



Analysis of Ahmadinejad Government's Foreign Policy According to the Critical Theory of International Relations

Mohammad Ali Tavana^{*1}, Tooraj Rahmani², Hamed Eslami³

¹ Yazd University

² Political Science PNU

³ Yazd University

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Abstract:

The goal of this article is the analysis of Ahmadinejad government's foreign policy according to the critical theory of international relations. Whether it seems foreign policy of Mahmood Ahmadinejad, government is different from his before and after governments. Perhaps it could be provided more detailed and objective analysis from foreign policy of Islamic Republic of Iran during Ahmadinejad government, according to the critical theory of international relations. Accordingly, the main question of the article is: How can analyze foreign policy of Ahmadinejad, according to the critical theory of international relations. It is assumed the critical theory of international relations has the ability and feature for foreign policy of Ahmadinejad. It seems that foreign policy of Ahmadinejad government criticized unjust and hegemonic structure of international system. Therefore it can be said, in negative form (what should not be), foreign policy of Ahmadinejad government is so matched with critical theory of international relations. In contrast, the critical theory wants to rebuild international system based on modern rationality, but it seems the goal of Ahmadinejad government is rebuilding international system based on the interests of developing countries in general and Islamic countries especially Shia in particular. This article is cross-sectional, that is done for "adaption of theory with case" and "test of theory with case".

Keywords: foreign policy, Islamic republic of Iran, Ahmadinejad government, critical theory of international relations, justice, hegemony.

Introduction

Mahmood Ahmadinejad was chosen as the president of the executive after the ninth presidential elections of Iran(1384), and fundamentalism justice discourse was ruled on the foreign policy of Islamic Republic

(Dehghani Firoozabadi, 1389). The notable characteristics of the discourse are:

To undermine international norms, to challenge great power politics, extension of justice and idealism in international relations and the need to interact to people and move-

* Corresponding Author : Tavana_m@yazd.ac.ir

ments of justice (Dehshiri, 1385:30).

Conquer and rule of fundamentalism justice discourse were followed practical consequences, real and observable behavior. Adoption and follow-up of breaker foundation strategy against international order and system, politics of looking to the East, Latin America-oriented, use symbolism, movement of Non-Alignment, support of liberation movements especially Palestinians, are the samples of changing orientation of foreign policy of Islamic Republic during the rule of ninth government.(Dehghani Firoozabadi, 1386: 93-94). It seems that foreign policy of Ahmadinejad government is different from his before and after government. Therefore, it should be equipped to an appropriate theoretical framework for the analysis of foreign policy of that government. Perhaps it could be provided more detailed and objective analysis from foreign policy of Islamic Republic of Iran during Ahmadinejad government according to the critical theory of international relations. Because this theory is done, internal criticism of political structures and denoted its internal strengths and weaknesses. Therefore, the main question of the article is: How can analyze foreign policy of Ahmadinejad, according to the critical theory of international relations. It is assumed the critical theory of international relations has the ability and feature for foreign policy of Ahmadinejad. It seems that foreign policy of Ahmadinejad government criticized unjust and hegemonic structure of international system. Therefore it can be said, in negative form (what should not be), foreign policy of Ahmadinejad government is so matched with critical theory of international relations. In contrast, the critical theory wants to rebuild international system based on modern ration-

ality, but it seems the goal of Ahmadinejad government is rebuilding international system based on the interests of developing countries in general and Islamic countries especially Shia in particular.

Theoretical framework: critical theory of international relations

Critical theory was developed in Germany along the particular era of complex intellectual activity (Rush, 2006:6). In 1980s, critical vision was considered in international relations. Critical theory in particular meaning, was effected from Frankfort's school and philosophy elections of thinkers such as, Adorno, Horkheimer, Markoza and Habermas and also the individuals like Gramsci, former leader of communist party of Italy is as one of the left and important approaches of rethinking current of international relations (Lapid,1989). Yet theoreticians like Robert kaks, Andro Linklater, Richard Eshly and Mark Hoffman used that as the analysis and specification of international politics (Linklater, 1992: 21).

There are at least two considerations from critical theory: the first general meaning and second particular meaning.

1.In general meaning, critical theory includes a range of critical viewpoints in international relations such as Postmodernism, Post-Structuralism, Feminism, Marxism,Neo-Marxism, World-system theory, Frankfort's school and Constructivism. In this sense, critical theory is interdisciplinary effort that combines philosophy, politics, international relations, history, psychology,... to provide a view point of world politics that their main goal is to show conversion and replacement against realistic vision of international relations(Smit,2002: 70).

2. In particular meaning, critical theory includes viewpoints inspired of critical Frankfurt's school and Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno's discussions and perhaps more than everyone, Jorgen Habermas's thinking is in criticism of modernity and enlightenment especially in its knowledge-cultural manifestations or the effort for redirecting modernization towards its forgotten aspects that in those viewpoints like Robert Cox (who entered critical theory into the international relations for the first time) and Richard Eshly (who tended to critical school in his early work in 1980s) and Mark Hoffman (who hoped in the second half of 1980s that critical theory could be imagined a position with among paradigm's debate for it, has been have future of international relations) was reflected in international relations. On the other hand, it is inspired of some ideas of thinkers like Antonio Gramsci and his discussion in hegemony, historical block, civil society, passive revolution, the role of intellectuals,...that can be seen its symbols in Kaks , Estefan Gill and other's writings (Brecher and Harvey,2002: 6).

There is considered particular meaning in critical theory. The theory was a reaction to domination of Neo-Realistic and Neo-Liberalism's viewpoints in international relations (based on the project of enlightenment and rationalism). This approach considered inefficient progressive ideas of nineteenth and twentieth centuries

With referring to the crisis of modernity, and believed the ideas against its primary ideals have been brought a new form of slaveholding as Nazism and Stalinism (Habermas,1989).

The discussions and impressions which were entered critical theorists explicitly to them are follows: trans theoretical discussion (Epistemological and Ontological), criticism

of the main course in international relations, alternative explanations of international relations and the possibility of transformation of system and international relations(Gill, 1993: 22).

Transtheoretical issues are one of the main consideration in critical theory. Attending to the epistemological and ontological issues was related to the considerable subject of critical theorists (it means transformation in international relations), in spite that many writers of the main course of international relations were criticized them. Therefore, it was considered as an integral part of its theoretical schema. Ontological in international relations theories that was in fact exploration or gathering place, refers to the fundamental assumptions in the essence of international politics. The goal of ontological is existence and being. In fact , everything in the world are supposed real, even if the issues can't suppose or hasn't have outer or material symbols (Gill,1993: 23).

Against the main course (Realistic, Neo-realistic, scientism, and in general what is known as the rational course in international relations) that is concerned order and stability, critical theorists not only want to show the variability of the present situation, but also show the consequence of its injustice. Critical theory tries to accommodate all helping factors to the change and diversity in its studies range (Rupert, 1995: 26).

Changing the regulatory and shaping norms of international system is one of the important goals of critical studies, so that the governments stop their thinking and acting based on the realism patterns. So, the critical theory's partials want a system that established injustice and attended to the marginalized. In general the most important concepts and assumptions of critical theory of international relations are : the possibility of trans-

formation in international system, the criticism of the main course in international relations, hegemonic international criticism, liberation and transformation, the article based on these assumptions is doing the analysis of foreign politics principles of Ahmadinejad government.

The most important foreign politics principles of Ahmadinejad government

Foreign politics is one of the main issues of two majors of politics and international relations. Because the governments are considered as the most important actors of international system, their foreign politics begins with wills, ideas, demands and goals. The governments adopt a multiple set of policies, measures, tools and strategies for achieving to its goals that are defined outside of national boundaries, and it is known as the foreign politics. Nowadays, dynamic and active foreign policy considered as one of the vital factors for entering an independent political unit into the path of growth and development in economic, security, and politics' aspects. If policy makers and decision-makers can not present correct and rational assessment from developments and conditions of international system; they could faced with problems and crisis and finally with isolation in international system. Meaning of principles is criteria and standards that is also guide and basis of executives and decision-makers action.

Mahmood Ahmadinejad tries to express certain principles in foreign policy with its revolutionary idealism discourse from the first with undervaluation of foreign powers; some domestic analysts believed that principles were not according to the views of the founder of the revolution (Dolatabadi and Shafiee, 1393: 258-259). Mahmood Ahmad-

inejad focused more internal political discussion and economic situation of the country than foreign policy in his political campaign. After coming to power, he speaks about the needs of aggressive policy toward the west, by questioning the structure and nature of international system. He tries to change tactically Iran's position from an accused country to a complainant by highlighting the weaknesses and failures of foreign policy of the west country (Azghandi, 1391:141)

The principles of foreign policy in Ahmadinejad government have been described below:

Revival and needs of justice in international relations

Ahmadinejad announced justice as his main motto and program's axis. Justice affirms not only to the fundamentalist discourse in the domestic policy, but also is its center of gravity and focus of articulation and identification in foreign policy. Therefore, justice is the basis of the foreign policy of Ahmadinejad government in the international area (Dehghani Firoozabadi, 1386:70). In a meeting of ambassadors and heads of delegation of Islamic Republic in abroad on the second of August 1386, He explicitly mentioned justice as one of the triple foundations and principles that all of the foreign policy's column and diplomatic model of Islamic Republic should be designed and implemented according to them and will be available to the international community (Ahmadinejad, 1385:1-2).

Emphasizing the values and ideals of the Islamic Revolution in the international arena (fundamentalism)

The most important foreign policy index of Ahmadinejad government is fundamentalism,

it means, a return to basics, values, and ideals of Islamic revolution in international arena. The nine conservative governments believed the discourses of building governments and reforms have a distance from primary basics, values, and ideals of Islamic revolution. Therefore, Ahmadinejad puts redefined and re emphasized primary ideals of Islamic revolution as the departure point of his government. Mahmood Ahmadinejad whether as the presidential candidate or in the presidency has emphasized that in domestic and foreign policy wants to revive the first basics, values, and ideals of revolution, that justice in its head.

Revisionism in the international system (disturbing the existing international order)

Doubtless, what the discourse of this period (fundamentalism) distinguishes from other Islamism sub discourse is the meaning and position of international order and system. From the perspective of fundamentalist discourse, international order and system is completely injustice, illegal and undesirable. This international system is the concrete symbol and aspect of injustice, inequality, discrimination and applying domination (Dehghani Firoozabadi, 1392:237). One of the most important programs and goals of foreign policy of Ahmadinejad government is description and explanation of position and injustice order and the system of world domination. Ahmadinejad spends most of his energy and diplomatic power to describe and analyze the undesirable international reality; so, the main axis and the focal theme of his speech in sixty-first session of the UN General Assembly in September of 1385, is description of undesirable situation 's injustice international system and the relations based on force, oppression, and discrimination.

Criticism to international organization and the need for reforms in the organizations

With the rise of ninth and tenth governments, significant changes took place in foreign policy of Iran Islamic Republic. However, some principles like attention to independence and observance of esteem, interest and wisdom were on the agenda. Legitimation, acceptability, and the performance of some institution and regional and international assemblies such as the World Bank and IMF, again had been asked because of its performance and dependence of the capitalism. UN, especially Security Council was criticized more than before, and the need for its restricting, reforms of decision's methods, has justice orientation were emphasized. The international institutions was introduced as the unreliable and inadequate mechanisms for developing countries that can't achieved to progress with use of them (Mosafa and AminMansoor, 1392:30).

Anti-domination or arrogance

One of the most important behavioral principles of foreign policy of Iran Islamic Republic was anti domination or arrogance over the past three decades. Accordingly, Ahmadinejad government was dominated anti domination or arrogance as one of his priorities and objectives of foreign policy. According to the ninth authorities, the roots of the European countries and USA approach is their ethics and aggressive behavior. Therefore, the decision makers of the ninth government put in their agenda "fighting with unipolar system and global domination system of empire" and deal with global domination system tricks as its result, expand or at least maintain of relations level with European countries and America can't be proportional with the normative anti-domination requirements of

the ninth government. So redefinition and balance of relations with the West was in the ninth government's agenda (Noori, 1389:30).

The policy of looking to the east

The policy of looking to the East and spread of Iran's relations with Asian countries is one of the most important problems that considered in relation to foreign policy of Iran after the rise of the ninth government. In fact, lack of access to efficiency of Iran's relations with the western countries caused to attend the spread of relations with East (Shafiee and Sadeghi, 1389:314-315). The main basic of these principles was aligning economic and political interests of country by conformity of political friends and the economic contracts. West and America's threats about nuclear accelerate the formation of this approach. Ahmadinejad government wants economic in the service of political and security and accordingly, he tends to lessen the dependence of the country compared to the blocks that don't cooperate with Iran on political issues and in opposite, attending to Asia and the Eastern country that have more coordination with us, placed on the agenda (Sheikh Attar, 1385:13). In the approach of looking to the east of the ninth government, China had a unique position as one of the permanent members of the Security Council. The procedure of the economic relations of Iran with China has growth annual between 30 to 50 percent on average in recent years. So that the volume of the trade between Iran and China was about 23 billion dollars at the end of 2009 (Dehghani Firoozabadi and Noori, 1391:298).

Third world-ism

Third world-ism, is a kind of discourse and the international political meaning system

that has the nature of anti-colonial, anti-imperialism, and anti-hegemonic. After the victory of Islamic Revolution in 1357, the third world countries were attended as one of the policies of foreign policy of Iran Islamic Republic. However, due to some issues wasn't special attended to this case, but with the rise of Mahmood Ahmadinejad in presidential elections in 1384, and establishment of the ninth government and 20-years-old visions emphasis on playing the role of vanguard and maker in bilateral and multilateral relations, attending to relationship with third world countries especially African and Latin American countries were emphasized (Molana and Mohamadi, 1388:173-174).

The analysis of foreign policy of Ahmadinejad according to the critical theory assumption of international relations

Justice is a concept, which its authority is obvious among many philosophical school and various courses. Always justice was one of the basic classifications of the foreign policy in Iran Islamic Republic. Ahmadinejad government has emphasized justice in its foreign policy. Critical theorists of international relations have emphasized justice more than any other concepts. Since the concept of justice has been and is disputed, the difference of definition among critical theorists of international relations with Ahmadinejad definition and his government from this concept is not unexpected. However, it can be said, none have doubt against injustice in the current situation and the prevailing international order. Critical theory convinced that the current system is injustice in international arena, and wants to change status quo for establishment of the world justice. Many of critical theorists such as Robert Kaks believed that

any attempt to establishment of the sustainable global peace without adopting conditions for establishment of justice and removal of injustice will be useless, and sustainable peace depends on establishment of justice in the world (Javadi Arjmand and Haghgo, 1390:113).

According the evidenced, the ninth government attends carefully to justice in its foreign policy principles. For instance, Ahmadinejad said about importance and necessity of justice in international relations in general assembly of UNO in March of 1384: « Iran Islamic Republic wants peace and solace based on justice and idealism not only for Iranian people and Islamic people, but also for all of the people ». therefore, Ahmadinejad introduced the justice factor as the basic principle in international relations in his speech in UNO, he knew the point of reliance, hope and participation of governments, people and understanding and cooperation in order to achieve global peace as the justice in the ruling organization and expansion and deepening of international justice (Pishgahifard, & Zarei: 1389:89).

Generally, the need of justice in international relations repeats frequently not only in Ahmadinejad speech, but also in the positioning of the main officials of diplomacy. Manochehr Mottaki, minister of foreign affairs, introduced justice as the one of the two guiding principles of Iran's foreign policy. He restates: «the approach of justice is reflected in Iran's foreign policy» and is shaped to its behavior in international arena. As the result, « Islamic Republic of Iran interests to be guiding for the pursuit of international justice ». So, « foreign policy of the ninth government, are: strengthen dialogue based on justice, acceptance of right of countries in their role in creating a new and justice global system» (Mottaki, 1385/7/13).

The objective of supporting of Islamic Republic of Iran in during the presidency of Ahmadinejad from the oppressed as one of the aspects of justice in foreign policy is defense from the rights and ideals of Palestinian and the positions of anti-Zionist. However, the supporting of the oppressed especially Palestine was one of the sustainable ideals of Islamic Republic of Iran, but it seems the supports of Islamic Republic was greatly strengthen with the start of 22-days war that was with the aim of destroying Hamas or at least destroying of its military. Therefore, that Gaze became the first priority of country's diplomacy. In this regard, foreign policy organized political and diplomatic efforts for the description of Zionist regime's crimes in Gaze with the aim of prosecute of Israeli officials in international courts and Human Rights Council of UNO and had a strong presence in the final resolution of the council. Iran can also persuade Venezuela one of its allies in Latin America in keeping with policies of Islamic Republic, therefore, this country supported Hamas and expelled Israel's ambassador and cut its relations with that country (Sanei, 1388: 265).

The criticism of the situation and the possibility of changing in international system by Ahmadinejad government

One of the principles of critical theory is the criticism of the political economic situation, get rid of it and tracing of favorable future for the world that justice and equality replace discrimination, violence and equality. It seems such a view govern to foreign policy of Ahmadinejad government. Then he wants to change the situation that is known the symbol of injustice and exploitation. It seems Ahmadinejad government like critical theorists believed; violence structural governs to relations of international system, and this

situation arises from the hegemonic nature of relations between the units. Hence, the belief of the injustice and unfair situation, the effort for changing and finishing to this situation are from the most important similar point between the aims of foreign policy of Ahmadinejad government with critical theory of international relations.

One of the assumptions of critical theory is the possibility of changing in international system. International theorists that speak about the possibility of changing in international system usually set this situation only as the issue of non-evaluate. But critical theory wants to explain developments. In general, what the critical theorists attend to them in the international development facilities includes: back to normative ethics in international relations, reduction of global inequalities, establishment of international justice, respect for diversity, plurality and difference (Javadi Arjmand, & Haghgo: 1390:107-108). The referring content suggests that critical theory in the field of international relations calls for changing in international system and the order. This suggests that these theorists criticize the situation for freedom from domination and control structures that caused discrimination and inequality.

It seems that one of the aims of foreign policy of Ahmadinejad government were description, determine condition and injustice order and domination global system (Dehghani Firoozabadi, 1392:237). Ahmadinejad spends most of his energy and diplomatic power for description and analysis of adverse international fact. For example the main axis and focal theme of his speech in the sixty-first session of the UN General Assembly in September 1385, description of unfair situation of injustice international system and a relation-

ship of force, aggression, and discrimination (Ahmadinejad, 1385/6/29). In the twelfth summit of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, Mahmood Ahmadinejad states the order governing the world failed because of their innate injustice and inhuman features, and he expressed: « inefficiency and discrimination of the current world order has closed the position to the critical point and non-leaf conditions and has imposed unnecessary distractions to all of the people... the current world order failed because of their innate injustice and inhuman features and is at the end of the way... ».

Ahmadinejad by raising this question that whether the continuing position and moving in the systematic framework that former colonizer and today Taliban deducted its principles can make our countries completely to their aim in the way of progress? He told, « All of us want to abdicate from the current order and design the new systems to achieve our goals; the systems which made based on justice and looked for lasting peace and prosperity for every one; didn't recognize the current exclusive management and provided public participation in global participation » (Ahmadinejad, 1391/3/18).

As is clear, foreign policy of Ahmadinejad government matches with the approach of international relations critical theory on the need and importance of change in the current international order and system. In fact, given that critical theorists known changes in international system requisite establish of fair conditions in the international relations arena, this implies that the theorists known the current system injustice discriminatory. As well, Ahmadinejad government emphasized the need of change in the system of international relations and replace of justice relations in the foreign policy.

Among the critical theorists, the view of Kaks about the change in the international system, is more revolutionary of others and wants to explore and unite opposition to the international structure. He believes that for achieving to this alteration, we can use internal contradictions of the current order for challenging it and achieve more equitable global order. In his opinion, social movements and anti-hegemonic forces are the best power for challenging political and institutional arrangements [R.K, & Moshirzadeh, 1394]. It seems with the presidency of Ahmadinejad and establish of extensive political, economic, commercial relations with Latin American countries, African and non-aligned movement and in general adoption of look east policy, this look placed in the foreign policy of Islamic Republic of Iran's agenda. This orientation as one of the principles of foreign policy of Ahmadinejad government matches with the view of Robert Kaks about the role of anti-hegemonic forces in alteration of the current international system.

Actually, one of the areas that considered in the event of redefined of ninth government foreign policy relations with the West, is Third World countries and south Developing which represented by non-aligned movement (Abdolrashidi, 1365:26). In general, the positions of Islamic Republic of Iran that expressed in the speeches of officials in the non-aligned movement summits, includes request for promoting the global role of movement in the international arena especially political and economic relations, trying to correct the trends of unilateral and discriminatory, attending to the high political capacities of movement as represent of the majority of global community and use of the capacity to settle international conflicts and development of peace and quietness, strengthening of the non-aligned movement via wider interac-

tion and upgrade and mediate members relations together and a general review in the goals and structures of security council of UN and realization of permanent membership with veto in the security council based on justice community (Ahmadinejad, 1385/6/24) are the part of process disturbing order. In the other words, Ahmadinejad government hoped to reform the global system and create the new global system based on justice and regards the rights of all nations with promotion of non-aligned movement in the international arena. After forming government by Mahmood Ahmadinejad in 1384, extension of diplomatic, cultural and economic relations, more attention to multilateral relations to African countries were the most important foreign policy approaches of Islamic Republic of Iran (Movahedi Ghomi, 1388:89). Then Ahmadinejad visited Banjul, the capital of Zambia in 1385 and as a special guest participated in the eight summit of the African union. Regardless of his other travel to Dakar (March of 1386) for participation in OLC summit, he once again organized to visit three African countries of Kenya, Djibouti and Comoros in 1387. He formed Africa deputy in Ministry of foreign affairs and opened two Iranian embassies in Zambia and Gabon in order to institutionalize Islamic republic relations with African countries and promoting cooperation. The ninth government sets the steps for holding Iran and Africa summit in Tehran and considered medium and long-term strategic plans for development of relations with Africa (Dehghani Firoozabadi, & noori, 1390:302).

Perhaps the most important factors of closing Iran to these countries are the revolutionary and anti-imperialism nature, and discontent of these countries. In the countries like Cuba, Venezuela, Nicaragua and Bolivia, the government ruled that have anti-hegemonic

and anti-imperialist policies, Iran with the aim of establishment of anti-hegemonic front against America, tries to change the behavior of this country.

The ninth and tenth governments believed that the discourses of reconstruction and reforms governments have distance from principles, values and primary ideals of Islamic Revolution. The most important aspect of conservative policy of Ahmadinejad government was against Israel. Ahmadinejad emphasis on the elimination of Israel off the map in international conference on the Holocaust in Tehran in the presence of domestic and foreign scholars was radical reaction, which formed based on opposition with USA and Israel. Ahmadinejad emphasized elimination of Israel in his domestic and international speeches several times such as United Nations and even in international conference of Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) in Rome and in anti-racism conference Durban. Supporting Hamas and Hezbollah in Lebanon also had opened its place in former presidential speeches and other Executive Authority. Therefore, reaffirming values and the ideals of Islamic Revolution and emphasis on its principles have known as the main features of Ahmadinejad government of foreign policy (Saei and Hashemi Bahrani, 1391:28).

These policies, which based on the statement of change of international order, overlap with the critical theory. On the other word, with the statement can explain one of the other principles of Ahmadinejad government foreign policy, which was emphasis of values and ideals of Islamic Revolution in international arena.

The criticism of international Hegemonic by Ahmadinejad government

Another striking point of critical theory is «international hegemonic». It can be explained the criticism that Ahmadinejad and his government have to international organization and needs of reformation in the organization in his foreign policy, with this statement. Hegemony is a concept, which reminded the name of Gramsci more than everyone did. The critical theorists of international relations have emphasized this concept. Among them, the critics view to international institutions as the mean for lasting of hegemony, conform to Ahmadinejad view to international organizations and institutions. Kaks provided a kind of critical theory of international regime with emphasis on international institutions role to lasting of hegemony. In his opinion, international institutions are «visualize the rules which facilitating the expansion of hegemonic world order»; the government is hegemony that forming the international rules and institutions; international institutions have an ideological role and acts in consistent with political, social, economic benefits of powers (Moshirzadeh, 1394:234).

During the eight years presidential of Ahmadinejad, legitimacy, acceptance and performance of some regional assemblies and institutions such as the World Bank and International Monetary Fund, questioning because of its operation and dependence to Capitalism. UNO, especially security council had criticized more than before and the necessity of its restructuring, reform of decision methods and have the orientations of justice emphasized. Thus, Ahmadinejad repeatedly tries to challenge the legitimacy of the rules governing to the organizations. For instance, Ahmadinejad strongly criticized of the structure and mechanism of the United Nation and

Security Council in UN General Assembly and demanding for reform and change of it:

« Structure and procedure of Security Council doesn't responding of expectations of the current generation and humanity today needs. The structure and procedure is the legacy of World War II...until the institution can't act clearly, fairly and democratic on behalf of international community, not be legitimate nor effective...until the structure and procedure don't reform, can't expect that injustice, oppression and bullying be eradicated or not spread... today the new reform in the structure and procedure of security council is needed more than ever» (Ahmadinejad, 1385/6/29).

Mahmood Ahmadinejad know injustice and discriminatory structure and domination of countries and great powers after the second world war, the cause of ineffectively and illegitimacy of international organizations and on the top of them UN, and mentioned: «ineffectively of United Nation is because of effectiveness of its structure from the conditions after the second world war. The structure of United Nation formed effected by post-war situation. This impact is visible at its top center- Security Council-. The levels of decisions in the council are due to political block among the great powers in the sixty years ago. Although Security Council should be based on justice and human right, the decision method is subordinated to the interests of the superpowers and political trade-offs. Then, less able to guarantee peace, security and the realization of nations right (Ahmadinejad, 1385/6/29).

The following items including behavioral actions of Ahmadinejad government for international institutions and organizations especially Security Council:

1. Non-compliance from the provisions of resolution and the statements from in-

ternational institutions like International Atomic Energy Agency and UNO security council (Rasooli Sani Abadi, 1389:5);

2. Torn paper reading Security council resolution; also Ahmadinejad warned in reaction to the third security council resolution (1803): « each new resolution against Iran's peaceful and legal nuclear program, is a shoot to the security council as the foundation of UN and don't remain the credit of the Security Council with this action». Furthermore, in an exclusive interview with the newspaper of EL Pais Spain, in respond to the question based on that «what do you do with the new Security Council resolution?», Ahmadinejad clarified: « just as we have with previous resolution, of the new resolution»

(Etemad melli newspaper, 1386/12/15)

3. Suspension its voluntary transparency activities such as stop implementing the additional protocol;

4. setting up the more sections than enrichment facilities such as more waterfalls in respond to Security Council actions (Hosseini, 1387:102-103)

In general, the foreign policy procedure of Islamic Republic of Iran during the presidential of Ahmadinejad in relation to the dominated order to the international system, the international organizations and institutions were effected from the factors such as the negative procedure and the operation of these institutions in issues like nuclear and some critics of Iran to the structures of these institutions, especially UNO Security Council. So Iran government tried to show its critical procedure toward the current position and based on international system and to question the legitimacy of dominated rules to these organizations with using international organizations speeches and tribunes. Analysis of Ahmadinejad speeches in relation to regimes

and international institution, emphasize to this point that based on his belief the international organizations like UN, were for the two blocs East and West from the inception, it means, it was the guarantee of superpowers hegemony for bipolar system during Cold War, and after collapsing Soviet and integration of USA, the organization converted to the dominated mean of the country. On this basis, another countries not only can't use from the potentials of this organization, but also convert to an instrument for domination system for prevention of their rights. So it should be collapse this hegemony.

The program of freedom from the international dominated structures in Ahmadinejad government

In the analysis of foreign policy of Ahmadinejad government from the perspective of critical theory, the concept of «emancipation» plays a key role. The central core of critical theory is the concept of emancipation. Some theorists define the concept of emancipation in the different way; emancipation in Linklater point of view is defined as the meaning of freedom, rule on fate and ability of initiative (Linklater, 1386:31).

Ken Booth knows the emancipation containing freedom of man and nations from limitation and constraints that freedom of choice and action stops and limits them. Richard Ashley defines emancipation« supply of freedom from the restrictions of unverified, relation of domination, and condition of communications and distorted understanding which deprived the man from the capacity of achieve their future through will and full knowledge» (Barchill, 1391:213). Thus, can be defined emancipation in critical theory as the freedom autonomy of na-

tions and marginalized people in international arena from the structures of domination and suppression that is possible through criticism and shift of economic and political global relations which is underlying in justice and inequality in international relations. It means the emphasis of emancipation is on the abolition of dominated structures and suppression in international relations.

Perhaps could place emancipation in the program of anti domination and arrogance, fight with unipolar system and empire dominated regime, and struggle with monopoly power in global level that Ahmadinejad government followed them. Although the principle of anti-domination and arrogance has existed in different points in foreign policy of Islamic Republic of Iran, with the arrival of Ahmadinejad and the dominated discourse of his government, it was a special priority and importance. Ahmadinejad believed that an anti –arrogance and anti-domination is forming and all free nations, justice man and free thinker cooperate together and establish a wide front against the domination system (Ahmadinejad, 1391/6/9). Ahmadinejad government in foreign policy arena tries so much for realization anti-domination principle and copying with dominated structures and arrogance. This aim followed in format of Third World-ism, trend to Latin American countries especially Venezuela, spread of economic-political relations with African countries and non-aligned movement and policy of look at the East in foreign policy of Ahmadinejad government. Therefore, the foreign policy program of Islamic Republic of Iran during this period was establishing anti-hegemonic and unilateral oriented with the governments, which were in contrary with economic and political injustice structures.

Justice and anti-domination normative requirements caused the ninth government choose the regions for development of its economic and political relations that its government is being in order to copy with the global domination or at least not to seek domination. Accordingly, Manoochehr Mottaki emphasized the serious orientation of Iran's foreign policy towards Asian, African, and Latin American countries (Mottaki, 1385/7/13). Mahmood Ahmadinejad knows the cause of expand relations of its government with the actors, their distance from domination claims. And mentioned: « relations with the neighboring countries, African Countries, South America, friend countries and the countries that don't claim to domination, are in the priority of our foreign policy (Ahmadinejad,1386/11/21). As you can see, these policies and the emphasis on Anti-domination and copying with dominated and arrogance structures in foreign policy of Ahmadinejad government conforms with the claim of critical theory that following the release of man from injustice structures of global policy and global economic which are under the control of hegemonic powers.

Conclusion

after the study of foreign policy's principles of Ahmadinejad government according to the critical theory of international relations, it could be concluded that although Ahmadinejad government emphasized the concept of justice in international relations as one of the principles of its government foreign policy, can't say that is unite with the concept of justice in critical thought. Ahmadinejad considered domination of Islamic and revolutionary values and norms as justice in international arena. In other words, both of them agree in the negative mode that what should not be, like inequality, injustice and economic and

political injustice structures toward international system. But in this regard that what justice is, have the basic difference. Whether the definition of critical theory of international relations from justice toward wisdom is critical and humanist that decides as the inter subjective. As a result, it is believed the values dominated on international relations not only should come from the human intellect, but also in final analysis more than one similar value species among humans don't have the possibility of life and these values are beyond the religion and cultures. While Ahmadinejad government's view derived from meta-rational religious attitude, which characterized from religious belief, rational and irrational action in it. Therefore, it is not necessary to consider facts. In contrast, critical theory based on historical dialectic tries with criticism of the current position to guide one-step of it toward the rational –moral perfection and it is emphasized to move gradually not revolutionary. (of course if ignore the radical belief of Marcuse) in addition to the concept of justice in Ahmadinejad government's view, it is considered his belief about the change of current position dominated on international system while have the common point with critical theory of international relation, have also basic distinction with it. Due to Ahmadinejad view about the changing in the current position dominated on international arena has more ideological aspect and like the foreign policy of Islamic Republic of Iran's procedure, wants to change economic-political situation in international system. However, critical theory believed that the structure of international system is ideological which is made from the join of Capitalism and Liberalism more than all, but want to make it non-ideological and not replace it with another ideology. In other words, the critical theory of interna-

tional relations believed Capitalism countries with use of institutions, organizations, rules and media, trace their special ideological cognition as the common sense of all nations. Thus the best solution ejection of ideological cognition from global public through using inter subjective dialogue is based on the underlying structures of wisdom and language. Thus, the structure of the international system to be de-ideology. While it is considered the foreign policy of ninth and tenth governments try to replace the Shiite Islamic ideology to Capitalism ideology.

About emancipation, it can be said: emancipation is both rejection of domination and constructing desirable ideal society. In other words, emancipation has two negative and positive forms. In negative form of critical theory tries to be broken hegemony and unequal relations dominated on the structure of international system. It is supposed that between critical theory of international theory and foreign policy of Ahmadinejad government is consistency about negative form. But about that the humans should be free from any restrictions except rational restriction, there is difference between them. While critical theory of international relations know the man rationality as the only final authority and tries to manage the international system structures based on the general rationality of man. But considered that foreign policy of the ninth and tenth governments define emancipation as the struggle with physical restrictions on one hand and surrounding against Islamic values on the other hand. In other words, the positive form considered that emancipation in critical theory of international theory take places based on historical dialectic. It means that they used from

rationality for criticism of current position of international system, and push it to a higher level and found this process in history. Therefore, they are less likely to revolution and sudden and violence changes. While it is supposed that in foreign policy of Ahmadinejad government, emancipation requires revolutionary action. It means that the structure of international system should be suddenly collapse that political structure of Shiite Islamic values or at least the values of Third World replace it.

Generally, it is supposed that foreign policy of ninth and tenth governments has consistency with critical theory of international relations in negative form. But about positive form, it is distinguished its way from the way of critical theory of international relations. Perhaps the most important cause of this differentiation is return to these two different intellectual foundations. One thinks based on general rationality of man to criticism, restructuring and rethinking structure dominated on international system, and the other acts based on Islamic assumptions.

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