



ISSN NO. 2320-5407

Journal homepage: <http://www.journalijar.com>

INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL
OF ADVANCED RESEARCH

RESEARCH ARTICLE

Comparative study of place of foreign policy in Constitution of Iran with America, France, India, Turkey and Afghanistan

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Manuscript Info

Manuscript History:

Received: 15 October 2015

Final Accepted: 22 November 2015

Published Online: December 2015

Key words:

constitution, foreign policy, Iran,
comparative study, Agency-
Structure

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Abstract

The Constitution of Islamic Republic of Iran which was codified and enacted after victory of Islamic Revolution was majorly affected by religious teachings and Islamic ideology. In this Constitution, foreign policy is one of the categories which has attracted much attention and has gained a special place so that this foreign policy as a revolutionary nature and affected by ideological space of the regime intends to delineate special strategy in foreign relations of Iran with governmental and nongovernmental actors , international and regional institutions and even issues and subjects of Iran , Islam world and Muslims and international system by designing ideal society and presenting new behavioral patterns. In this research, formation of foreign policy in Constitution of Iran in stage of enactment and revision is discussed in addition to study of Agency-Structure theory. It is highly important to compare place of foreign policy in two constitutions and the current system which have been studied in another part of the paper and specifications and approaches of each case are discussed. In the last part of the paper, place of foreign policy in Constitution of America, France, India, Turkey and Afghanistan is studied compared with Constitution of Islamic Republic of Iran. Methodologically, this research was conducted with comparative studies and content analysis of constitutions.

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INTRODUCTION

On the one hand, constitutions play effective and determining role in delineation of political, social, economic, cultural, military and security plans and policies and on the other hand, since constitutions originate from culture, rules, regulations and intellectual events in any society, they try to define and compile local and foreign policy of the country based on the dominant discourse, governing policies and political strategies. In Constitution of Islamic Republic of Iran as the major and the most important law of the country originating from revolutionary-Islamic discourse, foreign policy is one of the categories which have attracted attention considerably. Allocation of a chapter of Constitution to foreign policy and also other principles which have considered foreign policy considerably can explain framework of foreign policy and executive structure and behavioral mechanism of its agencies. Some concepts such as happiness of human, negation of dominance and submission, defense of Muslims' rights and support of the oppressed in the world are of the principles which indicate deep effect of Islamic ideology and revolutionary approach to principles of foreign policy and formation of its goals. Specifically, in such system, constitution is regarded as the most important treaty of society. These principles are regarded as the most important source for recognition of goals, intentions and rules of foreign policy. Special attention of Constitution of Islamic Republic of Iran in dealing with category of foreign policy and delineating mental space affected by revolutionary conditions and doctrine aspect of the system in foreign policy are the main theme of the paper. This writing seeks to answer this question: what place does category of foreign policy have in constitutions of the studied countries. What effect do

ideal attitude and doctrinal values of Islamic system have on importance of place of foreign policy in Constitution of Islamic Republic of Iran? Can this distinctive role of foreign policy be found in Constitution of Islamic Republic of Iran? In this research, hypothesis of the writers is that Constitution of Islamic Republic of Iran affected by an idealistic approach and based on doctrinal values and revolutionary space compared with the studied countries have given main role and place to foreign policy .

Research method:

Utilization of comparative studies, reference to the firsthand sources such as use of text of the Constitution of Islamic Republic of Iran (as the most important source and document) and regarding Islamic Republic of Iran in addition to text of the constitution, utilization of the negotiations of the parliament in stage of approval and revision and also some secondhand sources have been considered and analyzed.

Selection of the compared countries

The compared countries have been selected based on the following criteria:

- 1- The compared countries differ in different geographical points and political systems. Therefore, Iranian neighbors (Turkey and Afghanistan), Europe (France), America (USA) and subcontinent (India) have been considered.
- 2- The compared countries achieve relative and desirable degree of efficiency and success in legislation and policymaking have been regarded as the models of other countries such as France and USA.
- 3- The compared countries have suitable regional place in the field of foreign policy such as Turkey and India.
- 4- Considering the latest experiences and events, they should be included in the latest constitutions enacted in the world (Afghanistan).

Theoretical issues

Agency-Structure interactive method

Structuring theory which was raised by Anthony Giddens delineates an effective approach in interpretation of these two concepts in interaction between structure-agency. According to Anthony Giddens, it is improper to explain social phenomena using only agencies irrespective of role and function of structures or with emphasis on institutions and structures without considering approaches and motives of the agencies. In other words, social institutions and phenomena in broad interactive process have become meaningful and explainable among structures and agencies (Adler, 2005: 94). According to him, structures and agencies are inseparable and both factors should be considered in analysis of social changes and processes. Therefore, as independent agencies of social structures cannot act and survive, structures are dependent on action of agencies in social structures. As a result, social action can be interpreted and explained in interaction of two concepts of structure-agency (Held & McGrew, 2007: 128).

Social or political structures continue only due to restrictions which they have on agencies or opportunities with which they provide them. Therefore, it is meaningless to imagine a structure without the least brief image of agency who may be affected by it (limited or empowered) (Marsh and Stoker, 2005: 304).

Structures include a set of factors which provide conditions for activity of agencies in social environment. On the one hand, structures are regarded as social reality against actors and make action systematic or limit it and create distinctive models (Wendt, 2005: 269). Agencies mean the units which are able to make decision and act in any environment. They may be individuals, groups and social units. Agencies may act based on conscious intentions or based on behavioral patterns (Hill, 2008: 53).

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Political, administrative and social structures which limit decision making in foreign policy are of vital importance because they show most processes or patterns of interaction. In addition, since structures are continuously affected by agencies are changing and should not be regarded as fixed phenomena (compare with Hill, the same).

Decision is made in foreign policy through interactive process among actors and each of them is in broad range of different structures. Interaction between them is a dynamic process which results in permanent change of structures and agencies (Hill, the same: 55). Ignorance of environmental and structural factors and also ignorance of the characteristics of agencies can achieve realistic understanding of social action of states but study of behavior of foreign policy should be conducted based on interaction between structures and agencies and behavior of states in the field of foreign policy is explained considering characteristics of the agencies who have power of choice inside the structural domains (Sotoodeh, 2007: 58).

Concepts and analytical framework of structure-agency don't ignore determining effects and characteristics of the agency on structure while dealing with role of structures in formation of behavior of the states in foreign policy and consider structure-agency relation interactively. This method presents efficient framework for studying and analyzing behavior of foreign policy of Iran.

Recognizing strategies and goals of foreign policy of Islamic Republic of Iran requires attention to role and place of worldview and Islamic ideology in increase of awareness and insight of the agencies. Since Islamic Republic of Iran has been formed based on doctrine values and religious beliefs, it intends to present different behavioral patterns in relations of Iran with governmental, nongovernmental actors and international and regional institutions.

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Special attention of Constitution to category of foreign policy is affected by revolutionary-Islamic discourse and effort of experts of Constitution in objectifying this discourse and designing ideal society has been formed based on Islamic criteria. Based on Agency-Structure theory, recognition and insight of agencies have followed Islamic ideology and the dependent intellectual strategies. Therefore, Islamic ideology indicates main and axial role in delineation of strategies and goals of foreign policy of Islamic Republic of Iran. Meanwhile, Constitution as an important source for presentation of foreign policy strategies has specified strategic framework and policies and goals of foreign policy in major level based on realization of goals of Islamic system to interact among structures and agencies of Islamic Republic of Iran.

Place of foreign policy in Constitution of Iran 1-1:

1-2- Foreign policy in Constitution and its supplement:

Some theorists of foreign policy have considered attention of Constitution of Islamic Republic of Iran to category of foreign policy as a positive point in evaluation of the Constitution and emphasize on it (Nakhaei, 1997:312) and regard it as resulting from global mission of Islamic revolution in realization of international goals. At the same time, they divert this criticism to Constitution and the said Constitution has not paid necessary attention to category of foreign policy (Mohammadi, 1998:29; Nakhaei, the same).

In a general definition, Constitution can be regarded as the main rules and principles in any society which define political relations of people with government and institutions and specify quality of distribution and application of power (Garner, 2004: 330).

On this basis, some researchers evaluate special attention to foreign policy in Constitution of Islamic Republic of Iran as unconventional, excessively broad, hard and limiting for scope of powers and action of the agencies of foreign policy and negligent of time and space elements.

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Specifically, the reasons for limited attention of the constitutionalists to foreign policy in enacted principles of Constitution are origin, nature and essence of constitutional revolution like anti-colonial movement. Lack of codified laws and regulations in society which specified rights of nation and scope of powers of the governing body directed Iran society to legal positivism and tendency to make change in political structure and social conditions of the country and finally will of Iranian nation in codification of Constitution was manifested as the most important consequence of constitutional movement (Ravandi, 1978:42). Therefore, despotism and dictatorship as the most stable characteristic and component of power construction in Iran on the one hand and lack of sovereignty of law caused main core of thought and ideology of constitutional movement in limitation of kingdom in the framework of law (Molaei Tavani, 2002:30; Nadooshan and Zaree Mahmoud Abadi, 2003: 140; Zerang, 2005:102).

The constitutional movement and liberalistic movement of Iranian people provided opportunity for birth and culture of new thoughts and experiences which result in codification of Constitution and determination of nation's rights as the most important achievement. In the book "Iran and its place among nations", the most important reason for codification of the constitution is change in political structure of Iran under aegis of law and vindication of nation's rights, therefore, main duty of the first assembly is to draft Constitution to limit power of king, determine his rights and responsibilities and role of the legislative power in supervision and enactment of the related laws has been emphasized (Mafinezam & Mehrabi, 2008:10). Therefore, attention to and emphasis on foreign policy have been less preferred by the constitutionalists based on such role and function because reform of absolute political structure of the country and responsiveness of the political system to people will block the way of any stranger and domination of the foreigners according to the constitutionalists.

At the end, it should be acknowledged that Constitution of Islamic Republic of Iran affected by Islamic ideology highly emphasizes on role of foreign policy in realization of ideal goals while Constitution lacks ideological attitude and has paid attention to foreign policy in realization of the local policy and has emphasized on vindication of rights of nation and sovereignty of law in reform of political system of Iran and finally prevention of domination of the strangers in political affairs of the country.

Constitution was enacted in 1906 and included 51 principles. Since these principles only governed performance of the assembly in enactment of laws and fundamental issues of the constitution had been neglected in it, it couldn't ensure and strengthen constitution. Therefore, other principles were added to it in 1907 to complete the constitution and they were known as supplement of the constitution (Rahimi, 1958:79 and 60).

Among the principles inserted in the constitution (51 principles of the constitution and 107 supplementary principles), 9 principles have dealt with category of foreign policy. These principles include:

Principle 22: the cases that some of the proceeds or assets of the state and country are transferred or sold or any change in limits of the country becomes necessary will be enacted by the National Consultative Assembly.

Principle 23: without enactment of National Consultative Assembly, concession for formation of company and public companies of any type and under any title will not be granted by the state.

Principle 24: conclusion of treaties and protocols, granting commercial, industrial and agricultural concessions (monopoly) whether the part is local or foreign should be enacted by the National Consultative Assembly except for the treaties which are concealed at discretion of the state and nation.

Principle 25- governmental borrowing under any title whether from the country or the foreign country shall be notified and enacted by the National Consultative Assembly.

Principle 26- Construction of railways and roadway whether at expense of the government or company from inside and outside the country shall be enacted by the National Consultative Assembly.

Principle 51: declaration of war and contract of settlement are the responsibility of the king.

Principle 52: the treaties which should be concealed according to principle 24 of Constitution enacted in 1324 A.H. should be declared by the king to the National Consultative Assembly and Senate after performing obligation once benefits and security of the country required with necessary remarks.

Principle 53: the hidden chapters of any treaty will not invalidate clear chapters of that treaty.

Principle 106: no foreign military army will not be accepted to serve the government and cannot reside or pass in any point of the country unless by virtue of the law.

Goals of the foreign policy of Iran are studied based on the Constitution and its supplement is studied based on three cases:

1-2- Emphasis on supervisory role of the National Consultative Assembly

Five principles 22, 23, 24, 25 and 26 highly emphasize on importance of place of the assembly in supervision on performance of the governing body and the reason is political conditions of Iran and influence of foreign colony in all political and economic positions of the country.

1-3- Limitation of powers of Shah in granting concession to other states

One of the important factors of constitutional movement is increasing despotism of the governing body and mainly king. This case can be found in granting expansive concessions to the foreign states that vitiated rights of the nation.

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Therefore, the assembly tried to limit power of shah by supervising on performance of sovereignty in granting concession to foreign states on the one hand and prevented from access and influence of the strangers in political and economic affairs of the country on the other hand.

1-4- Limitation for the military

By virtue of principle 104, law defines deployment. Duties and rights of the regime authorities and promotion of positions are governed by law. The reason is limitation of foreign armies and prevention from interference in military affairs of Iran. Therefore, principle 106 expressly has rejected employment of the foreign armies and stipulates that their residence should be confirmed by law.

1-4-1- Foreign policy in Constitution of Islamic Republic of Iran

Of the most important consequences of revolutions particularly ideological revolutions are emergence and formation of a broad set of organized attitudes and methods for management of society which try to present policies based on their ideology based on values and norms. In this area, gift of Islamic Revolution of Iran was to mention values and ideals which bound the revolutionists to present it as a new pattern of Islamic ideology. They believed that since revolution of Iran is an Islamic movement, its laws should be based on Islamic laws. Therefore, mission of the Constitution is to objectify doctrinal fields of movement in intellectual positions and Islamic worldview based on its introduction. In such space, the experts who codified the constitution tried to highlight place of foreign policy in Constitution of Islamic Republic of Iran, therefore, foreign policy of Iran in text of new Constitution in 1979 has been affected by doctrinal values of charismatic leadership of the Revolution and social armed forces and discourse in Revolution and dependent intellectual events.

1-4-2- Foreign policy in description of negotiations of the Assembly and final investigation of the Constitution

Constitution of Islamic Republic of Iran including 175 principles was codified and enacted in 1979 in Assembly of Experts.

Efforts of the experts of Constitution were to design newly established Islamic system, inspire intellectual beliefs aligned with Islamic ideology and design role, function and duties of Islamic revolution and content of political system of Iran in global field. Codification of the Constitution meant realization of ideological military demands which defined and interpreted its goals beyond geographical borders. According to Islam teachings, when a

government with Islamic identity is created in a part of Islamic land, it should be responsible for political, social, economic, ethical and spiritual conditions of all Muslims since start of formation. It means that it should help Muslims and create a condition with help of each other to possess Islamic system and when these systems became Islamic, formation of a large global political system was natural and true under auspices of Islam and if it is necessary, global organization of Muslims can be established like UN (negotiations of the assembly, 1985:451). Therefore, goals of Constitution should be presentation of a global pattern which includes and implies social and Islamic welfare for all Muslim nations in addition to Iran and doesn't provide opportunity for showing power of the international imperialists. Based on this goal, they didn't accept any of the international laws (negotiations of the assembly, 1985:51 and 71). Experts of the Constitution affected by excitement of the first months of victory of Islamic Revolution and with feeling of duty toward the entire world regarded Islamic Revolution of Iran as the second global event after emergence of Islam and highly emphasized on global nature of the Constitution. They also acknowledged that they should determine future of humanity under aegis of principles of Constitution and believed that Constitution of Islamic Republic will be supported by nations and countries which are revolving and they can be shared as a perfect pattern to the entire world (the same :81). They imagined that they should rouse hope of humane and honorable life in humans based on principles and fundamentals of Islam and deepen and give meaning to life of humans (the same: 41). Therefore, all nations of the world from east to west wait to watch new achievement of the revolutionists (the same: 71 and 221).

Experts of Constitution prefer limitation of the global organization of the Muslims and Iranian support of the revolutions based on global right and help the oppressed nations in text of the Constitution and regarded it as a step in globalization of Constitution (the same :74). They believe that the first principles of Constitution should be as follows: Principle 1- Islamic Republic of Iran is government of the believers. Principle 2 –Muslim nation of Iran is inseparable unit based on the holy verse of , principle 3- believers all over the world are members of the united nation and have common religion, object of worship, scripture , prophet and single homeland and equal rights and common duties , principle 4-Iran is an inseparable unit and is an integral part of our homeland is our nation or Daroleslam (the same: 76).

The issues discussed by experts of the Constitution of Islamic Republic of Iran indicate effect of Islamic values, beliefs and ideology in mind of the legislators in category of foreign policy which has been manifested in text of the Constitution. In the Constitution of Islamic Republic of Iran, foreign policy has been considered in two forms. Firstly, the principles which have been inserted directly and in a chapter called foreign policy. Secondly, the principles which have been emphasized not in chapter of foreign policy but in the entire constitution separately and necessarily.

1-4-3- Direct approach to foreign policy

Legislators of the Constitution confirmed special place of this category in major considerations of Islamic Republic of Iran by allocating chapter 10 of the Constitution to foreign policy. Four principles 152, 153, 154 and 155 of this chapter emphasize on broad scope of goals, intentions and rules of the foreign policy of Islamic Republic of Iran.

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Thesaid principles affected by doctrinal nature of Islamic system of Iran indicate policies of Islamic Republic of Iran in presentation of new behavioral patterns in executive structure of the foreign policy. Chapter 10 of the Constitution indicates will of the revolutionists in generalization of Islamic-revolutionary ideology in the field of foreign policy. In the draft of the constitution, a chapter entitled foreign policy had not been predicted but experts of the Constitution emphasized on importance of place of foreign policy and believed that law should be such that the international imperialists cannot show power (negotiations of the assembly, the same :51).

Revision of the principles inserted in this chapter leads to more accurate recognition of the strategies and goals of the foreign policy of Islamic Republic of Iran.

Principle 152: negation of any dominance and submission, independency, territorial integrity, defense of the Muslims' rights, no obligation toward the authoritarian powers and mutual peaceful relations with non-combatant states. This principle is the main essence of the foreign policy of Islamic Republic. In addition to independency and territorial integrity of the country which is based on realistic attitude, other issues manifest idealism of Islamic system. To realize goals and ideal values of Islamic Republic, experts of the Constitution bound Islamic Republic to defend rights of the Muslims as representative of the Islamic government by resorting to Islamic teachings. They believed that this responsibility resulted from ideology of Islamic revolution. Therefore, Islamic Republic has to accept multilateral obligations toward the Muslims and have emphasized that foreign relations of Iran should be based on relation with nations (the same: 310).

Revolutionists believed that approach of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran was based on Tawalla and Tabarra principle and friendship with friends of God and enmity and hatred of God's enemies , people and the imperialists (the same :50). On this basis, foreign policy has two dimensions from the viewpoint of the experts of the Constitution: no obligation toward great powers and obligation toward Muslims (the same, 1431).

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Principle 153: prohibition to conclude any contract which leads to dominance of the strangers on aspects of the country.

principle 154: emphasis on happiness of human as ideal of Islamic Republic of Iran , freedom and government of the truth and justice as right of all people of the world , avoiding interfering in internal affairs of other nations and supporting campaigns of the oppressed against oppressors of the world. The experts of the Constitution affected by conditions of victory of Revolution and an idealistic space bound Islamic Republic government to support true global campaigns particularly Islamic revolutions and emphasized that this issue should be expressed in the constitution and should have sanction (the same:74) because Islamic system in any part of the world is realized according to Islamic teachings and creates a government of which responsibility is not limited and is responsible toward all humans and particularly all Muslims. Therefore, obligation and responsibility toward other Muslims of the world are regarded as characteristics of the Islamic governments based on these teachings but it doesn't mean that Islamic government intends to expand its domain but means that it should help the Muslims and provide the opportunity for creation of Islamic government in these countries(the same:451). But the experts of the Constitution entitled the Islamic system to interfere in politics of the Islamic nations which are under the yoke of the colonial states and justify that interference in political affairs of these countries will be permissible if the aim is to save and direct them to united Islamic nation because the revolution which occurred in Iran was an Islamic revolution and Islam is not limited to Iran and the goal of the Islamic Republic is to save all Muslims from all countries from despotism , colonialism and oppression and implement Islamic programs in these countries. Therefore, Islamic Republic should pay attention to Islam and all Islamic countries and should not be only limited to issues of Iran (the same:450&453).

In two principles 152 and 154, idealism of the system for realization of the universal goals has distinctive place as the experts believe that the consensus on enactment of these two principles which are basis of the foreign policy of Iran indicates authenticity of the revolution and emphasized on global nature of revolution and that Islamic revolution should not be confined inside the borders (the same: 1520-1521).

Principle 155: granting asylum by Iran to the political asylums in case these persons are not traitors and felonies according to laws of Iran is another aspect of the considerations of foreign policy of the Islamic Republic in the Constitution.

1-4-4- Indirect approach to foreign policy

The addressee unfamiliar with Constitution of Islamic Republic of Iran with this imagination that issues of foreign policy has been inserted logically and methodically in chapter 10 of the Constitution thinks to have no need for study of other principles while there are other principles and paragraphs which have considered foreign policy and interaction with the outside world including states, nations, Muslims , the oppressed and imperialists and political , economic , social, cultural, military and security fields in center of the subject or marginally and implicitly in addition to principles inserted in chapter 10 from the top to bottom of the Constitution. Revision of other principles and paragraphs of the Constitution confirms this claim.

Second principle of paragraphs b and c: use of advanced human sciences, techniques and experiences and effort to achieve them, negation of any oppression and submissiveness and dominance and submission and independency of the country in all aspects. based on attitude of the experts of the Constitution, goal of the Islamic Republic of Iran is based on 1- omission of any despotism and dictatorship, rejection of colonialism and any tendency toward east and west, 2- creation of self-sufficiency in all scientific, economic and military fields, 3- founding correct economy according to Islamic rules, 4- utilizing advanced sciences and techniques and human experiences in all fields (negotiations of the assembly, the same:237). Although the revolutionists acknowledged that Islamic school preferred over other schools, they didn't mean ignorance of human sciences in administration of the affairs but they believed that Islam bound the Muslims to utilize new sciences and techniques because new sciences were regarded necessary in evolution and progress of societies. (The same: 209).

Principle 3 of paragraphs 5, 11, 13, 16 :complete rejection of colonialism and prevention of influence of the strangers , independency and territorial integrity , self-sufficiency in all fields, preparing foreign policy of the country based on Islamic criteria , fraternal obligation toward all Muslims and generous support of the oppressed in the world.

Principle 11: the fact that all Muslims are nation, general policy of government based on Islamic coalitions and unity, continuous attempt to realize political , economic and cultural unity of the Islam world . Paragraphs inserted in principles 3 and 11 are one of the important goals of foreign policy of Islamic Republic to realize global united government. In introduction of the Constitution, special attention has been paid to this goal: the Constitution provides opportunity for continuity of this revolution inside and outside the country considering Islamic content of the Iranian revolution which was a movement for victory of all oppressed people on the oppressors and it tries to pave the way for establishment of united global nation particularly in expansion of international relations with other Islamic and public movements and encourage struggling to save the unprivileged and oppressed people throughout the world. The

revolutionists believed that an Islamic bloc should be created in the world and they regarded it as a long step in realization of their ideal (the same: 303). Therefore, they believed that defense of the Islamic lands was duty of the Islamic Republic and mentioned that they should defend other Islamic lands as nation and army of Iran defend independency and territorial integrity of Iran(the same:297). Principle 43: economic independency of society, prevention of economic dominance of the strangers on economy of the country and self-sufficiency and release from dependency. The experts of the Constitution believed that Islamic Republic should be self-sufficient in all fields and there is no need for other countries scientifically and technically and regard it as a way of reaching justice , equality and national solidarity(the same, 280) so that the country stands on its feet and reach self-sufficiency in future(the same: 877).

Principle 77: enactment of all treaties, contracts and international agreements by Islamic Consultative Assembly. According to the experts, constitution of the treaties and contracts in the past led to influence of colonialist and economy, politics and culture of the country may be appropriated by the strangers(the same:86).

Principle 78: prohibition to make any change in borderlines unless in case of enactment of three fourth of the representatives of the Islamic Consultative Assembly in exceptional cases and mutually and after spending very difficult process. The revolutionists hoped that Islamic Republic would make progress day by day and be united in all Islamic countries and there would be no issue of border due to unity with belief in inclusiveness of Islamic revolution but borders of Iran should not be trespassed under any title even reform so long as there is a border(the same, 1703-1704).

Principle 80: borrowing and lending loan with local and foreign grants should be approved by the assembly. The experts of the Constitution imagined that borrowing loan from another country is accompanied by usury and it results in monetary monopoly and they considered this fact that usury was prohibited according to Islam law and it was not possible to receive foreign loan (the same: 873) as borrowing can cause dominance of the stranger on Islamic country considering experience of Iranian contemporary history.

Principle 145: no acceptance of any foreigner as member of the army and police forces of the country

Principle 146: no establishment of any foreign military base in the country though peacefully. of course, the experts of the Constitution argued that Muslims should not be regarded as foreigner and they should be assisted in this way.

Considering the said principles which apply strategies in the field of foreign policy directly or indirectly and emphasize on importance of place of foreign policy in the Constitution of Islamic Republic of Iran

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Three main characteristics can be considered for foreign policy of Iran based on policies of the Constitution.

1-4-5-Limitation for agencies

Constitutions lack long-term goals in structure of foreign policy but the Constitution of Islamic Republic of Iran search for long-term goals in foreign policy. This imposes limitations for agencies. Delineation of space of foreign policy and determination of executive policies, expression of goals and determining movement of the agencies limit them in this field.

Constitution directs statesmen and agencies to realization of ideological goals of the system by determining long-term and unchanging goals in the field of foreign policy while there are changes in international system based on conditions and circumstances so that the states cannot be inflexible toward these changes but foreign policy of Iran is necessary based on strategies of the constitution without flexibility.

1-4-6- Obligation for the future generations

Provisions of the principles of Constitution and ideological attitudes toward it show that there are definite goals for foreign policy of the Islamic Republic. Considerations such as support of the oppressed against the oppressors, defending rights of the oppressors, defending rights of Muslims, unity of Islamic nations, effort to realize unity of Islam world in all fields and other issues indicate that these principles should be criterion for movement of all generations as they oblige the future generations in advance.

1-4-7- Pessimistic attitude toward the outside world:

Based on ideology of the Islamic system and attitude of the experts of the Constitution, the world is divided into two parts: self-otherness.

In principles inserted in the Constitution, literature of negation has special place. Repeated application of the words such as despotism, dominance of strangers, and the western world shows that Islamic Republic looks at the outside world with pessimistic look. This approach governs many principles of the Constitution. In all political, economic, cultural and military fields, the Constitution delineates the world from the self and otherness viewpoint. In fact, the Constitution has given limited range of facilities and activities to the agencies and executives through expansive

cultural otherness. Such orientation and principles result in production of conspiratorial literature about the outside world and international system.

1-4-8- Studying negotiations in Council for Revision of the Constitution

Since needs and circumstances are changed due to change and dynamicity of society and societies affected by these changes require new conditions, therefore, the constitutions move by accepting reform and change in alignment with new conditions. In the constitutions, an article entitled review of the constitution has dealt with this important case so that they can enact and execute new laws based on social and political circumstances.

There were changes in the Constitution of Islamic Republic of Iran and two principles 176 and 177 entitled “Supreme National Security Council” and “revision of the constitution “. Therefore, the Constitution of Iran comprises of 14 chapters and 177 principles.

Principle 110: this principle has vested the Leadership with expansive powers but more powers were delegated to the Leader in revision of the constitution in the fields which can be effective in foreign policy. These powers include:

1-2-1- Granting right of war and peace declaration and mobilization of forces

1-2-2- Determining general policies of the Islamic Republic of Iran

1-2-3- supervision on good performance of the general policies of the system

1-2-4- Solving problems of the system through State Exigency Council.

Based on the doctrinal attitude, the Islamic government should be led by the jurisprudent and according to principle 109 of the Constitution; he should be qualified for leadership which has been mentioned in this principle. Experts of the Constitution emphasized that if the Constitution is not based on the holy book and tradition and the issue of guardianship of jurist consult is not considered, it will not be enacted by the experts but issue of guardianship of jurist consult should be regarded as basis of action in the Constitution of the Islamic Republic (Council for Revision of the Constitution, 107).

Principle 128: ambassadors are appointed as suggested by the minister of the foreign affairs and enacted by the president. The president has signed credential of ambassadors and accepts credential of ambassadors of other countries.

Principle 176: the Supreme National Security Council presided by the president has the following duties to provide national benefits, guard Islamic Revolution, territorial integrity and national sovereignty:

1- Determining defensive –security policies in general policies determined by the Leadership

2- coordinating political, informative , social, cultural and economic activities regarding general defensive –security strategies

3- Utilizing material and spiritual facilities for confronting with local and foreign threats

Experts of the Constitution in Council for Revision acknowledged that Supreme National Security Council can solve the main problem i.e. national security which was lacking in the constitution by a new combination which has been predicted in the constitution in leadership section (the same, 1147).

Table 1- Principles of the constitution regarding foreign policy 1-3-1

Confirmed subjects	Foreign policy principles	Principle No.	Chapter or title	Row
Independence , responsiveness	Negation of oppression and submissiveness, independence	Principle 2, paragraphs b&c	Chapter 1- general PRINCIPLES	1
Nationalism, Cosmopolitanism, idealism	Rejection of colonialism, prevention from influence of the strangers , keeping independency, obligation and support of the oppressed	Principle 3, paragraphs 3,5,11,13,16	Chapter 1- general PRINCIPLES	2
Idealism, nationalism	Unity of Islamic nations , political –economic unity of the Islam world	Principle 11	Chapter 1- general PRINCIPLES	3

Responsiveness	Political independence , self-sufficiency	Principle 43	Chapter 4- economy and financial affairs	4
Responsiveness	Importance of the assembly	Principle 77	Chapter 6- the legislative power	5
Responsiveness	Prohibition to change the borderlines	Principle 78	Chapter 6- the legislative power	6
Responsiveness	Borrowing and lending subject to enactment of the assembly	Principle 80	Chapter 6- the legislative power	7
Responsiveness, independence , xenophobia	Prohibiting to grant concession for establishment of the company to the foreigners	Principle 81	Chapter 6- the legislative power	8
Islamic interest of responsiveness	Prohibiting to employ foreign experts	Principle 82	Chapter 6- the legislative power	9
Isalmistic	Granting right to declare war, peace and mobilize forces to the leader	Principle 110	Chapter 8- leadership or council of leadership	10
Determining executive structure	Duties of the president	Principle 125	Chapter 9- Exeecutive power	11
Determining executive structure	Appointment and acceptance of ambassador	Principle 128	Chapter 9- Exeecutive power	12
Independence , responsiveness, Xenophobia	No acceptance foreigners in army	Principle 145	Chapter 9- Exeecutive power	13
Responsiveness, independence	No establishment of foreign military base in the country	Principle 146	Chapter 9- Exeecutive power	14
Realism. nationality, idealism	Negation of dominance and submission, defending Muslims , lack of obligation	Principle 152	Chapter 10- foreign policy	15
Responsiveness	Prohibiting contract resulting in dominance of the strangers on dignities of the country	Principle 153	Chapter 10- foreign policy	16

Idealism	Happiness of human , government of truth and justice for all people of the world, supporting campaigns of the oppressed	Principle 154	Chapter 10- foreign policy	17
	Granting asylum to political asylums	Principle 155	Chapter 10- foreign policy	18
Realism , national interests	National benefits , security, defending territorial integrity	Principle 176	Chapter 13- Supreme National Security Council	19

2-1- Place of foreign policy in constitution of countries

Taking principles of foreign policy from constitutions of the countries can indicate characteristics affecting executive structures of the countries. Therefore, this part of the paper first refers to place of foreign policy in constitutions of America, France, India, Turkey and Afghanistan and then studies main and effective points relating to foreign policy of each country and finally studies condition of foreign policy of Iran in constitution compared with other constitutions.

2-2- USA

Constitution of America as the oldest codified constitution which is valid up to date was enforceable in 1789 and remained with 26 amendments and had deep effects on codification of the modern constitutions of the world beside the constitutions of Britain and France. Constitution of USA includes 7 principles and 26 amendments.

The following principles include cases relating to foreign policy of this country. These principles include:

The first principle, Section 8 of paragraph 3: legislating regulations to commerce with foreign countries and different states is one of the powers of the congress.

The first principle, section 10: prohibition of accession to a treaty, union or confederation for the states.

First principle, section 8, paragraph 2: no state is not entitled to enact tariff or customs duties on import and export without agreement of the congress unless in necessary cases.

First principle, section 8, paragraph 3: states have no signatory right for the agreement or treaty with foreign powers and cannot make war.

Second principle, section 2, paragraph 2: treaties are concluded by the president with consultation and agreement of Senate under special conditions. Ambassadors are appointed by the president.

Second principle, section 3: acceptance of representatives and ambassadors by the president

Principle 3, section 2: supervision on the concluded treaties , claims relating to ambassadors and the disputes between one state and citizens of another state or the disputes in which USA is one of the parties to the dispute shall be done by the judiciary and regarded as scope of powers of the judiciary.

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France 2-3:

Constitution of France relating to 4 October 1958 or the constitution of the fifth republic and the subsequent amendments. It has been mentioned in introduction of the constitution of this country that France formally announces its adherence to human rights and national sovereignty principles as specified in declaration 1789 and confirmed and completed in introduction of the constitution 1946. The said two texts are regarded as a part of the constitution of France.

The constitution of France comprises of 17 chapters and 93 principles among which principles 90 to 93 have been abolished. The principles which relate to foreign policy:

Second chapter, principle 11: the president proposed by the state is able to hold a referendum on enactment of the treaties which have effect on performance of the institutions without contradiction with the constitution.

Second chapter, principle 13: appointment of ambassadors and extraordinary representatives by the president

Second chapter, principle 14: granting credential of ambassadors and envoys of the foreign countries with the president.

Second chapter, principle 16: taking necessary measures when the republic institutions, national independency, territorial integrity or performance of international obligations are seriously threatened.

Chapter 5, principle 35: war declaration is done with permission of the parliament.

Chapter 6, principle 52: negotiation about treaties and their signature shall be done by the president and he should be notified of the negotiations which are made to conclude international agreement and need no signature of the president.

Chapter 6, principle 53: confirmation of the peace treaties, commercial treaties and agreements relating to international organizations which are enforceable in case of enactment of law.

Chapter 6, principle 54: in case council of constitution declares that an international obligation entails an article contradictory to the constitutional law, it is possible to enact or confirm it after revision of the constitution.

Chapter 6, principle 55: preference of the treaties or agreements which have been signed and enacted legally to local laws provided that the opposing party is bound to execute the treaties.

Chapter 14, principle 88: the republic can conclude treaties with the states with accession to treaty to expand its civilization can conclude treaties.

India 2-4-

Constitution of India was codified by constituent's assembly in December 1946 and formalized and enforced on 26 January 1950. Codifiers of the Indian constitution utilized experiences of other countries while being affected by the British government. The constitution comprised of 151 principles.

The principles relating to foreign policy:

Principle 3 regarding establishment of new states or separation of borders from any state ,change of domains or name of states , unity of two or more states, unity of each border with any part of a state , increase or decrease of domains , parliament supervises through law.

Principle 18- none of the Indian citizens should accept any title from the foreign state without agreement of the president.

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Principle 19: emphasis on friendly relations with foreign states as one of the essential rights of people

Principle 51: regarding international peace and security,states make effort to expand international peace and security, keep fair and respectful communication among the nations, increase validity of the international law, bind the parties to perform the treaties and limit international disputes.

Principle 102: members of the parliament will be incapacitated optionally in case of accepting nationality of the foreign state.

Principle 131: the Supreme Court has right of judgment between India and other states. This court supervises on conclusion of the treaties. This article expresses that this right doesn't include treaties and contracts which have been concluded before enactment of the constitution.

Principle 138: the Supreme Court has right of judgment between Indian government and another state in conclusion of the contract. Right of judgment of the Supreme Court should be enacted by the parliament.

Turkey2-5:

The first constitution of this country was enacted in 1876. The said constitution was abolished in 1878 and enforced again in 1908.

The constitution of this country seriously changed through reforms of Ataturk since 1920s. The latest changes of the constitution of Turkey were made in 2004 to pave the way for accession of Turkey to European Union. The constitution of this country comprised of 7 sections and 176 principles. The principles relating to category of foreign policy include:

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Principle 5: goals and duties of the state include: keeping independency and territorial integrity and making effort to remove political, social and economic barriers which limit essential rights and freedoms.

Principle 16: essential rights and freedoms of the strangers may be limited by virtue of law according to international law.

Principle 69, paragraph 10: political parties which receive financial assistance from foreign states, international institutes and persons or organizations will be permanently dissolved.

Principle 74: citizens and foreign residents are entitled to request hearing for their complaints considering principle of reciprocity before the competent authorities and great national assembly of Turkey.

Principle 87: war declaration and approval of the international agreements are the duties and powers of the assembly.

Principle 90, paragraph 1: enactment of the concluded treaties with the foreign countries and international organizations by the Republic of Turkey is dependent on enactment of the great national assembly of Turkey based on the law which confirms this case.

Paragraph 2: the agreements relating to enforcement of international treaties and executive, technical, commercial and economic agreements which are concluded based on the law need not be confirmed by the assembly.

Paragraph 3: Once international agreements are enforced, they will have legal power. Regarding dispute between international treaties in the field of essential current rights and freedoms and local laws leading to difference of regulations in a field, regulations of the international treaties will govern.

Principle 92: power to enact war declaration is vested with the assembly in case it seems legitimate in some cases based on international law unless Turkey government as a party or based on international customs should send armed forces to the foreign countries based on an international treaty and permit the foreign armed forces to settle in Turkey.

Principle 104, paragraph b- the following cases are the duties of the president:

- 1- Confirming the credential of Turkey government to the states and accepting representatives of the foreign countries
- 2- Enacting and publishing international treaties
- 3- Issuing order for mobilization of the armed forces of Turkey
- 4- Recalling Supreme National Security Council to hold session
- 5- Presiding over Supreme National Security Council

Principle 167: the state has taken measures to supply and develop goods and service markets, regular function of money, credit and capital and prevents from monopoly in market.

To regulate foreign trade and fulfill benefits of the country, the council of ministers is empowered to create more financial obligations in addition to tax and similar obligations about import and export and other foreign transactions.

Afghanistan 2-6:

The first constitution of Afghanistan was prepared by Amanollah Khan in 1922 as constitution of the government against Afghanistan in 73 principles and enacted in winter of the same year. Since date of enactment to 1981s, this constitution changed a lot. The sixth constitution of this country was enacted during presidency of Najibollah in 13 chapters and 149 articles in 1987. The said constitution was reliable before collapse of Taliban. Of course, the proposed text of the new constitution of Afghanistan was enacted by administration of Borhanoddin Rabani but since it was not accepted by the Jihadi parties and criticized by the nation, it was not finally ratified; the last constitution of Afghanistan including 12 chapters and 162 principles was codified and enacted in 2003.

Principles relating to category of foreign policy

Principle 7: the state observed the UN Charter, interstate treaties, international covenants and Universal Declaration of Human Rights which Afghanistan joined.

Principle 8: regulating foreign policy of the country based on independency, national interest, territorial integrity, non-interference, good-neighborliness, mutual respect and equality of rights.

Principle 35: no dependency of the political parties and groups on foreign sources is one of the conditions for formation of political parties.

Principle 41: permitting sale of immovable (land and house) to the political representatives of foreign states or international institutes in which Afghanistan is member.

Principle 46: Establishment of higher education, public and private institutes by the foreigners is permissible according to rules of the law.

Principle 57: guaranteeing rights and freedoms of the foreign nationals in Afghanistan. These persons shall observe laws of Afghanistan government in rules of international law.

Principle 64: duties of the president are to make necessary decisions to defend territorial integrity and keep independency, send armed forces out of Afghanistan as confirmed by the national council, appoint leaders of the political representatives of Afghanistan before foreign states and international institutes and accept credential to conclude treaties between the states according to rules of the law.

Principle 75, paragraph 2: duties of the government are to keep independency, defend territorial integrity and defend benefits and prestige of Afghanistan in international community.

Principle 90: confirming international treaties and covenants or cancelling accession of Afghanistan to it by the National Consultative Assembly.

Principle 121: the judiciary is responsible for studying conformity of the interstate laws and treaties and international covenants to the constitution and interpreting them based on demand of government.

Research findings 2-1-1-

Subjects emphasized by the foreign policy in constitutions of each state

Principles inserted in constitution of the countries based on foreign policy emphasize on the subjects of which study and recognition can give clearer attitude toward governing policies of the foreign policy of the countries such as Iran. In other words, foreign policy is a designed route for action which decides in any country adopt against other states or international entities to reach special goals (Tahaei, 2008:20).

Countries in their constitutions regarding foreign policy emphasize on special subjects which are affected by approach of statesmen, attitudes and internal and external structures.

Subjects emphasized by the foreign policy in constitutions of Iran 2-1-2:

2-1-3- Constitution and its supplement

The said constitution affected by the political conditions of Iran and colonial conditions had high emphasis on the assembly and its supervisory role on performance and activities of the state. In other words, historical principles and conditions have been considered and preferred in delineation of the foreign policy in the constitution. In other words, this was the local policy and rights of nation which oriented the foreign policy. For this reason, any foreign contract should be enacted and confirmed by the National Consultative Assembly.

Of the other principles emphasized in the constitution are as follows:

2-1-3- Limiting powers of the king in granting concession to the foreign states

2-1-4- Preventing from violation of the nation's rights through supervision of the National Consultative Assembly on treaties and participation of local and foreign companies in Iran

2-1-5- Creating limitation for the military force

Considering the presented facts, the constitution has had functional and realistic attitude toward foreign policy.

Constitution of Islamic Republic 2-2-1:

Principles inserted in the constitution of Islamic Republic have mentioned a special foreign policy which is affected by the functions of Islamic ideology. Emphasis on the following concepts and subjects confirms this claim.

2-2-1- Unity of the Muslims in the world

2-2-2- Negation of dominance and submission

2-2-3- No obligation to aggressive powers

2-2-4- Defending rights of Muslims

2-2-5- Supporting the oppressed in the world and liberalistic movements

2-2-6- Mutual peaceful relations with non-combatant states (Tahaei, 2008:116-120)

In addition, foreign policy of Islamic Republic of Iran is based on the following characteristics considering cases expressed in the constitution:

Cosmopolitan (revolution and release for all the world), nationalistic (supporting unity of the Muslims and formation of Islamic nation), mutual approach (negative attitude of the experts of constitution toward negation of the actions and performances of the former regime and international system), revolutionary (radical and leftist approach affected by characteristics of the revolution)(compare with : Khalili, 2008: 158), idealistic (negation of dominance and submission, supporting the oppressed in the world etc.), maximal approach toward all the world , oppressed and Muslims.

Subjects emphasized by the foreign policy in constitutions of other countries 2-3-1:

USA 2-3-1:

Principles inserted in the constitution of America specify executive structure of the USA. In other words, principles of the constitution of America relating to foreign policy aim to delineate a general framework of the executive structure of foreign policy of this country. Since the constitution gives meaning to legal and structural stability in policy and such stability has limited importance in the variable world of foreign policy and international relations, the USA has had the highest emphasis on delineation of the policies of the category of foreign policy (Tahaei, 2008:196).

2-3-1- Determining executive structure of the foreign policy

2-3-2- Adopting regulations and creating limitation for the states

2-3-3- Concluding treaties and following it

2-3-4- Importance of the judiciary in claims

The said cases are emphasized in foreign policy inserted in constitution of America. Therefore, foreign policy of this country is based on realistic approach to fulfill national interests.

France 2-4-1:

Common role of the constitution in new history of Europe particularly France is to defend rights and freedoms of the citizens. Its history dates back French Revolution in 1789.

French constitution relating to category of foreign policy delineates framework of the executive structure of the foreign policy on the one hand and emphasizes on essential freedoms and human rights based on its historical experience on the other hand. France as a country affecting European Union pays attention to convergence with other European

countries and adherence to international treaties. Therefore, French constitution relating to the foreign policy emphasizes on the following cases.

2-4-1- Independence and territorial integrity of the country

2-4-2- Adherence to international treaties and obligations

2-4-3- Emphasis on essential freedoms and human rights

2-4-4- Supporting regional obligations, convergence, realism and also liberalistic approach are considered as characteristics of the foreign policy of this country.

India 2-5-1:

Foreign policy of India refers to the following subjects in constitution of this country:

2-5-1- supervisory role of parliament on any change in domain of India

2-5-2- Emphasis on international peace and security

2-5-3- Attention to role of supreme court of India in supervision on conclusion of treaties

Due to separation of Pakistan from India, special attention has been paid to border changes in constitution of this country. India as a country affecting international system and following democratic principles emphasizes on peace and security in the constitution. Realism and pacifism are of the characteristics of foreign policy of this country.

Turkey 2-6-1:

Turkey tries to play effective and efficient role in international system because it wants to join European Union. Therefore, it emphasizes on cooperation with the international system. Investment and foreign trade are regarded as economic artery of this country and Turkey pays much attention to economic relations in the field of foreign policy to increase national income. The cases emphasized in the constitution of Turkey include:

2-6-1- Foreign trade to increase national product

2-6-2- Attention to national security

2-6-3- Cooperation with international system

Realism and attention to cooperation with other countries are the characteristics of the foreign policy of this country.

Afghanistan 2-7-1-

The constitution of Afghanistan refers to the following cases in the field of foreign policy:

2-7-1- Following international treaties and human rights

2-7-2- Regulating foreign policy based on independence, national interests and observe rights of other states

2-7-3- Keeping independency and territorial integrity

2-7-4- Guaranteeing rights and freedoms of foreign nationals

Table 2- Comparing foreign policy of the related countries in the constitution 2-8-1:

Emphasized subjects	Characteristic of foreign policy of countries	The number of principles relating to foreign policy	Principles of the constitution	Country
Nationalism, idealism, crossover and maximal approach, radicalism and fundamentalism	Unity of Muslims, no obligation, keeping independency, negation of dominance and submission, defending Muslims, supporting the oppressed	19 principles	177 principles	Iran
Realism	Applying limitation about activity of states, foreign trade, following treaties	7 principles	7 principles and 26 amendments	America
Regional convergence and realism	Emphasis on independency, attention to freedom and human rights,	12 principles	17 chapters and 93 principles (the last three principles were abolished)	France

	following regional and international obligations			
Realism and emphasis on international peace and security	Attention to border changes , emphasis on peace and security	7 principles	151 principles	India
Realism , economism	Convergence with international system, , emphasis on economic cooperation , national security	9 principles	7 Sections and 176 principles	Turkey
Realism and adopting interactive approach with international system,	Following international obligations and human rights , keeping independency , emphasis on national interests,	10 principles	12 chapters and 162 articles	Afghanistan

Conclusion 2-9-1:

The constitution delineates main policies, areas and procedures in foreign policy of countries. Therefore, the constitution is the most reliable document and formal legal and political source in all political systems of the world and is of considerable importance. The constitution of Islamic Republic of Iran was codified when the revolutionists tried to delineate the constitution based on Islamic ideology in doctrinal and revolutionary space. Therefore, it achieved a high position to realize ideal goals of the Islamic Republic and orientate obligations and behaviors of foreign policy. Based on Agency-Structure theory, interaction between structures and agencies is an important factor in analysis and explanation of social and political changes and processes. The said theory gives more realistic recognition of the foreign policy of Islamic Republic of Iran. Since the constitution of Islamic Republic of Iran was codified as an important source in recognition and analysis of foreign policy of Iran under revolutionary and ideological conditions of Islamic system on the one hand and attitude of the experts in delineation of strategies and goals of foreign policy on the other hand. In this research, the constitutions of six countries i.e. Iran, America, France, India, Turkey and Afghanistan were studied and attempt was made to discuss place of foreign policy in the constitutions of the said countries. The constitutions of the studied countries dealt with executive structure and policy of the foreign policy in the principles relating to foreign policy by adopting realistic approach without predicting long-term goals and included keeping the status quo in its agenda while Iran has followed long-term ideological, idealistic and challenging goals to the status quo in the field of international system in their foreign policy goals and the Constitution of Islamic Republic of Iran among the constitutions of the studied countries has allocated more principles to foreign policy and these results prove the research hypothesis. Some principles inserted in the Constitution of Islamic Republic of Iran are reaction to political and economic strategies and relations of Iran during Pahlavi period with other states particularly western states. Therefore, since the highest emphasis is on rejection of goals and plans of the past regime, it is known as responsiveness.

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