

## **Idealism and Realism in the Foreign Policy of Islamic Republic of Iran and its Effect on National Interests**

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**Abstract:** The present study attempts to study idealism and realism in the foreign policy of Islamic Republic of Iran and its effect on national interests. Here, the main question has been raised in a way to show how idealism and realism approaches in foreign policy could prepare national interests of Islamic Republic of Iran? In the basic response, this hypothesis has been raised that idealism and realism approaches in foreign policy of Iran has not provided national profits of Islamic Republic of Iran. The present study is analytic-descriptive. Also to support this paper theoretically, realism and idealism were used. Post-revolution discourse is Exactly in contrast with pre-revolutionary discourse and has created a different picture in that ground. Besides that, discourses of Palestine movement support, Israel disappearance and foreign force rejection from the region are two new discourse is Islamic revolution and Islamic republic. The transformation made in this discourse more than anything-is due to cultural and religious fact or that religious-cultural transformation in foreign policy can be the most important Iranian discourse after revolution In fact after Islamic revolution until now, connecting ideology with realism and idealism has formed the foreign policy of Islamic Republic of Iran.

**Key words:** Ideology, foreign policy, idealism, realism, Iran's national interests

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### **INTRODUCTION**

**Statement of the problem:** Foreign policy of Islamic Republic of Iran after revolution until now has been influenced by approaches playing an important role in developing goals and national profits of Islamic Republic of Iran. In this way, Idealism and realism have a more important role in foreign policy of Islamic Republic of Iran. In explaining components and examples of realism, one can refer to factors such as national security, national profits, national goal, forces balance, geopolitics, geostrategic and national power end and soon. In contrast, idealism emphasizes some factors like morality, peace, global peace, normality, public security and clear diplomacy. However, one of the theoretical problems in foreign policy of Islamic Republic of Iran as goat-oriented system is removing contrast between idealism and realism. To remove this, there are different solutions including Islamic internationalism theory, this is of Islamic practical government Om-Al Qura. Although, these theories have combined some pieces of realities and facts but because of making theory based on mental inferences, they cannot receive much attention.

Discourse circle in foreign policy of Islamic Republic of Iran implies that no one of idealism and realism are not

sufficient by themselves and successful. Because idealism and realism are interminable and are two inseparable parts of a single discovers of ideal wanting realism so that they are not practically and theoretically separable. Therefore, when foreign policy faces success in line of movement to national profits that takes two approaches of idealism and realism because on one hand, foreign policy of Islamic Republic of Iran is based on the holy religion of Islamic that is an idealistic but realistic religion and on the other hand it comes from Islamic revolution that its discourse is realistic idealism and discourse of foreign policy of Islamic Republic of Iran should be defined and followed through it so, in foreign policy.

Besides paying attention and focusing on Islamic ideals and values, internal and foreign realities should be considered so that ideals and values do not stop seeing realities and realities do not neglect us from ideals on the other hand, the important point to explain ambiguity and complexity of the above mentioned issue is that the idealism of foreign policy and international relations. This issue not only is not able to help Iran in achieving national profits but also caused many contrasts and challenges in international system and area due to these cases, maybe Islamic Republic of Iran, being aware of pleasant results of combining idealism and realism, tries

to utilize them to provide national profits of country better and more. Based on the mentioned issues, the main problem of the present study is that can approaches formed after Islamic revolution policy of Islamic revolution of Iran provide national profits Iran or not?

**The main question:** To what extent, the circle of idealism and realism has been able to provide the national profits of Islamic Republic of Iran?

**The main theory:** Circle of idealism and realism in foreign policy of Islamic republic of Iran has not been able to provide the national profits of Iran.

**Theoretical framework:** Theoretical framework of this paper is based on idealistic and realistic theories according to realistic, power-seeking is something common and thanks to it, mankind has a natural living. In a situation that every human is wolf of another one, the main motivation is horror (fear) and love: fear of being killed and love for life: so you should go your most power to have a safe life. There are pessimistic thoughts of Hobbes and Machiavelli inspiring classic realism. Christian lessons got together with philosophical opinions to justify humans bleeding and felony based on belief in original sin committed by himself.

Nabors completed this philosophical excessive pessimism with Christian lesson. When this man is placed in decision-making position of national authorities, acts like this too so that most important concern of countries like human is survival and rest of life. Countries are even feel more unsafe than human, because they are in a system that lacks any legal central and authority preventing power and violence. In such a situation, countries has no priority better than security and power. Therefore, power-seeking is a natural issue in international and contest is present aspect of international relations and peace is an exception. Realists like Morgenthau believe that politics is fighting over power and so it is inherently violent. power-seeking of human and accordingly countries cannot be omitted with moral and legal lessons of politics and society unlike idealistic view. Profitability and power-seeking is not only unnatural but also is compatible with humans essence, so power-seeking of countries adjusts and stops with antibody of power and thanks to it, peace and stability (of course meaning lack of war) is provided.

Mainly, realism philosophy as a main paradigm ruling international system of cold war, considers power category as a main circle of politics and strategy of national units. In cold war, in realists view. The main

security-maker device was power and that was in an objective form and martial hard-ware. Based on this, theoretician like Hans J. Morgenthau poses issue of necessity of government powerfulness increase through martial power increase. Thomas shilling, Theoretician of strategic realism emphasizes horizontal and vertical development that has been a base of strategy (new look) of republicans in security. Political atmosphere of the USA during the years 1950-1960.

The survival principle is that in our security-political atmosphere among countries which their logic is chaos and anarchy, preserving security and ruling of country is the most important job of strategic security politicians and self-assistance principle means that no country without considering essential resources in connection to other national units, does not risk their security and profits for martial-security cooperation. Based on this, in realistic approach, government is not in view of moral and prestige but merely in view of profits cooperate and so in international relations, many international coalition are observed that are temporary and the level of success for international unions in the least level of effectiveness is obvious.

Three main elements of realism on foreign policy include; Government is representative of society. The major duty of government is leadership of foreign policy due to power and national profits. Government following this foreign policy should be dependent on national resources of society such as economics and political support of people. In general, in proportion to analysis of foreign policy, realism view has some failures including dependence on internal elements of foreign policy and lack of attention to environmental and structural limitations, considering government's policies fixed and lack of attention to identity-based policies, lack of attention to different performers in government making decision for foreign policy a considering government even not paying attention to being surrounded in inside and outside social context, this can influence forming their priorities.

On other hand, since idealism defines the root of war in internal social structure and political unite named government is conceded a theory of second picture type. Idealism is based on this fact that environmental situation forms humans behavior and in the case of change of that behavior he or she also becomes different. So idealism considers war as a result of a special state of internal and international society and believes that if this special situation is changed and adjusted, war will be removed too. In idealists view, man is inherently humanitarian and benefactor and in case of providing a pleasant and suitable content does not look for war and

violence. They mainly oppose country orientation and consider government's especially non-democratic ones as main cause of riot, war and chaos. As a school thought, idealism is rooted from optimism of open mindedness age of 18th century, liberalism of nineteen century and Wilson idealism of twenty century. In idealists view, politics is the art of ruling well or good government or politician is the person who performs based on morality and human behavior. Idealism believes that humans are able to learn and therefore they can change their abnormal and immoral performance based on human and moral disciplines and follow a normal and moral and behavior. In general, idealists have an ideology based on the following beliefs:

- Humans essence is originally nice or humanitarian and so humans are able to give bilateral help and cooperation
- Basic worry and anxiety of human for others welfare, makes improvement and progress possible namely open-mindedness age about the possibility of civilization growth and development would be confirmed again
- Bad behavior of human is not product and effect mean person but it is the result of humans essence and structural arrangement that stimulates human to act selfishly, damage others and fight
- War is not inevitable and it can be decreased through removal of essence arrangements encouraging it
- War is an international problem that needs public common of multiple attempt to control it and individual attempts doesn't suffice
- International society should require itself to destroy war-making organs

Idealistic and ideological approaches in foreign policy of Islamic Republic of Iran.

**Realistic approaches from 1357-1360:** When revolution leader in 15 Bahman 1357 appointed Mehdi Bazargan as a temporary prime minister of new government, having confidence in your resolution in holy school of Islamic and the information of your experiences in Islamic and national fights. Helped to end coalition and unity of Pahlavi regime with colonial countries, especially the USA trying to fulfill one of the main expectations of revolution namely independence.

In This regard, two completely opposite views in international and domestic level were formed. The first view which temporary government was representative of it, believed that maintenance and stabilization of a newly established Islamic system is dependent on preserving

and developing relations with Western countries especially the USA. This view believes that national profits should be superior to Islamic profits. Accordingly changed the political relation of Iran with to USA. From the level of two embassy and had some meetings with authorities and consultants of the present government of USA such as meeting with Brzezinski, consultant of nation security of carter. The second view being represented by spiritual leadership and a group of clergymen, believed that maintenance and stabilization of newly established system depends on its independence from any foreign policy. They believed that our revolution is kind of Islamic one and so we should follow Islamic profits. Therefore, they developed policy of not eastern nor western in foreign policy and opposition to foreign policies including the USA and Israel.

**Realistic approaches from 1360-1368:** Emphasizing in diplomacy of dependence to colonial powers, neglecting thrilling international system and trying to establish international fair system along with emphasis on moral inference from government and its duties along with attempt to spread revolution caused foreign policy in this era to take the form of school. Expansion based idealism discourse to achieve national profits emphasizing development of Islamic saving ideology and spread of revolution to countries under oppression, put development of thoughts and messages Islamic slogans and substitution of ideological borders with geographical borders among Islamic republic of Iran's plans in this period. On this way, using religious political ceremony of Haj as general community of Muslims in the world tried confronting colonial policies of USA and promoting ideals of Islamic Republic of Iran. It is obvious that fight making policy of USA in relation to the maintenance orientation policy can be observed in imposing an unexpected war that all were influential in dominance of expansion oriented idealism discourse of foreign policy.

In this period, to obtain national profits, contact with nations instead of government s were of importance in foreign policy Providing relation with free-making movement was developed with.

**Realistic approaches in Hashemi Rafsanjani's period:** Although, in years of first decade of Islamic revolution. There has been a trace of radicalism and ideological-orientation in foreign policy of Iran and somehow traces of Islamic ideological discourse can be seen in foreign policy but change in main structure and also processes related to international system can be considered as a transformation factor of ideological

discourse. In new period, some signs of detente discourse were appeared. This discourse is dependent on cooperation with local and international context. When new policies are formed, it is natural that forms of change in foreign policy of Iran will be developed. So, Islamic activism was of cooperation based models in foreign policy of Iran when new approach tended to cooperate with countries of the area and international organizations, in this period, also international elements played role in promoting Iran's position.

Because of Imam Khomeini's death, change of constitutional law and choice of Ayatollah Khomeini as a leader and Hojatolislam Hashemi Rafsanjani as a president took steps for new international system. Iran's attack to Kuwait and the continuation of its occupancy besides emphasis of international organization to send forces out of Kuwait and making an international community and more importantly cooperation of USA and soviet union in security council caused new approach in united nations so that this organization changed to an important quick effective and cooperative decision making center in international system. Cooperation of soviet union and USA in Persian gulf's crisis and also in the next periods caused this view among the us politicians that soviet union is not a threat to middle east any more about these cooperation that George Bush declared; (Today the purpose of USA is more bigger than preventing from soviet union's expansion, we are about to enter soviet union in international society).

**Realistic approaches in Khatami's period:** General goal of Iran's foreign policy in Khatami's period and through constructive discourse can be defined as removing opposites through optimization of foreign policies understanding of countries having opposite approach with Iran. The first formal interview of president Khatami with Christiane Amanpour can be considered as the symbol of change in understanding and behavioral mode of Iran with other performers of international system. As a whole, principles of Khatami's foreign policy is of three kinds:

- Principle of esteem, wisdom and advice
- Detente
- Dialoging of civilizations

Thought foundations of Khatami's ideology causing practical effects in foreign policy and potential effects in redefining national profits of Iranians in religious democracy period, to be provided:

- Religion and desire are in line with each other, so Islam and freedom are the same

- Freedom needs creation of civil society based on paradigm and model of prophet city or Madinatun-Nabi. Unlike Western concept of civil society that is based on model of Greek city
- Emphasis on ruling of law in internal level means internal design in international level in form of international laws ruling and its acceptance in formal and reform policies
- Liberalism is incompatible with Islam but Iranians should use its achievements

Although, Khatami believes that today western civilization is the ruling civilization and prominent global discourse but believes this fact that this civilization not its political result, namely religious freedom seeking is not always successful. This means that human should not cry the religion but should accept and adjust it. Mr. Khatami hopes through this interaction, east can teach the vital importance of spiritualism in human life and directly learn positive achievements of western civilization.

He believes that no result but freedom of Western religion-removing, secular liberalism is waiting for human (Ramazani, 2002). It seems that doctor Ahmad (2002) has a great similarity with Imam Khomeini in how they look at the international system. As a believing person and resulted in his revolutionary religion and influenced by eight year imposed war believes that you cannot hope for the help of abroad especially west and USA and showed well in imposed war that not only the so-called international society can ignore Iran's right but also conventions and rules of international laws and even organizations like the united nations can also be ignored or on the way of stabilizing bullies, power manipulated. It seems that the most important lesson of imposed war was that Iran understood to stand on its feet. On the other hand, it seems that Ahmadinejad believes that Iran's enemies especially USA and Israel are in the weakest situation and the USA is about to and Israel going to disappear. In Ahmadinejad's view, Iran's disaster and Israel defeat in 33 day war shows this fact. This thought can increase Iran's self confidence in its foreign policy and accordingly more interaction. Leadership style and decision-making strategies of leaders along with the way of managing information and close individuals are also among single variables affecting foreign policy of country.

About Ahmadinejad's government, one can say that Ahmadinejad and his supporters believed that they should provide the situation for Imam Zaman's advent and establish a pleasant life in Iran and accordingly in the world. So, they look for justice and global fair systems (governments) and try to change the present ones. One of

the main strategies of ninth government to reach its great goal such as justice, spiritualism, using public diplomacy to communicate with general thoughts of the world. In this ground, national media and even media of international communities were used to carry Ahmadinejad's message the world. Presents in universities of other countries to have a communication with students, holding meeting with religious and academic and communicating with public were of these measures that were more efficient in politician's view. Professor Hamid Molana, on the dramatic analysis of Iranians and Americans in Ahmadinejad's speech in Colombia University, believes that Ahmadinejad acted as a media by himself and could reach its message the millions of people in the world. Ideological and idealistic samples of foreign policy of Islamic republic of Iran by removing concepts like (national profit) (by looking at the way of forming national profits) or the (foreign policy) itself and also removing look at approaches and concepts of (ideology) one can imagine despite many researchers (internal or external) considering a deep gap between realism and ideology, their difference are so unclear and ambiguous, namely what is called realistic foreign policy, in many cases, may overlap and match ideological foreign policy. As an example, in many cases presenting Islamic revolution values after Islamic revolution's establishment has been covered with realism or has been considered as a realistic goal by itself. When foreign policy of Islamic republic of Iran has been achieved the greatest systematic attitude (Being nation-based and addressing nations along with governments) can be referred to as idealistic too. (Mohammad, 2003, 2004) The objective and purposeful use of Shia, the basis of the game based on positive sum (either in profit of Shia groups and to reach their rights or in their fight such as in Lebanon, Iraq, Pakistan, Yemen and also for the profit of Iran in order to expand its soft power), can potentially be in line with national or realist profits. If this policy is employed in line with putting pressure on governments, bargaining, privilege getting an increase of Iran's soft power but following this policy can have some expenses, of course issuing values has some expenses. For example, a country may be accused of this fact that is ignorant of international norms or to confront it some classification on the side of big or local powers is produced (like the continuation of Iran the USA enmity) (Rohollah, 2009).

Although, Iran's foreign policy is mainly ideology-based but traces of realism and idealism are seen. An example of Iran's selective foreign policy is about ideology. Sometimes the term ideology in Iran's foreign policy is highlighted for example about militant

groups of Palestine and Hezbollah of Lebanon or against some neighbors like Saudi Arabia which an example is Iran's severe reaction to the recent Yemen Shia killing and in some cases it is weak and sometimes it is completely free of ideological behavior for example Iran's foreign policy against Azerbaijan and Armenia especially in killing Azerbaijan's Shia by Armenia or defending Chinese Uighur Muslims and Chechen war with Russia. This selective policy, shows Iran's ideological behavior covered with realism and idealism. Analysis of Iran's foreign policy about Israel based on idealistic approaches Islamic republic of Iran has been a turning point in multi-side transformation history such as foreign policy of this country.

As whole, revolutions give new directions to foreign policy of nations that chose revolution for social transformation and form a collection of imaginations, expectations and international occasions. That's why paying attention to dimension of revolution's foreign policy has been changed to a key issue in present.

One of the main dimensions of Iran's foreign policy is having a direction against Israel. Despite the continuation and stability of some effective factors in foreign policy of Iran, foreign behavior of this country about Israel essentially changed after revolution's victory in 1357 (1979) and took aggressive form while relations of these two countries in different areas of Pahlavi government especially security and economic dimension was so friendly, because after establishment of Zionist regime in 6 March 1950, 3 Esfand 1328 and its recognition by Pahlavi regime in the form of two factors, strategic unity of these two regimes was formed based on David Ben-Gurion doctrine and continued to drop of Pahlavi government.

While relations of Iran and Israel of this period through realistic paradigm is understandable but foreign policy change of this country cannot be explained with paradigm. About this change one can refer to the following indices:

- Supporting Palestinian groups
- Supporting Hezbollah Lebanon
- Holding conferences of Intifada support and revolution of Palestine revolution
- Disagreement with the manner of Middle East peace

These indices indicate contrast of Iran's policies on Israel policies in post revolution era. In analysis of foreign policy of Islamic republic of Iran about Israel identify sources of this system should be considered. In this framework, the language of foreign policy of Islamic republic of Iran is of great importance because it is in an interpretation framework of their words and meaning

implications that reality is formed and reacted to it. This is the identify of Iran that determines profits and goal of this country's foreign policy. Guidance concept is one of the main concepts of political science that following the end of world war two and through studies of development and renovation of third world countries has been practically investigated.

Analysis of Islamic republic of Iran's foreign policy in first years of Islamic revolution based on idealistic approach. This discourse includes Imam's period that due to temporary government's experience, it was tried to give priority to Islamic expedients (pragmatism) than Islamic profits. The focus of this discourse is expansion and preservation of Islamic and revolutionary values and goals and ten principles of foreign policy is used.

These principles are as follow; acquisition and provision of power, Islamic fraternity and adjustment of relationship's, compilation of hearts, invitation, integration, city of Islam, defensive Jihad, unity based monotheism and peaceful symbiosis with scholars, removing colonialism and supporting the poor of the world against colonials, report of Justice and finally constituting idealistic society of single global Justice government.

It is clear that in case of achieving these important principles, whatever they are, in fact national profits of nation in that level has been approached its provision. As it was said in enplaning Islamic government, in this discourse land territory of Iran has no origin and priority and Islamic republic of Iran has many ultra-national responsibilities even (freedom of holy Quds). So Islamic component is the first source of giving identity to foreign policy not being lord and this meant ignoring a part of Iran national profits.

**Foreign policy of Mousavi based on ideological and idealistic approaches:** In this period, compared to other elements of national identify like Iran centrism and renovation, Islam centrism has been more prominent. In this period, it was tried to look at world and its events in view of Shia religion and law. Policies, strategies, behavior and reaction to events in the area and the world was done based on instructions of Shia law. In other words, theoretical and practical policy of Islamic republic of Iran in this period, comes from elements of Shia religion and nationalism and renovation were completely faded away. Division of the world in two groups of Darol-Islam and Darol-Harb is understandable here. Somehow by prominence of ideological Islam-centric discourse and the effect of this discourse on cultural, political and economic and social aspects, policy and foreign relations of Iran was also influenced by deep and fundamental change

foreign policy of Islamic republic of Iran was investigated by main transformations made in principles of political system of Iran and ideological elements. Superiority of ideological factor led to the formation of some special objective approaches in attitude and behavior of foreign policy-makers and Iran selected supporting the Muslims of radical movements and fighting tyrannies and their symbols as its foreign policy goals. I political atmosphere after 1357 revolution, a sort of (national horror) was domination on discourse of this period, although at the time of this dominant discourse, different political games were played but populist and ideological discourse of this period was completely affected by anti-nationalism tendencies.

So, foreign policy of Mir Hossein Mousavi was value based and if was based on traditional and objective principles and moral manners. The main goal of foreign policy in this period was victory in Iraq imposed war against Iran, protecting country's territory and independence. In this era, we observe double behavior of foreign policy. Along with government, non-official radical groups activated and in many, cases influenced actions of foreign policy. Because of lack of establishing revolution influence of groups and beneficiaries was effective in preventing foreign policy.

Foreign policy of this period was based on Islamic principles and values. The issue of introducing revolution and policy of (Neither East nor West) lead to the ideology of Islamic system of Iran. Based on ideology of political system, people's gathering was formed similar to the desire revolution's leaders and support of revolutionary system.

**Analysis of Hashemi's foreign policy based on idealistic approaches:** The level of ideology and national profits depends on special situation and time. In this period, value based realists also are about to issue their revolution but their strategy is different. They prefer their country's construction as a model of revolutionary government to sending goods to support freedom seeking movements abroad.

They also understand that their country is in need of foreign supports for renovation so they understand the importance of preserving proper diplomatic and economic relations with other countries especially super-powers. They also tend to deal with internal concerns than international ones. In addition idealists are activist enough to understand to realize the meaninglessness of international reclusion Hashemi Rafsanjani is of those realist revolutionary leaders that among new leaders tried to oppose the reclusive tendencies. Due to increasing pressures of economic development and attempt to

reconstruct country, Rafsanjani even supported the challenging issue of employing experts and foreign countries when similar services were not accessible.

According to this view, priority of national profits to international profits is due to contrast of time situations, It means that if it is superior to national profits in terms of value-based principles of international responsibilities but in terms of time and place, national profits is superior to them. Some believers of this view don't agree with it. Seyyed Mohammad Sadr says about it, (At the present time, Iran is the heart of Islam world. It means security of Islamic republic of Iran has relative superiority security of Islam world, not real superiority so security of Iran means the security of Islam world, not real superiority so security of Iran means the security of Islam world). This view implies a kind of national profits superiority in practice, however, no difference how it is defined, the main issue is correct. The view of Hojati kermani is beyond it; (This claim that Islamic government is mainly an international government, If it is theoretical view, It is right. Because of commitment to international conventions and common global laws, being international of Iran is neither principle of constitutional law not compatible with international laws and nor being claimed by leader and Islamic government.

**Analysis of Khatami's foreign policy based on idealistic approaches:** In this period, of Iran's foreign policy (way of speech, behavior and interaction to others were changed and the policy of economic adjustment and considering industrial development were replaced with political progress and in foreign relations acceptance of global pluralism meaning negation of one-side system and equality of culture became the domain issue of foreign policy.

In this period of Iran's foreign policy, peace-making was put in to practice that due to this policy, using force to solve international issues was replaced with peaceful manners through bilateral and multi-lateral speech. Also according to this policy, no one is allowed to let ideological differences and political tastes affect countries relations (peace-making through esteem, expedience and wisdom means that Iran in its foreign policy is going to remove the old misunderstandings and end any international tension and pay attention to international to provide security).

The expense of enmity with Islamic revolution shouldn't be decreased across governments and nations but we should act in a way that enmity with Iran and Islamic brings a heavy spiritual and mundane expense and because of this high expense, other countries avoid Iran

revolution. To explain policy of peace making, Khatami also says the art of diplomacy is that we should gradually decrease the number of enemies and add our friends. Changing enmity to friendship is art and Islamic republic of Iran and foreign ministry has determined its diplomacy considering national profits. Let's go from peace making (to trust making and from trust-making to mutual, permanent and multi-lateral regional cooperation. According to peace-making, Islamic republic of Iran has four priorities:

Peace and security around Iran. friendship with Islam world. political, cultural and economic cooperation with countries and elected organizations. Active participation in international organizations of ancient speech is also practical plan of Iran's government to remove tension in foreign policy. Declining ancient's contrast, Khatami supports the speech among religions, cultures and nations. He believes in mutual dependence of societies, cultures and he is fan of a kind of a stable creative foreign policy.

In his opinion, this foreign policy should be stabilized avoiding violence and providing friendly relations with all countries while recognizing Iran's independence and not following aggressive policy. On the way of adjusting objective picture made from Islamic revolution and against violence seeking of west, especially us in Islamic lands and to clarify the border of Islamic republic of Iran with terrorist and radical groups like Al-Qaeda, Islamic revolution should be the first to provide plans and ideas such as ancient's speech against war of ancient's. This approach not only clear charge from Iran but also put the USA and west in position of being guilty and make them withdraw when facing Iran and respect Islamic system's wishes.

**Foreign policy of Ahmadinejad based on idealistic:** approaches conservatism discourse which concentrates on justice, pays special attention to meet strategic goals of Islamic revolution and Islamic republic of Iran, because it considers the present international system unfair and illegal, so looking for and distributing justice requires that the change of current global state to provide an appropriate Islamic state, is of political priority. Proving justice and establishing a pleasant arrangement in the international level has two necessary and preventive dimensions, The negative and preventive dimension requires breaking the international system but the positive and necessary dimension defines global arrangement through promoting and stabilizing Islamic fair arrangement providing its situations, in other words, establishing and changing the appropriate Islamic arrangement.

Therefore, Islamic republic of Iran believes that the relation among countries is based on right. If international conventions consider some programs for Iran, Iran is obliged to defend its rights. So it never ignores the rights in different dimension especially nuclear rights. In addition, Islamic republic of Iran, follow the cooperation in the international policy instead of power that is a factor of injustice by itself. The fair discourse can be a good substitute for power in international level. It's because of this view that Iran's nuclear program is completely peaceful and Iran has announced its readiness to remove any concern. Although, Iran has expressed its goal, some pacts are issued by Security Council against Iran and they are going to put pressure on Iran using economic sanctions.

Ahmadinejad's government, being aware of regional and international problems and getting inspiration from clear principles of constitutional law on foreign policy based on negation of any domination and being dominated, preserving country's independence and lack of commitment to powers and mutual peaceful relations with all nations except Zionist regime, started to do some measures and policies through basic principles of esteem, expedience and utilizing creative and more general strategy (Hosseini 2009).

## CONCLUSION

Islamic discourse has been shown through five micro-discourses of revolutionary idealism, expedience, realism or pragmatism, peace and conservatism. Although these micro-discourses are common in fundamental principles, they are different in unimportant principles. so they are categorized in the same place that one side of it is Islamic idealism and another is Islamic realism.

Foreign policy of Islamic republic of Iran has been between closed discourse cycle of idealism and realism, so that revolutionary idealism based on Islamic revolution's logic giving priority to Islamic and revolutionary values, changed in to expedience-centrism that concentrates on Islamic and national expediences, then Islamic revolution is replaced with pragmatism based on logic of government and nation that is more than Islamic and international values, it is based on national profits. Micro-discourse of peace-making in idealistic time of reforms is another kind that less affects power in foreign policy and guarantees a sort of optimism in international politics, so that this micro-discourse that has been established on ancients speech, peace-making, trust-making and peace wanting, approaches idealism in international relations.

Finally, fair conservatism in foreign policy of ninth and tenth government is return to revolutionary idealism in the early Islamic revolution that revolutionary and Islamic ideals and values in international and foreign policy is prominent, so that Islamic revolution's logic is superior to Islamic republic.

Discourse cycle in foreign policy of Islamic republic of Iran indicates that any of idealism and realism doesn't suffice and suffice by itself, because both of them are inseparable and two parts of a single discourse "idealistic realism" so that they are n't theoretically and practically separable.

Therefore, if foreign policy in practice performs these two discourse parts, will be successful because on one hand foreign policy of Iran is based on Islam religion that is an idealistic and realistic religion at the same time. Accordingly, foreign policy should, in spite of concentrating on Islamic ideals and values, domestic and international realities should be considered, so that ideals and values don't stop seeing realities and realities also prevent us from ideals.

Actually, in foreign policy of Islamic republic of Iran, too much efforts should be done to consider both realistic and idealistic approaches elements of idealistic realism can be regulated based on two parts of this discourse namely idealism and realism constituting elements of idealistic realism.

So these elements reinforce and give identity policies and strategies on the side of Islamic revolution's leaders caused national profits of Islamic republic of Iran not to be provided.

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