

## DOMESTIC AND EXTERNAL FACTORS IN IRAN FOREIGN POLICY

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**Abstract:** The Foreign Policy of a country can be defined as a set of goals that seek to outline how that country will interface at an official level with other countries of the world and, to a lesser extent, with non-state actors in pursuit of its national economic, political, social and cultural interests. There are several major factors that influence Iran's foreign policy; these are domestic or external factors. Iran's foreign policy, like that of any country, is influenced by a host of factors, which have domestic, regional and international dimensions. Iran has emerged as a new and assertively independent force in world politics, in Persian what are Iran's foreign policy factors. This paper provides the analysis of the domestic and external influence factors in Iran foreign policy.

**Keywords:** Foreign Policy, external factors, domestic, Geographic

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## 1-0 introduction

The Foreign Policy of a country can be defined as a set of goals that seek to outline how that country will interface at an official level with other countries of the world and, to a lesser extent, with non-state actors in pursuit of its national economic, political, social and cultural interests. There are several major factors that influence Iran's foreign policy; these are domestic or external factors. Iran's foreign policy, like that of any country, is influenced by a host of factors, which have domestic, regional and international dimensions. Iran has emerged as a new and assertively independent force in world politics, in Persian what are Iran's foreign policy factors. There are some factors that make for the power of a country vis-à-vis other countries; these factors determine the power of a country, also these factors, very effective on the foreign policy. According to the Morgenthau, these factors include: geographic location, strategic location, natural source, population, national character, and national moral, the quality of diplomacy and government quality. These factors both drive and constrain foreign policy decisions in every state. Although Iran is a major producer of oil, the Iran's foreign policy is relevant to the oil role. Iranian foreign policy, like any state's foreign policy, is the product of various pressures originating which in this study include: Geography, Natural resources, industrial establishment, military establishment, Military capacity, Population, policy makers leaders, ideology, diplomacy, public opinion, international system, historical and culture, nuclear, leadership, political parties', election and information.

## 2.0 Iran's Geographic location

Geography is one of the most important factors upon which foreign policy, for every country, That means is the geography in this study is such concept, location, weather, high mountains, nor broad streams, rivers, forest, area(land), obstacles, extent(size), ports quality, frontier, land form, border length, land geometric form, and shore length. Morgenthau said: the fact that the continental territory of the United States is separated from other countries by bodies of water three thousand miles wide to the east and more than six thousand miles wide to the west is a permanent factor that determines the position of the United States in the world. (Morgenthau, H. 1973).



There are two viewpoints about the effect of geographical location of countries on the foreign policy: 1-marine theory 2-continental theory. Mackinder in 1904 declared that group countries who had control the land they will changed to world powerful in future. Mackinder's paper suggested that the control of Eastern Europe was vital to control of the world. He formulated his hypothesis as: who rules east Europe commands the heartland, who rules the heartland commands the world-island, who rules the world- Island commands the world. (Mackinder, HJ. 1996).Mackinder's Heartland (also known as the Pivot Area) is the core area of Eurasia, and the World-Island is all of Eurasia (both Europe and Asia). But Alfered Mahan more than emphasized to the marine location of countries. Continental location called that lands which doesn't have direct way to the free sea, and they cannot comfortable connected with other countries. (Apt, B. 1997).Today the basic of economic is on the exchanges which doing through marine stripes. The access to sea can provide the creating marine force, use the oil resource, fishing, cheap transportation and connecting with other countries. Iran located in southwestern Asia and shares its entire northern border with the old Soviet Union. This border extends for more than 2,000 kilometers, including nearly 650 kilometers of water along the southern shore of the Caspian Sea. Iran's western borders are with Turkey in the north and Iraq in the south, terminating at the Arvand River. The Persian Gulf and Gulf of Oman littorals form the entire 1,770-kilometer

southern border. To the east lies Afghanistan on the north and Pakistan on the south. Iran's diagonal distance from Azarbaijan in the northwest to BaluchestanvaSistan in the southeast is approximately 2,333 kilometers. Iran covers a vast area of land of the strategic and oil-rich region of Middle East. Iran is connected to open seas via the Persian Gulf and Hormoz Strait, which connects it to the Oman Sea and Indian Ocean. Iran's lengthy southern coastlines along the Persian Gulf and Sea of Oman. Iran located between in three continents, Asia, European and Africa, also is connecting three continents together. Throughout history, Iran has been on the way of the East-West route of trade and cultural exchanges, a bridge linking the East to the West. Therefore, it has had both conflicts and exchanges of civilizations. (Jrank.2012). Iran's location as the bridge between the Middle East and Central and South Asia, as well as its long Persian Gulf, also establish connected by Hormuz strait between the gulf Persian and Oman sea and Arabic sea. (Ramazani,R. 1960). For this reason Iran was the best place of connect between the west and east in past history. Graham fuller in "world kiblah" his book wrote: Iran is the center of world. (Fuller,G.1991). In map on the cover of his book who shows the Iran. The Iran has three important locations firstly Iran connected to the continental location which Eurasia, secondly Iran possess the long coast in Persian Gulf and Oman sea, have a marine location in this area, thirdly, Iran also sits athwart the Strait of Hormuz, the narrow waterway through which, daily, 40% of the world's oil exports pass, this strait is jugular vein of world economic. Colins said: the strait Hormoz may be involved us in unprepared war, and in this situation, blend all different factors, geographic, energy, economic, and security also creating the sensitive situation in this time. (Colins, 1977:7). or Richard Nixon said :oil is the blood of modern industrial, and Persian gulf is the heart that moves the blood circulation like pump, marine ways around the Persian gulf are artery that passed this vital blood from them. (Ettaat,J. 1997). The Persian Gulf, this region is the shallow marginal part of the Indian Ocean that lies between the Arabian Peninsula and south-east Iran. The Sea has an area of 240,000 square kilometres. Its length is 990 kilometres, and its width varies from a maximum of 338 kilometres to a minimum of 55 kilometres in the Strait of Hormuz. In addition, Iran is becoming a major supplier of oil and natural gas to China, India, and Japan. The studies indicate that total oil reserves in the Persian Gulf region exceed 565 000 million barrels which comprises 63% of the world total oil reserves. Natural gas in this region has been estimated at  $31 \times 10^{12} \text{ m}^3$  which is 30% of the worlds. The share of Iran currently is estimated at 100 000 million barrels of oil and  $17 \times 10^{12} \text{ m}^3$  of natural gas. The most important islands of the

Persian Gulf on the IRANian side are, Kharg, Kish, Sirri, Abu Mussa, the Greater and Lesser Qeshm, Hengam, Larak, Farsi, Hormuz, Lavan, The notable ports on the Persian Gulf coast are: Abadan, Khorramshahr, Bandar Iman Khomeini, Mahshahr, Bushehr, and Bandar Abbas. For every Country are important the area, weather variety, production various, and agricultural, in Iran the geography, land natural charges is one of the factor of determine for foreign policy. (Kazemi, A.1991). With an area of 1,648,000 square kilometers, Iran ranks sixteenth in size among the countries of the world. In during the war between Iraq Iran, the Iraq could not occupy the Iran, because Iran was a great land. Iran has a long coast. Mr. hashemirafsangani said: Iran have a the role of guard in Persian gulf, there is only one power that can securing the peace and constancy of Persian gulf .(Amirahmadi ,H.1993). Iran is one of the world's most mountainous countries. The zagros and alborz are famous mountains in Iran. It is true that large portions of Iran consist of deserts and salt marshes, but these may function as barriers to mechanized assault Because Iran occupies a strategic location on the north side of the Persian Gulf. The two largest desert areas are known as the Kavir-e-Lut and the Dasht-e-Kavir in Iran.

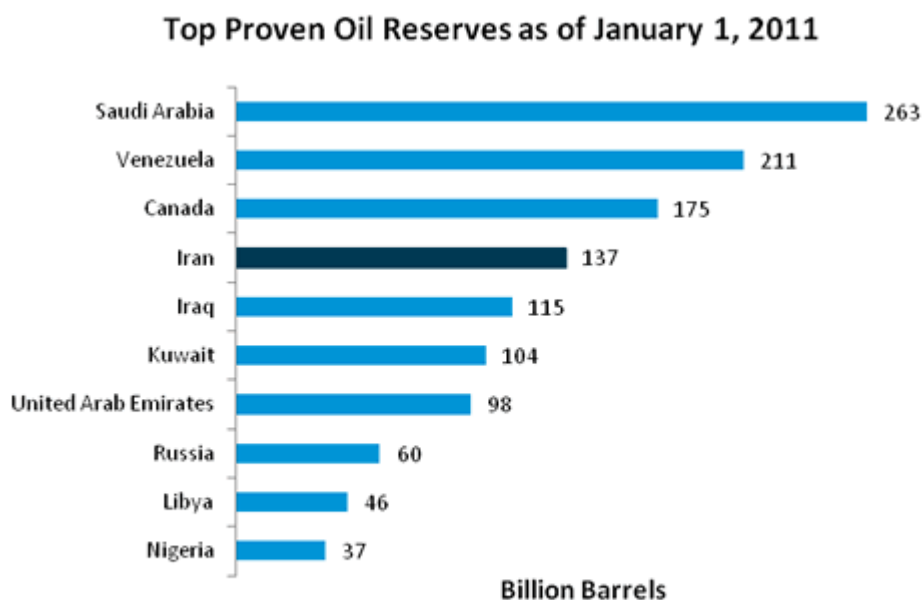
### 3.0 Natural resources

One of the other relatively factor that exert an important influence upon the foreign policy of a country with respect to other countries is natural resources. This resource contained is the water, food and agriculture, raw materials, and energy in Iran. This resource is basic of economic power that indirect interposing in military power, also determined the political power in country. (Mirhaidar, D.1979:171). Water is a critical natural resource; it has always played a vital role in progress and development. Iran is actually one of the driest countries of the world. If the problem of water scarcity, not only in Iran, but also in other countries of the Middle East, is not solved, its most obvious consequence will be that millions of the people of these countries will seek refuge in other nations. May be after the critical gulf Persian, Lebanon, Palestine, become the critical water and contend of water resource in west Asia. (Etaat, J.1997:55). This limitation of water is one of the most serious problems in Middle East countries. The Iraq and turkey they have contestation on the Tigris and Euphrates, Iran sometimes had been problems on the Hirmand River with Afghanistan, also one of the great problem that lead war between Iraq and Iran was dispute on the Arvand River the border between two countries. Some researcher , who knows the next wars in future will be on the water .Petrous Ghali the old head of national organization said : the future wars in middle east is not on the oil but will be on the water , because water is

decreased in this region.( Hadian,H.1993).Iran is actually one of the driest countries of the world. Today water is goods economical, the state of Iran supply that water sloping from mountains with, filtration, packing then export to neighbor countries or pipe line is providing from Iran to Kuwait for export the sweet water. Although have the criticism inside the country. One of the policy in Iran was the making the dams. Dams have always played an important role in harnessing Iran's precious water reserves and the long-term objective of Iran's water resources development plan is based on the control and regulation of water resources through dams, The first dams were built on the Karaj, Safid, and Dezrivers.Iran's soil is not well suited for large scale agriculture. About 11 percent of the country's total land area of 1,636,000 km<sup>2</sup> is cultivated. Still, 63% of the cultivable lands have not been used, and 185,000 km<sup>2</sup> of the present farms are being used with 50 to 60% capacity.The agricultural sector in Iran is one of the most important economic sectors of the country, and water is the most limiting factor for production. More than 90 percent of the renewable water in the country is used in agriculture, but its production is insufficient to meet the country's demand. Iran is one of the major importers the food materials, yearly 5 milliards dollars allocated to this sector. Without the oil revenue Iran cannot providing the food materials itself, because food materials caused the vulnerable of geopolitics of iran. (Jafari,Valdani ,A. 2004).the permanent scarcity of food is a source of permanent weakness in world. Iran's land surface covers 165 million hectares, more than half of which is in cultivable. Only estimate 51 million hectares is suitable for agricultural, A total of 13 million hectares is under cultivation at any time. (Razaghi, A.1997). Self-sufficiency in food, or lack of it, is a relatively stable factor in country power. Today national power has become more and more dependent upon the control of raw materials in peace and war. Iran is rich in raw materials. These materials in Iran divided to four groups, include: 1- mines of primary materials 2- mines of chemical 3-mines of fuel 4-mines of metals. Iran also is rich in: coal, iron, lead, sulphur, copper, manganese, zinc, aluminum, nickel, gatch, sand, cement, ore, iron stone, lime, touch and chromate. By growing in technology appeared the raw materials importance in world.

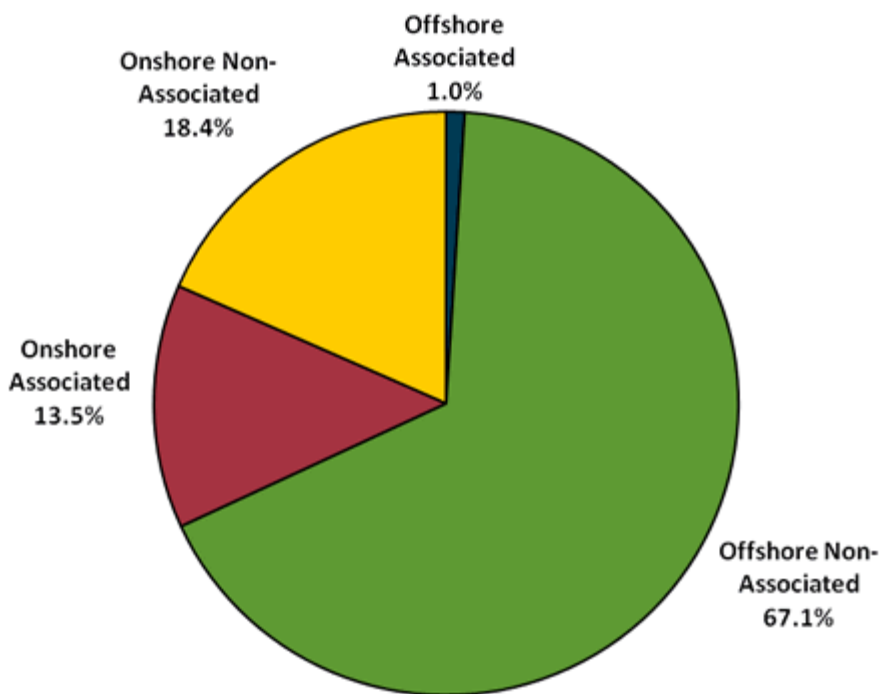
Since the First World War, oil as a source of energy has become more and more important for industry and war. Most mechanized weapons and vehicles are driven by oil, and, consequently, countries that possess considerable deposits of oil have acquired an influence in international affairs which in some cases can be attributed primarily, if not exclusively, to that possession. Oil is today one of the national power, because the oil production is in hand of producer countries.

The history shows from 1908 until present the Iran's foreign relation was oily relation. (Jafari,Valdani ,A. 2004).The emergence of oil as an indispensable raw material has brought about a shift in the relative power of the politically leading nations. Iran, a member of the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), ranks among the world's top four holders of both proven oil and natural gas reserves. In 2010, Iran was the third-largest exporter of crude oil globally after Saudi Arabia and Russia. However, falling production and increases in domestic consumption will continue to squeeze the volumes of oil available for export in recent years. Iran has the world's second largest natural gas reserves but the sector is under-developed and used mostly to meet domestic demand. Natural gas accounts for 54 percent of Iran's total domestic energy consumption. (EIA.2012). According to Oil & Gas Journal, as of January 2011, Iran has an estimated 137 billion barrels of proven oil reserves, 9.3 percent of the world's total reserves and over 12 percent of OPEC reserves. In July 2011, OPEC released its 2010 Annual Statistical Bulletin which raised Iran's proven reserves to more than 151 billion barrels of crude. Some analysts are skeptical of this estimate, however, as Iran revised its reserves a week after Iraq had revised its own, leading some to speculate the move was political. Over 50 percent of reserves are confined to six supergiant fields. ( EIA.2012).



Source: Oil and Gas Journal

### Composition of Iranian Natural Gas Reserves



Source: FACTS Global Energy

#### 4.0 Population

One of the other relatively factor an important influence upon the foreign policy of country is size of population. If country be advanced in industrial and technology, also have a lot of population that have a great power, for example like countries, the India and china with up technology have a powerful. today not only quantitative of population is important but such issue the qualitative , kind of gender , old and young, education, literacy, level of education, expert, cultural ,language, politics aware ,technical knowledge , collection of traditions , customs, beliefs ,values and opinions have possess important in all countries. The population of Iran is 70 000000 in a 2006 survey. The population growth rate in Iran was estimated at 1.1% as per the survey. The median age is 24 years for males and 25 years for females. For this reason, the general population of Iran is extremely young, which will provide challenges for the Iranian government to ensure that sufficient jobs are available for this significantly large part of the population who are either currently of working age, or, who will be of working age in the near future. , Iran is one of the



youngest nations anywhere in the world. (Iran yearbook, 2011). There is a lot of Iranian that living out of Iran who has good jobs, in US, Canada. They are activity in economics, politics sectors. We don't have information about the statistics of all them, but according to the Amirahmadi: the Iranian out of Iran they have 200 milliard dollars and Iran's country need to 20 milliard dollars for investments. if arrived this wealth into the Iran what happened in country? Of course the first world countries absorb the third world brains and elite for work.

### **5.0 Revolutionary Islam**

The Islamic Republic of Iran is a self-professed revolutionary state. Horse-riding high on the initial ecstasy after the Islamic revolution, Iranian leaders self-consciously pursued "Islamic" objectives in foreign policy. The clerical state aided a variety of coreligionists abroad, focusing particular attention on inspiring radical Shi'a groups. Iran, in general, also tried to aid the "dispossessed" against dominant powers, such as the United States. Iran supported Islamist revolutionary groups in Iraq, Lebanon, Bahrain, Saudi Arabia, and Kuwait, among other countries.

### **6.0 Industrial capacity**

This factor is important same other factors on foreign policy. England, Canada, and U.S. as far Czechoslovakia and the Russia the possession of uranium signify an enormous increase in power. In these countries the industrial plants exist or can be built, or they can easily be used in a neighboring country, where uranium can be transformed into energy to be employed in peace and war. The same situation can be exemplified by coal, iron and other raw material. This factor is one of the most important .the technologies of modern warfare and communications has made the overall development of heavy industries an indispensable element of foreign policy. Since victory in modern war depends upon the number and quality of highways, railroads, Manufacturing, textiles, trucks, ships, airplanes, tanks, and equipment and weapons of all kinds, from mosquito nets and automatic rifles to oxygen masks and guided missiles, the competition among nations for power transforms itself largely into competition for the production of bigger, better, and more implements of war. In Iran founded the important installations same refinery, iron melting, shipbuilding, machine building and food industrial. That is the kind of power in politics. If country can change the raw materials to new production, that means the input to input, this country is successful. This industrial is very effect on the foreign policy.

### **7.0 Military power**

One of the effective elements on foreign policy in every country is military. The military forces of the Islamic republic of Iran organized into three level headquarters which include:

1-The Islamic republic of Iran army (IRIA) consists of the Islamic republic of Iran army, The Islamic republic of Iran navy and the Islamic republic of Iran air force.( Wikipedia,2012).2-The Army of the Guardians of the Islamic Revolution, or Revolutionary Guards, (IRGC) have five branches: Its own Navy, Air Force, and Ground Forces; the Quds Force (Special Forces), and the Basij (militia). The Basij is a paramilitary volunteer force controlled by the Islamic Revolutionary Guards. Basij also acts as an emergency management service, and is actively mobilized in case of earthquakes and other natural or human-made disasters .3- The Police Force. Both fall under the commands of the Ministry's of Defense & Armed Forces Logistics. (Wikipedia, 2012). Iran's military Forces capabilities are kept largely secret. In recent years, official announcements have highlighted the development of weapons such as the, Hoot, Fateh-110, Shahab-3 missile systems and a variety of unmanned Fajr-3 (MIRV)aerial vehicles, at least one of which Israel claims has been used to spy on Israel. The Iran-Iraq War, and post-revolutionary sanctions at the time had a dramatic effect on Iran's inventory of western equipment. Under the pressures of war, all supplies were quickly exhausted and replacements became increasingly difficult to come by. The government beginning to make the equipment army inside the country, today Iran is one of the powerful countries in regional countries. The country will be successful which have good military Budget, military leader quality, military maneuver, buying of army equipment ,nuclear acknowledge ,expert and training of forces, and inside the country having the real road, air lines , marine lines, network and transportation are very useful for defense of country.

## 8.0 Diplomacy

Diplomacy is one of the most effect elements on foreign policy. Diplomacy is concerned with the management of relations between states and between states and other actors. From a state perspective diplomacy is concerned with advising, shaping and implementing foreign policy. As such it is the means by which states through their formal and other representatives, as well as others, articulate, coordinate, and secures particular or wider interests, using correspondence, private talks, exchanges of view, lobbying, visits, threats and other related activities. The conduct of a nation's foreign affairs by its diplomats is for national power in peace what military strategy and tactics by its military leaders are for national power in war. Diplomacy of high quality will bring the ends and means of foreign policy into harmony with the available resources of national

power. The work of diplomacy can be broken down into six broad areas, within which there are a number of subdivisions. The first and most important of these is representation. This consists of formal representation, including presentation of credentials, protocol and participation in the diplomatic circuit of the national capital. The second function of diplomacy is that of acting as a listening post. A third function of diplomacy is laying the groundwork or preparing the basis for a policy or new initiatives. Fourth, in the event of actual or potential bilateral or wider conflict, diplomacy is concerned with reducing friction or oiling the wheels of bilateral or multilateral relations. Fifth, an extension of this, is contributing to order and orderly change. Finally, at a more general level, an important function of diplomacy is the creation, drafting and amendment of a wide body of international rules of a normative and regulatory kind that provide structure in the international system. (Davarpanah,H. 2003).

### 9.0 Leadership

The quality of leadership has always exerted a decisive influence upon foreign policy. We saw in some society the important role of leader for successful or failure that societies. China is the extent to which a change in leadership alone can mobilize the other latent energies and capacities of a nation, transforming it from the weak victim of a succession of international predators to a self-sufficient power able to exercise considerable influence in foreign affairs. The same population with the same territory and endowment of natural resources can be weak and disunited or strong and dynamic, depending on the quality of leadership. The Mahatir Mohammad in Malaysia and his policy caused this country have a good advance in Asia , in economics aspects , or vice versa, the Saddam in Iraq caused the society's Iraq and people is defunct also at least this society returned to back by 50 years of backwardness. We can take the result the role of leadership has directly relation on the progress the country. There are a history samples in world. The first leader of the Islamic Republic of Iran Ayatollah Khomeini, assumed his position as the founder of the Islamic republic and the theological protector (vali-e-faqih).he was a senior shi'I Muslim cleric, Islamic philosopher and marja and political leader of 1979 Iran revolution which saw the overthrow of Mohamadreza shah Pahlavi.

### 10. Technology

One of the important factors that effect on foreign policy is technology. If we want define the technology we can say: technology includes 1.Human innovation in action that involves the generation of knowledge and processes to develop systems that solve problems and extend human

capabilities. 2. The innovation, change, or modification of the natural environment to satisfy perceived human needs and wants. The majority of west countries imported the materials raw or natural resources from the countries backward and with possess the high technology changed and conversion into new production and again will sale to those countries. Today countries divided to advance and backward. The simple example is the countries that have oil in Middle East, even after the oil sale, they imported the gasoline from those other countries because they don't have technology of making the gasoline. Although needed for construction of parts, electronic, Computer, military equipment to good technology. Iran has progress in some aspects in after the revolution but have still long way to achieving to technology.

### **11. International system**

This factor is important on foreign policy, not only for Iran but for all countries. Any change in international system can change the foreign policy in all countries.

The nature and structure of international system creating the limitation for politician .the international system are consist the political units or political actors same nations, states, international organization, regional organization. According to the realist theory of kenneth waltz, the more important factor of effect on foreign policy is international system . According to this theory the systems of several polar, three polar, single polar have different influence, on the foreign policy behaviors of states. (Kreisler,H.2003).Today there is west block and east block even have passed the world new order, we can say , now is globalization age. The Iran certainly was influence the international system in past history. Foreign relation of Iran was on the communication by all countries specially the neighbor and third world and also Muslims countries. Iran don't have any relation with Israel, Iran does formally recognize Israel as a country. There are examples in this area like the coups, revolution, the civil wars, and even the going down the dollars or Euro or the down price of oil that can influences the foreign policy of countries. In the result many of decision in foreign policy is reaction to the events of international system.

### **12 Internal and External elements**

There are some factors were called the internal factors which effect on the foreign policy in Iran. This factors are consist the printed matters, publications, the rostrum of Friday prayer in Tehran city and other cities in Iran, the role of great ulema in Iran, and clergy society (izadi,B.2002).The ulema and clergy in Iran they have important role and also have power, so far

the government in Iran is basic on Islam and people likes the Islam in country, thus any change in foreign policy of Iran dependent to above factors. One of the other elements that explained some researcher in Iran, has role on foreign policy in Iran is external elements. This factor consists: international organization same human right organization, international forgiveness, money cash, European Union, environment, the foreign printed, the foreign news agency, foreign radios and the appositive groups of government in out of Iran. All of them they have role in foreign policy of Iran. (Izadi, B.2002).

### 13. Politics elements

One of the important element is that have role on foreign policy. there are a lot of factors that called politics factors, and consist, the quality of society, the quality of government, the quality of leadership, the good management, good thought, the kind of system the open or close system, security, internal stability, national morale, the political legitimates inside and outside and national trust. It is real that leader is one of the most element especially in third world because all affairs dependent to the leader. Sometimes the society fate was with the thought and role of leader, we saw the a few simple of leader in world that can change the world. For this reason Aristotle said just scholars who should govern on people. If government to be by scholars, certainly the people will be pay fewer coasts in life. The great revolution was with great men, in Iran Imam Khomeini can fighting with shah, and finally victory the revolution. Although in west countries the parties can introduces the elite to people but in third world the elite still they cannot take the government and did not have management. In open society and democrat that governed legitimate, distribution the power and citizen's right and freedom are observances. This governments they have more power in international organization because supported by people. Contrary in close society the power is from top to down and decision is in top level of management. From Another factor is the Government stability, the range of acknowledge, expert of foreign affairs in every society. Or some nations are respects accepted, in between all nations? This refers to the history of civilization, culture, philanthropies assistances, politics position in politics issue in world; don't have coarseness, peacefulness and useful personals in past history. It's mentioned today we arrived in globalization and one of the standard is welfare state, then any state that possess the characterizes like society welfare, human right, participation, and political legitimacy .the legitimacy itself have a authority and power. The lastly is security, that citizens in inside the society should were have a social and fluency security. National morale is

the degree of determination with which a nation supports the foreign policies of its government in peace or war.

#### 14. Public opinions

One of the effect factors on foreign policy is public opinion, that's means the public opinion is the referring to the aggregate of individual attitudes or beliefs held by the adult population. Today researches can measurement of public opinion in all countries. There is a lot of example about the public opinion that time which us. Force them wants attack ting to Iraq, all public opinion in world was appositve to this assault .in Iran also is important sometimes the government needs to beliefs of people about the current events. Governments have increasingly found surveys to be useful tools for guiding their public information and propaganda programs and occasionally for helping in the formulation of other kinds of policies. however in third world the public opinion don't have any place but is best way for examine every events that happened in each country .I wish coming days the government in third world listening to the public opinion.

#### 15. Political parties

Political parties have direct role on foreign policy, because they followed the political goals. In Iran like the other countries there are both left wing and right wing also is the other parties with goals of ideology or politics or economics. In Iran there is no party that opposition to the religious system of the government .they are within two groups: 1- right wing that called conservative parties, main of this parties include : Islamic Society of Engineers, Combatant Clergy Association, Islamic Coalition Party , Association of Islamic Revolution Loyalists , Moderation and Development Party, Coalition of Iran's Independent Volunteers, Party. and 2- left wing which called reformist parties, and main of this parties including : Association of Combatant Cleric, Islamic Iran Participation Front, National Confidence Party, Executives of Construction Party , Society of Forces Following the Line of the Imam , Organization of the Mojahedin of the Islamic Revolution, Islamic Labor Party ,and the Party. The Mahmud Ahmadinezad is one of the right groups that became president of Iran 2005 or Mohammad Khatami the previous president of Iran was a reformist .two groups usually have challenged together on the politics and economics issue. The role of each group is clear on the foreign policy in Iran but the right wing supported from the government because the viewpoint of government almost is conservatism.

## 16. Nuclear

Nuclear in Iran is one important matter, we don't have any day that magazines and newspaper don't writing about the nuclear in Iran .this matter have a direct role on the foreign policy in Iran. Up to now two resolutions issued against Iran by national organization for canceling the nuclear of Iran .although this pressure is more from the u. s. because Iran starting the nuclear under the ShahMohammad Reza Pahlavi, by supporting the U.S. and signed the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty on 1968 .This monarchy was replaced by the Islamic republic in 1979. And after the revolution the U.S. and Iran did not have politics and economic relation. In the several years ago this subject was effect on the foreign policy in Iran. We say that all aspects dependent on the nuclear. Of course the all activities of nuclear were under the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), but this agency has claims the activities of Iran was doubtful. Iran not agrees by this theory, and continued the way of achieving to the nuclear goals. Iran have claims, if the IAEA is opposed the nuclear why don't prevented the other countries same Israel in Middle East. The government of Iran declared this activity is for medicine, science, electric goals and use of energy replacement in future, and predicting the atomic bomb is unlawful in Islam.

## 17. Ideology

One of the other element is effect on the foreign policy is ideology. An ideology begins with the belief that can be better than they are – it is basically a plan to improve society. The ideology becomes important cement, holding together movements, parties, or revolutionary groups. We saw in war between Iraq-Iran the role of ideology that had positive role because people need ideological motivation. Also ideology is one important factor as adherence in society. There were a lot of ideology in world in past history; the nationalism of Abdolnaser in Egypt caused the Arabs countries fighting with Israel, or nationalism in France that creating the great revolution. In Iran the ideology of Islamic revolution caused the people beginning the struggle with imperialism .sometimes the ideologies creating the new relation with rest countries that have common goals, this new unity also have a lot of effect in next relation.

## 18. National interest

One of the most important concepts in FOREIGN POLICY about the all countries is national interest, every country chose the FOREIGN POLICY with attention the national interest, although differenced this interest for all countries, some countries that have ideological goal, some countries may have an economic goal. National interest is the fundamental objective and ultimate

determinant that guides the decision makers of a state in making FOREIGN POLICY. The national interest of a state is typically a highly generalized conception of those elements that constitute the state's most vital needs. These include self-preservation, independence, territorial integrity, military security, and economic well-being. According to Morgenthau's view of the national interest, divide the subject as follows : (a) primary interests include protection of the nation's physical, political, and cultural identity and survival against encroachment from the outside. (b) Secondary interests are those falling outside of but contributing to it .for example, protecting citizens abroad and maintaining proper immunities for a nation's diplomats are secondary interests.(c) Permanent interest is those which are relatively constant over long periods of time: they vary with time, but only slowly. For instance, Great Britain for many centuries has had an interest in the freedom to navigate the seas and in a narrow definition of coastal waters. (d) Variable interests are those which are a function of "the entire cross currents of personalities, public opinion, sectional interests, partisan politics, and political and moral folkways" of a given nation. (e) General interests are those which the nation can apply in a positive manner to a large geographic area, to a large number of nations, or in several specific fields (such as economics, trade, diplomatic intercourse, international law, etc.).(f) Specific interests are those positive interests not included in e. specific interests are usually closely defined in time and or space and often are the logical outgrowth of general interests. (Rosenau, J.1987). Today we can divided the countries with classification by Rosenau, The formal comparative study of "ideal nation-types" and FOREIGN POLICY behavior was initiated largely by James rosenau in his "pre-theory" of FOREIGN POLICY (1966).Rosenau one of the researcher that he divided the countries with indicators-physical size, level of economic development (in developed or underdeveloped), and nature of the political system (open and democratic or authoritarian and closed ) in to:1-Large, developed, open: united states.2-Large, developed, closed: Soviet Union.3-Large, underdeveloped open: India.4-Large, underdeveloped, closed: china.5-Small, developed, open: Netherlands.6-Small, developed, closed: zechoslovakia.7-Small, underdeveloped, open: Kenya.8-Small, underdeveloped, closed: Ghana The basic of FOREIGN POLICY is on the power, power potential is a rough estimate of the material and human resources available for power it can be used to infer how successful a country should be in a contest of power, if it uses sources to advantage.

### 19. The constitution law of Iran's foreign policy



The fundamental of foreign policy in Iran is on the constitution law that determinates the foreign policy, according to the articles 152 and 153 of the constitution as follows: Article 152: The foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran is based upon the rejection of all forms of domination, both the exertion of it and submission to it, the preservation of the independence of the country in all respects and its territorial integrity, the defense of the rights of all Muslims, nonalignment with respect to the hegemonies superpowers, and the maintenance of mutually peaceful relations with all non-belligerent States.(Hojatti Ashrafi,GH.2000).Article 153:Any form of agreement resulting in foreign control over the natural resources, economy, army, or culture of the country, as well as other aspects of the national life, is forbidden.(,Hojatti Ashrafi,GH.2000).Article 154: The Islamic Republic of Iran has as its ideal human felicity throughout human society, and considers the attainment of independence, freedom, and rule of justice and truth to be the right of all people of the world. Accordingly, while scrupulously refraining from all forms of interference in the internal affairs of other nations, it supports the just struggles of the mustad'afun against the mustakbirun in every corner of the globe. (Hojatti Ashrafi,GH.2000).Article 125: The President or his legal representative has the authority to sign treaties, protocols, contracts, and agreements concluded by the Iranian government with other governments, as well as agreements pertaining to international organizations, after obtaining the approval of the Islamic Consultative Assembly. (HojattiAshrafi, GH.2000).As specified within the Iranian Constitution, four major offices are responsible for foreign policy: the Supreme Leader, the President, the Head of the Expediency Council, the high council for national security (HCNS) and the Foreign Minister In Iran leadership is pillar important and According to the article 110 of the constitution, the some duties and powers of the leadership are as follows:

Delineation of the general policies of the Islamic Republic of Iran after consultation with the Nation's Exigency Council.

Supervision over the proper execution of the general policies of the system.

Issuing decrees for national referenda.

Assuming supreme command of the armed forces.

Declaration of war and peace, and the mobilization of the armed forces.

Appointment, dismissal, and acceptance of resignation of: a. Thefuqaha' on the Guardian

Council.b. The supreme judicial authority of the country.c. The head of the radio and television

network of the Islamic Republic of Iran's. The chief of the joint staff.e.The chief commander of

the Islamic Revolution Guards Corps. f. The supreme commanders of the armed forces. Resolving differences between the three wings of the armed forces and regulation of their relations. Resolving the problems, which cannot be solved by conventional methods, through the Nation's Exigency Council; The Leader may delegate part of his duties and powers to another person. In Iran highest authority after the leader is the president. The president is directly elected by the people for a term of four years. The president will name ministers especially foreign ministry and introduce them to the majlis to obtain votes of confidence. Also signs and supervises the implementation of laws passed by the majlis .and signs treaties and other international agreements ratified by the majlis, receives the credentials of foreign ambassadors, endorses those of Iranian ambassadors sent abroad and presides over the national Security Council. His responsibilities also include the administration of the country's budget and development plans ratified by the majlis (articles (Hojatti Ashrafi, GH. 2000). in Iran, the ministers organized cabinet which administer under the president, and cabinet consists of the 21 ministers include the foreign minister and oil. The Iranian president is the head of high national Security Council. According to article 177 of the constitution, the responsibilities of the SNSC are as follows: In order to safeguarding the national interests and preserving the Islamic Revolution, the territorial integrity and national sovereignty, a Supreme Council for National Security presided over by the President shall be constituted to fulfill the following responsibilities: Determining the defense and national security policies within the framework of general policies determined by the Leader. Coordination of activities in the areas relating to politics, intelligence, social, cultural and economic fields in regard to general defense and security policies. Exploitation of materialistic and intellectual resources of the country for facing the internal and external threats. Commensurate with its duties, the Supreme Council for National Security shall form sub-councils such as Defense Sub-council and National Security Sub-council. Each Sub-council will be presided over by the President or a member of the Supreme Council for National Security appointed by the President. The scope of authority and responsibility of the Sub-councils will be determined by law and their organizational structure will be approved by the Supreme Council for National Defense. The decisions of the Supreme Council for National Security shall be effective after the confirmation by the Leader. The functions of the EDSC are: first, making decisions in those cases where the ratifications of the Islamic consultative assembly are not confirmed by the council of guardians, and where the deputies insist on the implementation of the ratifications. Second, consultation in

those matters referred thereto by the leader. Third, selection of a fagih (clerical Islamic jurist) member of the council of guardians of the constitution as a member of the leadership council in accordance with article 111 of the constitution. (Madani,J.2001.).Foreign ministry is part of the overall machinery for conducting external policy. Article 128 states: The ambassadors shall be appointed upon the recommendation of the foreign minister and approval of the President. The president signs the credentials of ambassadors and receives the credentials presented by the ambassadors, of the foreign countries. (Hojatti Ashrafi,GH.2000).the function of foreign minister is: the nationality, social affairs, student services, personal affairs, visa and passport.

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