

Political Research of the Foreign Policy Concept of the Islamic Republic of Iran¹

Talibli Subhan, Alakbar

Leading Researcher at the Institute of Oriental Studies of ANAS,
Doctor of Philosophy in History, Associate Professor
subhantalibli@gmail.com

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Abstract

The Iranian revolution of 1978-1979 led to a fundamental change in the basic principles and forms of activity of the economic, political, cultural, spiritual and ideological spheres of society in this country. The state sector was declared the dominant sector of the economy, the political system was improved with a number of specific institutions, along with generally accepted structures, the legal system was subordinated to Islamic norms, all spheres of public life were placed under the control of ideological views based on Islamic principles. Thus, the political power of a certain social, or rather, corporate body, and at the same time its social, political, economic and spiritual control function were ensured from a legal perspective. These fundamental intra-system changes led to a certain change in the country's place in the system of international relations and,-- accordingly, to significant changes in its foreign policy.

Key words: Islamic Republic of Iran, foreign policy, concept, constitution, international relations.

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Introduction

The Islamic Republic of Iran pursues a foreign policy based on the generally accepted principles and norms of the system of international relations and determined to achieve mutually beneficial cooperation with all the countries of the world based on these foundations. In this line of foreign policy, Iran's attempts to get closer to Europe and its desire to gain new positions in the Caucasus and Central Asia regions are clearly manifested, and this desire is characterized by the decisive steps it takes to actively cooperate with member states of the UN, OIC, OIC and other international organizations.

Although each of the political forces participating in the 1978-1979 Iranian revolution had its own program, thanks to the influence of Ayatollah R.M. Khomeini, who was perceived by all opposition forces as the sole, charismatic leader, only the clergy became the leader and guiding force of the revolution (2, 1996, 72). This process was clearly manifested in the changes implemented in society and establishing the authority of the clergy in organizational and legal terms. These changes were implemented in accordance with the theoretical and ideological concept developed by Ayatollah R. Khomeini long before the revolution, namely the idea of "the Islamic state and the province of the jurist." (3, 1377, 25). In that matter, the Provisional Revolutionary Government, representing the liberal forces, acted as the executor of the idea of Ayatollah R. Khomeini. In fact, the liberals, including many members of the Provisional Government and, first of all, its head M. Bazargan, even before the revolution, defended the idea of Islamic rule or the control of the Islamic religion over the life of society (3, 1377, 52) and even after the victory of the revolution, they preferred to support that idea. However, some liberals tried to resist the activities of the clergy in the field of establishing their own power. In such conditions, on the one hand, the legal and legislative foundations of Islamic statehood and the corresponding power structures were being formed, and on the other hand, the struggle for political power continued.

Fundamental social, political, etc. changes that began with the revolution and were organized and purposeful after the victory of the revolution and were implemented on the basis of religious and ideological principles were accompanied by the restructuring of foreign political relations and relations.

In February 1979, Iran announced its withdrawal from the CENTO bloc. In April, it annulled the friendship and economic and military cooperation agreements signed with the United States in 1955 and 1959. It expelled all of that country's specialists, advisors, and instructors in Iran and closed the US consulates in Tabriz, Isfahan, and Shiraz. The new regime annulled the agreements

the Shah's government had concluded with Western European countries on the involvement of specialists and advisors, as well as the agreement concluded with the International Consortium in 1973, and severed all ties with Israel and the Republic of South Africa. At the end of 1979, the Islamic Republic of Iran opposed the Egypt-Israel (Camp David) peace treaty, and at the same time severed diplomatic relations with the Egyptian state for accepting the Pahlavi Shah family and creating all conditions for open propaganda against Khomeini.

Following this, the new regime took the path of limiting all relations with the USSR by annulling the Soviet-Iranian treaty signed with Soviet Russia in 1921. This step by Iran was actually aimed at limiting the tendencies for freedom and independence within the country.

The new Iranian regime, while limiting relations with the West and the East, began to establish relations with peoples and countries that were distinguished by their anti-Western orientation and were engaged in a national liberation struggle against imperialism. Thus, the Iranian government officially recognized the Palestine Liberation Organization and allowed its representative office to be opened in Tehran, and established close relations with Syria and Libya. An official delegation of the Cuban government, which had no diplomatic relations with Iran before the revolution, paid an official visit to Tehran. Iran declared solidarity with Zimbabwe, officially recognized the Revolutionary Government of Nicaragua and the People's Republic of Angola. The new Iranian regime applied for membership in the "Non-Aligned Movement" (Third World).

From the very first day of its establishment, the Islamic Republic of Iran declared its desire to pursue an independent policy, stating that it would not be aligned with "neither the West nor the East", that is, with neither the United States and Western European countries, nor with Eastern European countries and the Soviet Union, nor would it follow or accompany those countries. The Islamic Republic of Iran has been particularly keen to emphasize in its foreign policy that its country has a special geopolitical position and importance in the Near and Middle East. As such, a large part of the world's hydrocarbon reserves are located and extracted in this region, and from there they are transported to various countries by sea and land (10, 2004, 58).

The new foreign policy course of the Islamic Republic of Iran was partly consistent with the ideals of freedom and independence of both the clergy and the liberals. The relative political freedom and independence achieved in the country was understood as an opportunity to freely determine foreign policy priorities, to eliminate and limit the influence of countries in the world that could have a greater impact on Iran's domestic and foreign policy. The new Islamic regime demonstrated to the whole world that it had freedom of will and action. On the one hand, these steps were consistent with the slogan "neither the West nor the East - Islam" voiced by the country's religious leader Ayatollah Khomeini immediately after the victory of the revolution, but

on the other hand, they also responded to the political views of the liberals, who believed that they had achieved greater freedom of action in the conditions of weakening external pressure (12, 33-35). They were trying to use this situation to strengthen their political positions, while at the same time trying to restore and expand their relations with the West. Such a situation already showed that views on foreign policy were divided, and the struggle for power within the country was intensifying.

The meeting of members of the Provisional Government with the US President's National Security Advisor in Algiers in early November 1979 signaled the end of the "peaceful coexistence" between liberals and clerics. This meeting was followed by a broad propaganda campaign accusing the Provisional Government in Iran of being pro-Western. On November 4, 1979, university students seized the US embassy in Tehran, increasing pressure on the Provisional Government and forcing it to resign on November 6 (22, 2016, 232) in such circumstances, a new constitution, legally establishing the norms, values, and principles of the Islamic religion and the political and ideological authority of the clergy, was adopted on December 3, 1979.

Reflection of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran in the Constitution

The preamble to the newly adopted Basic Law (Constitution) of the Islamic Republic of Iran states that the victory of the revolution in Iran "succeeded in destroying all imperialist foundations, relations, and calculations, and this was, in a way, the beginning of a new chapter, a new era in the broad revolutionary movements of the peoples of the world." (22, 16). It is added that the revolution "defeated internal tyranny and the foreign domination that relied on it." (22, 10). The preamble further calls the Iranian revolution as a whole "a movement for the victory of the weak over the arrogant and powerful" and states that "The Basic Law... prepares the ground for ensuring the continuation of this revolution at home and abroad. In particular, Iran seeks to create opportunities for the organization of a single ummah in the world by expanding its relations with other Islamic and popular movements at the international level, and intends to continue the struggle for the salvation of peoples suffering from deprivation and oppression throughout the world." (23, 11-12).

The ideologists of the new regime believed that the establishment of an Islamic state in Iran would be the realization of the government of the "Mustazafs" (used to mean the weak, the oppressed - ST) (22, 13). They consider it necessary to restructure the system of international relations and assign a special role to the IRI in this matter. The preamble states that the task of the Iranian army and the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps is to "carry out not only the protection and defense of borders, but also the jihad in the way of God, the struggle in the way of God, and the struggle for the expansion of the rule of God's law in the world." (23, 15) Finally, the preamble

to the Constitution states: "We hope that the establishment of an exemplary Islamic society that can serve as a benchmark and witness for all the peoples of the world will be successful. (23, 17)"

Thus, the Basic Law of Iran reflects a comprehensive view of the world and the global mission entrusted to the country. It is no coincidence that in the section of the constitution "Amendments, Changes and Additions to the Basic Law adopted in 1368 (1989-ST)", Imam Khomeini is called "the great leader of the world Islamic revolution. (23, 19)"

The main directions and content of the foreign policy course are directly reflected in the text of the Basic Law. In paragraph 16 of the third article: "The regulation of the country's foreign policy on the basis of Islamic criteria, the obligation of brotherhood towards all Muslims and the unstinting protection of the world's refugees" (23, 14) is listed as a strategic task. According to the law, foreign policy also includes "the complete elimination of exploitation and the prevention of foreign influence in the country," and "self-sufficiency in science, industry, and agriculture" (22, 23) should help create favorable conditions for achieving this. The main principles and directions of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran are defined in more detail in Article 11. It is emphasized here that, according to the ruling of the Holy Quran, "all Muslims are one nation and the Islamic Republic of Iran is obliged to base its general policy on the unity, unity and solidarity of the Islamic peoples and to make consistent efforts to realize political, economic and cultural unity in the Islamic world. (23, 27)"

The main principle of the new regime's foreign policy is to proceed from the solidarity of Islamic peoples and their common interests, and its main task is to unite Muslims in a single state (political unity). Thus, according to the new foreign policy concept of the Islamic Republic of Iran, the socio-political structure of humanity is not composed of three main components - arrogant, rebellious and oppressed peoples, but of a fourth component - independent Muslims. In fact, this reflects the new regime's tendency to combine socio-political solidarity with socio-religious solidarity. However, it is not clear how the goal of creating unity of Muslims with the intention of organizing a single world *Ummah* can be reconciled, although the first goal may be global, strategic, and the second goal may be regional, tactical. According to the ideas of the ideologists of the new regime, rebellious peoples, condemned peoples and Muslims are located at the same pole and need the protection of the IRI. In this regard, the IRI was demonstrating its claim to act as the main rival of the USSR. Thus, the USSR also based its foreign policy on the slogan "Proletarians of the world, unite!"

The new regime paid special attention to ensuring Iran's independence in the system of international relations and determined the legal basis of foreign policy in this regard. Article 43, paragraph 8 of the Basic Law specifically emphasizes the task of "preventing foreign economic domination in the country's economy", and paragraph 9 specifically emphasizes the task of

"providing the country with its own resources and saving it from dependence" (23, 14). Article 81 partially outlines the method of fulfilling this duty. It states: "It is strictly prohibited to grant privileges to foreigners to establish companies and enterprises in trade, industry, agriculture, culture and services." (23, 52) According to Article 82, foreign specialists may be hired in necessary cases and only with the approval of parliament (23, 52). Article 145 states: "No foreign citizen may be admitted to the army or internal forces of the country," and Article 146 prohibits the establishment of a foreign military base in the country under any name. (23, 78)

Taking into account the experience of the distant and recent past, the new regime understood the concept of independence in an absolute sense, as minimizing relations at all levels, especially preventing any kind of activity of foreigners in Iran. However, independence does not consist of preventing the activity of others in the country, but rather of further expanding relations while maintaining their free establishment and control.

Although many articles of the Basic Law reflect the main principles, directions, and methods of achieving goals of foreign policy to one degree or another, its Chapter XIII, which covers Articles 152-155, is called "Foreign Policy". That is, the goals, tasks, and methods of foreign policy are explained concisely and specifically. In that chapter, the generally accepted principles of foreign policy, including the protection of the country's independence and territorial integrity (Article 152), (23, 58) along with non-interference in the internal affairs of other nations (Art. 154), (22, 80) principles are mentioned. In addition, the same chapter states the necessity of not accepting the hegemony of others, not seeking hegemony itself, not joining blocs and establishing mutually peaceful relations with non-militarist states (Article 152), and the prohibition of concluding agreements that ensure the domination of foreigners in all areas of Iranian public life (Article 153), (22, 80). It speaks of the highest goal of human happiness, the right to freedom and just government being the right of all peoples (Article 154), and once again emphasizes the need to protect the rights of Muslims (Article 153) and to support the just struggle of the oppressed against the oppressors in every part of the world (Article 154), (22, 78).

Based on the analysis of the Basic Law of the Republic of Iran, foreign policy issues can be grouped as follows:

- I. Principles of the system of international relations;
 - 1) Protection of independence, national security and territorial integrity;
 - 2) Non-interference in the internal affairs of other states;
- II. Iran's priorities in the system of international relations;
 - 1) Not joining blocks;
 - 2) Establish mutually peaceful relations with non-militaristic states;

- 3) Not tending towards hegemony;
- 4) Not accepting the hegemony of others;
- 5) The right of man to be happy;
- 6) The right of all peoples to establish free and just government;

III. Protection of national sovereignty;

- 1) Foreigners should not operate in Iran in economic, cultural, etc. fields;
- 2) Foreigners should not serve in the army and internal troops;
- 3) No establishment of foreign military bases;

IV. Religious and socio-political solidarity;

- 1) Defending the struggle of the Mustazifis;
- 2) Protecting the rights of Muslims;

V. Global and regional mission;

- 1) The organization of a unified world community;
- 2) The organization of a unified Islamic community;
- 3) Achieving economic, cultural and political unity of Islamic peoples;

As can be seen, the foreign policy principles enshrined in Iran's Basic Law differ fundamentally from the foreign policy principles of modern, democratic countries, with the exception of a few provisions.

A simple comparison clearly shows that Iran's foreign policy principles do not reflect many international principles. The differences are also evident, for example, when compared with the principles outlined in the foreign policy concept of the Russian Federation [6, 32-48].

It is also difficult to determine the connection between the principles of foreign policy of Iran reflected in the Basic Law and the principles of Islam. Thus, in Muslim jurisprudence, states are divided into three parts: *dar-ul-islam*, *dar-ul-ahd*, and *dar-ul-harb*. In *dar-ul-islam*, "legality is carried out entirely on the basis of Sharia," and countries acquired through peace and war constitute *dar-ul-ahd*. *Dar-ul-harb* is considered to be those countries that do not conclude agreements with *dar-ul-islam* countries to regulate the rights of Muslims in their territory. If *dar-ul-harb* countries kept the territories where Islam was spread in danger, then a state of war would always arise with them (8, 1994, 52). Therefore, Islamic principles should form the basis of foreign policy directed specifically at Islamic countries, not at the foreign policy directed at the countries of the world in general. The implementation of a foreign policy based on one principle towards Islamic states and Muslims, and on another towards other states and peoples, shows that this policy is no longer based on unified principles, but is internally contradictory.

Since the IRI does not have sufficient foreign policy resources to ensure the main directions of the new foreign policy course announced, it can be emphasized that this policy is primarily aimed at protecting the interests arising from the nature of the new regime.

Although the Islamic Republic of Iran has actively attempted to implement a policy of global isolation and regional, especially Middle Eastern, protection of the rights of Muslims, creation of their cultural, political, and economic unity, and continuation of the revolution at home and abroad, since its inception, it has failed. Thus, although the war with Iraq created favorable conditions for implementing the policy of "exporting the Islamic revolution", it was not possible to establish a second Islamic regime, and this policy led to the growth and strengthening of discontent both globally, regionally, and even within Iran.

Since the Shia-Sunni conflict during the war years took on a more Iranian (Persian)-Arab character and was supported by widespread propaganda, Persian nationalist ideas and symbols were revived in cultural and ideological activities within the country (13, 274), the idea that the ruling regime was the representative of all Iranian Muslims began to be replaced by the idea that it was the representative of the Persian nation. This was clearly manifested in the attention paid by the Iranian regime to the promotion of the Persian language, culture, and literature in its foreign cultural activities, and in its policy towards Tajikistan. The new religious regime proceeded from the principle of ethno-cultural proximity, not from the principle of Islamic solidarity, towards Tajikistan, which had gained independence (5, 274). In other words, a new element has emerged in Iran's foreign policy concept - the element of Persian national interests.

The end of the war with Iraq, the social problems caused by the domestic policy implemented during the war, and the need to eliminate the devastation caused by the war required a change in domestic policy within the framework of the existing political system. The required changes also required a fundamental change in the foreign policy course. Thus, the first stage of Iran's foreign policy activity (1979-1989) came to an end. The positions of researchers on the characteristics of that stage are contradictory. Some of them divide the first stage into semi-stages, covering the years 1979-1981 and characterized by efforts to establish cordial relations with the West, including the United States, while others divide the first stage into semi-stages covering the years 1981-1984, characterized by isolation, confrontation, and a return to pragmatism that began in 1984 (5, 174-175).

In fact, the policy of isolating Iran began after the seizure of the US embassy, when this country declared an embargo against Iran in early 1980, and the European Union countries, as well as Japan, Australia, and Canada, joined the embargo (2.05.1980), and ended with the release of the hostages in early 1981. In August 1984, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Islamic

Republic of Iran, A. Velayati, while characterizing that policy, noted that the policy of self-isolation was "implemented at the very beginning of the revolution.(15, 14.08)"

In 1979-1981, the consolidation and stabilization of the new regime was completed, and therefore it was possible to restore and expand relations with other countries, and there was no longer any need for self-isolation. Although Iran did not have direct political relations with the United States in 1981-1984, it had extensive economic and trade relations with all developed countries, including the United States.

Another author divides the first phase of Iran's foreign policy into two and a half phases. The main feature of the first half phase (1979-1984) was its focus on the realization of Islamic ideals and values in accordance with Islamic norms and principles. The main feature of the second half phase (1984-1988) was the emphasis on the protection of state interests, along with the emphasis on the protection of Islamic ideals .[1, 4, 1378, p. 104].

Soviet researchers generally assessed Iran's foreign policy in 1979-1988 as follows: "Iran's foreign policy was characterized by obvious pragmatism, a deep gap between declared principles and their implementation, extreme inconsistency in establishing economic and political relations with various states, and the strengthening or weakening of anti-American and anti-Soviet statements domestically and in the international arena, depending on the political situation. (8, 415-416)"

Considering the various positions we explained earlier, we can say that in 1979-1989, Iran first pursued a policy of self-isolation to establish an Islamic state, then an offensive stance to prevent external influence and pressure, "exporting the Islamic revolution," and at the same time, based on the demands of the war situation, it pursued a policy of restoring and expanding political and, first of all, economic relations with all countries.

The inconclusive end of the war with Iraq required a rethinking of domestic and foreign policy. This direction was reflected in the relations established with the former Soviet republics during the presidency of Hashemi Rafsanjani (1989-1997), (24, 104).

Since 1989, constructive and economic reforms have been implemented in Iran. This course also required a change in foreign policy. From that time on, national interests and pragmatism began to come to the fore in Iran's foreign policy, and accordingly, the concept of foreign policy was transformed.

The ruling elite of Iran, convinced that there was no real threat from abroad to the existence of the political system, the ruling ideology, and the supreme power of the clergy, decided to bring the country's foreign policy into an accepted international form. Thus, Iran began to look at international processes not from the perspective of struggle, but from the perspective of cooperation. Although Iran in practice abandoned its previous political course, it did not officially

declare this, since it continued its undesirable policy of confrontation with the United States and purposeful confrontation with Israel (21, 52).

Overall, the institutions and high-ranking officials who determined Iran's foreign policy course were no longer talking about the rights of Muslims and the struggle of the weak, but about the need for comprehensive cooperation between all states, including regional and Muslim states, the importance of compliance with international law, respect for human rights, disarmament, the fight against international terrorism, and the close connection between national security and regional and international security.²In response to a question from a correspondent of the Novoe Vremya magazine, President of the Islamic Republic of Iran H. Rafsanjani noted about the country's foreign policy course that Iran seeks to see neighboring states as friends and to establish healthy and friendly relations with other countries. He added that we cannot establish any relations with only a few countries (Israel and South Africa) because illegal regimes are in power in those countries (4).

In other words, the IRI has, in a way, revised its foreign policy in response to the changes occurring in the system of international relations, giving greater priority to its national interests and pragmatism (11, 45).

Iran's foreign policy concept, expressed in the form of a system of generally accepted concepts, categories and ideas, allowed it to conceal its true strategic goals. In other words, the Islamic Republic of Iran approached the system of international relations, its interests, with internationally accepted criteria and spoke in a language that everyone understood. Iran's new foreign policy course manifested itself more clearly in relations with the newly independent states that emerged after the collapse of the USSR. Although later than some states, the IRI began to recognize the independence of these states and pursue a policy of establishing broad cooperation with them and supporting their sovereignty. However, the US pressure on Iran and its policy of isolating it, the unresolved problem in the Iranian Gulf (the dispute with the UAE over three islands), and its anti-Israeli stance prevented relations from returning to normal in all directions.

The foreign policy of the Republic of Iran on the period of presidency of Muhammad Khatami

One of the main tasks of Iran's new foreign policy in the economic sphere was to create conditions for economic institutions and businessmen to operate abroad. This task was successfully implemented and continued at a higher level with the coming to power of the so-

²Positions of the Islamic Republic of Iran in external politics, global positions, principles and external politics

called reformist forces starting from 1997. The reformists considered it necessary to proceed from the principle of the existence of pluralism in the political, cultural, etc. spheres in the world in establishing foreign relations, and refused to create an image of the enemy and inflammatory slogans. The "reformist" President S.M. Khatami declared a course of political and cultural reforms in the country, and in the field of foreign policy, the weakening of tensions, the abandonment of the export of revolution, the dialogue of cultures, and the establishment of closer relations with the Muslim countries of the region as priority direction (11, 45) and took important steps in that direction during his presidency (1997-2005). The new political course required reckoning with international reality in order to eliminate accumulated misunderstandings from the past, all kinds of international disputes and disagreements, and ensure its own security.

When President S.M. Khatami said de-escalation, he meant ensuring Iran's security, strengthening, development, affirmation, and national interests. In his opinion, de-escalation is not about turning a blind eye to the threats that threaten the country, but about defining the boundaries of friendship and hostility, strengthening friendship, common ground, and vigilance in the face of danger. This policy was supposed to help Iran take its true place in the region and the world. In other words, the main task of foreign policy in any field and at any level is to ensure national interests (19, 52-57). M. Khatami made official visits to a number of regional and European countries, demonstrating Iran's willingness to pursue a civilized foreign policy and making serious efforts to change the international image of the Islamic Republic as a whole. The confrontation with the United States was somewhat softened, and certain initiatives were taken to normalize relations (18, 32-34).

Since the beginning of the 21st century, conservatives have once again begun to pursue a policy of consolidating their power. This change in foreign policy has manifested itself in the form of an intensification of confrontation with the United States and Israel. Since the well-known events of September 11, 2001³Then, the US policy of putting more pressure on Iran by classifying it as a state sponsor of terrorism had a significant impact on changing the course of domestic politics in Iran, strengthening the positions of conservatives, and increasing the tendency to conflict. This means that Iran's foreign policy is determined not only by state and national interests, but also by the interests of the clergy and the ruling regime. Thus, the country's foreign policy also operates in the direction of preserving the power of the clergy and the ruling regime.

³September 11 terrorist attacks —Al-Qaeda by a terrorist organization2001On September 11, USA of New York and Washington A series of terrorist attacks against targets in the cities of. As a result of these events, about 3 thousand ordinary citizens died and more than 6 thousand people were injured. The aforementioned events led to the US's failure to combat international terrorism - first Afghanistan, and then Iraq. It became a pretext for launching military operations against and conducting intensive anti-Islam propaganda around the world.

The second phase of Iran's foreign policy covers the years 1989-2005. The main aspect of the first half of this phase, covering the years 1989-1997, is considered to be economic orientation, while the main aspect of the second half, covering the years 1997-2005, is considered to be political orientation.⁴ Thus, in the first half-stage, foreign policy was aimed at expanding economic cooperation, and in the second half-stage, at expanding political cooperation. Although Iran preferred to expand economic cooperation, it tried to approach all global and regional issues in accordance with international principles. However, since no fundamental changes occurred in Iran's political system during this period, the foreign policy course in both half-stages was subject to changes, inconsistency, and instability under the influence of political disputes between the groups within the government within the country. The US's insistence on changing the ruling regime in Iran has recently led to the foreign policy taking a defensive position, while at the same time demonstrating a certain aggressiveness, expanding relations with countries that do not join the blocs, supporting extremist Islamist forces, and even activating the idea of "exporting the Islamic revolution". The foreign policy course of the Islamic Republic of Iran is determined by ensuring its security, the ongoing confrontation with the US at the global level, and at the same time regional competition. The US's designation of Iran as a state sponsor of terrorism, its efforts to change the leadership in this country, and its military intervention in Iraq in 2003 showed that the threat from here was very serious.⁵

During this period, Iran is trying to implement a policy of strengthening its security more rapidly. Iran considered Muslim countries, which it called "incorrect", as rivals, and the US and NATO countries as "fearful rivals". Iran considers the Turkish and Kurdish issues, as well as cooperation with members of the "Iranian Gulf Cooperation Organization" such as the US, England and France, as a source of long-term threat to itself. At the same time, the Iranian state considers the arming of Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, and the US penetration into Central Asia as a threat to itself. The strengthening of the US positions in the South Caucasus and the expansion of cooperation with NATO here are among the main factors that concern Iran (7, 3020, 38-40).

In order to insure itself against global and regional threats, Iran is trying to closely participate in the Russia-India-Russia-China cooperation and to create an Armenia-Greece bloc. Iran's foreign policy is influenced not only by potential and real external threats, but also by internal threats. Thus, the dominant Persian nationalist ideology, which was gradually restored and strengthened during the war with Iraq, the strengthening of national movements of national minorities towards the end of the 20th century, the tension of Muslim ethno-national relations

⁴Positions of the Islamic Republic of Iran in foreign politics, world positions, principles and positions of foreign politics, journal of foreign politics, 1375, summer, number 2 p.612-631.

⁵Sajjadpour Seyyed Mohammad Kazem, The political behavior of America relative to Iran's relations with the countries of the Caspian Basin. Number 21p.79.

within the framework of the theocratic regime, the national issue being resolved in accordance with democratic principles and a federal republic. The emergence of a demand for a solution based on the form of a "peaceful" solution is considered a threat to the existence of the current regime, and even to the existence of Iran as a state. Iran's foreign policy also fulfills the task of preventing certain forces from using this factor, because now the external and internal threats complement each other.

Taking all this into account, the Iranian government has significantly intensified its foreign policy activity, trying to maintain friendly relations with all states, especially its neighbors, to get closer to Europe, to "gain new positions" in the Caucasus and Central Asia, and to participate in global and regional confrontations."

Iran's nuclear weapons production since 2005⁶ efforts, as a result, have led to the strengthening of relations with a number of leading countries of the world (Russian Federation, People's Republic of China) and cooling and tension with a number of influential countries (USA, England, Israel), in connection with which national security has become an urgent problem in the international community, a serious threat to the existence of the current regime in Iran has arisen, and in connection with this, foreign policy priorities have changed again. Thus, Iran pays special attention to maintaining and strengthening its existing relations in the region and to realizing political cooperation with countries that do not join global blocs, especially those with an anti-US orientation. Also, exploiting conflicts between great powers in his work is trying to compensate for its failure. As is known, Iran's potential "allies" considered Russia, China and also The European Union voted unanimously on December 23, 2006, for UN Security Council economic sanctions against Iran.^s Thus, Iran faced almost all the leading countries in pursuing its interests and again fell into a state of economic, technological and political isolation. Therefore, the current task of Iran's foreign policy is mainly It consists of creating conditions for eliminating the existing problem.

The main direction of Iran's foreign policy remains unchanged: great statehood and hegemony, defending Islamic revolutionary movements in individual countries, (6, 177) to protect the independence, territorial integrity, and national security of the state within the framework of national interests. Iran's foreign policy generally serves to protect the country's national interests. In addition, the foreign policy of the IRI also includes the protection of the supreme authority of the clergy and the dominant position of the Persian nation. These tasks in

⁶ Iran's nuclear program includes uranium enrichment, electricity generation, and research at several facilities. Some of these facilities are operating under international inspectors' supervision, while others are still under construction. Iran's main nuclear facilities are: the Natanz uranium enrichment plant, the Fordo uranium enrichment plant near the Iranian city of Qom, the Bushehr nuclear power plant, a research reactor in Tehran, the Isfahan Nuclear Technology Center, the Arak heavy water production reactor and plant, and the 360-megawatt Darkhov nuclear reactor.

Iran's foreign policy appear as conflicting sides in the concept of national interests, because they create obstacles to the movement of society towards democracy and liberalism. These contradictions, in turn, condition the contradictory and changeable course of foreign policy.⁷

In Iran, theocratic and republican elements have been reflected in the concept and practice of foreign policy, determining the dual and contradictory nature of the regime in all areas. Thus, the religious leader represents the ideological, religious and social branch of foreign policy, and the executive branch increasingly represents the secular branch. However, the fact that the decisive word belongs to the religious leader prevents the consistent implementation of foreign policy on the basis of international principles and is accompanied by certain setbacks and deviations. At the same time, the division of the ruling political elite into various groups (traditional, modern, right, left, etc.) also has a significant impact on the course of Iran's foreign policy (15, 248). The control of the representatives of these forces over the executive or legislative branches of government, or both, leads to a certain, albeit not fundamental, change in domestic and foreign policy priorities. As noted, all this leads to a contradictory nature of the foreign policy course. However, the goals and directions of foreign policy - the protection of the regime, the provision of the Persian nation and, finally, national interests - remain unchanged for now.

The main feature and essence of Iran's foreign policy is its independence, which is determined by the nature of the regime.⁸The Islamic Republic of Iran, which is trying to create a new system of relations in the region and achieve the status of a hegemonic state here, has so far been forced to pursue an independent foreign policy. Its policy of finding new allies is currently an obstacle to pursuing an independent policy.yesIran, which claims to oppose the United States, has not been influenced by any of the emerging poles, preferring to use traditional methods and their contradictions.

Conclusion

Thus, the foreign policy concept reflected in the Basic Law of the Islamic Republic of Iran, the main directions and goals of foreign policy based on that concept have not undergone fundamental changes. The main task of Iran's foreign policy, as in all countries, is to ensure national interests - national security, peace and stability in the world and the region, and mutual cooperation with all countries. The nature and essence of the political system and regime, as well as the nature of national relations in the country, have set the task of preserving the existing

⁷Conversation about the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran in Central Asia, the textbook of Central Asia and the Caucasus, number 13, 1996, p.307

⁸Studies of Central Asia and the Caucasus, Bahar, magazine, report, seminar, Studies of foreign security and politics in Central Asia and the Caucasus, 1375 (1996), p. 33

political system and political regime in the country, ensuring the ethno-national interests of the ruling Persian nation before foreign policy. IRI foreign policy, as in other countries, has also served and continues to serve unannounced strategic goals - the goal of becoming the dominant power in the region and the Islamic world. These goals and tasks determine the main directions of IRI foreign policy - resistance to the US and Israel, while maintaining close cooperation with all countries of the world, including Islamic and third world countries and countries of the region, close ties with Persian-speaking countries, etc.

However, it should be noted that depending on the current complex system of international relations and the contradictory processes taking place in it, as well as the internal political situation in Iran, sometimes one of these directions becomes more relevant, leading to inconsistency and internal contradictions in foreign policy as a whole.

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