

Political discourse of Ahmadinejad government and commercial and trade interactions of Iran and European Union

Vahid Khashei Varnamkhasti¹, Seyed Mohammad Mansour Pourmowla^{2*}

¹ Assistant Professor and faculty Member of Management and Accounting of Allameh Tabataba'i University, Tehran, Iran, ² PhD student, Business Administration (policy), Allameh Tabataba'i University, Tehran, Iran.

Correspondence: Seyed Mohammad Mansour Pourmowla, PhD student, Business Administration (policy), Allameh Tabataba'i University, Tehran, Iran. Email: pormolla121@gmail.com.

ABSTRACT

This paper studies the impact of political discourse of Mahmoud Ahmadinejad's government on commercial and trade interactions of Iran and European Union and it analysis the discourse of the Islamic Republic of Iran in Ahmadinejad's government through the effects of politics on the economy. Results of this paper show that the politics of détente government of Seyed Mohammad Khatami will change in to principle oriented idealism discourse of Mahmoud Ahmadinejad because of the existence of Mahmoud Ahmadinejad's revolutionary and idealistic policies and the sanctions that were imposed because of the policy of the government of the Islamic Republic of Iran during the pursuit of Iran's nuclear case which has led to establishing five United Nations Security Council Resolutions against Iran and also US and Western oil sanctions. The five United Nations Security Council Resolutions against Iran and also US and Western oil sanctions that stalled the process of international trade between the European Union and Iran. We are not witness of a clear trend in trade sphere and the trade relations and interactions between the Islamic Republic of Iran and the European Union in Ahmadinejad's government because of the adoption of anti-international norms in the field of foreign policy and opposition to the trend that was established in the previous governments more precisely.

Keywords: Political discourse of Ahmadinejad government, principle oriented idealism, commercial and trade interactions, Islamic Republic of Iran, European Union.

Introduction

Most of the European countries have been interested in establishing relations with Iran and also using the economic capacities of Iran since the beginning of victory of the Islamic Revolution. However, the relations between the parties have gone through various ups and downs (whether hostile ore friendly) during the last three decades.

Meanwhile, the domination of principle- oriented idealism discourse on the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran

can be attributed to various domestic and international factors during the Mahmoud Ahmadinejad's government. Iran's' nuclear issue, rising international pressure in this case and several inspections of the agency's representatives of active centers in the issue of nuclear processing can be considered as one of these factors so that Ahmadinejad's presidency has criticized Khatami's retreat and policy of appeasement in his speeches repeatedly and he insisted on the country's nuclear rights. In this regard, we were witness of suspension of all of the voluntary nuclear cooperation with international institutions and the prevention of excessive blackmail of western countries along with a form of resistance against the nuclear rights in the principle- oriented idealism era. Four United Nations Security Council resolutions were followed it ^[1].

The radicalization of policy-oriented expansionism in the form of withdrawal of basic principles of the Islamic revolution and the promotion of a kind of relativistic pluralism in society can be considered as another factor that will make doubtful many principles according to them. Reemphasize of Ahmadinejad's presidency on Israeli regimes pivot of world map at the international Holocaust Conference in Tehran confirmed the

Access this article online

Website: www.japer.in

E-ISSN: 2249-3379

How to cite this article: Vahid Khashei Varnamkhasti, Seyed Mohammad Mansour Pourmowla. Political discourse of Ahmadinejad government and commercial and trade interactions of Iran and European Union. *J Adv Pharm Edu Res* 2018;8(S2):45-53.

Source of Support: Nil, Conflict of Interest: None declared.

This is an open access journal, and articles are distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution-Non Commercial-ShareAlike 4.0 License, which allows others to remix, tweak, and build upon the work non-commercially, as long as appropriate credit is given and the new creations are licensed under the identical terms.

principles of the Islamic Revolution in the presence of a group of foreign and domestic scholars that is based on opposition with United States and Israel. Ahmadinejad has emphasized on the problem of disappearance of Israel in its official domestic and international speeches such as United Nations organization and even at the International Conference of the World's Eco-friendly and Agricultural Organization (FAO) at its headquarters in Rome. The support of the Hamas and Hezbollah movement in Lebanon has also opened its doors fully in official dialogue and speeches by presidency and other executive authorities. Although, many of international policy thinkers believe that it is not necessary to unify the declarative policies of a state with its applied policies at the level of foreign policy in order to preserve the national interests.

History of Iran- Europe relations:

Relations between Iran and European countries undergo major developments after the victory of the Islamic Revolution. Although, the relations between Iran and the set of European countries became strained ^[2], but some of the observers believed that western Europe can have better relations with Tehran unlike the two superpowers ^[3]. The general fear of the destabilizing effects of the Iran revolution, the concern and fear of Soviet domination over Iran, running tensions between Iran and the United States and the internal policies of Western Europe affected the relations between Iran and Western European countries in the first years of the revolution ^[4]. Iran closed down the European cultural centers in Iran and developed its relations with smaller European countries for some reasons ^[2]. America asked for participation of European countries in economic and financial punitive measures of Iran from the European countries following the hostage-taking in Iran but the European allies of America present their political and diplomatic support more than ever because the value of the economic transactions of European countries was significant in Iran (Alikhani, 2001, 89).

While the European countries took part in in Iran's arms embargo, they took measures to end the war during the Iran-Iraq war. Adoption of resolution 598 provided a good opportunity for the improvement and development of the political relations between Iran and the European Union but the issuance of proclamation of the murder of Salman Rushdie by Imam Khomeini on 25 of May in 1988 has led to sharp reaction and positioning of the European community (Rahmani and Ta'ab, 1996, 5). The European community has reduced the level of political and economic relations with Iran while summoning the ambassadors of the member states of Tehran against the so-called proclamation ^[2, Navazani, 2002, 44], although European ambassadors returned to Tehran by initial of presidency of Hashemi Rafsanjani. Europe wanted to promote its relations with Iran following occupation of Kuwait by Iraq and adopting appropriate positions from Iran. European countries expressed their willingness of meeting the Iranian authorities in November 1990 and Ireland's foreign minister traveled to Tehran as the first European high-ranking official after it and he declares Europe's willingness to enhance its

relations with Iran. The foreign ministers of the Netherlands, Luxembourg and Italy (Troika) traveled to Iran following it in 1991 and they announced the readiness of the union in expanding the Europe's political and economic ties with Iran (Rahmani and Ta'ab, the same 8, 9). Leaders of the 12 EU countries also emphasized on the necessity of maintaining a critical dialogue with Iran at the end of the Edinburgh summit (11 and 12 December 1992) (Dehghani Tarzejani, 2000, 30). Consequently, the prime minister of Denmark emphasized on the necessity of maintaining dialogue between the parties by sending a letter to Hashemi, as chairman of the Troika on 6 of April in 1993 (Navazani, the same 77). America asked the EU to coordinate with it in curbing Iran by declaring Clinton's Bilateral containment policy but Europe didn't want to isolate Iran unlike the America ^[2]. In fact, there were many efforts to ensure of Iran's re-integration with the international community during the Hashemi presidency. In this regard, Iran hoped that the European Union would be in a position that create an equal weight against the United States after 1992 ^[5] but Iran-EU relations have been affected by the controversy over Mykonos court severely since July in 1996. The issuance of the Mykonos court decision had a major blow on the relations between the two sides ^[2, Navazani, the same 243]. The European Union made a decision; it called on the ambassadors of the member states of Tehran following the issuance of the court decision (Dehghani Tarzejani, 33-34). The European Union announced that its ambassadors would gradually return to Tehran in the winter of 1996 but the return of European ambassadors was forgotten for some time due to the specific circumstances of Iran (the same). The above conditions remained until the election 2 of June in 1997. Ice of Iran's relations with Europe was melted gradually by electing Mohammad Khatami and the announcement of a policy of détente of foreign relations ^[2]. The policy of détente in foreign relations was on the agenda especially towards the West and expansion of trans-regional relations in according to changes of face of Iran in the international dimension and the constructive dialogue of the relations with Europe has replaced the critical dialogue since early March in 1997 and then the European Union encouraged to invest in the Iranian oil industry (Dehshiri, 2001, 386-387). Union ambassadors returned to Iran and the Union launched a comprehensive and inclusive dialogue with Iran ^[2].

The European Union welcomed the offer of Khatami's civilizations dialogue. Kamal Kharrazi also welcomed British Foreign Secretary, Robin Cook's offer which was about the dialogue between the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the European Union (Navazani, the same, 318). The European Commission also announced in 27/11/2000 that it would be the interest of the European Union that establishes closer relations with Iran because of the political and economic reasons. The report suggested the conclusion of a trade agreement between Iran and the European Union ^[2].

European Union engaged in the process of normalization of regional and international relations by making contacts and communicating with Iran, striving for having a more accurate

knowledge of Iran's intentions, moderating its behavior through dialogue and negotiation in contrast to the strategy of curbing Iran. In fact, Europe's policy of engagement had a clear distinction with policies of countries that viewed Iran's threat as a widespread threat while they were concerned about Iran's intentions, abilities and behavior, in sum Iran's threat and danger^[6]. The Iran's president met the three countries of Italy, France and Germany for the first time by development of Iran-EU relations^[6].

The international system's atmosphere was confused and Iran was placed on the pivot of evil by George W. Bush following the events of September 11th. Although Europe was cautious about the program of pursuit of a weapons of mass killing by Iran and Tehran's support of radical groups in the Middle East, it did not agree so much with the US Secretary of Defense's claim which was about sheltering al-Qaeda members by Iran^[7]. European Union decided to deepen and expand its ties with Iran on 27 of June in 2002 despite intense American propaganda against Iran in Luxembourg and it agreed to sign two separate agreements about trade and political matters with Iran. Although, the EU member states postponed the negotiations about concluding the so-called agreements after that^[2], the European Union included the name of the Mojahedin-e Khalq Organization (Hypocrites) in the list of terrorist groups among other advances in political relations between Iran and the European Union in this condition (Nowrooz, 16/4/2002,6). European Union raised its situation and it demanded to talk about some issues such as human rights, fundamental freedoms of citizens, respect of international conventions, observance of the treaties which were about the prohibition of the production and deployment of weapons of mass killing, counterterrorism and refraining of disturbing the peace process in the Middle East, while it was emphasizing the continuation of dialogue with Iran and the expansion of trade and economic relations with Iran^[2] but European officials declared that expanding ties between the parties depends on Iran's coordination with the international system, democratic principles and human rights. They also talked about main lines of cooperation between the two sides in the field of energy, trade and investment ("Round table...", 2001,131) but the main point was EU's insistence on the preconditions for human rights, the Middle East's peace process, terrorism and weapons of mass killing^[2].

Major issues of the relations between Iran and the European Union have been affected by developments of the international system in the fields of counter-terrorism and Iran's nuclear activities. EU officials stated on 30 of July in 2002 that the European Union intends to subordinate business talks with Iran to Iran's accession to annexed protocol as well as some issues such as human rights and Middle East peace.

EU foreign ministers urged Iran to allow more stringent inspections of their nuclear facilities on June in 2003 (BBC, 2005/08/05). The European Union warned that if Iran had not fully cooperated with International Atomic Energy Agency inspectors, Brussels might revise its political and economic relations with the Islamic Republic on 21 of July. European

Council announced at its meeting in Brussels in 4-5 of November that it agreed to engage with the EU and its member states with Iran especially within the framework of the efforts of the three European countries and the high representative of Common Foreign and Security Policy of Europe since the end of 2004 (Kile,2005,27-28).

Iran has placed the engaging and negotiating with the European Union at the head of its nuclear diplomacy on behalf of the IAEA Council of Governors. Iran's goal was pacifying the space, cooperation and making confidence, preventing the tendency and proximity of the Council of Governors and the European Union about Iran's nuclear issue toward the United States. Three European countries urged Iran to stop all of its enrichment-related activities while they were offering some incentives in 30 of October in 2004 (21 of October in 2004). Iran accepted to suspend uranium enrichment until the talks were continuing following negotiations between Iran and the three European countries in Paris in November. Britain, France and Germany agreed on a resolution with America to warn Iran about its atomic activity on 5 of December in 2004. So, the Agency approved this resolution in the next day. Iranian representative at the IAEA signed the annexed protocol on 28 of December in 2008 (BBC, 5/8/2005).

Iran announced that it will not stop the construction of a heavy water reactor in Arak on 25 of February in 2008. Europeans warned Iran that any resumption of nuclear activities would end the process of negotiation on 22 of May in 2005. Iran agreed to postpone its final decision after receiving European proposals in late July on 5 of June in 2009 then this time was extended until mid-August. In fact, the parties waited until the ninth presidential election schedule the next round of events.

Mahmoud Ahmadinejad got presidency by the end of the presidency of Seyyed Mohammad Khatami and made fundamental changes in this field shortly after his presidency. The new government had an ideological and revisionist insight unlike the previous government and broke down the status of the international system. The ninth government called the ruling relations of international system unfair and unequal and it was going to disrupt it^[2].

In fact, the Islamic idealism of Mahmoud Ahmadinejad was very idealistic and maximal. Ahmadinejad pushed Iran's foreign policy towards Islamic radicalism of the 1980s unexpectedly and by a suddenly turning back and he tries to disrupt the ruling order of the international system and create a new ruling order by having a revisionist policy toward the outside world. This type of foreign policy has increased the regional and global tensions greatly^[8].

The political and economic relations between Iran and Europe declined dramatically between 2005 and 2013. The exchange of diplomatic delegations and missions was at its minimum. The European Union announced in June 2008 that it will refrain from establishing extensive relations with Iran until Iran tolerates transparency and confidence in its nuclear program^[8]. Iran's nuclear file got new dimensions after Ahmadinejad vest power and the country's nuclear strategy varied from

preventing the referral of Iran's case to the Security Council in to recognizing peaceful nuclear technology and not re-suspending activities. Any peaceful co-operation and voluntary suspension were abandoned in this regard and the government took a different tactic from the previous government's methods by emphasizing on only resistance and insistence on nuclear rights that would bring nuclear energy to the country and it rejects the possibility of referring it to the Security Council with technical and legal reading the Iran's nuclear file. Ahmadinejad announces Tehran's implicit rejection of the West's economic and political incentives in order to suspend uranium enrichment activities. At last, Iran resumed processing of uranium in Isfahan in the presence of domestic and foreign journalists on 18 of August in 2005. European Union condemned this move^[2].

Britain, Germany and France canceled their previous talks with Iran because of the resumption of nuclear activities in Isfahan on 2nd of September in 2005. France announced that resuming the uranium enrichment process violates the provisions of the Paris Agreement (November 2004). Larijani, the new secretary of the Supreme National Security Council, rejected the EU's request that was about suspending Iran's enrichment activities before the session on 29 of August on 14 of September of the same year. Ahmadinejad proposed at a UN General Assembly summit that all of the countries participate in Iran's nuclear program in order to mitigate the concerns. He also asked for the formation of a committee at the United Nations to deal with atomic apartheid. The America and the European Union responded sharply to the words of the Iran's president and called for the Agency to refer Iran's case to the Security Council (BBC, 5/8/2005).

The resolution of the Board of Governors was passed by a majority of votes and urged Iran to resume negotiations with 3 European countries on 3rd of October, approve the annexed protocol by the legislature and stop uranium enrichment. Iran resumed uranium enrichment for research purposes on 21 of January. Foreign ministers of Britain, France and Germany announced that nuclear talks with Iran had been stalled and they wanted that the Security Council intervene in this case on 23 of December. At last, America, Russian, British, French, Chinese and German foreign ministers as well as the European Union representative called for the IAEA Board of Governors to report the subject of Iran's nuclear activities to the Security Council at its extraordinary summit by issuing a statement at a London Summit. At last, referral report of Iran's nuclear file was approved by the Security Council at an IAEA emergency meeting on 16 of February. The Security Council approved a statement and six resolutions (containing 4 sanctions resolutions against Iran) From March in 2006 to June in 2010. The first three resolutions of the Security Council (resolutions in 1696, in 1737 and in 1747) were adopted less than ten months after the first anniversary of the ninth government election. So, a daunting era of relations between Iran and Europe began with the coming of the ninth government. The name of the Mojahedin-e Khalq Organization (MKO) was withdrawn from the list of terrorist groups in the European Union at union

foreign ministers' meeting in 2008^[9]. The European Union is close to engaging with Iran in dealing with Iran and Europe and the America have come to a common point in opposing the full cycle of nuclear fuel in Iran (Ghahramanpoor, 2008, 185).

Various sanctions were imposed by Europe against Iran during this period. EU foreign ministers in Brussels approved the implementation of sanctions imposed by the Security Council against Iran (resolution 1737) on 2nd of February in 2006. The enactment was followed by restrictions as well as financial sanctions against some Iranian institutions and personalities (ISNA, 2/11/2006).

The heads of state of the European Union issued a 90-article statement at the end of their meeting in Brussels in 2007. Iran was warned that it will face further sanctions if it does not stop uranium enrichment in a part of this statement. The European Parliament urged the member countries to ban Iran from issuing any nuclear technology in a resolution on June in 2008^[9]. European countries approved the sanctions imposed by the agriculture and hunting ministers and the European countries against Iran at the meeting in Luxemburg in 3th of July in 2008. The sanctions included lending, commercial guarantees and insurance to be exported in this statement (Aria News, 3/4/2008). The European Union's severe sanctions approach has been accelerating in 2010. The heads of the European Union agreed in the context of more severe sanctions against Iran on 16 of June in 2010 after the issuance of the 1929 resolution (on 19 of June). Europe announced that it imposes sanctions on energy sectors, new investments, technical assistance and transfer of technology, equipment and services that are related to these areas, in particular areas related to refining, liquefaction and technology of liquefied natural gas^[9]. The Foreign Ministers of the Union also approved sanctions beyond UN sanctions two days earlier at the Luxemburg summit; these sanctions were as following: sanctions on oil and gas industries, transport, insurance, banking, technology transfer, equipment and services against Iran^[9]. The European Union banned the creation of joint investments in the fields of oil and natural gas industry and related affairs on 12th of August in 2010. In addition to providing insurance and reinsurance to the Iranian government, import and export of weapons and dual equipment, sales, supply or transfer of energy and technology used by Iran for refining, converting natural gas, exploration and production were also subject to sanctions. EU foreign ministers added the names of 100 people and the new company such as Iran's shipping lines to the list of companies and individuals including sanctions in May in 2011. The EU added 180 Iranian names to its sanctions list on first of December in 2011. EU banned all of new contracts such as import, purchase or transportation of Iranian crude oil and petroleum products on 23th of January in 2012. At this time, Iranian central bank assets were blocked in Europe and gold and other precious metals trade was banned with Iranian banks and public institutions. EU foreign ministers decided to boycott imports of Iranian oil from European countries at the Brussels summit on 23th of April 2012. The relationship between Iran and Europe

was also dark based on the human rights dimension in this era. EU believed that Iran does not respect the human rights treaties and conventions. The European Union expressed its views about this subject in various contexts especially through the European Parliament (Europe book (2), 2003, 78). Human rights discourses between Iran and Europe were suspended practically since 2004 and the European Union issued various resolutions about violating the human rights in Iran (Golshan pajoo, 2011, 61). EU claimed the human rights violations in Iran in various resolutions and took some measures such as boycotting some of the authorities and officials because of the same reason (the same, 60-61). Blurring of relations between Iran and Europe continued until the last days of the tenth government.

Political discourse of the Ahmadinejad government:

Ahmadinejad announced justice as the main and pivotal slogan of his plans in electoral campaigns in 2005. This electoral program was revolutionary and reformist from his point of view. Ahmadinejad emphasized on justice in every opportunity as a person who has a divine duty. For example, he invited the world's nations to have peace and justice on the anniversary of departure of the leader of the revolution on 14/3/2007 and he called Pharaoh and Nemruth the countries that did not respond to this invitation or call; he says elsewhere that having a purposeful look on the world, justice and affection are the primary Principles of Foreign Policy. So, mission of the foreign policy and the mission of the Islamic Republic in reforming the ruling system of the world are based on justice, Godliness, love, affection and fairness (Azghandi, 2010, 146) but justice in foreign policy requires the fight against the oppressors and protecting and defending the oppressed simultaneously. The objective purpose of these two requirements of Ahmadinejad's foreign policy behavior against America is known as the tip of the domination arrow on the one hand and the unquestioned support of the Palestinian authority. Peace will be realized when it is based on the foundations of justice and spirituality from his point of view. The Islamic Republic of Iran has insisted on international justice because it points to law and respect to international contracts. Justice recognizes everyone's right in having comfort, peace and honorable life and if it is coupled with spirituality, it will lead to growth and elevation of the independent and free nations of the world.

The most important foreign policy principles of Ahmadinejad are as following:

1) Dissatisfaction of international system's structure and efforts of reforming and changing this structure

The Ninth government challenges the structure of international relations and seeks it in line with the interests of powerful and dictatorial international governments and against the oppressed and submissive nations of the world as all of the post-revolutionary governments. He has always criticized the ruling order of the international system and he believes that this order

should be replaced by principles such as global justice and compassion. Ahmadinejad calls for change of relations and structure of international relations and on the other hand, he always considers the development of justice, compassion, elevation of human societies as the effective and resolver principles of the challenges of international relations and he demands that all elements of foreign policy and diplomatic model would be designed and implemented (IRNA News Agency, 23/2/2006).

It can be said that the ninth government view to foreign policy is inclined to the early insight toward the revolution. Ahmadinejad has an idealistic insight towards the world through changes of international relations and he tries to encourage the people of the world to change the international structure. Letters that were sent from ninth government to the presidents of the America, France and German Chancellor are in the same line (idealism). On the other hand, the ninth government has even tried to provide grounds of establishing a just global government through the restoration of Islamic civilization in the viewpoint of its idealism (178-179, Abdul Majid Sahraeian, Studying the factors that affect the Foreign Policy Orientation of Khatami's government and Mahmoud Ahmadinejad's government, Qazvin Azad University, 2010).

2) Holocaust deny:

Ahmadinejad has questioned the holocaust (Jewish racial killing) and he said, "I will ask my questions until they are answered", at his first press conference after the victory in the presidential election (Shabani, 2007, 7).

Ahmadinejad asked two important questions in this regard:"

- 1- Holocaust would be studied and investigated;
- 2- Why should Palestinians redeem the event that they have no role in its happening?"^[10]

Ahmadinejad suggest something about Israel to western countries in the following: "It has been my suggestion and it is also my suggestion that if you have committed a crime, it is good to give them parts of your own soil, Europe, America, Canada and Alaska soil, so that they can form a country for themselves".

Israel has shown anger and severe reactions in response to these words and believes that it can destroy Iran's nuclear facilities easily because it has been succeeded in doing such a thing once in the past. Israeli officials have emphasized on the pursuit of psychological warfare and tensions in the region and the world in order to stop the Iranian nuclear program. Israeli officials also expressed that they are concerned about the possibility of Iran's access to nuclear weapons in the near future. For example, Israeli Prime Minister, "ayahood al-Murt", expressed in an interview with CNN, "Iran's widespread activity in enriching uranium has allowed Iran to achieve nuclear weapons over the next few months, While the acquisition of nuclear weapons by a government that seeks to remove Israel from the world map is not tolerable for us.", he also said referring to the Israeli attack on the Iraqi atomic site, "At that time, international efforts to stop Saddam did not work well and we had no option but to

attack Iraq's atomic facilities. ", (CNN site, 27 of July in 2006, interview with www.mfa.gov.il)

3- foreign policy of looking toward the east and reviving South-South foreign policy orientation

The ninth government used the policy of looking at the East as a strategy of balancing the look at the East and look at the West. In the other word, looking to the West had more weight and was heavier than looking to the East in the past while the ninth government wants to establish a balanced relationship between the East and the West. However looking at the East does not mean ignoring the West but it means that the weight and strength of the East especially the countries such as Russia, China, India and even the countries of Southeast Asia which are called new industrialized countries are used. The policy of looking at the south is also against the domination of north. African and Latin American countries are considered as the south countries. The membership of Iran's observer in the African Union and the support of Zimbabwean people by Robert Moga's leadership against the policies of the United Kingdom and the America as well as the support of the anti-colonial anti-imperialist struggles of Cuba, Bolivia and Venezuela represent a strategic insight through political, cultural and economic developments and use of international opportunities in line with national interests^[11].

The foreign policy of the Ahmadinejad government used an opposite strategy against the West following the adoption of the irrational and stubborn positions of Europe and the America and cooperation in categories such as the nuclear program and regional issues was reduced. Lack of interest to have relations with the West, the Security Council's resolutions on boycotting Iran and the sanctions imposed by the America and Europe against Iran can be considered as the consequence of these policies. Some of the Iranian foreign policy experts present this course in the form of a justice-centered fundamentalist discourse. On one hand, this discourse emphasizes on the principles, goals and ideals of the revolution in foreign policy and on the other hand, it emphasizes on attempt of achieving justice on the global field (Firoozabadi, 2007, 90-98).

In fact, we are witness of returning of foreign policy of the Islamic Republic to the early period of the revolution during the presidency of Mahmoud Ahmadinejad to a certain extent. We can attribute the domination of the principles- oriented ideological discourse on the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran during this period to many of internal and international factors. Iran's nuclear issue, increasing international pressure on this issue, and numerous inspections of IAEA representatives of active centers of nuclear processing in the country can be considered as one of those factors, so that the president, Ahmadinejad, has criticized Khatami's retreat and policy of appeasement in his speeches repeatedly and insisted on the nuclear rights of the country. In this regard, we were witnessed of suspension of all voluntary nuclear partnerships with international institutions and preventing excessive blackmailing of Western countries in a sense, accompanying a kind of insistence and persistence on nuclear rights in the course

of the principles- oriented idealism which has led to three resolutions of the United Nations Security Council and sanctions for the country so far.

Although, the Islamic Republic relied on radical slogans in this period again but Iran sought to be united in the world and defines its national interests in the direction of interests of its ideological allies contrary to the first period and the first 10 years of the revolution (Rezai, 2008: 222). Iran became aware that Europe and the United States are seeking to permanently suspend and cease the full implementation of Iran's nuclear program by establishing the ninth government in spring in 2005 and over time. Iran claimed that Europe had not fulfilled its obligations under the Paris Agreement and sent a letter to the IAEA Director General on first of August in 2005 to renew its U.S.F activities. Europe surrendered its comprehensive plan to Iran a few days after the restoration of the U.S.F activities. This plan also emphasized on discontinuation of the fuel cycle and rejected it based on Iran's perspective. The Nuclear Energy Agency adopted the seventh proposed resolution of the European countries at the emergency meeting of the Board of Governors against Iran's nuclear activities on 11th of August because of resuming operation of U.S.F activities of Isfahan and called for suspending Iran's enrichment.

Ali Larijani replaced Hassan Rouhani as secretary of the National Security Council on 15th of August in 2005. He announced Iran's decision to continue talks with Europe immediately but three European countries rejected it. Ahmadinejad acknowledged in his first speech in the UN General Assembly on 17th of September in 2005 that Iran would not accept fuel of its nuclear program from other countries. He emphasized that Iran's nuclear program was peaceful and nuclear weapons are banned according to Iran's religious principles. The Board of Governors urged Iran to resume negotiations with the three European countries by issuing the eighth resolution on 24th of September the annexed protocols would be approved by the Iranian parliament and uranium enrichment would be stopped. Due to the fact that Iran had not accepted the European Union's request to suspending its enrichment until the September summit. It seems that this resolution was the basis of the referral of Iran's nuclear file to the Security Council (Haji Yousefi, 13489, 117). Firstly, Iran stated that it would not negotiate about suspending or stopping enrichment in any way, while accepting continued cooperation with the Agency in this new nuclear policy. Secondly, Iran adopted the general regulations of participation of foreign countries in the nuclear program of the country on 24th of October in 2005. Iran rejected the Russian proposal which was about enrichment process on its soil on 2nd of January in 2006 and it announced in a letter to the IAEA that it intends to resume its research and developing activities on enrichment on 3th of January in 2006. Subsequently, the IAEA Emergency Meeting was convened on 4th of February in 2006 and the ninth Board of Governors resolution against Iran's nuclear activities was sent to the Security Council and approved. Iran suspended all of its voluntary cooperation with the agency such as

voluntary implementation of the annexed protocol in response to this resolution. Subsequently, a statement and four resolutions were issued by the United Nations Security Council against Iran and Iran considered these resolutions as lacking in legality. Ahmadinejad believed that the West would not allow Iran to continue its peaceful nuclear activities even within the framework of the NPT treaty and if Iran resists against the pressure and threats of the West and the domination system, then the West will retreat eventually [10].

Thus it is possible to reaffirm the ideals of the Islamic Revolution and consider emphasizing on its principles as the main characteristics of the principle – oriented idealistic period of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran. In this regard, we are witnessed of the expansion of Iran's foreign relations with the countries of the southern Gulf - despite the border disputes at the level of foreign policy of Iran during this period, so that Mr. Ahmadinejad announced his request to attend the Arab League officially as a friendly and Muslim country in addition to an active and comprehensive presence in the Gulf Cooperation Council. The opposition to United States hegemonic unilateralism at the regional and international levels is another characteristic of this course of foreign policy of the country that many of Mr. Ahmadinejad's foreign policy behaviors can be explained based on it. We can analyse the expansion of ties with Central American and Latin American countries, opposition to the America, active participation in the Shanghai Cooperation Organization Summit and requesting the transformation of Iran from a member of the observer's office as a permanent member, the proposal to form the OPEC and the policy of looking into the East in Iran's foreign policy.

It is worth noting that we have witnessed of three approaches and strategies in relation to the great powers mainly in Iran's foreign policy in relation to the recent issue. The first approach is looking at the West according to which a group that is engaged with the West is considered as the most important axis of Iranian foreign policy. Interaction with non-Western countries should be a function of west approach from this perspective. The second approach is opposed to the first approach and it is known as the look at east approach. They argue that Iran's orientation towards the east and alliance with powerful Asian countries such as China and Russia can safeguard Iran's national interests and resolve the issue of the strategic unity of Iran. The third approach is known as the Non East-Non west approach against the two so-called approaches. They believe in adopting a kind of negative-balance policy against the East and West. Principle-oriented idealism discourse that emphasize on the policy of looking at the East as its main foreign policy approach believes that the new policy of looking at the East is indeed a détente policy with a new approach that goes around constructive interaction. The Principle-oriented idealistic emphasis is based on some ideals and the official announcement of these policies has come from formal platforms with implications at the national and international levels. The intensification of sanctions has caused domestic economic problems at the international level. The Principles Principle-

oriented idealism period of Foreign Policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran can be summarized as following:

- 1- Standing and insisting on the country's nuclear rights and tolerating its problems
- 2- Disobedience and disagreement against unilateral American policies at the international and especially regional levels
- 3- Emphasis on the ideals of the Islamic Revolution such as the disappearance of the Israeli regime from the political map of the world
- 4- Supporting movement and freedom movements in Lebanon and Palestine
- 5- adopting a looking at east approach in foreign policy and proximity to China and Russia
- 6- Impressiveness of foreign policy approaches from ideological imperatives more than international developments
- 7- Expansion and deepening of relations with neighboring countries especially the Arab countries of the southern margin of the Persian Gulf
- 8- Designing and presenting discourses in the international arena such as cultivating politics as well as to strengthen morality and spirituality in global relations
- 9- Justice-oriented and justice
- 10- Spirituality

It seems that the idealistic theories can explain this period of foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran better than any other theories because we can really considered the emphasis of Mr. Ahmadinejad's government on reproduction of Iranian foreign policy during the expansionist idealism. Its difference is that the goal of foreign policy is more than the expansion and issuance of the Islamic Revolution. It seeks to shape an anti-unilateralism front of America on the international level merely by accepting Umm al-Qur'a's priority over other countries. It is a clear case by considering that Iran is negotiating with which countries. The behavior of foreign policy of the country is also influenced by idealistic policies based on a set of principles rather than the facts and international limitations to a high degree in this period of foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran, so the international norms have less effect on foreign policy of the country.

2) Iran-EU trade relations in the government of Mahmoud Ahmadinejad

The analysis of Table 1 shows trade between Iran and the EU since the late of Khatami's government to the early of Ahmadinejad's government:

Table 1: Iran and the European Union trade between 2003-2007 (Value: \$ milliard)

2007	2006	2005	2004	2003	Description / year
13.4	14.1	11.4	8.2	6.9	Iran's export
10.1	11.1	12.9	11.8	10	Iran's import
23.5	25.2	24.3	20	16.9	Sum
+3.3	+3	-1.5	-3.6	-3.1	Trade balance

Iran's share from the foreign trade of UN				
8%	1%	1.1%	1%	9%

(Based on Vaezi book, 2014)^[12]

It can be said from the analysis of Table 2 that Iran's trade balance has grown from negative to positive as the result of the expansionist policies of Khatami's government in relations with the European Union and the total imports and exports of Iran from the European Union have reached more than 20 milliard euros since 2004. It should also be noted that the volume of trade between the Islamic Republic of Iran and the European Union reached 5.23 milliard euros in 2007 which represents a 7% decrease compared to 2006 (317.25 milliard euros) according to this table. It means that in the second year of the government of Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, the trade volume of EUR 4.13 milliard is related to Iran's exports to the Union which represents a decrease of 6.3% compared to 2006 (126.14 billion euros) according to the European Union Statistics Office (URVET). Oil was the most important import commodity of the European Union from Iran in 2007. These statistics of the decline in the volume of trade coincided with the change of government in Iran from Seyyed Mohammad Khatami to Ahmadinejad's government in this period. This shift in politics has shown itself in the volume of trade and commerce during the Ahmadinejad's government in 2006 and in 2007 but Table (2) shows all of the statistics of Iran-EU trade in the Ahmadinejad government. This table reveals serious changes in Iran-EU trade relations.

Table 2: all of the statistics of Iran-EU trade in the Ahmadinejad government

Trade exchanges of Iran and UN in Mahmoud Ahmadinejad's government						Year
Sum	Import		Export			
Dollar (milliard \$)	Weight (ton)	Dollar value (milliard \$)	Weight value (ton)	Dollar value (milliard \$)	Weight value (ton)	
25.2	18792912	11.1	8904567	14.1	9888345	2006
23.5	17839156	10.1	8804578	13.4	9034578	2004
15.34	11323452	7.54	4890123	7.8	5433329	2008
20.38	17937258	17.8	15511128	2.58	2426130	2009
22.78	13498852	19.5	11429657	2.4	2069195	2010
18	9972612	15.9	8432431	2.1	1540181	2011
17	17479622	15.3	16049087	1.7	1430535	2012
11.4	9537586	10	8007258	1.4	1530328	2013

(Vaezi, 2014)^[12]

This table shows that the weight exchanges between the Islamic Republic of Iran and the European Union have not undergone a particular trend and have been highly varied. The level of trade has been high in the early years of Ahmadinejad's first government but this trend has been decreasing since the fall of 2008 but this level of trade has been increasing again in the late

years of the 2011-2012 period. It can be said that as it is mentioned in the second chapter, the high prices of oil have increased the level of trade exchanges but the existence of Mahmoud Ahmadinejad's revolutionary and idealistic policies and the sanctions imposed by the Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran in pursuing a nuclear case that led to the imposition of five Security Council resolutions against Iran and US and Western sanctions have made many stoppages in the process of trade between the European Union and Iran.

These tables are completed by figure (1). This chart shows the EU share of total exports of Iran over the period of 2007 to 2014:

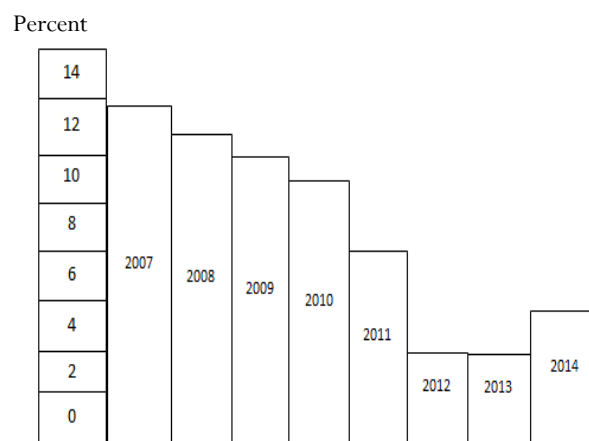


Figure 1: EU share of total exports of Iran over the period of 2007 to 2014)

(Trade exchanges of Iran and Europe, 2015)^[13]

The above chart shows that the political discourse of the Ahmadinejad government and the nuclear sanctions on the trade relations between the Islamic Republic of Iran and the European Union are best illustrated and the triangle of principle-oriented idealistic discourse of Ahmadinejad, universal sanctions against the Islamic Republic and the pursuit of a nuclear case during the Ahmadinejad era have led to a downward trend in commercial engagement.

Conclusion:

As it is noted, European countries were interested in establishing relations and using the economic facilities of Iran after the victory of the Islamic Revolution in 1979, although the relations between the parties have experienced various ups and downs. Although the victory of the Islamic Revolution, occupation of the American embassy in Tehran, European support of Iraq in the Iran-Iraq war had a negative effect on the relations between the two sides but the economic relations of the European countries and Iran continued more or less. The crisis which was caused by the issuance of Salman Rushdie's death religious statement, as well as the crisis of issuing Mykonos's court order made the relationships between the two sides problematic but their common interests and requirements closed them together again. The Mohammad Khatami's

presidency era was the culmination of a friendly relationship between the parties which was fluctuating with the issue of the Iranian nuclear file.

Europe tried to resolve the issue based on its pivot in its nuclear talks but the relations between the two sides became dark and blurred with the rise of fundamentalists power and change of Iran's nuclear strategy, so that Europe and America accompanied each other in sending the Iran's nuclear file to the security council and imposed the most severe sanctions on Iran. At last, we can define the basic principles of Mahmoud Ahmadinejad's political discourse as following:

- 1- Return to the principles and slogans of the revolution in the first decade of the Islamic Revolution in the field of foreign policy
- 2- Neglecting the principles and achievements of constructive governments and reforms and failure in following them in internal and external policies
- 3- Denial of acceptance of normative and legal behaviors in the field of domestic and foreign policy

West was redefined in the ninth and tenth governments. Summing up the West's performance with the Islamic Republic caused the western countries seek surrendering and tolerating Iran rather than detention and coexist. This conclusion had led the Islamic Republic pursuing an opposing policy against west. This confrontation led the America achieve the European support for Iran's nuclear case or file and referred Iran's nuclear case to the security council and approved various resolutions against the country in addition to Iran's various sanctions, so the atmosphere of relations with the European Union became dispirited and discouraged by establishing the ninth government. Apart from the nuclear file which was the most important and controversial axis of the parties' differences issues such as the Holocaust and Ahmadinejad's remarks fueled this hard place in this regard. Changing the type and the atmosphere of dialogue with the G-1 countries has had a negative impact on these difficult situations, as far as Iran's nuclear issue has almost the highest level of convergence and consensus among union members.

What has been observed was that we were not witness of a clear trend in the trade field and trade relations between the Islamic Republic of Iran and the European Union due to the adoption of an international anti-regime approach in the field of foreign policy and the opposition to the process in previous governments in the Ahmadinejad government more precisely in the field of business interactions.

References

1. Dehghani Firoozabadi, Seyyed Jalal (2012). Foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran, fourth edition, Tehran, Samt publication.
2. Sanai, Ardeshtir (2014) , Curriculum of the Foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Political faculty, Islamic Azad University of central Tehran unit.
3. Halliday, T. Fred (Spring 1994), "An Elusive Normalization: Western Europe and The Iranian Revolution", Middle East Journal, vol.48, no.2.
4. Hunter, Shirin (1991), Iran and the World: Continuity in a Revolutionary Decade, Bloomington, and Indiana University Press.
5. Ehteshami, Anoshiravan (1995), After Khomeini: The Iranian Second Republic, London, Rutledge.
6. Sajjadpoor, Seyyed Mohammad Kazem (2001, a) , The fate of Iran's inhibition by the US during the Khatami era- lessons of Iran's foreign policy, Khatami's foreign policy from the point of view of the experts, drafting and compilation: Mahdi Zakerian, Tehran, Hamshahri publication.
7. Sajjadpoor, Seyyed Mohammad Kazem (winter, 2001 b) , Iran and 11th of September: a conceptual framework of conceiving the foreign policy, foreign policy quarterly, 11th year, No, 4.
8. Gasiorowski, Mark (Summer 2007), "The New Aggressiveness in Iran's Foreign Policy", Middle East Policy, vol.x17. No. 2.
9. Khalozadeh, Saeed (2011), "Role of the European Union in Iran's nuclear case", Europe book (10), Tehran, Tehran contemporary abrar institute.
10. Molana, Hamid and Mohammadi, Manoochehr (2008) . Foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran of Ahmadinejad's government, Tehran: Dadgostar publication.
11. Motaghghi, Ebrahim (2013), Reviewing new role in global politics: Diplomacy in NewYork; Regional outcomes and international reflections. R. K. Site: www.did.ir
12. Vaezi, Hassan (2014), prosperity and failure of development in Iran. Role of 5th to 11th governments in political, economic, social and cultural development of the country in 1990- 2013. Tehran: Hermes publication.
13. Trade relations between Iran and Europe (2015). Deputy of Economic Investigators of the Chamber of Commerce, industries, mining and agriculture of Tehran.