separation, Iran, while opposing the occupiers and supporting the Iraqi nation, immediately after the

IQBAL FORUM

war supported the democratic transfer of power to the Iraqi people and the end of the occupation of this country. In such a way that the Islamic Republic was one of the first countries to recognize the Governing Council of Iraq. Also, Iran supported the transitional government and the holding of elections for the Constituent Assembly and the Iraqi National Assembly. After the formation of the permanent government in Iraq, the Islamic Republic of Iran seriously participated in the reconstruction process and developed and expanded its relations with Iraq. Iran was considered one of the most important supporters of Ibrahim Jafari's government.

At the regional level, the Islamic Republic of Iran tried to improve its status and that of the Shiite world through the developments in Iraq, especially the stabilization of the position of the Shiites in Iraq. As a result of America's failure in Iraq and the formation of the national unity government with the Shiite majority, the role and influence of the Islamic Republic in the Middle East region and the Islamic world increased. In the international arena, the developments in Iraq caused the Islamic Republic to develop and strengthen its level of acting and bargaining in international equations, especially in relation to America. Moreover, the Islamic Republic of Iran was worried about Iraq's foreign policy towards Israel and America, its two strategic enemies, at both regional and global levels.

3.3. Nuclear Crisis

Seyyed Mohammad Khatami, the President of the Islamic Republic of Iran, announced on February22,2002,at the ceremony commemorating the victory of the Islamic Revolution of Iran, that Iran was aiming to achieve peaceful nuclear technology. After that, the director general of the International Atomic Energy Agency, Mohammad ElBaradei, arrived in Tehran to visit Iran's nuclear facilities. Al-Baradei considered the Islamic Republic of Iran one of the ten countries that have achieved peaceful nuclear power. Then, in the report he gave to the Board of Governors of the Agency meeting on June26,2003,he started the nuclear crisis in Iran.

IQBAL FORUM

When announcing Iran's failure to report some of its nuclear activities and its positive approach to compensate for these shortcomings, the then Director General of the IAEA asked Iran to sign the annexed protocol of 93+2. At the end of its meeting on the same day, the Board of Governors of the IAEA blamed Iran for not announcing some nuclear activities and programs and asked this country to sign the additional protocol. The Board of Governors also decided that the Director General should submit another report to the meeting in September of the same year.

Following the report of the Director General and the statement of the IAEA Board of Governors regarding Iran's shortcomings, international pressure on the country to sign and accept the Additional Protocol intensified. As far as the foreign minister of Russia, i.e., Iran's nuclear partner, was concerned, Tehran also asked to join the protocol. Based on this, before and after the June2003 meeting of the Council of Governors, the European Union considered the continuation of negotiations and economic relations dependent on Iran's acceptance of the additional protocol. As the European Union threatened on July 31, 2003, if Iran does not sign the additional protocol by the fall, it will suspend the negotiations. In line with the new European policy, Xavier Solana, in charge of the foreign and security policy of the Union, came to Tehran in August 2003 to negotiate with the Iranian authorities. On September18 of the same year, the European Union issued a statement asking Iran to immediately and unconditionally sign the additional protocol. Therefore, the foreign ministers of the European Union at the Brussels meeting postponed the review of relations with the Islamic Republic of Iran until the report of the Director General of the International Atomic Energy Agency in September 2003.

Iran's nuclear crisis reached its peak in September2003. Mohammad ElBaradei reported to the IAEA Board of Governors that Iran has hidden some of its nuclear activities.This caused the Board of Governors of the IAEA to request Iran to do the following in its meeting on September 21,2003: immediately

IQBAL FORUM

and completely stop uranium enrichment; immediately sign the 93+2 protocol; and declare your nuclear plans to the IAEA. The resolution also called for the resolution of all issues by November9,2003, at the latest.

3.3.1. Iran's Options

Completing the IAEA's argument with Iran and obliging Iran to accept and implement the protocol in a limited and specific time took place under the conditions that the United States insisted on sending Iran's nuclear file to the UN Security Council.Therefore, Iran is at the crossroads of strategic selection, and in the framework of strategic management, it is based on cost-benefit analysis. The Islamic Republic of Iran was faced with four options: 1) withdrawal from the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT); 2) termination of cooperation with the IAEA and non-acceptance of the Additional Protocol 3) Complete cessation of nuclear activities and complete abandonment of nuclear technology 4) Conditional cooperation with the agency and signing the additional protocol.

It is clear that each of these options involved cost versus benefit. Common sense dictates that Iran choose the option with the most benefit and the least cost; at least it has less loss than other options. In fact, the international conditions were such that Iran had to choose an option with less cost and losses than other options among the four, none of which was desirable or optimal, meaning that Iran had to choose between bad and worse. Finally, Iran accepted the Additional Protocol and cooperated with the Agency, despite the costs.

In order to implement the strategy of cooperation and interaction with the Agency, the Islamic Republic of Iran adopted a policy of balance against the United States as a security-building country because of its nuclear program. Based on this policy, assuming that the most important factor in securing Iran's nuclear program is the United States,which prevents its resolution, an attempt was made to close the case without the United States in the agency by using other international actors. Also, the policy made Iran receive guarantees in the framework

IQBAL FORUM

of the NPT and the protocol against the commitments it accepted. In the "balance and guarantee" policy framework, the Islamic Republic finally chose to interact and agree with the three major European countries on behalf of the European Union.

3.3.2. Objectives and Reasons

Various reasons and goals prompted Iran to pursue cooperation with the agency through dialogue and interaction with three European countries. First, the nuclear file was opened by the group of Western countries led by the United States; second, despite the strategic proximity of America and Europe, these two actors had different approaches to how to resolve and manage the nuclear crisis; third, even though Iran pursued the interaction with Europe within the framework of the policy of balance, the EU agreement was done with the coordination of the United States. That is, Europe convinced America that the compromise policy is more effective and efficient than the conflict policy. So, if Iran managed to reach an agreement with the West about its nuclear programmers and the type of interaction with the IAEA, it could normalize its case.

The Islamic Republic of Iran also pursued special goals of cooperation and interaction with the Agency through diplomatic negotiations and bargaining with the European Union. Iran's first goal in this interaction and negotiation was to prevent Iran from emerging as a danger and threat to international and regional peace and security. The second goal was to prevent the formation of an international coalition against Iran. The third goal was to resolve the nuclear issue with the Islamic Republic within the framework of the Agency and prevent the case from being sent to the UN Security Council. The fourth goal was peaceful nuclear technology and knowledge, especially for maintaining the nuclear fuel cycle and its recognition by the international community and the European Union. The fifth goal was to normalize Iran's case, remove it from the emergency situation, and remove it from the special agenda of the Agency's Board of Governors.Finally, with these negotiations and

IQBAL FORUM

interactions, the Islamic Republic tried to rebuild its international image as a responsible member and adhere to international laws and regulations by building trust, removing suspicions, and gaining more global credibility.

3.3.3. Tehran Declaration (2003): Sa'adabad Agreement

In the fall of 2003, Iran's nuclear diplomacy was based on two pillars: interaction with the Agency and negotiations with three European countries to prevent the escalation of the crisis. Therefore, two weeks before the end of the deadline of the Council of Governors, on October 25,2003, the Secretary of the Supreme National Security Council, in response to the letter of August21 of the same year from three European countries, England, Germany, and France, invited the Secretary of the Supreme National Security Council to travel to Tehran. They arrived in Tehran for negotiations on the morning of October 29,2003,just two days after ElBaradei left Iran. Yoshika Fischer, Jack Straw, and Dominique de Villepin sat down to negotiate with the authorities regarding the three axes and the key request of the resolution of September21,2003,i.e., stopping uranium enrichment, providing details of nuclear activities, and signing the additional protocol.These negotiations resulted from a non-binding and legal agreement, which was signed and issued in the form of the Tehran statement or the Saidabad statement on the evening of October29,2003.

Based on this statement, the two sides agreed on the necessary measures to resolve all remaining issues for the IAEA regarding Iran's nuclear program and to increase confidence in peaceful cooperation in Iran's nuclear field. Reiterating its commitment and adherence to the NPT, the Islamic Republic once again emphasized that nuclear weapons have no place in Iran's defense doctrine. Iran also announced that the government has decided to fully cooperate with the International Atomic Energy Agency to address the remaining requirements and questions in a clear manner,resolve them, and clarify and correct any possible shortcomings within the framework of the agency. In addition, Iran agreed to sign the Additional Protocol

IQBAL FORUM

and start the process of ratifying and implementing it as a sign of good faith in order to build trust. Iran also agreed to voluntarily suspend all uranium enrichment and reprocessing activities as defined by the IAEA. On the other hand, the three European countries recognized Iran's right to peaceful use of nuclear energy and declared that the additional protocol does not intend to distort the sovereignty, dignity, honor, or national security of the member countries in any way. The full implementation of Iran's decisions, which the Director General of the Agency will approve, will cause the Board of Governors to resolve the current situation. If international concerns are resolved, Iran will more easily obtain modern technology and other items.

3.3.4. The Paris Agreement

Despite the Sa'adabad agreement and additional agreements in February 2003 in Brussels, the nuclear file was not closed at the IAEA. Therefore, on July 4,2004, Iran announced to the Director General of the Agency and Europe that it would reduce the scope of the suspension of uranium enrichment. Despite these differences,cooperation with the agency and negotiations with three European countries continued. The IAEA Board of Governors also gave Iran a deadline of September 28,2004 to resolve its remaining nuclear issues until December of the same year.Therefore, two days after the issuance of this resolution, negotiations between Iran and Europe about the proposals and solutions of the new European plan called "Incentive Basket" began in Vienna. Finally, in the third round of negotiations, the parties reached a new agreement on November15,2004, which became known as the Paris Agreement.

Based on the Paris Agreement, the parties once again emphasized their obligations in the Saidabad Agreement. Beyond this, Iran accepted Europe's opinion regarding the scope of the suspension of the entire enrichment program. It was also decided that until a full agreement is reached, the suspension of enrichment will continue as a voluntary and not legally binding measure. In front of Europe, he promised that in addition to recognizing Iran's right to use nuclear energy, he would start

IQBAL FORUM

negotiations to reach comprehensive agreements on nuclear, technical, and economic cooperation and a firm commitment to security matters. In this framework, it was decided that Europe should resume its negotiations with Iran regarding the cooperation trade agreement and support Iran's accession to the World Trade Organization. Also, mechanisms were determined and defined for how to advance bilateral cooperation and implementation of agreements; a command or steering committee and three working groups were formed in the fields of"political-security","technology and cooperation," and "nuclear".

Therefore, the first round of negotiations to implement the Paris Agreement began on December23,2004 in Brussels. In these meetings, it was decided to start the trade and cooperation agreement negotiations again between January 20 and 25,2004. There was also a discussion in the political-security field. But the most important focus of the negotiations was defining and determining objective guarantees from Iran and solid guarantees from Europe. After the summit in Brussels, Iranian representatives left for Paris on December27th to conduct the first round of specialized negotiations. The political and security negotiations also started in Geneva on January 1st of the same year. The economic working group was held at the end of January. Until March 21, the working groups met several times to prepare the steering committee's background and agenda in early April2005. Despite the relative progress of two political,security, and economic working groups, negotiations in the nuclear working group were progressing slowly. Because European representatives wanted to stop Iran's nuclear fuel cycle as an objective guarantee. While Iran considered the fuel cycle principle non-negotiable, the implementation of the NPT, the Additional Protocol, and cooperation with the IAEA were the best objective guarantees for the non-deviation of its nuclear program. Therefore, Iran tried to persuade and encourage Europe to accept its request by threatening to cut off negotiations and suspend enrichment.Atthe same time, the Islamic Republic started extensive diplomatic activities and measures with all international actors, including Russia, Japan, France, and Germany.

IQBAL FORUM

In a situation where the expected results for Iran were not achieved in the nuclear and economic working groups, the second meeting of the steering committee was held on April3, 2005,in Paris. In this meeting, the Islamic Republic of Iran presented a four-stage plan for gradually starting all fuel cycle activities and gaining Europe's trust. But due to the disagreement between the parties, the negotiations did not reach a tangible result. The third meeting of the Steering Committee was held on May9,2005, in London, which reached a dead end due to conflicting views and conflicting demands on both sides. In particular, Europe's request to postpone negotiations until after the Islamic Republic of Iran's presidential elections and the announcement of Iran's decision to set up UCF facilities in Isfahan played an important role in the impasse. Despite Hassan Rouhani, the chief official in Iran's nuclear case, Xavier Solana, Jack Straw, Michel Barnier, and Yoshika Fischer met on June 4, 2005, to find a way out of this impasse. Finally, following the request of the European side, Iran agreed to give Europe two months until its final plan. Of course, Iran emphasized that any plan that includes uranium enrichment will be rejected in advance.

The Islamic Republic of Iran made a new move to gain international support, and Hassan Rouhani visited the United Arab Emirates, Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Oman, and then South Africa. On July29,2005, Iran informed Europe that negotiations with Europe would resume after the establishment of Isfahan facilities.Then, on August10,2005, the Islamic Republic officially announced to the agency that the activities of the Isfahan complex had resumed. Finally, the European Community plan was delivered to the Iranian authorities on August14, 2005, but was not accepted by the new government.

IQBAL FORUM

10

Chapter Ten

The Era of Principlism

IQBAL FORUM

Chapter10: The Era of Principlism

After the election of Mahmoud Ahmadinejad as the president of the Islamic Republic of Iran and the inauguration of the ninth government in August2005,and as a result of the rule of justice-oriented fundamentalism discourse, Iran's foreign policy underwent many changes and transformations while continuing theoretically and practically.

Therefore, Iran's foreign policy in this period has certain principles, dimensions and characteristics that are different and distinct from the period of construction and reforms. Although some principles of behavior such as seeking justice and pacifism and issues and topics such as the nuclear crisis and relations with Europe and the United States continue in the foreign policy of this period, the way it is perceived and realized is significantly different.

In the framework of the discourse of justice-oriented fundamentalism and the orientation of revisionist non-alignment, a kind of active foreign policy was formed, which adopted a new behavioral pattern and procedure of interaction. This active policy and interactive procedure were manifested in different methods and tools in the conduct of Iran's foreign policy in the international arena. On the one hand, it changed the pattern of relations with the West, meaning the escalation of the Cold War with America and the revision of close relations with Europe. On the other hand, it caused the emergence of the policy of looking to the East, especially the proximity to Russia and China. Also, tendency towards third world and especially Latin American was strengthened and developed in Iran's foreign policy. In this way, while continuing, the foreign policy in this period has also witnessed many changes and developments.

In this chapter, an attempt is made to analyze the principles, objectives, strategy and dimensions of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic, and discuss its developments.Then, the principles and characteristics of the principled government's foreign policy should be analyzed. Finally,the behavioral

IQBAL FORUM

patterns of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran at this point in time, which are oriented, managed, and guided based on these principles, are studied.

1. Guidelines: The Revisionist Non-alignment

The strategy or orientation of the principled(President Ahmedinejad) government's foreign policy is revisionist non-alignment. In the framework of the fundamental principle of neither Eastern nor Western non-alignment, this type of non-alignment has revolutionary and ideological commitments and missions.Therefore,beyond conventional non-alignment, in addition to non-dependence and attachment to power centres and global powers, it aims to change and transform the established international system and order. This goal is also realized through infrastructure changes to the principles and foundations of the existing unfavorable order and system.

Breaking the foundation and subversion of the existing and established undesirable international order and system is achieved by exposing the structures of domination, oppression, and structural violence at the international level and their abolition. Therefore, in the behavioral and practical arena, the strategy of revisionist non-alignment is manifested and crystallized in several ways: revealing the unfair and illegitimate nature of the international and unipolar system and opposing and confronting it; fighting and confronting the centers and agents of world domination, especially America; reforming and fundamentally changing the structure of organizations, institutions,and international regimes regulating and maintaining the existing order and system.

1.1. Confrontation with the monopolistic system and the USA's hegemony

The most obvious and important aspect of revisionism in Iran's foreign policy during the period of fundamentalism is the open opposition and confrontation with the world dominance system. Therefore, anti-arrogance has been placed as one of the strategic goals on the foreign policy agenda of the Islamic

IQBAL FORUM

Republic and is being pursued. The first step in confronting the existing system is to reveal its oppressive, unnatural, and illegitimate nature.Based on this, one of the most important priorities and goals of the foreign policy of the fundamentalist government is "fighting the unipolar and imperial system of the world dominance system", "combating the latest colonialism models and fighting the tricks of the world dominance system", and "the struggle with the monopoly of power at the global level".

The fight against America's unipolar and hegemonic system is pursued in two ways: 1) All-round introverted confrontation and conflict through unilateral measures at the regional and international level Increasing the national power and ability of the Islamic Republic of Iran in all military, economic, political, and cultural dimensions takes place within the framework of this strategy. 2) Confronting and fighting against the dominance and hegemonic system of America is pursued and realized in the form of multilateralism and extroverted balancing. Based on this, foreign policy in the context of the discourse of fundamentalism aims to build regional, trans-regional, and international coalitions to confront the arrogant system led by the United States. The diversification of the foreign relations of the Islamic Republic of Iran with Asian, African, and especially Latin American countries takes place in this framework.

Therefore, one of the objectives of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic in the period of principlism is"strengthening the strategy of multilateralism at the international level and confronting unilateralism in the international arena" and "expanding cooperation with independent and non-aligned countries." Based on this strategy, as the Minister of Foreign Affairs stated at the time, one of the axes and principles of the "foreign policy of the Ninth government" is "diversifying Iran's international relations with an emphasis on logical confrontation with global domination and unilateralism, and securing interests and the national security of the Islamic Republic of Iran through the establishment of coalitions in all corners of the world".

IQBAL FORUM

The objective and behavioral manifestations of the balancing policy of the Islamic Republic in this period can be summarized in this pattern of relations and actions: the policy of looking to the east means cooperation and expansion of relations with Russia, China and India and observer membership in the Shanghai Cooperation Organization for balancing against America; Strengthening and developing cooperation and relationships, regional and Islamic structures and organizations such as ECO and the Organization of Islamic Cooperation, and bilateral and multilateral relations with the member states of the Persian Gulf Cooperation Council; diversifying nuclear negotiations beyond Europe; Trying to activate the non-alignment movement and its symbolic use, especially in the nuclear case; Expanding relations with aligned and anti-imperialist and anti-American third world countries in all regions of the world, especially Latin American countries such as Venezuela, Nicaragua and Bolivia.

1.2. Reforming and Changing International Organizations

Another solution and nieans of change and transformation in the international system is trying to fundamentally change and reform the structure of organizations, institutions, and international regimes that regulate and maintain the existing international order and system. Because one of the manifestations and agencies of the unjust international order and system are undesirable and inefficient organizations and institutions that are created and paid for by the unequal distribution of power and domination of the great powers, and at the head of them is the United States, Ahmadinejad, in the 61st session of the United Nations General Assembly, strongly criticizes the structure and procedure of the United Nations and the Security Council and calls for their reform and change. He considers the cause of the inefficiency and illegitimacy of international organizations, especially the United Nations, to be the unfair and discriminatory structure and the domination of countries and great powers after the Second World War.

IQBAL FORUM

Therefore, Ahmadinejad believes that the only way out of the current situation is to reform and change the structure of the United Nations and the Security Council based on democratic principles and respecting the equal rights of all members. "The United Nations must take steps towards the real defense of the rights of nations and prevent the domination of one country or centers over this organization.To achieve this goal, we need fundamental changes in the structure of the United Nations". In the context of the Islamic Republic's critical approach to international organizations, Manouchehr Mottaki, the then Minister of Foreign Affairs, emphasizes the necessity of reforming and changing their structure and procedures. At the 62nd session of the United Nations General Assembly in October 2007, Ahmadinejad again emphasized the inability and inefficiency of international mechanisms, especially the Security Council.The most important factor in this inability and inefficiency is the dominance of the victorious countries in World War II over the organization based on the power relations arising from this war.

2. Behavioral Principles

Iran's foreign policy in this period has certain principles that are distinct from the period of construction and reforms. Although some principles of behaviour, such as seeking justice and pacifism, are continued in the foreign policy of this period, the way they are perceived is significantly different.

2.1. Principlism

The most important indicator of Iran's foreign policy in this period is principalism, which means commitment to the principles and ideals of the Islamic Revolution in the international arena; the principles that are defined in the framework of the orientation and strategy of revisionist non-alignment Therefore, the fundamentalist government emphasizes this principle in its one-year performance report.

IQBAL FORUM

Manouchehr Mottaki, the Minister of Foreign Affairs at the time, also states in this regard that the policies and orientations of this government's foreign policy are within the framework of the Islamic Revolution, the values of the Islamic Republic system, the thoughts and teachings of Imam Khomeini.

Principalism has certain indicators that shape the behavior of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic. In the framework of the three fundamental principles of "honor, wisdom, and expediency", "prudence and prudence in decision-making and action", "praise for Islam," and "seeking justice and extending justice" are among the most important criteria and features of principals in foreign policy. In particular, Islamic respectability and honor have special importance and priority in fundamentalist foreign policy. From the point of view of the leader of the Islamic Revolution, this principle has not been applied sufficiently in foreign policy.

Therefore, unlike the last two decades, the foreign policy of the IslamicRepublic of Iran has become active and confrontational. This confrontation is especially evident and tangible in relation to America and Europe, the nuclear case, and the Palestinian issue. In such a way that the confrontation between Iran and the West, especially America, reached its peak since the end of the Iran-Iraq war; But without a doubt, the most significant aspect of Iran's confrontational policy is Mahmoud Ahmadinejad's revolutionary position towards the occupation regime of Palestine, which is to erase it from the world map. The behavioral model of the Islamic Republic of Iran will be discussed further.

2.2. Justice (fairness)

In the form of principlist discourse and based on the sublime sign of "justice", the focus and center of gravity of the foreign policy of the principlist government are seeking justice and extending justice so that the theoretical principles and the practical behavior of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic in this period are based on this sublime signifier. Based on this, during the election campaigns of the ninth presidential term in

IQBAL FORUM

the spring of 2005, Ahmadinejad announced his programs' main slogan and focus as justice-centred and spreading justice. According to Ahmadinejad, this election program was completely revolutionary and compatible with the revolutionary leader's thoughts in the foreign policy field.

Justice not only strengthens the internal policy of the principlist government but is also the center of articulation and identification of its foreign policy. Manouchehr Mottaki, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, stated at the time that "the foreign policy of the ninth government is to strengthen the justice-based discourse and to accept the equal rights of countries in their role in creating a new and justice-based global system." As a result, "the Islamic Republic of Iran is interested in the help of the aligned countries and should be the flagship of the movement towards the realization of international justice".

Seeking justice and spreading justice in foreign policy implies and requires fighting and confronting the arrogant and oppressors at the same time as supporting and defending the oppressed. The objective and practical translation of these two requirements in the behavior of foreign policy is confronting America as the arrowhead of domination and arrogance on the one hand and unreservedly supporting the cause of Palestine on the other. Therefore, the leader of the Islamic Revolution states that "the great devil, America, is trying to create a global dictatorship, and by trampling on the natural rights of nations, it has actually rebelled against human society and become a rebel". The Supreme Leader considers confronting against America and supporting the oppressed as the two principles of the Islamic Republic's foreign policy and emphasizes that "if confronting global oppressors and supporting the oppressed is rebellion, we are proud of it".

The objective manifestation of the Islamic Republic of Iran's support for the oppressed as one of the aspects of seeking justice and spreading justice in foreign policy is defending the rights and ideals of Palestinians and anti-Zionist positions. Therefore, a large amount of Iran's diplomatic force has been engaged in pursuing this goal.

IQBAL FORUM

2.3. Positive Pacifism

The third principle of the foreign policy of the fundamentalist government is pacifism, but in the discourse of fundamentalism governing the foreign policy of this government, as in the reform period, peace is far beyond the concept of negative and minimal peace, meaning the absence of naked war, and includes the concept of maximal or positive peace. Maximum or positive peace also requires justice and convergence in human society based on eliminating structural violence and cancelling the structures of violence and oppression institutionalized at the international level, because maximum peace includes war and violence in the context of the broad plan of social, economic, and political development and does not limit it to political trends as physical and political violence is only a manifestation of deeper social and economic inequalities.

Therefore, the maximum perception of positive peace is completely consistent with the meaning and significance of peace in the foreign policy of the principlist government, because in this reading of peace, a deep connection is established between peace, security, and justice. Without the realization of justice, peace and security will not be provided. Therefore, fair peace, as one of the most important pillars and elements of the desired world order, is placed on the agenda of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic in this period.

Ahmadinejad, while emphasizing sustainable and rooted peace, defines godliness and justice as the two foundations of a happy life and peace and tranquilly. He believes "it is not possible without God's worship and without justice to witness the prosperity of a nation or an individual or lasting peace and tranquilly".In this context, Iran's foreign minister also emphasizes that "the Islamic Republic defines a direct relationship between justice and security".

Ahmadinejad again emphasized this concept of peace in the sixty-second session of the United Nations General Assembly in October2007.The maximum and positive conception and inoculation of peace in the behavior of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran is also evident. A clear example of this

IQBAL FORUM

meaning of peace is the Islamic Republic's approach to the Palestinian issue and crisis.

As it can be seen, there is a lot of closeness to this pacifism in the foreign policy of the reform period and the fundamentalist period. In such a way that in both periods of time, peace is defined maximally and positively and is closely related to justice. However, the methods and mechanisms for achieving peace in these two periods are different and distinct.In the period of reforms based on the discourse of democratic pacifism, peace is achieved through dialogue and understanding, but in principled foreign policy, peace and justice as two rights must be taken from the arrogant, oppressors, and warmongers by force.

3. Behavioural Patterns

Based on the previous three principles, the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran has adopted a distinctive behavioral pattern during the period of fundamentalism. In such a way that the Islamic Republic exhibits different and special foreign policy behaviors.In general, the behavioral pattern of the fundamentalist government's foreign policy can be determined in terms of redefining relations with the West, the policy of looking to the East, the tendency towards the Third World, the tendency towards Latin America, constructive interaction with the southern neighbors, critical dialogue with the United States, and the revision of nuclear diplomacy.

3.1. Redefining Relationships with the West

After the end of Iraq's eight-year war with Iran, as explained in the previous chapters, the normalization of relations and détente with the West became one of the Islamic Republic's foreign policy principles. In such a way, the relations between Iran and the West, despite many ups and downs, were on the way to normalization. Therefore, Iran's relations with Europe were relatively expanded. Even during the period of reforms, indirect dialogue with America was placed on the foreign policy agenda of that government in order to reduce tension and

IQBAL FORUM

confrontation. The indirect cooperation between Iran and the United States in the Afghanistan crisis was the concrete manifestation of this policy.However, the height of Iran's nuclear crisis in the spring of 2005 brought Iran's relations with the West to a standstill in Europe and America.

Therefore, the principlist government adopted a special approach to international relations and relations with the West based on evaluating Iran's foreign policy experiences in the construction and reform periods. So that this government, "based on an evaluation of Iran's 16-year interaction with the West and benefiting from the experiences of this interaction, provided a basis to design a new approach to the criminalization of the Islamic Republic of Iran's system with the West", The fundamentalist government's assessment of the 16-year relations between the Islamic Republic of Iran and Europe and the United States (West) was that despite accepting some of their demands, false propaganda and baseless accusations continued against Iran. The hostile behavior and hostility of the West also continued towards the Islamic Republic.

Based on this, the Islamic Republic of the West's performance with Iran concludes that the Western countries are seeking Iran's surrender rather than détente and coexistence. This conclusion made the Islamic Republic adopt a confrontational policy against the West. The peak of confrontation with the West was seen in the nuclear case. For example, the United States, with the support of Europe, sent the case to the Security Council, which led to the issuance of several resolutions to sanction the Islamic Republic but the Islamic Republic continues to stand against the pressures of America and Europe in various fields.

In the framework of this policy, Iran has questioned these countries' dual and contradictory behaviors and policies. Therefore, on the one hand, President Ahmadinejad, using the platform of the UN General Assembly and correspondence with the heads of the United States, Germany, and France, have pointed out the contradictions in the behavior of these countries. On the other hand, the Islamic Republic of Iran has reminded

IQBAL FORUM

them of its interests in direct talks with the head of the European Union's foreign policy and representatives of the US government through tripartite negotiations in Iraq.

3.2. Look East Policy

The Islamic Republic's review of its relations with the West due to a lack of trust in Europe, the failure to meet the desired goals, and the continuation of America's hostility made Iran's foreign policy seek to diversify its relations. One of the most important behavioral manifestations of this diversification has been the policy of looking to the east. Several political, economic,and strategic reasons and motivations have forced Iran to look to the east. Balancing political relations and relations with the West by creating a balance between the policy of leaning towards the West and the policy of looking towards the East is one of the political goals of this strategy. The Islamic Republic of Iran believes that the policy of looking to the West in the years after the 8-year war in Iraq has not met its political, economic, and strategic needs and necessities.Therefore, it becomes necessary to balance and diversify relations with other world power centers, especially the East; a policy that will force the West to reconsider its relations with Iran.

In strategic areas, the government of the Islamic Republic of Iran pursues two important goals in its "Look East" policy. First, the Islamic Republic aims to counter-hegemonic balance against American hegemony by opposing the unipolar international system and trying to establish a multipolar system. This strategic balancing is realized bilaterally or multilaterally. Expanding Iran's strategic relations with China and Russia are examples of bilateral solutions. The membership of the Islamic Republic of Iran in the Shanghai Cooperation Organization is a manifestation of Iran's multilateral mechanisms for counter-hegemonic balancing.

Iran's foreign policy decision-makers believe that China's and especially Russia's displeasure with America's unipolar and hegemonic system provides the necessary capacity and facilities

IQBAL FORUM

to achieve this goal. The presence of the first vice president and the president in the meetings of the leaders of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization in the past years indicates their importance and position in Iran's foreign policy.

Iran's second strategic goal in adopting a Look East Policy is to fill the void of a strategic alliance in foreign policy. One of the goals of Iran's foreign policy after the victory of the Islamic Revolution has been to find a strategic ally at the regional and international levels.This goal has gained importance, especially after the presentation of Iran's nuclear case in the Security Council. In such a way that the Islamic Republic has tried to find allies at various international and regional levels in the non-alignment movement and in Latin America. Therefore, the Islamic Republic of Iran seeks to find a strategic allies and partnerswithin the framework of the look-to-the-east policy. This is realized through the establishment of strategic relations with two powerful countries, Russia and China. The nuclear cooperation between Iran and Russia in the construction of the Bushehr nuclear power plant and the visit of Russian Federation President Vladimir Putin to Iran in October2007 can be analyzed in this regard. Iran is also trying to achieve this goal through multilateral structures such as the Shanghai Cooperation Organization.

With this existence, the most important motive for the approach of looking to the east in the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran has been to provide economic and technological goals. In the period of construction and the period of reforms for economic reconstruction and development, the Islamic Republic of Iran moved in the direction of expanding economic and commercial relations with Europe. Although during the period of construction, a glance towards the East was also included in the foreign policy agenda, during the period of reforms, the balance changed in favour of the West so that relations between Iran and the West, especially Europe, reached their highest level after the Islamic Revolution. The impasse in relations between Iran and Europe and the intensification of American hostility over the nuclear issue prompted the Islamic

IQBAL FORUM

Republic to find an alternative to the West by approaching Asian countries because Iran needs technology to meet its development goals in the framework of the export development model. Capital and markets are regional and global, and foreign oil and gas sector investment is critical. Therefore, the government is trying to expand and develop bilateral and multilateral economic relations with eastern countries.

In the form of bilateral solutions, economic relations with countries such as China, Russia, India, Japan, Indonesia, and Malaysia were pursued seriously, especially the economic-commercial relations between Iran and China, which increased unprecedentedly. In such a way that the volume of trade between Iran and China reached 15 billion dollars in 2007, this country became the largest trading partner of the Islamic Republic, and in the following years, it exceeded this amount. Also, Iran's commercial-economic relations with Russia had significant growth. Japan has emerged as one of Iran's major trading partners in recent years. Beyond this, Iran considers the development of all-round relations beyond mere economic relations with Japan. For this reason, during his visit to Japan, Manouchehr Mottaki stated that the exchange volume of nearly 12 billion dollars between Iran and Japan indicates the capabilities of the relations between the two countries. Therefore, Iran and Japan should establish better all-round and balanced relations and pursue stable relations regardless of the ongoing pressures.

Also, Iran tried to expand its relations with other large Asian countries. Since Asian countries are among the biggest consumers of Iranian oil, bilateral cooperation in the field of energy is on the agenda of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic. The effort to finalize the peace pipeline construction plan to transfer Iran's gas to India through Pakistan is an example of this cooperation. Based on this, Foreign Minister Manouchehr Mottaki once said that Iran, as an Asian country, is ready to determine all the elements and components of energy supply, production, economy, and energy consumption

IQBAL FORUM

technology within the framework of a comprehensive security and economic plan for the Asian region. He also announced during his visit to Indonesia that the Islamic Republic is ready to invest in the construction of an oil refinery in this country. The President's visit to Malaysia and Indonesia and the visit of the Foreign Minister of Thailand and some other Asian countries also show Iran's serious determination to develop and deepen its relations with the East and Asia.

Parallel to consolidating and developing bilateral economic relations, the Islamic Republic of Iran and regional multilateral structures also benefit from meeting their economic goals. In such a way, pursuing these goals in the form of regional organizations such as ECO, the D8 group (8 developing countries), the Indian Ocean Cooperation Organization, and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization has been prioritized. In addition to cooperation in the field of energy, the expansion of communication routes, including the North-South communication axis, which the three countries of Iran, Russia, and India have signed, can lead to the development and deepening of relations between Iran and Asia. Therefore, cooperation within the ECO framework and with the Caspian Sea's coastal countries has again gained importance and priority in foreign policy. In fact, eco-activation is one of the basic aspects and axes of the Look East policy. The president's visit to the ECO member countries can also be analyzed in this regard.

Another aspect and axis of the policy of looking to the east is the revival and expansion of cooperation with the coastal countries of the Caspian Sea (CASCO) in a way that it prompted the Islamic Republic to engage in extensive diplomatic activities to organize a summit of the heads of the Caspian Sea countries in Tehran. Finally,with Iran's efforts, the second summit of the five countries bordering the Caspian Sea was held in Tehran on October 24,2007. The importance of holding this summit in Tehran, in addition to the agreements reached, was the participation of Vladimir Putin.The presidents of Iran,Russia, Kazakhstan, Azerbaijan, andTurkmenistan issued a25-article declaration and announced their views on various dimensionsof

IQBAL FORUM

cooperation especially the legal regime of the Caspian Sea. In this declaration, the member states emphasized the necessity` of cooperation and joint efforts on regional and international issues and issues of interest to the parties.

Therefore, within the framework of the Look East policy, the Islamic Republic benefited from the production of bilateral and multilateral capacities fordeveloping, deepening, and consolidating relations with Asian and Eastern countries. Nevertheless, many believe that the policy of looking to the east faces many limitations and obstacles. One of these restrictions is the American pressure on Asian countries not to develop cooperation with Iran. The limited economic and technological capacity of Asian countries such as China and Russia is another obstacle to the policy of looking to the East. The difference in interests between ECO member countries and the littoral states of the Caspian Sea also makes the development of economic-political cooperation between them difficult.

3.3. Tendency to the Third World

Another example and manifestation of the diversification of relations in the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic during the period of fundamentalism is the tendency towards the Third World. A tendency towards the Third World means prioritizing the development of relations with the Non-Aligned Movement and developing countries in foreign policy. Of course, within the framework of the strategy of non-alignment, the tendency towards the Third World and the Non-Alignment Movement has always been one of the characteristics of Iran's foreign policy after the revolution but the behavior of the foreign policy of the fundamentalist government reveals that the tendency towards the Third World in the form of developing and deepening relations with global south countries is considered one of its principles.This government considers the non-alignment movement a manifestationof the strategy and direction of independence in foreign policy, which provides the opportunity to build coalitions for an independent country at the international level.

IQBAL FORUM

By adopting the approach of a tendency towards the third world, Iran pursues goals and objectives such as the policy of looking to the east. One of the goals of the tendency towards the Third World is strategic balancing against the United States and the unipolar system led by the United States.Therefore, following the Islamic Republic's past approach to the non-committal movement, the government wants to strengthen and develop its active and constructive role in the international scene in order to shape global developments. Because the survival of the non-aligned movement as an effective actor in international relations depends on unity, solidarity, and resistance in order to create a law-abiding world full of justice and free from poverty, Also, since the secret of the success of the third millennium is seeking justice, the non-aligned movement is able to help rights seekers win in the world by seeking justice and doing justice.

The effective and constructive role of the Non-Aligned Movement in the contemporaryinternational system,as Mahmoud Ahmadinejad stated at the 14th Non-Aligned Summitin September 2006, requires its formal and substantive consolidation and development.

The second goal of the tendency towards the Third World in Iran's foreign policy is to diversify nuclear negotiations beyond the dialogue with Europe. After the formation of the nuclear crisis in the spring of 1993, the Islamic Republic tried to attract the support of the Non-Aligned Movement in the Board of Governors of the International Nuclear Energy Agency. However, the deadlock in the negotiations between Iran and Europe in the spring of 1995, the intensification of American pressure, and then the referral of the nuclear file to the Security Council made the Islamic Republic prioritize cooperation with the Non-Aligned Movement in order to maintain a peaceful nuclear balance.

Based on this, the foreign ministers of the member countries of the Non-Aligned Movement announced their support for Iran's nuclear rights regarding the peaceful use of nuclear energy in their June 1996 meeting in Malaysia. The Non-

IQBAL FORUM

Aligned Movement also supported Iran's nuclear rights in the form of an agency by issuing a statement at the end of its 14th meeting in Havana. The support of the Third World and the member countries of the Non-Aligned Movement for Iran's peaceful nuclear program helps to secure the interests of the Islamic Republic in several ways:

- It prevents the formation of an international consensus against the Islamic Republic by jeopardizing international peace and security.
- It makes the actions and threats of America against Iran illegitimate and illegal.
- The non-aligned movement's support for Iran will act as a pressure factor on Europe and America to recognize the nuclear rights of the Islamic Republic within the ramework of the Agency and the NPT.
- The collective position of the non-alignment
- movement encourages Russia and China to resist uropean and American policies in the Security Council.
- The non-aligned movement's support increases the slamic Republic's bargaining power in nuclear negotiations with Europe.

The third goal of Iran's third-world policy is to secure economic and commercial interests. Although the third-world countries do not have the capacity and capability to provide all Iran's economic and technological needs, they can provide a part of these needs.

Therefore,Iran can achieve its economic-technological goals within the framework of strengthening South-South economic cooperation and through strengthening economic multilateralism, regionalism, and the participation of developing countries in global economic and financial institutions. Beyond this, Iran can export many of its industrial and agricultural goods to less developed African and Asian countries. The oil and gas sector is also suitable for developing and deepening Iran's cooperation with other countries of the Non-Aligned ovement and the Third World.

IQBAL FORUM

3.4. Tendency to Latin America

The most prominent and obvious behavior model of the foreign policy of the fundamentalist government is the development of political-economic relations with Latin American countries. So in the past years, Iran's political relations and economic-commercial exchanges with the countries of Venezuela, Nicaragua, Bolivia, and recently Ecuador have developed and increased, along with Cuba.

Several causes and motivations arouse Latin Americanism in foreign policy. The first factor of closeness to Latin American countries is their revolutionary and anti-imperialist positions. In all four countries -Venezuela, Nicaragua, Bolivia, and Cuba— revolutionary leftist presidents who follow anti-imperialist and anti-hegemonic policies have come to power. The alignment of these countries with Iran's foreign policy provides the basis for cooperation and an anti-hegemonic and anti-American domination alliance between them.The presence of Iran in America's backyard creates the possibility of developing a counterbalance in America's peripheral sphere, which can lead to the adjustment of the United States' behavior towards Iran. Therefore, the President and the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Iran are talking about the formation of an anti-arrogance and anti-hegemonic front in the world. For example, during his trip to Syria in February2005, Ahmadinejad stated in a conversation with reporters, "A global anti-arrogance and anti-dominion front is being formed; all free nations, justice-loving and free-thinking people, are gradually joining hands, and creating a broad front against the system and the thinking of domination".

The independence-seeking and anti-hegemonic policies of some Latin American countries provide another common ground between Iran and them for the establishment of a multipolar system in the world because Latin America is one of the regions that has the capacity and ability to form a pole of power in the pluralistic international system. The presence of countries like Brazil in alliance with its neighbors can form a power block that, along with other powers and poles of power, will push the international system towards multi-polarization.

IQBAL FORUM

Therefore, Iran's extra-regional alliance with Latin America can be the foundation of a power block in the south to counter the unipolar system. Beyond this, the development of the Islamic Republic's extra-regional relations with Latin American countries can prevent Iran's political isolation at the international level.

Iran's goal and motivation for adopting the policy of Latin Americanism is to use Latin America's economic facilities and capacities to meet its development interests. Despite the heterogeneity of the economies of Iran and Latin America, the similarities and economic possibilities of the two sides provide the basis for cooperation in common areas. Especially the membership of Iran and Venezuela in OPEC and the oil production capacity of this country as the fifth oil exporter in the world are very suitable for bilateral cooperation.

Iran and Cuba can also exchange experiences in the field of scientific research.On the other hand, Bolivia,Venezuela,Ecuador, and Nicaragua are suitable markets for the supply of Iranian goods and services.Iran's advances in nuclear technology and nanotechnology are among the relative advantages that can be provided to southern countries.

3.5. Interaction with the Persian Gulf Cooperation Council (شورای همکاری خلیج فارس)

The policy and orientation of the fundamentalist government, based on a commitment to the principles and ideals of the Islamic Revolution, caused member countries of the Persian Gulf Cooperation Council to misunderstand its goals and intentions in such a way that some of them wrongly interpreted fundamentalism as a policy of forcibly exporting the revolution and creating tension in foreign policy. The escalation of Iran's nuclear crisis due to American propaganda and provocations also raised doubts about the nature of the country's nuclear activities in the Persian Gulf Cooperation Council. The long-standing differences between Iran and the UAE regarding the three Iranian islands and the Persian Gulf

IQBAL FORUM

Cooperation Council's support for the UAE's position have been another factor in the coldness of bilateral relations.

Therefore, removing the ambiguities and rebuilding trust with the southern neighbors were placed on the agenda of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic. So, in the first months of the ninth administration, Iranian officials, including the Minister of Foreign Affairs and the Secretary of the Supreme National Security Council,visited the Persian Gulf Cooperation Council member states to explain Iran's policies and goals. In the framework of Iran's diplomatic activity, in order to maintain and expand bilateral relations, the periodic visit of the Islamic President of Iran to six countries and then participation in the28th Summit of the Persian Gulf Cooperation Council took place.

Mahmoud Ahmadinejad's visit to the Persian Gulf Cooperation Council member countries began in Kuwait on March 8, 2005. The Islamic President of Iran and the Emir of Kuwait emphasized the expansion and deepening of relations between the two countries in various political, cultural, and economic fields. Ahmadinejad called the relations between the two countries fraternal." There is no obstacle to their expansion and development. He also called the Persian Gulf a bay of peace, brotherhood, and friendship and stated that "the Islamic Republic of Iran wants peace, security, and progress for all the nations of the region. History has shown that Iran is a good neighbor and friend for all its neighbors".

President Ahmadinejad also visited Saudi Arabia four times in nearly two years and discussed matters with the country's officials, headed by King Abdullah. In these negotiations, the parties emphasized the development of cooperation and the strengthening of Tehran-Riyadh relations as the two poles of the Islamic world and called it an obstacle to the emergence of division within the Islamic Ummah. They also considered it necessary to continue cooperation between the two countries within the framework of regional and international organizations such as OPEC and the Persian Gulf Cooperation Council.

IQBAL FORUM

As part of his regional diplomacy, Ahmadinejad also visited the United Arab Emirates on May 23,2007. Ahrnadinejad was the first Islamic president of Iran to visit the UAE. This trip was strategically important in several ways: First, the differences between Iran and the UAE over the three Iranian islands have always been one of the factors of tension in Iran's relations with the UAE and other countries that are members of the Persian Gulf Cooperation Council, may it be the beginning of a new chapter in Iran's bilateral and multilateral relations with the Arabs of the south of the Persian Gulf. Second, despite the differences between the two countries, economic and commercial relations between the two countries were at a high level. Thirdly, this trip took place only22 hours after then-US Vice President Dick Cheney's visit to the region and the UAE. Dick Cheney had visited this country to intensify economic andcommercial pressures and highlight the threat of the Islamic Republic of Iran. Hence, one of the goals of Ahmadinejad's trip was to disambiguate Iran's nuclear activities, reassure thesouthern neighbors, and neutralize America's accusations. Fourth, another goal of this trip was to negotiate with the UAE authorities to prevent the imposition of economic sanctions and further restrictions on re-exporting goods to Iran.

Mahmoud Ahmadinejad also discussed bilateral relations and regional and international issues with the King of Oman. In his meeting with Sultan Qaboos, he wanted to expand the relations between Iran and Oman and noted that the establishment of the Islamic Republic does not have any restrictions on the expansion of relations with Arab countries. He also called for the unity of countries in the region to establish peace and tranquilly in the Persian Gulf.

Ahmadinejad arrived in Manama on November26,2007 before travelling to Riyadh to participate in the meeting of oil exporting countries. The Iranian president's visit to Bahrain was aimed at normalizing the relations between the two countries, which had been under tension and darkness due to the raising of historical issues regarding the independence of Bahrain. Before this, Minister of Foreign Affairs Manouchehr Mottaki visited

IQBAL FORUM

Bahrain in July 2007 to prevent excessive deterioration of Iran's relations with this country and other members of the Persian Gulf Cooperation Council.

Iran's regional diplomacy in the direction of rebuilding trust, expanding relations, constructive interaction, and cooperation with the countries of the Persian Gulf Cooperation Council, with the participation of Ahmadinejad, reached its peak in the opening ceremony of the 28th summit of this council. He considered the deepening of relations between the countries of the Persian Gulf region necessary to maintain and strengthen peace, security, and friendship in the region and the world. He clarified that Iran "desires stable peace and security based on justice and love and without the interference of foreign agents".Ahmadinejad also emphasized that "with each other's help and coordination, we can turn the Persian Gulf into a bay of peace, friendship, and brotherhood forever".Therefore, Ahmadinejad presented his twelve proposals with the aim of strengthening friendly relations and developing cooperation between Iran and the Persian Gulf Cooperation Council.

The behavioral pattern of the Islamic Republic of Iran towards the Persian Gulf Cooperation Council can be called asymmetric interaction and balancing against the United States. As a result of American policies in the region, the regional balance in the Middle East and the Persian Gulf was disturbed in favor of the Islamic Republic; therefore, in order to re-establish the balance, the United States tried to strengthen, arm, and provoke the countries of the region to unite them against Iran. On the other hand, the Islamic Republic tries to neutralize and rule out the existence of the anti-Iranian alliance and coalition by avoiding a physical confrontation with America and building trust, interaction, and cooperation with the region's countries.Nevertheless,it must be acknowledged that the relations between the Islamic Republic of Iran, Saudi Arabia, and Bahrain have been strained due to the Islamic awakening in the region.

IQBAL FORUM

3.6. Critical Dialogue with the USA

The critical talks between Iran and America started with Mahmoud Ahmadinejad's letter to George Bush in May 2006. This was the first letter from A President of Iran to the President of the United States after the termination of diplomatic relations between the two countries in April 1981. In this letter, the Islamic President of Iran criticized all the elements of American foreign policy and its international behavioral patterns. Nevertheless, the Iranian president's correspondence with his American counterpart after 28 years was an unexpected diplomatic initiative that indicated the opening of a new chapter in relations between the two countries. Even some analysts evaluated this correspondence as implying a kind of pacifism and détente because while criticizing America's dual and discriminatory policies, referred to verse 64 of Surah Al-Imran and referred George Bush to the common points between Islam and Christianity."O people of the Scripture: Come to a word that is just between us and you, that we worship none but Allah the same, that we associate no partners with Him, and that none of us shall take others as lords besides God." According to some authors, this noble verse from the Holy Quran is one of the documents establishing the principle of peaceful coexistence in the foreign policy of the Islamic State. Therefore, this initiative can be considered a declaration of peaceful coexistence between Iran and the United States on the condition that the United States respects the honor and recognition of the national interests of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Therefore, despite the continuation of the hostile and punitive policies of the United States against the Islamic Republic, acritical dialogue between Iran and the United States was formed in the framework of various conferences on Iraq. The simultaneous participation of Iranian Foreign Minister Manouchehr Mottaki and US Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice in the Sharm El-Sheikh conference in early 2007 was an example and symbol of this critical policy because the Foreign Minister of the Islamic Republic, while supporting the Iraqi

IQBAL FORUM

government, criticized the performance and policy of the United States in Iraq and demanded the withdrawal of the occupying forces from this country. In this way, the unfavorable developments in Iraq for the United States and the insecurity and instability of Iraq led to the re-establishment of the talks between Iran and the United States about Iraq, which had been interrupted by the United States.

The first round of negotiations between the delegations of Iran and the United States was held under the leadership of the two countries' ambassadors in Iraq and in the presence of Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki on June 7,2007 in Baghdad. This was the first official and public negotiation between the representatives of the two countries after the termination of relations between them. The Islamic Republic of Iran announced that the negotiations will only be about Iraq and will be held in order to remind the occupiers of their duties and responsibilities. Therefore, Manouchehr Mottaki noted, "the Islamic Republic of Iran is ready to help this country withdraw its forces from Iraq and the region if America changes its behavior." Based on this, the Iranian ambassador considered America the occupying power responsible for insecurity and instability in this country. Nevertheless,Iran and America agreed on supporting the elected government of Iraq, maintaining territorial integrity, and helping to solve the country's security problems.

The second round of negotiations between Iran and the United States on Iraq's security began on August 2,2007, with the words of Iraqi Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki in Baghdad. This round of negotiations was held while the United States was trying to intensify international sanctions against Iran in the Security Council. Therefore, some speculation indicated that the Islamic Republic agreed to hold this round of negotiations in order to prevent the issuance of another resolution in the Security Council. In this meeting, an agreement was reached about forming the Iranian-American-Iraqi tripartite security committee. At the end of these negotiations, Ryan Crook repeated his accusations against Iran in Iraq.

IQBAL FORUM

The third round of negotiations between the US and Iran was held on August15,2007, in Nouri al-Maliki's office at the undergraduate level. This meeting was held to determine the framework and agenda of the security committee and the method of selecting representatives for the committee. The fourth round of negotiations between Iran and the United States, which was supposed to be held in late December or early January 2007,was postponed due to some technical considerations. Among other things, the Islamic Republic of Iran stated that Tehran wants concrete results from the negotiations to reduce Iraq's security problems, play an active role and improve the position of the Iraqi government in the negotiations as the most important function of these negotiations should be to establish stability and security in Iraq and transfer full sovereignty to the elected government of this country.

Several reasons and motivations can be identified for the talks between the United States and Iran in Iraq. Some of these causes and factors were triggered by the change in American policies in the region, specifically in Iraq, following the Baker-Hamilton report on the United States' failure in Iraq. The report recommended that the Bush administration engage in direct negotiations with Iran to address the Iraq crisis. Another reason behind the talks was to enhance the position and role of the Islamic Republic of Iran in the region, aiming to consolidate and stabilize its positive and constructive influence in Iraq.

The developments in Iraq, Lebanon, and Palestine have demonstrated Iran's active and influential role in the Middle East region, emphasizing that the management of regional crises is not feasible without its participation. Consequently, the United States was compelled to acknowledge the role and influence of Iran in the region.

The Islamic Republic of Iran also sought and pursued several important and strategic goals in the negotiations in Baghdad. Iran has always announced that it accepts official talks with the US at the request of the Iraq government and helps establish

IQBAL FORUM

security and stability in this country. Therefore, Iran's first goal in the negotiations was to support the elected government of Iraq in establishing peace and security in this country. Accordingly, Iran's second objective was to strengthen, consolidate, and stabilize the Iraqi government in order to leave the state of occupation and limited sovereignty and establish absolute sovereignty and national independence in this country. The third aim was the withdrawal of foreign and extra-regional forces from the Persian Gulf through crisis management in Iraq and ending the occupation of this country. By establishing peace and tranquilly in Iraq, Iran was trying to eliminate the existential philosophy of the presence of occupying forces in Iraq and the region. The withdrawal of the occupying forces from Iraq and the region provides the basis for the establishment of peace and security by the countries of the region. Fourth, during the Iraqi security negotiations, the Islamic Republic sought to display its positive power as a constructive actor in problem solving and crisis management because America has always defined the Islamic Republic as part of the problem and crisis in Iraq. The fifth goal of Iran's negotiations with the United States can be seen as linking these talks with its nuclear case based on a thematic link strategy in such a way that America recognizes the Islamic Republic's constructive role in managing the Iraq crisis and its nuclear rights and also, refrains from escalating political-economic pressures.

Regardless of the motivations of Iran and the US for the Baghdad talks, these talks had positive repercussions and consequences for Iran. Firstly, these talks showed that the long-standing differences between Iran and the US can be discussed through diplomatic channels and peaceful mechanisms. Secondly, with these negotiations, Iran once again showed its goodwill to resolve its differences with the United States. Therefore, America should show good faith and honesty by accepting its past mistakes. Thirdly, the negotiations in Baghdad softened the security and war atmosphere governing Iran-US relations in the first half of 2007 and prevented further tensions between the two countries. Last and perhaps the most important

IQBAL FORUM

consequence of these talks, is the acceptance of Iran's role and regional position as an effective and constructive actor in regional crisis management, a development that made other regional players also accept the rank and dignity of the Islamic Republic.

3.7. Revision in Nuclear Diplomacy

The most important goal of Iran's priority in nuclear negotiations with three European countries and cooperation with the International Atomic Energy Agency during the reform period was to maintain the fuel cycle and peaceful nuclear technology. In order to achieve this goal, the Islamic Republic voluntarily implemented the additional protocol of 93+2 and suspended uranium enrichment and related activities. Iran hoped that these confidence-building measures would lead to the recognition of its nuclear rights, but with the passage of time and the continuation of the talks of the Islamic Republic with Europe and close cooperation with the IAEA, it became clear that Europe and America are trying to make a permanent suspension and full stop to Iran's nuclear program. While the Islamic Republic had warned from the very beginning of the nuclear negotiations with Europe that if the European countries and the United States intend to deprive Iran of peaceful nuclear technology, it will reconsider its nuclear approach.

Based on this, the Islamic Republic of Iran withdrew from this agreement with the establishment of the UCF Isfahan complex, citing that Europe has not fulfilled its obligations under the Paris Agreement. A few days after Isfahan facilities started working again on August 9,2005, the European Union's master plan was submitted to Iran on the14th of the same month. The launch of the Isfahan Complex made Mohammad ElBaradei, the Director General of the International Atomic Energy Agency, report to the Council of Governors on August 17th of the same year about the cancellation of part of the suspension of uranium processing. The European Union also called for an emergency meeting of the Council of Governors. This meeting was held on the 18th of August, and at the end, a

IQBAL FORUM

resolution was issued calling for Iran's suspension of uranium enrichment. Simultaneously with these developments, Hassan Rouhani, the secretary of the Supreme National Security Council and the senior official in charge of the nuclear deal, handed over this responsibility to Ali Larijani, his successor in the new government, on August2,2005.In this way, Iran's nuclear negotiating team also changed. Although Larijani announced Iran's decision to continue negotiations with Europe, three European countries canceled their negotiations with the Islamic Republic.

The Islamic Republic of Iran did not accept the European Union's request to suspend enrichment until the meeting of the Council of Governors in September of the same year. On September24,2005, the Board of Governors of the IAEA issued a resolution asking Iran to resume negotiations with three European countries, pass the additional protocol to the Islamic Parliament, and stop the uranium enrichment program. Beyond this, the resolution accused Iran of evading the implementation of agreements related to nuclear safety standards and violating the treaty related to the control of nuclear weapons.This resolution laid the groundwork for referring Iran's nuclear case to the Security Council. Iran's Foreign Minister called the International Atomic Energy Agency's resolution illegal and unacceptable, but at the same time claimed that Iran does not rule out the continuation of negotiations.The Ministry of Foreign Affairs also issued a statement threatening that if Iran insists on the implementation of the resolution, it will resume uranium enrichment and prevent extensive inspections of its nuclear facilities.

In this way, the Islamic Republic revised its nuclear diplomacy based on unconditional cooperation in emergencies and exclusive dialogue with Europe. Iran's new multifaceted nuclear diplomacy was based on behavioral logic, practical principles, and specific strategic goals. First, to strike a balance between right and duty in order to preserve peaceful nuclear technology.For three years, the Islamic Republic

IQBAL FORUM

accepted tasks outside of its international obligations to achieve its nuclear rights within the Agency and the NPT framework. Failure to achieve this goal caused Iran to accept voluntary confidence-building duties and tasks in exchange for establishing its rights. Second, the recognition of Iran's nuclear rights, including the enrichment of uranium to supply nuclear fuel, The Islamic Republic emphasized that it will not negotiate on suspending and stopping uranium enrichment in any way and will not accept any plan or proposal that does not include this right. Third, continuing to negotiate and cooperate with the agency to clarify and build trust within the framework of international obligations. Fourth, giving objective guarantees through the participation of other countries in Iran's nuclear program. Fifth, the continuation of nuclear negotiations with Europe without any precondition of ignoring Iran's nuclear rights. Sixth, expanding the scope of nuclear negotiations beyond Europe and including Russia, China, the Non-Aligned Movement, and even the Persian Gulf Cooperation Council in the process of nuclear negotiations.

Based on this multifaceted and all-encompassing diplomacy, Iran took various measures. On October24,2005, the Iranian government approved general regulations on the participation of foreign countries in the country's nuclear programs.On November6,2005,the Supreme National Security Council Secretary sent a letter to European countries, expressing Iran's desire to resume negotiations. On November 20, representatives of the Islamic Council approved a plan that obligated the government to cease voluntary activities, including the intrusive inspection of nuclear facilities based on the additional protocol, if Iran's nuclear case was referred to the Security Council. On January2,2006, Ali Larijani, the Supreme National Security Council Secretary, considered Russia's proposed plan to carry out the uranium enrichment process in this country unacceptable. A week later, on January10th, Iran broke the seals on its nuclear facilities to enrich uranium for research purposes.

IQBAL FORUM

Europe and America showed a strong reaction to Iran's actions so that the foreign ministers of the three countries of France, Germany, and England, after the outcome of the talks in Berlin on January 12,2006, announced that their negotiations with Iran had reached an impasse and demanded that Iran's nuclear case be referred to the Security Council. Additionally, after a meeting in London on January3,2006,the foreign ministers of the five permanent member countries of the Security Council and Germany (5+1) and the representative of the European Union asked the IAEA Board of Governors to report the Iran nuclear issue to the UN Security Council. Finally, on February4,2006, the Board of Governors of the IAEA approved the referral of Iran's nuclear case report to the Security Council.

In response to the decision of the Board of Governors of the Agency, the Islamic Republic of Iran stopped all its voluntary cooperation with the Agency,including the voluntary implementation of the Additional Protocol. Also on February 14, 2006, in the presence of the inspectors of the International Atomic Energy Agency, the Islamic Republic of Iran broke the seal of the Natanz facility to resume uranium enrichment. As a result, the Board of Governors of the Agency, which met in Vienna on April 8,2006, based on the resolution of February 4, 2006, sent its summary along with the report of the Director General of the Agency to the UN Security Council. A day after this report, the Security Council issued a statement asking Iran to stop its nuclear activities. Iran was also given a one-month deadline to comply with the request of the Security Council. During this deadline, the Islamic Republic of Iran made extensive efforts and engaged in diplomatic activity to avoid referring the nuclear case to this council. On April 30, 2006, Ali Larijani, in response to the report dated April28,2006, sent a letter to Al-Baradei and announced Iran's readiness to negotiate with the IAEA to resolve the nuclear issue.

The United States and Europe will adopt a two-fold policy of encouraging and punishing the Islamic Republic of Iran. On the one hand, they used all their diplomatic power to pass a

IQBAL FORUM

resolution to sanction Iran in the UN Security Council and on the other, they tried to dissuade the Islamic Republic from its decision to enrich uranium by offering political and economic incentives. Therefore, Xavier Solana, on behalf of the 5+1 countries, arrived in Tehran on June 16th,2006,to present a new proposed package of 6 countries to the Iranian authorities. Although the new incentives were more valuable and important as compared to the previous proposed package, there were many uncertainties regarding uranium enrichment and the nuclear fuel cycle.Additionally, conditional and deferred negotiations had been started to suspend all activities related to uranium enrichment. Despite these shortcomings, the Islamic Republic of Iran announced that it would be ready to negotiate on this package by the end of August2006,after the expert review.

Europe and America called Iran's decision a time-wasting policy. Therefore, without waiting for the response of the Islamic Republic, by gaining the support and consensus of the members of the Security Council, they approved Resolution 1696 on the 9th of August 2006 regarding Iran's nuclear case. Hence, the resolution, referring to Article 40 of the seventh chapter of the charter, asks Iran to suspend all activities related to enrichment and reprocessing, including research and development, act according to the provisions of the Additional Protocol, and implement all necessary clarification measures requested by the Agency. It also asks all countries to prevent the transfer of any goods, materials, or technology that can be used in activities related to Iran's enrichment, reprocessing, and ballistic missile programs. In the end, the Security Council gave Iran a deadline of September 9,2006, to implement the provisions of this resolution. Otherwise, under Article 41 of Chapter Seven of the United Nations Charter, the Security Council will take the necessary political-economic measures to persuade Iran to implement this resolution.

Despite the issuance of Resolution 1696,on August 31, 2006, the Islamic Republic responded to the proposed package (5+1) and announced Iran's readiness for fair negotiations. Based on

IQBAL FORUM

this, the head of Iran's Atomic Energy Organization went to Moscow on October 3rd of the same year to negotiate with Russian officials. Three days later, on the 6th of October, Ali Larijani had a conversation with Xavier Solana in Berlin for 7 hours.The Secretary of the Supreme National Security Council went to Moscow on November19,2006, in order to find a way out of the impasse in Iran's nuclear case. One of the objectives of Larijani's trip to Moscow was to convince Russia to prevent the issuance of a new resolution against the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Nevertheless, five months passed after the approval of Resolution 1696, and on December 2,2006, the Security Council approved Resolution 1737 against Iran. This resolution, which was issued under Article 41 of the Seventh Chapterof the Charter,imposed new restrictions, punishments, and sanctions against Iran. First, the Security Council asked the member states to take all necessary measures to prevent the supply, sale, and direct and indirect transfer of all items, materials, equipment, goods, and technology that can be used in activities related to enrichment, reprocessing heavy water, or the development of Iran's nuclear weapons launch systems. Second, he asked all countries to monitor the movement of 12 Iranians who are related to the nuclear program and report their entry or passage to the Security Council Sanctions Committee.Third, the Security Council obliges all countries to freeze all credits, financial assets, and other economic resources belonging to the persons or institutions specified in the annex of the resolution or the financial resources available to them.

As stated in the statement of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs,the Islamic Republic of Iran considered Security Council Resolution,1737 to be without legal authority because this Council had acted against the explicit provisions and principles of the United Nations Charter and outside the scope of its duties. Based on this, the Islamic Council Assembly immediately approved a plan on January 28,2006, with a majority vote, and asked the government to reconsider and revise the continuation of cooperation with the International Atomic Energy Agency.

IQBAL FORUM

Of course, this resolution did not mean the end of Iran's cooperation with the IAEA or the termination of Iran's nuclear negotiations with the members of the Group (5+1) Therefore, while insisting on its right to enrich uranium and reject its suspension as a precondition for negotiations, the Islamic Republic of Iran continued its dialogue with the relevant countries. The non-suspension of nuclear activities, especially uranium enrichment, by the Islamic Republic of Iran and its confirmation in March 3, 2006, report of Mohammad ElBaradei to the Council of Governors and the Security Council prompted the 5+1 countries to put more pressure on Iran. Therefore, in the early days of April 2007, the United Nations Security Council issued Resolution1747 regarding the intensification and development of sanctions and political-economic punishments against the Islamic Republic. In this resolution, Iran was again given60 days to suspend all its peaceful nuclear activities. Moreover, within the framework of this resolution, the Security Council should maintain its monitoring of the nuclear program until the IAEA verifies all of Iran's nuclear activities and confirms its peaceful nature.

Like previous resolutions, the Islamic Republic of Iran has called this one unjust, discriminatory, and extralegal, arguing that it violates Iran's rights and interests as stated in the agency's statutes and the NPT treaty. Iran's Foreign Minister stated that they are ready to resolve any concerns and have taken unprecedented steps in this direction, presenting sincere proposals to achieve this goal. Despite this, there is no doubt that all the plans and actions of the founders of the resolution are for their ambitious national business and with the aim depriving the Iranian people of their inalienable rights to the peaceful use of nuclear energy, and there should be no doubt for the Security Council.

Despite the issuance of Resolution 1747 and the application of more political and economic pressures, the Islamic Republic, while insisting on its nuclear rights to continue uranium enrichment, continued its confidence-building talks with the 5+1 representatives and the IAEA Director General. Therefore,

IQBAL FORUM

in the spring of 2007, the secretary of Iran's National Security Council had three rounds of discussions with Xavier Solana in Ankara, Madrid, and Lisbon. Additionally, in Vienna, Larijani held constructive talks with Mohammad ElBaradei, Director General of the Agency, regarding the solutions and mechanisms of Iran's cooperation with the Agency. Following Iran's bilateral negotiations with the Group of Five plus One and the Agency, an agreement was reached that Iran and the Agency should resolve the remaining issues according to the Agency's views within two months. Finally, on August 30,2007, after three rounds of extensive and intense negotiations, the representatives of Iran and the Agency reached an agreement on the framework and method of solving the remaining issues.

Based on the agreement modality between Iran and the Agency, it was decided that important and unresolved issues would be gradually resolved through cooperation with Iran. These issues included the plutonium issue, P1 and P2 centrifuges, the origin of contamination related to uranium with a concentration of more than 3.5%, the metal uranium document, plutonium 210, and the Gacheen mine. Secondly, Iran agreed to enter into technical cooperation with the Agency to develop a "safeguard approach and facility attachment" for the enrichment facilities in Natanz. With the understanding between Iran and the IAEA, Iran's nuclear case entered a new situation. Mohammad ElBaradei referred to this agreement as a positive step by Iran in his report to the Council of Governors and the Security Council on September 8,2007. The Agency's Board of Governors also reviewed this memorandum in its September 19,2007 meeting.However, America and Europe did not attach much importance to it.

The understanding between Iran and the Agency and the report of Mohammad ElBaradei on September 8,2007, forced the P5+1 member states to ask Xavier Solana to negotiate with the Secretary of Iran's Supreme National Security Council on October 6 of the same year. As a result, Ali Larijani, as the representative of the leader of the revolution in the Supreme National Security Council, and his successor, Saeed Jalili, met

IQBAL FORUM

and held negotiations with Xavier Solana on October 30,2007 in Rome.The parties called these negotiations positive and constructive while agreeing on their continuation in December 2007. The representatives of the 5+1 countries, in their meeting on November 11,2007 in London, while reviewing the results of Solana's negotiations in Rome, asked him to discuss with the Iranian negotiator again.They also postponed the decision on issuing the fourth resolution against Iran after receiving the reports of Mohammad ElBaradei and Xavier Solana.

On November 24,2007, Mohammad ElBaradei presented his second report after the agreement between Iran and the IAEA on August 30,2007. He clarified that in addition to solving the issue of plutonium, Iran's statements about P1 and P2 centrifuges were also in accordance with the agency's findings. This admission meant significant progress in the implementation of the memorandum between Iran and the Agency. ElBaradei also stated that the agency did not find evidence of diversion of Iran's nuclear activities for military purposes or uranium reprocessing. Following the relatively positive report of ElBaradei, Saeed Jalili, the new secretary of Iran's Supreme National Security Council, held talks with Xavier Solana for the second time in London on December 9,2007. Shobi Solana called his negotiations with Jalili as very disappointing.

After meeting with Xavier Solana, Saeed Jalili stated, "In these negotiations, the idea of joint and comprehensive cooperation in various issues was discussed around the common paradigm of cooperation in the four components of democracy, security, energy, and economic issues. In the nuclear debate, the three basic principles of defending the rights of the Iranian nation as a member of the Non-Proliferation Treaty and a member of the Agency, fulfilling obligations within the framework of this treaty, and cooperation and dialogue for issues that can be used in various fields were emphasized". In response to Mohammad ElBaradei's report, Jalili claimed, "Now with the agency's report, a good space for further cooperation should be created, and if this space is not given a positive

IQBAL FORUM

response, it will cause mistrust". Jalili reiterated that the Islamic Republic of Iran firmly defends its nuclear rights, including uranium enrichment, and will not accept cooperation beyond the non-proliferation treaty.

The report of the American intelligence community (NIE), consisting of 16 American intelligence and espionage agencies, on the nuclear program of the Islamic Republic of Iran on December 12,2007, was another development that strengthened Iran's position in the nuclear negotiations. This report claimed that Iran had stopped its military operations since March 3,2003.This also meant that the most important reason for referring Iran's nuclear case to the Security Council regarding the military nature of Iran's nuclear activity was incorrect.

Therefore, with the publication of this report, the 5+1 countries had a disagreement on how to deal with Iran's nuclear case and the necessity of issuing another resolution against Iran. As a result of the different views of China and Russia, the Security Council failed to approve the fourth resolution against Iran after 10 months of issuing the Resolution of 1747.

In continuation of Iran's cooperation and dialogue with the International Atomic Energy Agency, Mohammad ElBaradei, the agency's former director general, arrived in Tehran on January21,2007 for a two-day visit. During this trip, he negotiated with the leader of the revolution, the president, the head of the Atomic Energy Organization, the secretary of the Supreme National Security Council, and the minister of foreign affairs of Iran. As a result of these talks, Iran and the Agency agreed to complete the so-called action plan or modality to resolve the remaining issues within four weeks. Based on this, it was decided that the Director General of the Agency would announce his final report on Iran's nuclear issue in March 2007.

In the following years, despite continuing Iran's talks with the IAEA and the 5+1 countries, no progress was made in the nuclear case. In the same way, three resolutions (1803,1835, and 1929) were issued under Article 41 of Chapter 7 of the

IQBAL FORUM

United Nations Charter, which imposed new and more severe sanctions against Iran. Resolution1929 was issued by the Security Council on June 19,2010, just less than a month after Tehran's statement between the three countries of Iran, Brazil, and Turkey regarding the exchange of nuclear fuel on June 27, 2010.Since then, Iran and the 5+1 group have had several negotiations; the last ones were held on April 25,2011 in Istanbul, and June 3,2011 in Baghdad.

Since its founding in 2021, the **IQBAL FORUM** has engaged with **Iran** and **Pakistan** experts, diplomates, scholars, and civil and military officials to start a back-channel dialogue and produce in-depth research and actionable ideas to help address the most critical and challenging problems between both countries.

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