

Explaining Iran's Foreign Policy: Ideas, Expectations and Structures (2013-2021)

Hossain Karimifard¹

Associate Professor, Department of International Relations, Ahvaz Branch,
Islamic Azad University, Ahvaz, Iran.

Abstract

The importance of coherent foreign policy is due to the foreign policy's impact on countries' survival, development, stability, and security. Different individuals, institutions, organizations have different roles in foreign policy under any conditions in different political systems. This article presumes that foreign policy is the continuation of internal and domestic policy. The present study aims to explain foreign policy by highlighting different and diverse decisions and policies. This article includes a conceptual framework, a section that will explain realistic and idealistic policy, mental foundations of utopian and real policy-making in the Islamic Republic of Iran, an explanation of the foreign policy, and finally the conclusions. The main question is: what effect had a plurality of ideas and multiple structures on Iran's foreign policy in the period (2013-2021)? The hypothesis of the research using analytical and explanatory methodology is: During the period (2013-2021), the plurality of ideas and multiple structures as a roadmap has played an important role in the coherence and orientation of Iran's foreign policy. Moreover, Iran's foreign policy decision Making is the result of semantic plurality, structural multiplicity, and different expectations from foreign policy.

Keywords: Realist Policy-Making, Idealist Policy-Making, Domestic Policy, Iran.

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1. Email: hkarimifard@yahoo.com

Introduction

The nature and type of political systems play an important role in the foreign policy-making process. Foreign policy is a function of the dominant ideas and perceptions of the surrounding elites in non-democratic and authoritarian countries. However, foreign policy is impressed by the ideas and expectations of groups, institutions, governmental and non-governmental organizations, civil society, public opinion, and the media in democratic and democratic countries. In the foreign policy process, different individuals, institutions, organizations, and devices are involved with different ideas, perceptions, and expectations, and different roles in different conditions and political systems.

For policy makers, to admit mistake or failure is the worst possible option. Most executive elites resist "Change" and pursue costly policies at all expenses. There are individuals, groups, formal and informal institutions in the governing system that want to continue an approach in any way possible, with no regards for possible consequences; for example, Reza Shah's incorrect policy in World War II (1941) that led to the occupation of Iran by allied forces. Given the necessity and importance of foreign policy in the fate of society and examining the impact of institutions and individuals in determining foreign policy, they should explain this until they can find individuals and institutions in charge that can address these issues.

The present study aims to explain foreign policy by highlighting diversity decisions and policies in this field. This article includes introduction, conceptual framework, realistic and idealistic policy issues, mental foundations of utopian and real

policy-making in the Islamic Republic of Iran, explanation of foreign policy and finally conclusions. Furthermore, this research has used various facts to prove the hypothesis. The main question is: what effect has pluralism and the structure of foreign decision-making had on foreign policy in Iran in the period (2013-2021)? The hypothesis of the research using analytical and explanatory methodology is: During the period 2013-2021, the plurality of ideas and multiple structures as a roadmap have played an important role in the coherence and orientation of Iran's foreign policy. Likewise, Iran's foreign policy and decisions are the result of semantic plurality, structural multiplicity, and different expectations from foreign policy decisions.

Conceptual Framework

The conceptual model uses the approach of pluralism and structuralism. The pluralist approach refers to influential groups and institutions influencing foreign policy, and the structuralism approach emphasizes effective institutions in the field of foreign policy. In addition, I have used idealistic and realistic policy strategies to explain Iran's foreign and security policy between 2013-2021.

The Concept Of Pluralism: As a correlation of democratic theory, pluralism is one of the most common political discourse concepts in recent decades. The most general sense (the theoretical superiority of multiplicity over monotony and homogeneity) includes all intellectual endeavors that defend diversity against unity. The concept of pluralism in contemporary thoughts, especially about the state, has several meanings and themes, and the subject of our discussion here is political pluralism. Formally, political pluralism is a theory that studies social life based on groups. Pluralism emphasizes that society is composed of many social classes and groups. Therefore, the economic and political system must be such that multiple groups and minorities can compete with each other (Bashirieh, 2001: 65). The assumptions of pluralism are defined as follows:

1. Individuals naturally find unity and solidarity within groups.
2. Groups are real and original people who are composed of like-minded and self-interested people.
3. Specific interests within different groups provide compromise through dialogue, not the implementation of power from above. As a result of this assumption, combine maximum power distribution with the minimum dominance and central control.
4. Contrary to the negative view of political groups versus parties, the pluralists consider different groups' existence to be desirable for the evolution of political societies.

The model of pluralism examines the relationship between state power and groups and social forces. The multiplicity and diversity of energy resources is the central premise of the pluralist view. Political power is the ongoing competition and compromise between different parties representing various interests and profits, such as industrial and commercial groups, labor movements, religious and ethnic groups, etc. This model is influenced by St. Weber, who emphasized the various sources of power in society, and on the other hand, in reaction to the views of some political sociologists, including Pareto and Mosca. They emphasized the existence of an "elite" of unique power in society.

When the decision-maker faces various options offered by different organizations, institutions, and consultants with different approaches and other interests, applying management can achieve a better option. As the highest executive in a structured environment, he listens to the various arguments, seeking to best support a particular choice. Based on the assumption, adequately managed, conflicting views are a weakness. Three conditions are necessary to achieve this:

1. The existence of appropriate distribution among different actors in these resources: power, weight, influence, competence in policy issues, the information in a lot of policy-making problems, analytical resources, and persuasion bargaining skills;
2. participation at the presidential level in organizational

policy-making to monitor and regulate multiple advocacy functions;

3. Spending enough time for discussion and bargaining. (Moshirzadeh, 2017: 19).

Decision-making structure

Foreign policy making structure mean the hierarchy and position that policy-makers observe to formulate and implement foreign policy. Individual actors make foreign policy decisions, institutions, and organizations with a definite status and position in the decision-making process.

I- Idealistic Foreign and Security Policy

The Islamic Revolution and the establishment of the Islamic Republic were the sources of significant changes in Iran's fields of culture and politics. The revolution changed the cultural foundation and consequently, the purposes, priorities, and tools of Iran's foreign policy. One pivotal change was the exclusive emphasis on Islamic values and characteristics as a fundamental factor in individuals and groups of Iranians' culture and identity. This real change in the infrastructure of Iranian national identity and existence in determining Iran's foreign policy's purposes and the system had consequences.

The idealists believe that the Islamic Revolution of Iran, which was a continuation of the Prophets' movement, based on Islamic ideology, the unified power of the people, and Imam Khomeini's leadership, outlined the framework of revolutionary activities in Iran and the world. The solidarity and unity of the Muslims of the world and the acceptance of the state (country's) credit boundaries have a particular definition in the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran. «All Muslims are one nation, and the government of the Iran is obliged to base its general policy on the coalition and unity of Islamic countries and make continuous efforts to achieve the political, economic, and cultural unity of the Islamic world» (Haghighat, 1997: 4).

The revolution and ideology of political Islam in Iran caused

the executive elite in Iran to polarize the international system. It led to ideological policy-making in various institutions, especially in Iran's foreign relations, and strongly influenced the concept and meaning of national interests.

Idealistic policy-making tends to coalition with Colonized nations and oppose the structure of the international system. In order to consider the principle of defending the world oppressed and inviting them to Islam and revolt against governments, and neither Eastern nor Western politics in line with following and implementing the principle of "Nafy-e Sabil" (denial of dominance system) respectively. According to this view, phenomena such as "Country," "Nationality," "Homeland," or "national interests" are not based on modern territorial units or nation-states. Still, according to its Islamic meaning, Islamic "nationality" and "homeland" is defined (Davari, 1364: 84). This kind of view is still present in many decision-making institutions.

The Position of Velayat-e-Faqih in Foreign Policy: Velayat-e Faqih is the center to identify the political power of the Islamic Republic of Iran. According to the constitution, the position of leadership in the decision-making structure is specific. The 1989 amended Constitutional law increased the Supreme Leader's influence in the political system and expanded his formal and informal institutions' oversight. In the 1979 constitution, the president was accountable only to the people, while in the 1989 constitutional law, the president was accountable to the people and the supreme leader.

On the other hand, this has left the leader free to control the executive and has increased his influence in managing political affairs. The leader's initiative to determine the country's macro policies has also increased, and the leadership has an influential role in explaining the national strategy. It should do in consultation with the Expediency Council. The Supreme Leader exercises his political power in four ways: The Supreme Leader's office, the national representation of the Supreme Leader in the provinces, the representative of the Supreme Leader in national institutions, and

the position of Commander-in-Chief of the Supreme Leader in the Iranian Armed Forces. The Valy-e Faqih also appoints members of the Secretariat and the central council of Friday's Imams and prominent members of the Office of Islamic Propaganda. It can consider the central council of Friday's Imams as a center for measuring the government's political approach concerning domestic and international issues (Ehteshami, 2006: 89-92).

The interpretation of policies and strategies depends on the characteristics and personal qualities of government leaders. According to the constitution, the leader's role is decisive and the center of decision-making and policy-making. According to constitutional law, the Supreme Leader has the supreme decision-making authority in the Islamic Republic of Iran. Regarding the government decree, making vital political decisions is the leadership duty, and the president does not have such a legal status. Article one hundred and ten of the Constitution of the Republic enumerates responsibilities of leadership. According to this clause, the Islamic system places power institutionally and centrally at the top of the pyramid to create and pulse life within the design and coordination. Some of the leadership duties, according to this paragraph are as follows:

A) Determining the Macro policies of the Iran after consulting the Expediency Council;

B) Supervising the proper implementation of the general policies of the system;

C) General Command of the Armed Forces;

D) Signing the presidential decree after the election of the people.

Revisionism: The Islamic Republic, based on its Islamic teachings and revolutionary mission, seeks to establish an Islamic world and regional order to create a global Islamic society. An order that facilitates and provides the interests and purposes of the Islamic Republic. With the establishment of an opposing political order, the Islamic Republic, will seek to establish a global and regional Islamic order to create a society with behavioral

constraints (Dehghani Firoozabadi, 2008: 93). The Islamic State seeks an ideal order. At the beginning of the revolution, the idealists believed that international order had an oppressive and unjust nature and a basis that should be destroyed. With the collapse of the bipolar order, it was replaced by the American-centered, Western-based, and liberal ideology. According to this view, this order has an unjust nature and basis, especially in the economic field, due to its capitalist economy. In the political arena, the United States seeks to establish an American order based on "hegemony." Therefore, the foundations of the American order are considered unjust, and the government of the Iran must work to disrupt and change it instead of the desired order. In the context of an Islamic order, the denial of any dependence on the United States and other great powers, the unjust order of capitalism and political liberalism, and its foundations are emphasized.

In ideal policy-making, the establishment of a world Islamic order and the invitation and unity of Muslims are among the basic goals. According to the revolution leaders, Muslim nations will be able to free themselves from the hegemonic practices of the West and, at the same time, enjoy all the positive manifestations of human civilization in the field of thought and experience by uniting Muslims and reviving their identity (Azghandi, 2010: 55). Adherence to this type of world order is entirely at odds with the international order's foundations or in the rejection of the Westphalian order, which since 1648 has worked as the central axis of the European national –State system. With such a belief in the world and the order of the Islamic world, only laws and procedures can validly derive from the divine will and message. The Islamic Republic, with its pivotal role in the Islamic world, claims a status such as the re-empowerment of the Islamic Ummah. Naturally, the goal of turning Iran into the center of the Islamic world is to abolish the international system of power and completely modernize the relations of world power.

2-3. Idealism:

Leader of the Islamic Revolution Ayatollah Seyyed Ali

Khamenei's views have undoubtedly played a key role in determining ideological orientations in the two areas of domestic politics and foreign relations. The Supreme Leader of the Revolution not only has the mission of guiding the Islamic Ummah in all internal and external affairs, but one of his primary duties is to protect "pure Muhammadan Islam" completely. Pure Muhammadan Islam will humiliate the West, led by the America, and the East, led by the Soviet Union; an Islam headed by the oppressed and the world's poor.

The presence of the United States of America as the main enemy of the Islamic Republic in most of Iran's neighboring countries and the attempt to communicate with internal and external elements opposed to the regime has increased the role and position of the ideal government and its affiliated institutions in foreign policy. "Part of the US effort in December 2017 and October 2019 can be seen in the unrest in Iran and the damage to government and non-government offices and institutions." The United States, Israel, and Saudi Arabia, which had high hopes for internal chaos, did their best to support and incite some internal insurgents and intended to attack the Islamic system. (Kayhan daily, 8/28/2019).

In an article, Javan newspaper also highlighted the United States' role in the events of October 2019. "Washington officials' interventionist statements in support of the insurgents and inciting them to continue the riots show where the protest operations room is controlled. The paper highlights the role of foreign agents in the riots, citing the part of "Michael de Andrea" nicknamed "Ayatollah Mike," a CIA officer in charge of Iran, and his links to separatist groups and the hypocritical terrorist group. It also mentions Saudi Arabia and the UAE's support for the US anti-Iranian plans and Iran's unrest (Javan Newspaper, 9/29/2019).

The Supreme Leader is also distrustful of US officials as part of the system's macro-policy and, therefore, opposes negotiations with the United States: " US officials are not honest in their statements so that we can make progress without negotiations and sanctions. (Ayatollah Khamenei: 23/3/2019). Negotiating with the

United States is a deception. What should we negotiate? what they want? (Ayatollah Khamenei, 5/4/2019). Negotiating with the United States is poison, negotiating with the current US administration is double poison. Negotiating with them is deceptive" (Ayatollah Khamenei, 10/27/2019). The Supreme Leader insists on refusing to renegotiate with the United States: "They want to convince our elites of other (JCPOA)¹ in regional issues and even the constitution under the title of (JCPOA) 2, 3 and 4" (Ayatollah Khamenei: 11/12/2018). General Salami, commander of the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps, also speaks of the frustration of diplomacy in solving economic problems and economic development. We do not hope that diplomacy can create a way in (JCPOA); what is essential in this economic war is not diplomacy but the revival of the resistance (Salami, 20/2/2018).

The armed forces, especially the IRGC and the Quds Force, play an essential role in formulating, deciding, and implementing the security and defense policies of the Iran in the region to counter the threats posed by the US presence. The presence of the Iranian advisor in Syria and Iraq and its support for Hezbollah in Lebanon, Hamas, etc. are interpreted in this regard. From this institution's perspective, many measures aim to increase Iran's geopolitical depth of promoting material and spiritual capabilities and capacities.

II- Making Realistic Foreign Policy

Several elements are useful in realistic foreign policy making, the most important of which are mentioned briefly below:

- A) The structure of the international system:
 - International Economy
 - Geopolitics of global powers
 - The international legal system
- B) Internal power structure:
 - The democratic structure of power

1. Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA)

- An Institutional-Legal design of power derived from the constitution (Ministry of Foreign Affairs - military and security forces and...)

- Consequences and effects of sanctions on society

Rouhani's tenure should examine the impact of elitism and masses on foreign policy. During this period, in some stages, populism replaced the structural process in foreign policy decision-making the decision-making structure is somehow affected by some issues. In this way, the elites make policies under the pressure of the masses. On the other hand, the government and the executive elites in the field of foreign policy are pushing the masses towards their goals.

In this case some of the influential institutions in the foreign policy of Rouhani's government are mentioned bellow:

Ministry of Foreign Affairs: The Ministry of Foreign Affairs is an important and influential institution in policy-making, decision-making, and foreign policy implementation. The election of the Secretary of State is usually the product of the interaction and consensus of the groups and political parties that win presidential election. According to the political acustom in Iran, the President, with the coordination of the Supreme Leader and his positive opinion, elects the Minister of Foreign Affairs. (Dehghani Firoozabadi, 2009: 268). Government officials react to an issue based on their positions, regardless of their individual or monopoly status. An individual's position in the structure of government, the duties, responsibilities, and loyalties expected of him based on this situation affect an individual's perception of the world and his foreign policy decisions.

According to international relations theories, military institutions should not control foreign policy making process but should implement politicians' decisions, also they should not assume the war to be an independent variable but should consider it as a political tool. While politicians act on practical facts and protect national interests, surrendering politics to militarism is against common sense. (Ghavam, 2007: 233).

Mohammad Javad Zarif, is considered one of the senior ministers in Rouhani's Cabinet as the Minister of Foreign Affairs. The foreign minister's membership in the Supreme National Security Council raises his expert opinions at the Islamic Republic's highest decision-making level. During Mr. Rouhani's administration, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has been the most central institution. Rouhani's main purpose was to lift sanctions through de-escalation with the United States. Therefore, the ministry of foreign affairs found its central position in his cabinet. In other words, the essence of Rouhani's policy is revealed in the State Department. But after Trump became US president and left (JCPOA), the Ministry of Foreign Affairs became inactive, because of disruption in this institution. From Mr. Zarif's perspective, moderation means creating a balance between ideals and reality to direct facts towards idealism. The discourse of moderation in foreign policy is a realistic, and emphasises on the dialogue, constructive interaction and understanding to promote the country's status, prestige, security, and development. (Zarif, 2013).

Oil Ministry: Considering the reliance of the country's budget on oil sales revenue and the need for foreign investment in the oil industry, highlighting this ministry's role and position in Iran's foreign policy decision-making process is of paramount importance. Rouhani's purpose in introducing Zanganeh as Minister of Oil was to use his experience and background to solve various oil industry problems. Zanganeh tried to become one of the most important ministers of the Rouhani's administration by concluding oil contracts with Western companies such as Total, increasing foreign investment in Iran's oil industry, rebuilding the oil industry, and increasing Iran's oil production and sales. Zanganeh also sought to restore Iran's position and role in world oil policies under OPEC.

Supreme National Security Council: In the 1989 amendment to the Iranian constitution, the council added to the institutions and structures of the Islamic Republic. This institution's role is to protect Iran's Islamic Revolution, national interests, and territorial

integrity. The composition of this council (consisting of the heads of the three branches, top officials of the Armed Forces, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Interior and Intelligence, and representatives of the Supreme Leader) shows the critical position of this institute in policy-making, decision-making and implementation of Iran's security and defense policies in internal and external domains. For example, this council had a pivotal and critical position in the Iranian nuclear file from 2003 to 2013 but after president Rouhani came to the office, he transferred the nuclear issue to the Foreign Ministry and the possibility of a political and diplomatic settlement increased. He played an essential role in the nuclear negotiation process by supporting Zarif which concluded in signing the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA).

III- Realistic Foreign and Security Policy Making

From Rouhani and Zarif's perspective, creating economic development requires desecuritization of Iran foreign policy and normalization of ties with most countries. «To run the country in the economic, social, political, and cultural fields, we must make things desecuritize. Therefore, it should reduce the list of security issues and resolve specific topics in each area .»(Hajiani, 2014: 72).

According to Rouhani, he can introduce Iran as a peaceful, economic and cultural country through constructive interaction with the world, by building trust, pursuing detente, and improving Iran's image through gaining credibility.

In other words, the compatibility of identity ideas, mental structures, and value characteristics of executive elites of Rouhani's state in foreign policy with the international community's Western identity and discipline has led to interaction and detente. Due to the normative, value, and semantic-similarity of the intellectual and executive elites of Rouhani's state's foreign policy with the Western norms and values that dominate the international community, international law, and the rules of the global system, Senior diplomats in charge of direct negotiations, groups of experts in nuclear energy such as Ali Akbar Salehi, who had an advisory and

intelligence role and had studied at Western universities, were chosen in his administration.

The main characteristics of Rouhani's tendency to accept and adhere to Western international norms and rules in foreign policy are:

- Emphasizing peaceful coexistence and avoidance of hostile and conflicting actions against the existing international system;
- Accepting the role of the United Nations and the Security Council on the issue of (JCPOA);
- Emphasizing the role of international organizations and global forums;
- Willingness to attract foreign and international interests, facilities, and investments to participate in domestic economic activities and industrial projects;
- Continuous efforts to improve international and regional relations, including the reconstruction and expansion of political-economic ties with the Persian Gulf countries and the Middle East through the widespread use of bilateral diplomacy and the service of multilateral arrangements.

Realistic Foreign Policy Making and the Structure of the International System: From the perspective of Rouhani and other intellectual and executive elites of the state of moderation, this government's primary purpose is to treat internal damages and eliminate external threats against the Islamic Republic. To achieve this, in foreign policy, Rouhani emphasized interaction with world power, the United States, and at home on economic development. From Rouhani's point of view, considering globalization and integrating Iran into the world economy was necessary so foreign policy orientation from Ahmadinejad's Easternization to Rouhani's Westernization continues by focusing on interaction with the United States. An analysis that the idealists does not accept.

Rouhani's advantage over the nuclear issue due to his years of senior responsibility in the field and Zarif's knowledge with experience and understanding of the international arena led to a peaceful approach and negotiations with the United States. Zarif's

primary mission was de-escalation with the United States, lifting sanctions, strengthening political and economic ties and increasing cooperation with European countries.

Rouhani's government achievement in foreign policy was (JCPOA) which was the result of Iran-US negotiations and a suitable model and achievement for future Iran-US negotiations. Iran resumed talks with the United States to resolve other disputes. Rouhani was the first to use the term (JCPOA) 2 into the country's political literature. During the "Space Technology" Day on February 3, 2016, he enumerated the sanctions damage on the country's economy and his government's efforts to achieve a "comprehensive joint action plan." He said: "we passed (JCPOA) 1, and today we have to start (JCPOA) 2, and everyone, including the proponents and critics of the government, must join us; because we agree in national purposes and the development of the country" (Rouhani, 3/2/2016). Rouhani resumed negotiations with the United States in 2019: by declaring that "whenever the United States cancel oppressive, inaccurate and terrorist sanctions, we have no problem negotiating with it" (Rouhani: 13/09/2019).

Realist policy-makers believe that they should join international treaties to get rid of sanctions. For example, to counter US sanctions, the Expediency Council needs to approve bills related to the FATF (Financial Action Task Force), Iran's accession to the Palermo (Convention on Transnational Organized Crime) (CFT), and the Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism (CFT).

The Rouhani administration wanted the Expediency Council to approve Iran's accession to the Financial Action Task Force, arguing that the country would suffer more from US sanctions if it does not join the FATF. «Once he said, besides the silent war of the United States against Iran, which caused anger and conflict inside the country, some others inside the country who, instead of participating in sanctions resistance programs, igniting the fire of this silent war with slogan like Down with USA and also by ostentations. Failure to join the fight against money laundering and

FATF conventions will increase sanctions. Lack of anti-sanctions strategy leads any Iranian to be charged with an inappropriate label of pro-sanctions or anti-money laundering allegations against the FATF, all of which are endorsed by the United Nations (Rabiee, 2019). They believe that development and solution of economic problems are closely related to the acceptance of world order and interaction with the dominant world power.

Comparison of Iran's Foreign and Security Policy Making

Fields of comparison	Idealistic foreign policy making	Realistic foreign policy making
Philosophical attitude	Idealism - optimism	Realism - Pessimism
Activists	State, Movements, sub-state	state
International order	Revisionism	maintaining the status quo
Central concept	justice	Power and interest
The nature of power	Strengthen military power and internal capabilities	Economic and cultural power
Great powers	Pessimism about the United States and optimism about China and Russia	Optimism about the United States and the European Union and pessimism about China and Russia
Purpose	Islamic interests	national interests
The nature of order	Islamic order	Western order
Basic concept	Islamic Ummah	Nation- State
Advocators	Conservatives - military institutions and conservatives	Reformists - Moderates -

IV- Research Findings

Foreign Policy-Making of Iran has different characteristics and features that have created opportunities, harms, and challenges to our society. The system of the Iran is democratic; many formal and informal institutions, groups, and organizations are involved in

policy makings and its implementation. It should define a strategy in foreign policy to avoid adopting and implementing contradictory foreign policy approaches.

The gravity of different elements in foreign policy varies in other countries. Ideological, rational, value, normative, emotional, etc., features are significant in different policy systems. Perceptions and misperceptions also play an essential role in policy-making. The success of policies increases the credibility, prestige, dignity, and status of elites and politicians and their failure causes discredit and reduces their political position. Some reasons to inconsistent decisions in Iran's foreign policy include:

- Partisanship and factionalism in the decision-making process (giving priority to partisan interests over national interests): how the specific interests of different institutions affect their attitudes and options. When the representatives of these various institutions make decisions, instead of overcoming the rational choice, the decision results from negotiation and bargaining between them.

- Lack of ability to coordinate formal structures and institutions (intra-systemic contradictions in the field of thought-principles and institutions): there are usually disagreements between individuals, institutions, groups, etc. in the policy-making, but governments gradually make efforts to achieve a unified strategy in the foreign and security policy; they may even make cabinet changes to execute a suitable plan. In Iran, there is no capability or institution to achieve a unified strategy in foreign and security policy.

- Uncertainty of loss limit (insistence on repeating past mistakes, resolving contradictions, and inability to crisis management): Politicians of society do not show that despite the problems and crises in the economy, culture, foreign policy, etc., they change their costly policies and decisions. System outputs (with emphasis on issues and problems) have no feedback. For example, in economics, it is not clear that the national currency's value must depreciate enough to find a fundamental solution. From their perspective should resist the purposes until the situation changes in our favor. But they have not specified how long and to what extent they must pay the

standing fee and who should pay the price.

- West-Centered and East-Centered intellectual rigidity between influential academic and executive elites in foreign policy: Since the Constitutional era, some administrative and mentality elites in Iranian society and intellectual circles are known as Westernization and Easternization, most people who think only of national interests are influential in policy-making and decision-making.

- Lack of pattern in foreign policy: The foreign policy model is a way for states to understand their international purpose. Given the country's limited resources, policymakers must prioritize their programs over maximum benefits. Macro-strategies are not static and evolve based on the country's changing needs, regime change, public opinion pressure, changes in the structure of the international system, and the rise and fall of major powers.

Conclusion

The importance of coherent foreign policy is due to foreign policy's impact on countries' survival, development, stability, and security. The role and importance of foreign policy in some countries makes it the first person to lead and manage it. The Constitution of the Iran has considered Velayat-e- Faqih as a system's general policy plan. On the other hand, the preamble of the constitution also specifies foreign policy duties. Chapter 10 of the Constitution is also relevant. Velay-e-Faqih is the central pillar and heart of the Islamic Republic system and responsible for its general policies. In addition to leading other institutions such as the presidency, the Supreme National Security Council, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, they play a foreign policy role.

In idealistic policy-making, by favoring the political order based on religious ideas and Islamic identity over the Western order and emphasizing the concept of "Justice," they tend the Islamic Ummah. They support the Islamic State, Islamic civilization, the Islamic Ummah's interests, and Islamic state and non-state actors in the international system. Simultaneously, realist policy-makers

emphasize the nation-state's role in foreign policy and advocate the national interest by accepting the political order and the global system's Westernist discipline with a subtle critique of that order. In a realistic approach, foreign investment and the use of multinational companies such as Total consider to increase production and reconstruction of the oil industry, and the ratification of the FATF and Palermo is in line with the fight against money laundering and terrorism. But regarding the idealistic policy, the way to save the country from economic problems is to increase domestic capacities and capabilities. International treaties such as the FATF are not in line with Iran's national interest and security, and the United States' strategy toward the Islamic Republic is to overthrow it in different ways and tactics. Therefore, in the negotiations, it seeks to deceive the Iranian agents. The United States does not allow Iran's development and get out of its economic problems; instead, it is an ontological threat to the Islamic Republic. Finally, at the macro-level of decision-making, there is an epistemological and semantic gap between the elites at the international system's order and structure.

Despite contradictory opinions and ideas between officials and managers in foreign and security policy, no significant effort has been made to create consensus. Legal problems, practicality, and to some extent, the love of power and position have caused people with conflicting views on foreign policy to act independently and not have accurate information about each other's decisions and behaviors. More than four decades after the Islamic Revolution, in foreign policy, the executive elites have not achieved a single understanding of politics, foreign policy, national interest, foreign policy purposes, and priorities. Seemingly individuals, groups, factions, and political parties try to sweeten their taste by defining these concepts. Based on the review of Iran's foreign policy output in various political, security and economic fields in the period between 2013-2021, in policy-making and decision-making, different and contradictory policies have been implemented and propaganda has been adopted.

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