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ПОЛИТИЧЕСКИЕ НАУКИ /
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Эволюция геополитики Ирана после
исламской революции 1979 г.

Научная статья / Original article

The evolution of Iran's geopolitics after
the 1979 islamic revolution

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Аннотация. События 1978-1979 гг., приведшие к власти Хомейни и его сторонников, полностью меняют внешнюю и внутреннюю политику Ирана. Данное явление становится одним из факторов, образующих современную геополитическую конфигурацию региона. Показателем исторического масштаба революции было то, что Персидская монархия с 2500-летней историей, представленная множеством династий вместе с династией Пехлеви, прекратила свое политическое существование. На место существующего строя пришло клерикальное шиитское духовенство с учением имама Хомейни «Вилаят аль-факих». Первые годы существования исламской республики, внешняя политика Тегерана видела свой политический строй, как идеальную модель исламской республики для региональных мусульманских государств. Из работ иранистов, изучающих внешнюю политику в период после исламской революции, следует выделить тезис смены революционного романтизма, свойственного первым годам существования новой политической системы, что проявлялось в попытках экспорта данной модели. На современном этапе отмечается постепенный переход от революционного романтизма к внешнеполитическому прагматизму, чему способствовала эпоха Рафсанджани и Хатами. Наблюдается смягчение характера проводимой внешней политики, которая с периода революции 1979 г., основывалась на двух концепциях - «Экспорт исламской революции» и «Ни Восток, ни Запад, а Исламская Республика».

Ключевые слова: Иран, геополитика, Ближний Восток, Персия, революция, международные отношения, шиизм, хомейнизм

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Abstract. The events of 1978-1979, which brought Khomeini and his supporters to power, completely changes the foreign and domestic policy of Iran. This phenomenon becomes one of the factors that form the modern geopolitical configuration of the region. Indicative of the historical scale of the revolution was the fact that the Persian monarchy with 2500 years of history, represented by many dynasties along with the Pahlavi dynasty, ceased to exist politically. The existing system was replaced by a clerical Shiite clergy with the teachings of Imam Khomeini's Wilayat al-Faqih. In the early years of the Islamic Republic, Tehran's foreign policy saw its political order as the ideal model of an Islamic republic for regional Muslim states. From the works of Iranian scholars studying foreign policy in the post-Islamic revolution period, the thesis of the change of revolutionary romanticism characteristic of the first years of the new political system, which manifested itself in attempts to export this model, should be highlighted. At the present stage,

there is a gradual transition from romanticism to foreign policy pragmatism, which was facilitated by the era of Rafsanjani and Khatami. There has been a softening of the foreign policy, which since the 1979 revolution, has been based on two concepts - "Export of the Islamic Revolution" and "Neither East nor West, but the Islamic Republic".

Key words: Iran, geopolitics, Middle East, Persia, revolution, international relations, Shiism, Khomeinism

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During the period of the rise of European empires, Persia lagged far behind the dominant colonial powers militarily and economically, which was the reason for the future semi-colonial state of the country. The positions of Great Britain and Russia in the region were especially strong. As the American historian, professor of history at Yale University, F. Kazem-zade, "an evil fate placed Persia between the Russian hammer and the English anvil" [Kazem-zade 2004, p.124].

In the twentieth century there were political upheavals that radically changed the face of the country. Iran during the reign of Shah Mohammed - Reza Pahlavi focused on the pre-Islamic Persian empires of the Achaemenids and Sassanids, as the heyday of Iranian civilization. It can be noted that one of the main elements of the Pahlavi regime was pan-Iranism. After the Islamic Revolution, Iran turned into a theocratic state with Khomeini's Shiite teachings "Wilayat al-faqih".

In the pre-revolutionary period, socio-economic reforms were carried out: secular education was introduced, a civil code was adopted. The construction of a regional transport project begins: the trans-Iranian railway connecting the Caspian coast of the country with the Persian Gulf [Aliev 2004, p.177]. The gradual modernization of the country is being carried out, but the country retains the appearance of an agrarian state.

In addition, the modernization and westernization of the life of Iranian society is being actively carried out, which is comparable to similar processes in Turkey, where M. TO. Ataturk carried out reforms to create a national secular state on the European model. Other similar features of Kemalism and the policy pursued by the new Shah were statism and nationalism, which were integral parts of the new state system. Left movements had significant political power, therefore, in order to prevent the Soviet threat to the new monarch, Article IV of the agreement on guarantee and neutrality between the USSR and Iran was of particular importance for maintaining power ².

In the post-Stalin period, positive changes are taking place in Soviet-Iranian relations. The initiator of the diplomatic dialogue was the Soviet side, which demonstrated the rejection of the territorial claims that existed during the Stalinist period and the desire to form a new approach in interactions with the Iranian side.

The result of this initiative was the conclusion of a legal document to resolve financial and border issues. In 1954, the "Agreement between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Iran on the settlement of border and financial issues" was signed ³. According to the agreement, the Soviet-Iranian commission was to carry out the demarcation and redemarcation of the state border. Another illustration of the positive developments in the post-Stalin period of bilateral relations was the visit of the Shah of Iran to the USSR.

Since 1951, the post of prime minister in Iran was held by M. Mossadegh, who was remembered for the nationalization of the Iranian oil sector, which was negatively perceived by the

² Treaty of Guarantee and Neutrality between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Iran (Persia) Caspian: international legal documents / comp. S. S. Zhiltsov, I. S. Zonn, A.G. Kostyanoy, A. V. Semenov. – M.: International relations, 2018. S. 81-85.

³ Agreement between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Iran on the settlement of border and financial issues of the Caspian Sea: international legal documents / comp. S. S. Zhiltsov, I. S. Zonn, A.G. Kostyanoy, A. V. Semenov. – M.: International Relations, 2018. pp.153-160

United States and Great Britain, imposing an embargo on Iranian oil. The clergy actively supported the nationalization of the country's oil industry, seeing in the prevailing position of foreign companies an infringement of the rights of the Muslim mind [Mamedova 2019 p.109].

At the same time, it should be noted that the Iranian side made attempts to improve relations with the United States, having achieved results in this direction in the form of receiving military assistance under the Truman program. But at the same time, Tehran was unable to achieve its main goal - to receive assistance in the fight against British influence. In general, in foreign policy in the conditions of a bipolar world, the Mossadegh government preferred neutrality. Having negative relations with Great Britain and the USA, the fear of exporting the socialist system was the main barrier in rapprochement with the USSR.

In the period after the overthrow of Mossadegh, tendencies of anti-democratic development of Iran are noted, and the sole power of the Shah is being strengthened. From the June uprising of 1963, the open struggle of the Shiite clergy against the Shah began. The new government of Kh. Mysuri tried to improve relations with the clergy by releasing a significant number of detained activists [Aliev 2004 p. 341-343].

The reasons for the emergence of the Khomeini movement can be called attempts to rapidly modernize Iranian society according to the Western model, as well as the stratification of society. As Doctor of Historical Sciences E. A. Doroshenko points out, in the mid-1970s, such political institutions as the bicameral parliament "Majlis" and various political parties existed in Iran. There was a gradual modernization and westernization of public life. The only archaic institutions untouchable before changes, according to E.A. Doroshenko remained the institutions of the clergy and the monarchy [Doroshenko 2019 p. 67-68]. The latter had the properties of strengthening despotism, and the former, in turn, had a significant impact on public consciousness.

As rightly noted by I. R. Gibadullin, senior researcher at the Institute of History. Sh. Marjani of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tatarstan, in the perception of the Islamic revolution in Iran by the Soviet historiography, the official ideology of the CPSU and the Marxist-Leninist methodology played an all-consuming role. Undoubtedly, this narrowed the space for scientific research into the specifics of the Iranian revolution, "which in a sense predetermined the unanimity of Soviet researchers in the main approaches to this issue" [Gibadullin 2019 p. 8-9]. In modern Russian Iranian studies, after moving away from following the principles of Marxism, there is no comprehensive approach to the perception of the phenomenon of the Iranian revolution.

As a result of the revolution, the institution of the monarchy was replaced by the Shiite clergy. At the same time, for the first time in the years of the revolution, the political environment had a certain pluralism, since various political movements actively participated in it. In the post-revolutionary years, an internal political struggle raged in Iran between President A. Banisadr and conservative clerics. A long bloody war with Iraq began, which caused significant damage to the Iranian economy. In the province of Khuzestan, where the hostilities took place, oil pipelines and oil storage facilities were located, which, of course, affected the country's export opportunities. From the first day of its formation, the new political system faced a fierce opposition struggle. In 1979, Murtaza Mutahhari, an ally of Khomeini and one of the ideologists of the new socio-political system of Iran, was killed by representatives of the Furkan organization [Fedorova 2019 p. 27].

The very causes of the Iranian revolution are extraordinary. This phenomenon became possible due to cultural, political and economic factors. Wide sections of the population took part in the revolution, but only the Shiite clergy managed to lead the revolution. N. M. Mamedova, head of the Iranian sector at the Center for the Study of the Countries of the Near and Middle East of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences, emphasizes the uniqueness of the 1979 revolution in terms of its topology. According to the scientist, the Iranian revolution "was primarily of an ideological nature, in this case a religious one" [Mamedova 2019 p. 108].

Structural analysis of the modern political system of Iran is carried out by A. M. Mustafabeyli, Candidate of Historical Sciences, Leading Researcher at the Institute of Contemporary International Problems of the Diplomatic Academy of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. A. M. Mustafabeyli highlights the fundamental elements of the political system of

the Islamic Republic: The Supreme Leader, the Council of Experts, the Assembly of the Islamic Council (Majlis), the Council for the Expediency of Decisions, the judiciary. The key figure in the Iranian system of government is the Supreme Leader, elected for an indefinite term by the Council of Experts (representatives of the clergy). The Supervisory Board is vested with broad functions, which reviews legal documents for their legitimacy from the point of view of the country's fundamental law, monitors the electoral processes in the country and approves officials [Mustafabeyli 2016 p. 56-61].

In general, the issue of the activities of the Supervisory Board, one of the most important bodies in the modern political system of Iran, is debatable. The main function of this body is to select, in accordance with the norms of Islam, presidential candidates and members of the Mejlis and the Council of Experts [Mamedova 2019 p.113]. The refusal to admit promising candidates led to protests and extensive public and international discussion. The key figure of the Iranian political system "Rahbar", as Iranian scholars write, is elected by representatives of the people and experts (khobregan) [Khorramshad, Mottaghi 2019 p. 161].

Candidate of Historical Sciences, senior researcher at the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences E. V. Dunaeva, considering the formation of the modern political system of Iran and the reasons for the formation of a new political system, notes that the revolution "can be considered as a certain step forward along the path of political development, since monarchs have come to replace new political system" [Dunaeva 2016 p. 76]. The political system of modern Iran is fundamentally different from Western political systems, it combines the Shiite component with elements of the republican system.

The Iranian side has sanctions restrictions since the formation of the Islamic Republic. The seizure of the US embassy in Iran led to the beginning of a phase of confrontation between Iran and the Western community. The Iranian nuclear program has led to the formation of a tougher sanctions regime against Iran. The adoption by the world community of restrictive measures against Iran followed. So, the UN Security Council took the first sanctions measures in 2006 with resolution No. 1737. Then a number of other resolutions followed, severe restrictive measures against Iran were formed (disconnection from the international financial system, an embargo on the supply of certain types of technologies) [Kozhanov, Isaev 2019 p. 24-25].

It should be said separately that the United States began to impose restrictive measures on Iran after the Islamic Revolution of 1979. However, the nuclear program served as a pretext for tightening and joining the sanctions of international institutions. With the approval of UN Security Council Resolution 2231, several sanctions resolutions followed. In general, international sanctions against Iran were adopted on the basis of seven resolutions of the UN Security Council.

In addition to the restrictive measures taken by the Security Council, significant pressure on the Iranian economy was exerted by the EU and US sanctions imposed on Iran, affecting the most important sectors of the economy (oil and gas, financial and banking sectors, etc.) - the disconnection of Iranian banks from the SWIFT international payment system and the ban on the import of Iranian energy resources. Restrictive measures had a negative impact on the economic situation in Iran, but it should be noted that this did not lead to the collapse of economic and social life in the country. During the period of imposing economic sanctions in Iran, a new concept of "resistance economy" is being put into circulation to contain and neutralize economic pressure against the country, and rely on one's own strength [Naseri, Sheikhsarai 2019 p. 236].

The Iranian leadership launched a program of economic incentives for domestic producers and an increase in the country's industrial potential, and also took protectionist measures. In a short period, it was possible to satisfy the needs of the population in gasoline. Separately, it should be noted that the Iranian leadership managed to create a system of measures to bypass the imposed restrictions.

As a result of a constructive dialogue, it was possible, with the help of diplomacy, to develop a mechanism for resolving the problem of Iran's nuclear program. As a result of lengthy negotiations, a compromise agreement "Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action" (JCPOA) was reached. US exit under the administration of D. Trump from the JCPOA led to the aggravation of

negative processes in the region and the growing threat of direct military action. It should be noted that the European Union and the countries participating in the 5+1 format agreement assessed the US withdrawal from the joint action plan very negatively.

Iran and the EU have not yet established effective INSTEX mechanisms to support commercial activities and circumvent US-imposed sanctions. In response, Tehran began a phased withdrawal from the obligations imposed by the JCPOA on the country's nuclear program. The restoration of Tehran's nuclear potential alarmed Iran's main regional geopolitical adversaries - some states of the Persian Gulf and Israel. At the same time, it is worth noting that the Iranian side leaves a niche for negotiations and does not stop cooperation with the IAEA, and also declares its readiness to restore the nuclear agreement.

It should be noted that the confrontation between Iran and the United States, Israel and the Persian Gulf monarchies has repeatedly reached the verge of "hot" confrontation. The geopolitical interests of the parties clashed in the Persian Gulf and in regional hot spots: Syria, Iraq, Yemen. The apogee was the assassination of the well-known Iranian general Qasem Soleimani, who heads the special unit of the IRGC Qods in Iraq by the American side.

The main reason for the existing antagonism between the political elite of Iran and the United States, the Iranian scientist Mehdi Sanai determines the difference in beliefs, principles and values, which is based on the difference in worldviews. From the point of view of the scientist, the main foreign policy values for the United States are peace, prosperity, democracy, which is imposed on the rest of the world. For Iran, the main foreign policy values are formed on the basis of political Islam: the desire for justice and the rule of law, as well as the rejection of Western liberal democracy and the desire for domination [Canai 2019 p. 136].

It is important to consider Iran's position during the "Arab Spring", because after the Islamic Revolution of 1979, he set the geopolitical task of exporting the model of an Islamic republic in the region. The head of the Turkish Research Center of Iran, Hakky Uygur, describes Iran's position in assessing the "Arab Spring" as follows: by supporting the revolutions against authoritarian regimes in Tunisia, the birthplace of the "Arab Spring", and in Egypt, the Iranian leadership did not receive the expected rapprochement with the new Islamic forces that came to power. From the point of view of Hakka Uighur, after the spread of the "Arab Spring" it became clear that the popular uprisings would not be limited to North Africa, the solidarity of the green movement in Iran with the popular uprisings in the Arab states caused fears in Tehran. In general, the Iranian leadership has described the protest movement in the region as an "Islamic awakening". Comparing these popular uprisings with the Islamic Revolution of 1979, describing them as a popular struggle against pro-Western secular dictatorial regimes, the revolutionary impulse of the masses, from the point of view of Tehran, was predicted by Imam Khomeini as the "Great Awakening" [Uygur, 2017 p. 96-97]. The beginning of protests in Syria, one of Tehran's main allies, completely changes Iran's perception of regional processes.

An irritating factor for the regional powers and the United States is the active role of Iran in the geopolitical processes in the region, especially the organization of Shiite military formations from Afghanistan, Iraq, Pakistan, their involvement in hostilities and the participation of Iranian military personnel and the Lebanese Hizbullah.

For example, the geopolitical rivalry between Iran and Turkey has deep historical roots, which is reflected in the ancient Persian epic Shahnameh. It describes the confrontation between the land of the Aryans - "Iran" and the land of the Turks - "Turan", which indicates the historical factor of the rivalry between the two civilizations. Another key element was formed with the establishment of Shiism as the state religion during the period of the Safavid dynasty, which served to isolate Iran from the rest of the Islamic world. The emergence of the Safavid state became an obstacle to the expansion of Porta to the East. Geo-economic and geopolitical rivalry, together with confessional antagonism, brought two civilizations together in military conflicts during the 16th - 17th centuries. One of the strategic goals of the Ottoman Empire was to consolidate in the Caspian, which turned the region into a zone of contention between the two empires.

As a result of historical processes, a geopolitical Iranian triad of perceptions of themselves as "Iranians", "Shiites", "Muslims" is being formed. The Iranian "sun" opposed the successor of the Arab Caliphate - the Ottoman "moon" [Kozhanov, Bogacheva 2020 p. 146-148]. The Persian-Turkish geopolitical rivalry has confessional and historical components, which at the present stage has not lost its relevance and has a significant impact on the geopolitical processes in the region. Director of the Hudson Institute's Center for Peace and Security in the Middle East Michael Doran notes that the fear of Turan will always haunt the collective consciousness of the Persians [Doran 2022 p. 26]. Iran and Turkey have an imperial past as a legacy - and, as a result, regional geopolitical ambitions.

Historical processes of the XX and the beginning of the XXI century. in the region give us reason to formulate common conclusions and highlight similar political processes. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk forms a secular Turkish republic on the ruins of the Ottoman Empire, reforming the socio-political system beyond recognition. Similar, but more moderate in terms of modernization and secularization, transformations were carried out in Iran. As a side effect, they led to a response from a part of the population and the overthrow of the Shah's regime. Tendencies towards the desecularization of Turkish society show themselves with the coming to power of the political movement Refah.

Is there a general trend of desecularization? This is a question that requires careful analysis. On the one hand, Islamic movements under pressure from the Kemalist authorities received their long-awaited freedom in modern Turkey. On the other hand, the secular state system, unlike Iran, has been preserved. In addition to this, the ruling moderate Islamic party, the AKP, is in a precarious position, forced to ally with the nationalists due to electoral considerations. For a long time, the Nationalist Movement Party was in strong opposition to the AKP.

After the Justice and Development Party came to power, Turkey and Iran have achieved a positive trend in bilateral relations. During the international crisis caused by Iran's nuclear program, Turkey made diplomatic efforts to resolve it: for example, in 2010, an agreement was reached between Turkey, Brazil and Iran to organize the exchange of low-enriched uranium for highly enriched uranium in Turkey. It should be noted that Iran and Turkey have similar geopolitical positions in resolving the Kurdish problem, and have also developed a common position in the fight against the economic blockade of Qatar during the regional crisis.

Describing the political system of modern Iran, one should emphasize the most important property, which is the synthesis of various principles [Sanai 2006 p. 137-138]. Separately, it should be noted that the Khomeinist movement "opposed modernity and categorically rejected Western secularism, humanism, democracy" [Barkhordari, Mottagi 2019 p. 43]. However, it can be argued that Iranian foreign policy has changed significantly since the period of the Islamic revolution. Revolutionary romanticism lost its former maximalism, softened by a certain pragmatism and the search for economic gain. An example of a pragmatic line is the policy of President Mohammed Khatami (a representative of the reformist wing), who promised to build a civil society in Iran within the framework of the existing system. This concept was called "Islamic democracy". In general, the name of M. Khatami is associated with the liberalization of the political life of Iran, it was during this period that non-governmental organizations began to emerge [Mamedova 2019 p. 112]. In foreign policy, Mohammed Khatami puts forward the thesis of a "dialogue of civilizations" to resolve existing contradictions.

On the other hand, the president's powers are limited to the spiritual leader. One can single out the instability of the pragmatism of Iranian foreign policy, it depends on the political struggle between reformers and conservatives. An example of transformation is the coming to power of Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, who intensified the struggle against the United States and regional opponents represented by Israel and Saudi Arabia.

One can speak with caution about two foreign policy concepts: a moderate and a pragmatic line (reformers); the counterbalance to them is an active and preserving the revolutionary message, irreconcilable with the existing regional and global configuration (conservative) policy. It is worth noting separately that the Iranian foreign policy leadership managed to rationally use limited

resources to increase influence in the region. After the Islamic Revolution of 1979, the Shiite factor was used as the main foreign policy tool for the formation of a special zone of influence in the region.

Having analyzed the modern geopolitical model of Tehran, one should highlight the key element of Iranian regional policy - the "confessional factor". Thus, Iran actively covered the protest movements of the Shiite communities of Bahrain and Saudi Arabia. From the point of view of a number of Arab states, military support was provided to the Ansar Allah movement, in an insurmountable civil war in Yemen. Tehran was fully involved in the civil war in the Syrian Arab Republic. When the world community considered the fall of the government of Bashar al-Assad inevitable and the Syrian leadership was losing control over strategically important territories, Iran sent instructors and military personnel from the IRGC, as well as militias, members of military formations (Al-Hashd al-Shaabi, Fatimiyun, etc.) to participate in the civil war on the side of the forces of Bashar al-Assad.

To form ideas about the geopolitical configuration in the region, one should pay attention to the fact that the Islamic revolution of 1979 led to the formation of confrontation between Iran and the Western community, as well as regional states (Saudi Arabia, Israel, etc.). In foreign policy, the new leadership of Iran abandoned the model of both the capitalist and socialist political camps, forming the so-called third path of development. Tehran began to play an active geopolitical role in the region, trying to export the existing model of political structure to neighboring states and form a zone of geopolitical influence.

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