

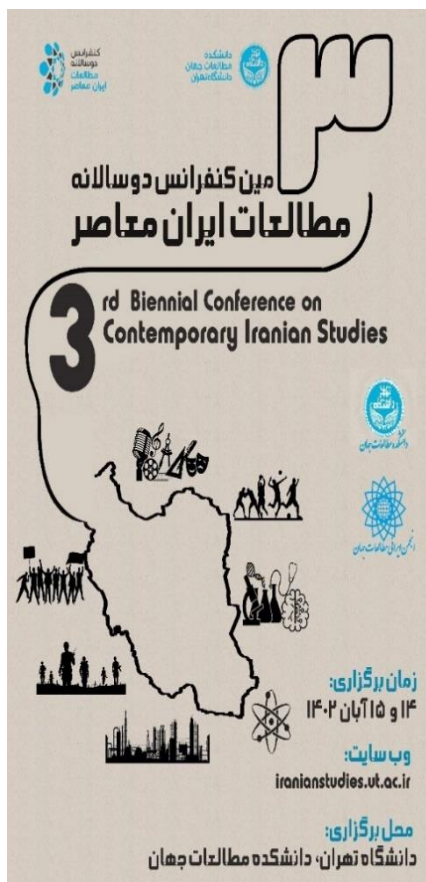


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50 years after the coup: Chilean-Iranian relations revisited

Renato Vélaz Castro¹

Abstract

The year 2023 marks the 50th anniversary of the US-backed military coup that overthrew the democratically elected government of Salvador Allende in Chile, and installed a military junta led by general Augusto Pinochet. It also marks the 70th anniversary of the US-backed coup against Mohammed Mossadegh in Iran. Beyond the parallels of Western intervention directed against sovereign governments which aimed to control its resources (the copper and oil industries, respectively), and the imposition of authoritarian US-client regimes, the fact is that Pinochet's rule signaled a period of close ties between Chile and the Pahlavi regime in Iran. From the establishment of a Chilean embassy in Tehran in 1974, cooperation even reached the field of political repression both at home and overseas, as SAVAK provided training manuals for the Chilean secret police and Pinochet agents offered collaboration in chasing some of the Shah's enemies abroad. The triumph of the Islamic Revolution in 1979 put an end to Chilean-Iranian cooperation and diplomatic relations. The Pinochet dictatorship then supported Saddam's war against Iran by providing weapons to the Iraqi regime - including cluster munition. All these parallels, ties and junctures, often forgotten and little known by the peoples of both countries, deserve to be examined and revisited.

Keywords: Chilean-Iranian relations, Iran-Iraq war, Iranian-Latin American relations, Pinochet regime, US interventionism.

Session 2: Iranian Foreign Policy

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The impact of sanctions on Iranians' public opinion: A comparative study of war, economic crisis and sanctions

Reza Asadian¹

Abstract

Following the 1979 revolution, Iran faced numerous disputes with the US, predominantly centered on its nuclear program in the recent years. Consequently, economic sanctions became the US's primary statecraft tool against Iran. In 2015, a landmark agreement emerged between Iran, the US, China, Russia, and European partners, where Iran agreed to limit its nuclear activities in exchange for a lifting of sanctions. However, this consensus was short-lived as the Trump administration later reimposed sanctions and exited the agreement. Contrary to expectations, where defensive scenarios often prompt national unity and a "rallying around the flag" response, the Iranian public, facing economic hardship from sanctions, largely attributed blame to their own government. This article seeks to elucidate this counterintuitive Iranian public opinion by juxtaposing it with public sentiments during wars and economic crises. Given the dual nature of sanctions—as instruments of exerting power akin to war, and as catalysts for economic downturns in the targeted nations—this paper offers a review on public opinion during wars and economic crises to address its primary inquiry. The article underscores the significance of partisan disagreements within Iran's ruling elite regarding the country's reaction to sanctions, emphasizing its crucial role in shaping the public's response.

Keywords: economic crisis, Iran-US relations, nuclear sanctions, political elite, public opinion.

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Living experience of Iranian with African decedents

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Abstract

Very few scholars referred to the African communities in Iran. This signifies that important work needs to be done to fill in the gap. But research on African Iranians is problematic in the sense that black communities who were mostly imported through enslavement in different periods are dispersed in different parts of Iran and do not know their origins. This paper made use of 16 interviews to understand the experience of being a black African in Iran. Significant points have been derived from these interviews: most of the people in this group do not have any knowledge about their African roots and consider themselves Iranian or even Aryan. The feeling of being Iranian is quite evident in the researched group. They consider being Iranian as something more than the color of their skin. Among the researched group, there was no feeling that they belong to another race even those who were aware of their roots. Their experience in different parts of Iran (cities with a black population and cities without blacks) is very diverse. The feeling of being ugly is significant for African women who were interviewed. Both men and women have not experienced discrimination in their communities except in marriage. The influence of Western media is important in their perception of their social position.

Keywords: African decent, Iran, perception, race.

Session 4: Iranian Society and Culture (1)

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The identity of the Iranian Kurdish diaspora in the UK: A study of Iranian Kurdish identity in a transnational context

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Abstract

There is a considerable number of Iranian Kurds in the UK and interestingly one of the rare occasions in which any British-Iranian ethnic minority group seeks to identify and hold to their group identity is the Kurdish diaspora. Despite this importance, there is almost no research on British-Iranian Kurds' social identity construction in the British context. Based on Tajfel and Turner's theory of social identity, this paper seeks to understand how Iranian Kurds negotiate their national and cultural identity in the UK and how their self-identification is accepted in the wider society. This paper, as a part of ongoing research, adopts a qualitative approach and tends to recruit 20 semi-structured interviews with Iranian Kurds living in Britain (so far 7 interviews have been conducted). The initial analysis of this research suggests that Iranian Kurds' identity negotiation, despite general understanding, is a complex issue and context-dependent based on different identity markers. Their self-identity description includes both singular and multiple identities such as Kurd, Iranian, British-Kurd, and British Iranian. The interviewees' political background was one the important factor in shaping Iranian Kurds' social identity negotiation, especially when it was related to their home country.

Keywords: Britain, Iranian Kurds, Kurdish diaspora, social identity.

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Colonization beyond territory: A study of orientalist self-perceptions among Iranians

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Abstract

While Iran was never formally colonized by Western powers, it had regimes loyal to the West. Thus, the country was more or less a de facto colony of Russia, Great Britain, and the United States. One of the most pernicious consequences of such presences can be described as the "colonization of the mind," which has subtle and lasting manifestations. Using Edward Said's four major characteristics of Orientalism (i.e., binary opposition, over-generalization, fear and control, and depicting the Orient as stuck in past primitiveness), the present paper attempts to analyze the self-perception of the Iranians toward themselves to see whether the way they perceive themselves is similar to the Western discourse of the "Orient." In the first step, a number of interviews with a representative sampling of the population under investigation were conducted to develop the questionnaire. Then questionnaires were distributed, and 650 responses were collected. The survey was meant to assess the four components of Orientalism as proposed by Said, among the respondents. It also contained questions about the respondents' lifestyle, their perceptions toward nationalism, and media consumption. The results reveal evidence of Orientalist self-perception among the Iranians when they compare themselves with the West.

Keywords: Iran, Orientalism, self-perception, survey, the West.

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Considering Kumzari: Exploring the linguistic and geographic boundaries of Persian studies

Emily Jane O'Dell ¹

Abstract

The language of Kumzari is primarily spoken in the fishing village of Kumzar, located on the tip of the Musandam Peninsula on the Strait of Hormuz in the far north of the Sultanate of Oman, and on Larak Island (*Rārik*) in the Islamic Republic of Iran. It is also spoken in nearby Omani cities like Dibba (*Dāba*) and Khasab (*Xāṣab*) and a few coastal cities of the United Arab Emirates. Speakers of the language on Larak Island call their language variety *Rārikī*. Thus, there are two main groups of Kumzari speakers on both sides of the Strait of Hormuz – the Kumzari inhabiting the Musandam Peninsula and the Laraki who reside primarily on Larak Island in Iran. In-depth studies of Kumzari / Rariki are relatively recent and the field is still in its infancy. While the village of Kumzar is often described today as “isolated” in western discourse, in the past Kumzar served as a historically important geographic location in between the trading centers of Persia, Zanzibar, Muscat, Basra, and India because of the ubiquity of sea travel in the days before road and air travel. In fact, Kumzar played an essential role in providing fresh water for passing ships, as did Kharg Island in the northern Persian Gulf. The coastal landscapes of the Persian Gulf in the past and present have been contested spaces of commercialism and imperialism. A significant percentage of the vocabulary of Kumzari / Rariki comes from Persian, and it also shares some grammatical features with Persian as well. However, there is a robust and on-going debate about its linguistic features and roots -- with claims that it is a blend of Persian, Arabic, and other languages or even a descendant of Modern South Arabian Languages in Southern Oman and Yemen. This paper will look at how this language and Persian Gulf region is discussed in recent scholarship, with particular attention to how the "Persian" aspects of Kumzari / Rariki are framed and contextualized. It will highlight how the language of Kumzari and its Persian Gulf geography have been entangled in histories of colonialism in the past and imperialism in the present. Most importantly, it will show how Kumzari challenges the boundaries of Persian Studies by its refusal to fit squarely in any one category or discipline -- at the present moment, it seemingly defies linguistic categorization or disciplinarity.

Keywords: Kumzari, language, modern, Oman.

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Gender justice in Islam: A critique of Ziba Mir-Hosseini's humanistic ethic of social justice by using Shi'i epistemological assumptions

Tim Orr ¹

Abstract

The driving force behind Ziba Mir-Hosseini's understanding of Islamic gender justice is the rise of political Islam and the need to respond to this movement with a feminist response that achieves gender equality. However, her quest for gender equality creates an epistemological crisis. As an early Islamic feminist, scholar, and activist voice, she has sought to influence a new epistemology opposing the classical fiqh jurists' epistemic commitments. Mir-Hosseini's work aims to deal squarely with these forces and replace them with an epistemology that will topple the patriarchy furthered by classical fiqh. The researcher will utilize Shi'i epistemological assumptions to examine Mir-Hosseini's work. This presentation will argue that Mir-Hosseini has accepted the humanistic ethic of social justice that privileges reason over revelation by filtering Islamic solutions through the epistemological lenses of the feminist and human rights movements. The researcher will show that her political activism has shaped her understanding of an Islamic response to gender injustice, revealed by how she draws boundaries and decides what Islamic epistemological ideas she is willing to embrace versus those she is unwilling to embrace. Furthermore, her choices for her ingroup and outgroup reveal her political commitments by the way she forms alliances with progressives from other religions and not with fellow Shi'i Muslims.

Keywords: human rights and social justice, Islamic gender justice, political Islam and feminism, Shi'i epistemology, Ziba Mir-Hosseini's work.

Session 6: Iranian Society and Culture (2)

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Hollywood's representation of the female Iranian identity since the 1979 Islamic Revolution

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Session 6: Iranian Society and Culture (2)

Abstract

Iranian women have been an essential focus of U.S. foreign policy and media attention since the 1979 Islamic Revolution in Iran. A vast amount of data demonstrates how U.S. politicians and society view Iranian women through think tanks, academic research, mainstream media coverage, and Hollywood depictions of the female Iranian identity. Hollywood studios have produced or released 17 films representing the Iranian identity in some way or another. Through content analysis and critical discourse analysis, I examine where negative stereotypes and cliches are perpetuated and where Hollywood has provided a nuanced and fair depiction of the female Iranian identity. Using a four-tier depiction formula I have created for my PhD research, I analyse how engaging Hollywood filmmakers have been with an identity they claim is oppressed by Iranian authorities and government. Of the 17 films analysed that represent the Iranian identity at some level, only eight films depict the female Iranian identity. From those, only in three films are there positive representations. The rest of the depictions have included worn-out stereotypes and cliches that not only do not promote the Iranian identity but harm its cause and project an Orientalist and racist view of the female Iranian identity by excluding Iranian women characters from inclusion in the majority of the films analysed.

Keywords: female Iranian identity, Hollywood representations of Iran. Iranian women and U.S. media, negative stereotypes and cliches, orientalism and racism.

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The “Intermediary Circles”: A recently-circulated term in Iranian political literature in definitions, examples, and expectations of women

Zohreh Nosrat Kharazmi ¹

Abstract

The weakness or strength of the civil society against the state is a controversial subject in Iran. A huge body of the existing literature discusses the structure of governance and theocratical institutions as the main obstacles toward having vibrant NGOs or any other “cause-oriented groups”. When the supreme leader of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Ayatollah Khamenei, first used the term “intermediary circles” on May 22nd, 2010 at his meeting with the university students, nobody thought the term would surface in domestic politics a decade later and post a critical uproar, after Mahsa Amini’s death for the cause of hijab at police custody. The present research is the outcome of deep semi-structured interview with ten cultural activists from the principalist camp to portray their conceptual understanding, and the possibility of practical solutions of upgrading the civil organizations in contemporary Iran. Regarding the generation gap, the unprecedented public removal of hijab, and critical identity questions emerged during the last year, reflexive thematic analysis (RTA) of interviews, with the employment of *Atlas ti* software, discusses women’s positions, level and quality of participation, and sort of their activism in decision-making from the principalist outlook which is originally known with traditional Islamic elements of gender roles. The paradigm shift in this “revolutionary” camp that the paper attempts to draw can be the cornerstone for future studies on gender issues and women’s experiences in Iran.

Keywords: civil society, governance, intermediary circles, Iran, women.

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Challenges of Iranian women's use of information and communication technologies: A survey-based analysis

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Session 6: Iranian Society and Culture (2)

Abstract

A glance at Iran's position in global indicators of the gender gap in the last two decades shows that despite various government measures and actions, there is a long way to go before gender equality is achieved in the country. On the other hand, the development and increasing capabilities of information and communication technologies as well as the Internet in Iran are envisaged to be tools for reducing gender inequality and act as catalysts for the economic, social and political empowerment of women. But the question remains, why has the increased penetration of and access to the Internet in the country in recent years not yet made any significant improvement to Iran's position in global indicators of gender equality? To answer this question, it is first necessary to identify the obstacles that prevent women in Iran from fully benefiting from ICT. Accordingly, this article investigates the factors causing the knowledge gap, draws on recent nationally representative survey data to identify these barriers in Iran, and offers some policy solutions to alleviate them. Its results indicate that the main obstacles in the way of women's effective use of new ICT lies in their insufficient knowledge about the benefits of using these technologies, especially its economic potentials, rather than any network availability, cultural barriers, or individual access issues.

Keywords: gender equality, gender gap, ICT policies, women's economic potential.

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Investigating resistance against economic reforms: Case study: Iran during 2011-2022

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Abstract

The Iranian economy has faced many crises during the last decade, which most of them still remain unresolved and contribute to public dissatisfaction and social unrest. While the difficult economic situation in Iran and urgency for extensive economic reformation is no secret, no economic reform has been implemented in the country since liberalizing subsidies in 2011. This article tries to investigate why the Iranian leaders are avoiding structural economic reforms. After reviewing the literature, main theories about resisting change and reformation would be tested for Iran's economy during 2011-2022, and the theory of Acemoglu and Robinson would be confirmed, which suggests whenever the leaders conclude that the reforms could impose major security risks, such as instability and regime change, they will not pursue the reforms. Hence, further than financial sanctions which has huge impacts on Iranian economy, the U.S. hostile approach towards Iran and the open campaign for the regime change, can affect economic situation in Iran.

Keywords: economic crisis, economic reforms, Iran, regime change, security.

Session 8: Iranian Politics (1)

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The geopolitical implications of social unrest and external pressure in Iran

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Session 8: Iranian Politics (1)

Abstract

This paper examines the geopolitical implications of social unrest and external pressure in the Islamic Republic of Iran over the last decade. It argues that recurring protests, sanctions, and other pressures inside and outside of the Islamic Republic have made it more assertive and risk-seeking in pursuit of its geopolitical goals centered around gaining concessions from the United States and its allies and partners in Western Europe and the Middle East and Persian Gulf. The paper uses insights from Prospect Theory to explain how nationwide protests in 2009, known as the Green Movement, contributed to the Islamic Republic's perception of operating in the "domain of loss." Consequently, Iran became more risk-acceptant and escalated its conflict with the United States and Israel. This conflict initially caused the Islamic Republic to confront the harshest sanctions in its history and subsequently led to the signing of the 2015 Iran nuclear deal. Some scholars and analysts view the deal as a concession by the Western powers, which released funds the Islamic Republic needed to survive. Our theoretical and empirical insights suggest that subsequent waves of protests, culminating with the most recent ones that began in September 2022, have followed the same pattern and spawned similar geopolitical developments, including an eastward foreign policy and military assistance to Russia in Ukraine. Time will tell whether the Western powers overcome their reticence or reluctance to reengage the Islamic Republic, a geopolitical challenger whose main motivation for risk-seeking behavior is regime survival.

Keywords: Iran, geopolitics, sanctions, social unrest.

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Discourse analysis of 2022 Iranian protests in Latin American most popular newspapers in Twitter

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Abstract

Iranian recent protests known as Woman, Life, Liberty, refer to a movement that involved various groups of Iranian citizens ranging from women against obligatory hijab to those suffering from the pressures of country's economic situation. These protests were exacerbated by the narratives of various anti-Iranian government media and mass communication platforms that were targeting the hearts and minds of Iranian people. Latin American newspapers were among the players of this media war reflecting the approach of Latin Americans towards these protests. This study aims to analyze the narratives of four most popular Latin American newspapers in Twitter in order to examine how Latin American media were covering the protests news and guiding the mentalities of their citizens towards 2022 Iranian protests. According to Underwood, cognitive warfare refers to the actions conducted by a state or influence group that intend to manipulate an enemy or its citizenry's cognition mechanisms with the aim of weakening, penetrating, influencing, or even suppressing or destroying it. These activities can affect attitudes and behaviors of individuals or groups through influencing, protecting, or disrupting their cognition to gain advantage over an opponent or adversary. The Discourse analysis of the news of El Universal of Venezuela; El Tiempo of Colombia; El Universal of México and O Globo of Brasil shows that these newspapers were mainly repeating the narratives of Western-based media and in spite of their political approximation to Iranian government, were following Western media strategies and streams. This fact not only demonstrates the consequences of Western media war against Iran in the attitudes of Latin Americans, but also reveals the main defect of Iran-Latin America relations which is lack of Latin Americans' direct access to the internal media narratives of Iran.

Keywords: cognitive warfare, Iranian protests, Latin America, Latin American newspapers, Twitter.

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Unintended positive impacts of sanctions on Iran: A historical analysis within a changing global landscape

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Session 8: Iranian Politics (1)

Abstract

Economic sanctions have long been used as a coercive tool of foreign policy to influence the behavior of states, with many researchers arguing that sanctions and particularly unilateral coercive measures can impair target nations' economies as well as contribute to violation of civilians' rights. However, recent studies have shown that sanctions can also have unintended positive impacts, including the promotion of domestic industry and innovation. This paper examines the unintended positive impacts of economic sanctions on Iran within a historical context of the use of sanctions, Iran's alliance with Russia and China, the rise of the BRICS, and an emerging multipolar world. In particular, the research will focus on the impact of the current sanctions regime on Iran's domestic manufacturing sector, which has been forced to develop new industries due to a lack of access to foreign goods. This analysis draws on a range of historical and contemporary sources and argues that the sanctions have inadvertently led to the development of a more self-sufficient and diversified Iranian economy, which has the potential to contribute to regional and global economic growth. Furthermore, this paper examines the broader implications of this case study for the future of global economic governance. With the rise of the BRICS and a multipolar world, the dominance of the US dollar as the global reserve currency is being challenged. In that context, the unintended positive impacts of sanctions on Iran illustrate the potential for new economic models and approaches that may emerge in a changing global landscape. In conclusion, this research intends to provide a nuanced and historical analysis of the unintended positive impacts of economic sanctions on Iran and further argue that these impacts have broader implications for the future of economic governance as well as forthcoming role of sanctions in foreign policy.

Keywords: BRICS, Iran, multipolar world, sanctions.

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From empires to systems ... and back to Empires? System paradigm in the intellectual traditions of Iran, China and Russia

Oleg Pakhomov¹

Abstract

This paper attempts to rethink the legacy of universalism of traditional empires from the perspective of systems theory in a way that would help to adapt it to modern political theory and practice. In the West, the system ideas were already present in ancient Greek/Roman philosophy and further developed within natural sciences (anatomy, mechanics or astronomy) at least since the Renaissance. In the universal empires of the East (such as Iran, China and Russia) the system paradigm developed from the political life of centralized statehood. The core concept of the traditional imperial universalism was a particular understanding of “justice”, not as equality or absence of coercion, but as a certain form of social order. As the Chinese philosopher Xunzi and the Persian philosopher Nasir al- Din al-Tusi, noted that “justice” is primarily an “equilibrium”- as a way of maintaining optimal interrelationships between different aspects of society within a single political whole. Traditional imperial universalism understood “just order” as a centralized hierarchical order. However, the current state of the systems approach and the complexity theory allows reconsideration of the legacy of traditional universalism as the principle of totality of organizational connections and hierarchies of “systemic elements”, in the terminology of Russian philosopher, Alexander Bogdanov.

Keywords: China, Iran, Russia, system paradigm, universalism.

Session 8: Iranian Politics (1)

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The politicization versus securitization of JCPOA: A comparative study of the US and Iranian policy advisory systems

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Abstract

Having studied the very controversial and still challenging case of Iran-US nuclear negotiation, this paper sheds light on the complex role of two substantially different policy advisory systems on the policy process leading to the JCPOA agreement in 2016. Taking into account a comparative approach, the study shows how a well-established US think tank-based policy advisory system has been heavily involved in the process not only by providing policy solution and proposals, but also by the involvement in the process of post-agreement implementation and compliance. It also explains how this institutionally diversified and technically rich system has proposed a wide range of necessary advices required for such a complex and multi-faceted policy issue characterized simultaneously with political, technical, security related and economic dimensions. As the result, the machinery of unilateral sanction warfare was then perceived well-equipped and elaborately analyzed by a relatively comprehensive set of policy analysis and advice conducted by the American heavily externalized policy advisory system. However, having been affected by an extremely polarized and traditionally adversarial political system, the paper shows to what extent the advisory institutions promoting the agreement were later on approved vulnerable to the political shift derived by the rise of so-called “populist” Trump administration. As such, this study argues that the over-politicization of the US policy advisory system has led to an unstable and unreliable US foreign policy, particularly in controversial issues like the Iranian nuclear negotiation. On the other hand, this research aims at providing a contextually rich analysis of the predominantly understudied Iranian foreign policy advisory system. Having conducted several interviews with members of the diplomatic team involved in the process of the JCPOA negotiation, it shows to what extent the “over-securitization” of the negotiation led to a form of “institutional oligopoly” by foreign office

Session 10: Iranian Politics (2)

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Session 10: Iranian Politics (2)

preventing not only private think tanks but also other relevant public departments from the practical involvement in the process. Consequently, as the result of such a closed procedure, the paper claims that a wide range of heavily affected sectors from the sanctions, particularly economic and financial institutions, remained predominantly “underrepresented” and their technical concerns were effectively untouched. Similarly, a set of technocratic and non-securitized advisory institutions were kept mainly marginalized from the table and laterally unheard. However, it concludes that the Iranian foreign policy displays a higher degree of policy resilience and consistency during subsequent governments, due to the comparatively less-politicized advisory system than the American counterpart. Altogether, this paper has contributed to the literature of PAS, not only by providing a very timely analysis of a very fashionable case study, but also through proposing a few theoretical propositions as well as studying a previously understudied policy context.

Keywords: Iran, JCPOA, politicization, securitization, US.



Islamic Republic of Iran “Look East” policy toward Africa

Amirbahram Arabahmadi¹

Abstract

With the intensification of the comprehensive sanctions of the U.S.A against Iran, which has almost banned all the countries from any official commercial and economic exchanges with Iran, since ex-president Ahmadinejad Iran has adopted “Look East” policy mainly based on the asymmetric balance in the relations with the East and the West by giving priority to the East and opening an escape route in the challenge with the West. Although Iranian officials have not yet reached a consensus on which countries are among the goals of the “Look East” policy, however, the axis of Iran's “Look East” policy-in addition to the neighboring countries-is based on Russia, India, China and Malaysia. Meanwhile (especially in the last two decades) development of trade transactions with the African countries has been proclaimed as an important part of Iran's “Look East” Policy mostly to bypass the American sanctions and solve some of the I.R.Iran's economic problems, too. Of course, this strategy has not been successful so far due to the relative priority of ideological views on Africa than economic interests. The purpose of this manuscript is to examine pathologically the reasons for Iran's failure to achieve this strategic goal at least within the past decade. The research method is based on the combination of Quantitative & Qualitative research methods whilst as well as collection and analyzation of numerical and non-numerical data, the author has utilized some of his latest field studies in some East and West African countries, too, in order to portray a better picture of Iran's strategy toward African continent as part of its "Look East" policy.

Keywords: Africa, Iran, look East Policy, sanctions, USA.

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Iran and U.S. sanctions: From the perspective of China

Jihang Zhen¹

Abstract

Since World War I, sanctions have gradually become an important part of US foreign policy, and their sanctions policy is closely related to the rapid expansion of US national interests worldwide, especially the widespread application of economic sanctions in various aspects of US foreign policy. The issue of US sanctions against Iran is not just about sanctions themselves, but also about the different definitions of national interests between the two countries, as well as their different perceptions of each other's political, economic, cultural, diplomatic and other values, which are reflected in the changes in the relationship between the two countries. The sanctions imposed by the United States on Iran mainly include economic sanctions, political sanctions, military sanctions, diplomatic sanctions, and cultural sanctions. The sanctions imposed by the United States on Iran are relatively evident in the economic field, mainly manifested in asset freezing, economic blockade, trade embargo, etc; Political sanctions mainly manifest in restricting high-level contacts, restricting their leaders from entering the United States to participate in international conferences, and supporting anti-government organizations or individuals in Iran; Diplomatic sanctions are manifested in withdrawing or abolishing bilateral treaties; Military sanctions include arms embargoes, cessation of military exchanges, military blockades, and sanctions against Iranian military institutions or organizations; Cultural sanctions include travel restrictions, restrictions on high-tech product exports, cancellation of high-tech product export licenses, and temporary issuance or cancellation of visas for Iranian students studying in the United States. Due to Iran being an energy power in the Middle East and having close economic and trade ties with world powers, the struggle against sanctions and counter sanctions between the United States and Iran not only affects bilateral relations and regional politics, but also affects world power relations. The United States relies on the special position of the US dollar in the world financial system and its strong economic, technological, and military strength to forcefully use domestic laws to regulate actions that occur overseas. The interactive relationship

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between the world's major powers and the United States, as well as the countries subject to sanctions, will also have a significant impact on the reconstruction of the world system and to some extent promote the development of multipolarity in the world. The research on sanctions in China initially conducted a holistic approach from the perspectives of economics and law. The content of the US sanctions against Iran was mostly a phased study of a certain historical period or a certain sanctions policy, or the US sanctions against Iran were used as background and case studies. After the emergence of the nuclear issue, Iran is facing more and more international sanctions. The continuous introduction of unilateral sanctions policies by the United States has made the issue of sanctions against Iran a subject of widespread concern for scholars at home and abroad.

Keywords: China, Iran, multipolarity, sanctions, US.



Iran's Eastern oriented foreign policy in the eyes of Western media: news coverage of Iran's agreement with Saudi Arabia

Hamideh Molaei¹

Abstract

Islamic Republic of Iran has made a good attempt to make constructive relationships with different countries in the region and in particular with the neighboring countries. This is significant for peace, security and flourishing the economy. To pursue this aim, the Iranian government has recently signed an agreement with Saudi Arabia, the country which has not have constructive relationships with Iran in the past few years. Signing the agreement aroused different reactions inside and outside the country. Optimistic and pessimistic views were offered by the proponents and the opponents of the action. In this situation, understanding Western countries reactions and views is significant. One possible way to understand the issue is examining their media coverage. Against this backdrop, this article aims to investigate news coverage of Iran, Saudi Arabia agreement in selected Western media including New York Times, BBC and Guardian. To this end, the article will apply content analysis method. The results of the article will provide an insight into the Western countries' view - in particular the United States and the Britain - regarding Iran's Eastern oriented foreign policy in general and towards the aforementioned agreement, in particular.

Keywords: foreign policy, Iran, Saudi Arabia, Western media.

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The rising US-China- India paradigm in Asia-Pacific region and its impact on Iran’s “Look to the East Policy”

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Abstract

Since the creation of the Quad in 2006 and the rise of China as a geopolitical rival of the United States, the United States has sought to boost India as well as itself its’ geopolitical position to rival that of China. India since 2005, has entered an energy partnership with US and has become the 5th largest economy of the world; third in Asia and in 2023 has surpassed China as the most populous country in the world. Both countries have been jockeying for position as a leader in their respective regions whilst maintaining their relationship with the US. The US has also maintained and expanded its position and tools within the region such as the Five Eyes, AUKUS to counter the growing influence of China. Iran as a geopolitical flashpoint has gained importance and relevance within the age of rising geoeconomics. Since the aforementioned period, Iran has adapted a ‘Look to the East’ policy which may have to adapt and evolve in the future. The purpose of this research is to identify the threats and opportunities that the US-China-India have on Iran’s Eastern Policy given its ascension to the SCO in 2022.

Keywords: China, foreign policy, geoeconomics, geopolitics, India, Iran, US.

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Ancient Iranian Zoroastrianism in China

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Abstract

Although some descriptions of Zoroastrianism in ancient Iran appeared in the late Qing Dynasty, the first great article on Zoroastrianism in China was written by Prof. CHEN Yuan (1880-1971). According to the records of handed down Chinese documents and Dunhuang manuscripts, the history of the introduction of this ancient Iranian religion to China is outlined in this work. Subsequent studies have continued, but little progress has been made. The most important achievement is the study of Pahlavi-Chinese bilingual epitaph discovered in Xi'an in the 1950s. In the 1980s, with the compilation and publication of documents unearthed in Turfan, scholars used them to conduct in-depth investigations on the spread of Zoroastrianism in Chinese Western Regions. Since the 1990s, academic circles have become more and more interested in the trade and settlements of Sogdian immigrants along the Silk Road in medieval period, and systematic research has also been done on their Zoroastrian beliefs. Therefore, we have a deeper understanding of the spread of Zoroastrianism in Central Asia and China. Since the end of the 20th century, with the unearthed tombs of some Sogdian descendants in the Northern Dynasties, Sui and Tang Dynasties, such as the tombs of Anjia, Shijun, and Yuhong, the rich religious information of ancient Iran contained in them has attracted great interest from the academic circle. At that time, some Chinese scholars also began to translate and introduce the *Avesta* scriptures and the related research of international Iranica academic field, so as to explain the cultural information of the image materials found in related archaeological discoveries, and have a better understanding of Zoroastrianism in ancient Iran.

Keywords: academia, China, Iran, Zoroastrianism.

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Evaluating the evolution of Iran's regional foreign policy under the Raisi administration using role theory

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Abstract

With the failure of the JCPOA and the continuation of US and EU sanctions in the framework of maximum pressure against Iran, along with the accumulation of economic difficulties and social problems, Iran has adopted a new regional policy. Since 2022, Tehran seeks cooperation and de-escalation in the region, signaling a shift in its regional role under the Raisi administration in the Persian Gulf and West Asia. This article employs role theory as the analytical framework, developed within the context of sociology, to examine the acceptance and adoption of changed roles by state actors in foreign policy making. It then identifies the key reasons and underlying factors driving Iran's shift in regional politics during the current era and evaluates the potential and actual effects of this role change. The primary question addressed in this article is the extent to which the change in Iran's regional foreign policy and the Raisi administration's efforts to convey this change are perceived as genuine, serious, and strategic by other regional and global actors, from both theoretical and practical perspectives. In conclusion, this paper sheds light on whether this development possesses the capacity and potential to alter the dynamics of peace and long-term cooperation in the West Asian region.

Keywords: Iran regional policy, Raisi administration, role theory, West Asia.

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Israeli scholars' construction of Iranian national identity

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Abstract

Despite the securitization of Iran in Israeli discourse, quite a number of Israeli Iran-experts choose to study Iran's non-material, or ideational aspects, such as that of identity, nationalism and gender issues. This can be seen in line with current trends in humanities and social sciences where the world is described as a combination of hard and soft factors, in other words, knowing the identity and culture of a country potentially becomes relevant in strategic calculations about it. For these reasons the current study has resolved to analyse Israeli scholars' take on Iranian national identity: the different ways they approach and analyse the topic and how they present it to a global academic audience. This research will first survey the existing academic literature on Iranian nationalism produced by Israeli experts, and in the next stage perform thematic analysis, identifying the main themes in those texts, aiming to situate these themes within Israel's impression of its own complex and complicated national identity, and also relate them to Israel's general perception of Iran as its main *Other*. For its conceptual framework the research will borrow from Haggai Ram's work, where he understands the Israeli perception of Iran as emanating from Israel's construction of its own identity, insisting on the role of rejection of the *Other* in construction of national identity. The article concludes that the study of Iranian national identity by Israeli scholars is a reflection of their preoccupation with the question of national identity and its role in nation building throughout the history of Zionism.

Keywords: constructivism, Iran, Israel, national identity, thematic analysis.

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Iran and Saudi Arabia's rapprochement: The constraints of a nascent thaw

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Abstract

Iran and Saudi Arabia have embarked on a process of mending their relations following a prolonged period of strain that began in 2016. The China-brokered agreement between Tehran and Riyadh garnered significant attention both within the region and beyond. Speculation abounds regarding the profound impact this reconciliation might have on the security dynamics of the Persian Gulf and the potential for renewed ties between Iran and the Arab world. Iran has rekindled its call for the establishment of a regional security framework in collaboration with Arab states, while some Arab nations have expressed readiness to engage with Iran in formulating new security arrangements. In this paper, I argue that the optimism surrounding the positive outcomes of détente between Iran and Saudi Arabia, for both their bilateral relations and regional security, is likely to be short-lived. There exist persistent obstacles that hinder genuine reconciliation between Riyadh and Tehran, let alone a comprehensive alignment of policies and cooperation between the two. At the international level, the imposition of sanctions on Iran by the US and America's overarching containment strategy towards Tehran will continue to shape the extent of Saudi Arabia's engagement with Iran. The sanctions have curtailed prospects for substantive economic and trade interactions between Tehran and Riyadh. The US will persist in reinforcing security frameworks in the Persian Gulf that exclude Iran. Even as the US seeks to reduce its commitments to the region's security, it will still seek to contain Iran through the cultivation of security alliances among Arab states and Israel. In the coming months, the US is likely to foster a closer relationship between Saudi Arabia and Israel and mediate a potential agreement between the two. This will inevitably impose further constraints on the potential collaboration between Iran and Saudi Arabia. Regionally, challenges in maritime security and Israel's ongoing calls to target Iranian nuclear facilities present hurdles to any meaningful cooperation between Iran and Saudi Arabia. These factors dampen prospects for a transformation of Iran-Saudi Arabia relations from conflict to substantive collaboration. Nevertheless, Riyadh is anticipated to continue easing tensions with Iran, as Iran's cooperation could facilitate Saudi Arabia's disengagement from the Yemeni

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quagmire. Developing relatively normalized relations with Iran would also distance Saudi Arabia from any potential conflict involving Iran and Israel. Consequently, Iran and Saudi Arabia are poised to continue along a path of gradual de-escalation without fundamentally altering the nature of their restrained coexistence.

Keywords: Iran, rapprochement, Saudi Arabia, security alliances.



The representation of Iran in Lebanese independent and alternative media

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Abstract

For decades, the representation of Iran in Western politics and mainstream media has been characterized by Orientalist and racist discourse. Iran continues to be constructed as an ultimate danger to Western survival and an uncivilized space within an imperialist framework that encourages regime change through popular Western rhetoric of alleged human rights, women's rights, freedom, and democracy in order to shift regional and global power relations. Attempts to coerce Iran into submission due to its integral role in the Lebanese and regional resistance against the Zionist colonial project have played a significant role in the portrayal of Iran internationally. Numerous media in Western Asia have reproduced an imperialist discourse that entails anti-Iranian agenda through sectarian and colonial rhetoric. Inspired by Orientalist ideas of Western civilization, in Lebanon, the media representation of recent events has entailed negative portrayals of Iran among certain independent and alternative media - in particular, following the protests of 2019 and the ongoing economic and political crisis. Given the centrality of the largely Western-funded NGO-industrial complex, neoliberal concepts of civil society, and the prominence of native informants in certain aspects of Lebanese media, the aim of this paper is to analyze the political economy and the media discourse of certain Lebanese media outlets in regard to their representation of Iran.

Keywords: imperialism, Lebanon, media, representation.

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What can we find in studying anomalies? A method of exegesis for Ali Shari'ati's *Marxism and Other Western Fallacies*

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Abstract

This crisis of modernity is a far-exhausted topic in modern Western political theory — spanning from Max Weber's diagnosis of a disenchanted world, Hannah Arendt's analysis of the depoliticization of the public sphere, and Karl Marx's notion of alienation. The push toward the *pluralization* of modernity, greatly dealt with by Dipesh Chakrabarty, demonstrates that by provincializing Europe, we may find something to be valued in modernity when it is renewed “from the margins.” Delving into the works of Ali Shari'ati, we can find one possible theoretical endeavour to re-enchant the world with meaning beyond the positivist and materialist texture of modernity in the West. This paper endeavours to examine precisely that — but through an analysis of the highly contested *Marxism and Other Western Fallacies* by Ali Shari'ati. Uncharacteristic of the bulk of his work, here Shari'ati undertook a scathing critique of Western theories of modernity — especially Marxism. However, the theoretical anomalies found in this text that are inconsistent with his general approach have raised questions regarding its legitimacy. Yet in these accusations of tampering, we may identify something more valuable: the anomalies can allow us to consolidate a systematic understanding of Shari'ati's theory at large. By analyzing a text that does not fit neatly into the bulk of his work, we are able to identify precisely what his work is *not*, and thus consolidating what his work *is*. Thus, while this paper does analyze *Marxism and Other Western Fallacies*, it is primarily concerned with *how* we can read texts of its nature and how in studying anomalies, we can better understand the crux of Ali Shari'ati's work. This paper thus argues for a defence of authorial intentionality and holistic study to recover not only what was said by Shari'ati but also what was understood in his given context. More than just an exegesis, this paper proposes a *method* of exegesis.

Keywords: anomalies, exegesis, Marxism, Shari'ati.

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Postcolonial resistance in Iran's foreign policy behavior: A post revolutionary journey

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Abstract

The paper contends post revolutionary Iran's postcolonial resistance in its foreign policy behaviour. In true sense of the term, Iran was never colonized, only occupied during war period. Nevertheless, after revolution Iran reflects/ charted out a different political journey. With the amalgamation of Islamic justice and the idea of just society; post revolutionary Iran's trajectory reflects anti-imperialist resistance and positions itself against any kind of exploitation. In the revolution Iran has dreamt of and re-imagined a new political society. The paper hypothesizes that many components/strands of postcolonial resistance are found in the political thesis of post revolutionary Iran. Iran has been fiercely anti-imperialist and thus vehemently opposing any extra-regional powers' presence in the political landscape of West Asia. The paper emphasized on the importance of Iran's conceptual/political depth in its core understanding of the Political. Therefore, to interact with other country(s), Iran's worldview and just society take precedence. The main thread of Iran's foreign policy, i.e. against any kind of oppression binds Iran together with other uncompromising countries across the globe. Same is true in case of non-state actor(s), where Iran interacts with equal footing. Last but not the least the paper reflects upon, how postcolonial resistance makes post revolutionary Iran's politics vis-à-vis foreign policy different and hence it is known as the politics of difference.

Keywords: behaviour politics of difference, foreign policy, postcolonial.

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Evolutions of Iran's oil contracts with international oil companies from the point of view of national interests (1872-1974)

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Abstract

The study of the evolution of Iran's oil contracts in the hundred-year period from 1872 to 1974 from the perspective of national interests shows that the share of oil revenues (as short-term benefits) with the transition from concessions to partnership contracts and then to service contracts had an exponential trend and in 1974 It has reached its peak. From the perspective of paying attention to long-term national interests (Maximum Efficient Recovery) this matter was taken into consideration for the first time at the end of the concession period. Although it was neglected in some contracts after that, but it reached its peak in the service contract of 1969. This issue was institutionalized after the approval of the oil law of 1974. This article seeks to examine the evolution of Iran's oil contracts in terms of paying attention to short-term and long-term benefits based on the above two indicators. The order of the article is such that first, explanations are given about the types of oil contracts in order to determine the course of development of these contracts, the basis of which is the Persian Gulf region, and Iran has played a major role in this field. Then Iran's oil contracts in three periods of concessions, partnership contracts and service contracts are examined and the level of attention to national interests, both short-term and long-term, is explored in these three cases. The final part is dedicated to the conclusion.

Keywords: international oil companies, Iran, national interests, oil, oil contracts, oil law.

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