Colonies, Clients, and Rogues:
Power and the Production of Order in International Politics

A Dissertation
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA
BY

Robert Reza Asaadi

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Co-Adviser: Raymond Duvall

Co-Adviser: Kathleen Collins

Degree Conferral: July 2016

Copyright Page

Table of Contents

Part I: Posing the Question and Framing the Theory

Chapter 1: **Introduction**... [2]
      Defining the Phenomenon of Rogue States
      Hegemon-Rogue Relations
      Approach
      The Scholarly Context of This Study
      Concluding Remarks
      Looking Ahead to Chapter 2

Chapter 2: **Theoretical Background**.. [42]
      Introduction
      Social and Natural Kinds
      Power and the Production of Order: Makers and Takers
      Patterns of Relation between Dominant and Subordinate Actors
      Concluding Remarks

Part II: Case Studies

Chapter 3: **Iran as Colony**.. [71]
      Introduction
      Historical Context
            Qajar Dynasty in Decline
            British and Russian Designs
      Reuter Concession – Infrastructure
      Talbot Concession – Tobacco Politics
      D'Arcy Concession – Oil Politics
      Constitutional Revolution and its Meanings
      Critical Features of the Core-Periphery Relation
            Extraction
            Division
            Aggressive Incorporation
      Concluding Remarks

Chapter 4: **Iran as Client**.. [94]
      Introduction
      Historical Context

Part III: Implications and Conclusion

Glossary of Terms

a'yan	Notable / Elite
ayatollah	high-ranking cleric (lit. 'sing of god')
azadi	freedom
basij	volunteer fighter (lit. 'mobilized')
bazaari	merchant
Bazgasht beh khish	return to oneself
Defa-ye Moghadas	Holy Defense, referring to Iran-Iraq War
din	religion
enqelab	revolution
Enqelab-e Sefid	White Revolution
entekhabi	elected
entesabi	appointed
eshteraki	socialist
esteqlal	independence
faqeh	Islamic jurist, expert on religious law
fadayi	self-sacrificial fighter
gharbzadehgi	westoxification / westosis
Hezb-e Rastakhiz	Resurgence Party
Hezb-e Tudeh	Tudeh Party (lit. 'Party of the Masses')
hojjat al-Islam	middle-ranking cleric (lit. 'proof of Islam')
hokumat-e Islami	Islamic government
idologi	ideology
Iran haraasi	Iran-phobia
Jangeh Tahmili	Imposed War, referring to Iran-Iraq War
Jebhe Melli	National Front
jumhuri-ye Islami	Islamic Republic
kadkhuda	village headman
Kashf al-Asrar	<u>The Unveiling of Secrets</u> (1944, Khomeini)
komiteh	committee
mahalleh	city district, ward
majles	parliament
Majles-e Khobregan	Assembly of Experts
marja-e taqled	highest religious authority
mazhab	faith
melli	national
mojtahed	high-ranking cleric
mostazefen	oppressed, the meek, exploited, wretched of the earth
mostakaben	oppressors
mullah	term for cleric, formalized as *rouhani*
pasdaran	revolutionary guards
rahbar	leader
rowshanfekr	intelligentsia
shahed	martyr
shari'a	Islamic law
tabaqeh-e motavasateh-e sunnati	traditional middle class

takiyeh	traditional theater
taziyeh	Shi'a passion play
terrorism-e dowlati	state terrorism
ulama	clergy
vaqf	religious endowment (Arabic *waqf*)
velayat-e faqeh	the jurist's guardianship

The following terms were derived by Ali Shariati and introduced a new political lexicography in Iranian discourse in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s:

Dialektik-e tarikhi	historical dialectics
Harakat-e dialektiki	dialectical movement
Jahanbeni	worldview
Jehatger-ye Tabaqat-e Islam	Islam's Class Bias
Jebr-e tarikhi	historical determinism
Khordeh-e bourzhuazi	petty bourgeoisie

In addition to these new concepts, Shariati introduces radical meaning into existing Islamic terms, some examples of which are as follows:

ummat	from 'community' into 'dynamic society in permanent revolution'
towhid	from 'monotheism' into 'social solidarity'
imamat	from 'rule of the imam' into 'charismatic leadership'
jihad	from 'crusade' into 'liberation struggle'
mojahed	from 'crusader' into 'revolutionary fighter'
shahed	from 'martyr' into 'revolutionary hero'
momen	from 'pious' into 'genuine fighter'
kafer	from 'unbeliever' into 'passive observer'
shirk	from 'idol worship' into 'political submission'
entezar	from 'expectation of the Messiah' into 'expectation of the revolution'
tafsir `	from 'scriptural commentary' into 'the skill of extracting radical meaning from sacred texts'

Chronology

1848-1896	Reign of Naser al-Din Shah Qajar
1872	Reuter Concession
1890	Talbot Concession
1890	Tobacco Protest
1901	Darcy Concession
1906-1911	Constitutional Revolution
1906	First Majles convened
1907	Anglo-Russian Agreeement creates 'spheres of influence'
1921	*Coup d'etat*
1925	Collapse of Qajar dynasty
1925	Establishment of Pahlavi dynasty
1941	Anglo-Soviet occupation
1941	Reza Shah abdicates
1951	Oil nationalization
1953	Coup against Prime Minister Mossadegh
1957 March	Iran begins civilian nuclear program, Atoms for Peace program
1963	White Revolution begins
1964	Ayatollah Khomeini exiled
1968 July	Iran signs NPT
1973	Shah creates Atomic Energy Organization of Iran
1975	Shah abolishes political parties, creates one-party state
1977	Carter visits Iran, proclaims 'island of stability'
1978	Periodic demonstrations and unrest
1979 Jan.	Iran halts nuclear program
1979 Feb.	Islamic Revolution; Khomeini returns to Iran
1979 Nov.	US Embassy in Tehran occupied
1979 Dec.	Islamic Republic Constitution ratified; *Velayat-e faqih* codified
1980 April	U.S. severs diplomatic relations with Iran
1980 July	Mohammad Reza Pahlavi dies in Egypt
1980 Sept.	Iran-Iraq war begins
1981 Jan.	American hostages released
1981 Oct.	Khamenei elected president
1983 April	Suicide bombing of U.S. Embassy in Beirut
1984	Nuclear program restarts
1985 Aug.	Khamenei re-elected president
1988 July	Iran-Iraq war ends
1989	Khomeini dies; Khamenei chosen as Supreme Leader
1989 July	Rafsanjani elected president
1993 June	Rafsanjani re-elected president
1995 April	U.S. executive order banning trade with Iran
1996 June	Khobar Towers bombing
1996 Aug.	Iran-Libya Sanctions Act passes U.S. Congress
1997 May	Khatami elected president
2001 June	Khatami re-elected president
2001 Sept.	Al-Qaeda attacks the United States
2002 Jan.	'Axis of Evil' speech

2003 March	U.S. invades Iraq
2003	Iran suspends nuclear program
2005 June	Ahmadienjad elected president
2006 Jan.	Iran's nuclear program restarted, Natanz, Arak facilities
2006 Dec.	UNSC sanctions against Iran approved
2009 June	Ahmadinejad re-elected president
2009	Green Movement protests
2010 June	New UNSC sanctions
2012 July	EU embargo on Iranian oil
2013 Feb.	U.S. sanctions
2013 June	Rouhani elected president
2013 Sept.	Rouhani-Obama phone call; first US-Iran direct talks since 1979
2015 July	Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action finalized
2015 Oct.	Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action adopted
2016 Jan.	Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action implemented
2016 Feb.	Reformist gains in Parliamentary and Assembly of Experts elections

List of Figures

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my mother and father, Jane and Mohammad Reza Asaadi, for their encouragement and support. Thank you for the countless conversations and messages. To my brother, Jonathan Asaadi, thank you for showing me the blueprint. To my wife Heather, thank you for your love and compassion.

During my time working on this project I benefited from the support of my fellow graduate students at the University of Minnesota, Department of Political Science. I would like to thank my friends and colleagues, Charmaine Chua, Chase Hobbs-Morgan, Henry Thomson, Ismail Yaylaci, David Temin, Chris Stone, Sergio Valverde, and Marcela Villarrazo for their willingness to discuss these ideas and provide constructive feedback.

The intellectual community at the University of Minnesota motivated me to see this work through to its completion, and I would like to recognize the impact that seminars with Ben Ansell, Ron Krebs, Lisa Hilbink, August Nimtz, and David Samuels had on me during my time at Minnesota.

To my dissertation committee, Kathleen Collins, Martin Sampson, and Ron Aminzade, thank you for your encouragement and valuable insights as I developed this project from my oral examination in March 2012, through the prospectus process, and finally the dissertation itself. I worked with Martin as a teaching assistant for four semesters, and his example of professionalism, humanity, and intellectual curiosity is one that I strive to emulate in my own career as an academic.

Finally, I would like to thank my adviser, Bud Duvall. Bud's work is what initially attracted me to studying at the University of Minnesota, and during my time in the program his example showed me that there is a place for the kind of work that most interests me in this field. The support and confidence of my family, friends, and colleagues gave me the motivation and necessary push which proved essential to the completion of this project.

Any errors or shortcomings remain, as ever, my own.

Dedications

To the memory of Mohammad Ibrahim Asaadi

Have patience.
All things are difficult before they become easy.

PART I: Posing the Question and Framing the Theory

Chapter 1

Introduction

International Relations (IR) scholarship has long concerned itself with the

question of order. How is order established, and sustained, in global politics? What

types of international systems are more or less ordered? This, in a way, has been a

canonical theme which scholars have sought to address since the inception of the

discipline. For scholars applying a rationalist ontology, particularly Realists, the use of

concepts like the distribution of power and systemic polarity as ways to categorize certain

types of international systems have informed much of the existing scholarship on

international order. The idea is, simply, that if one wants to understand the prevailing

order of the day, then one needs to look at which actors hold the most power, how many

of them there are, and through this information one can reasonably deduce likely state

behavior in certain scenarios, and how orderly (or disorderly) the system will function.

This is simultaneously, and paradoxically, quite abstract and yet has a rather

straightforward, logical appeal. Questions of order gained renewed attention in IR after

the fall of the Soviet Union and the systemic shift from the bipolarity of the Cold War to

the new period of American unipolarity[1]. In part abetted by the failure of rationalist

theories to convincingly make sense of this dramatic moment of change, and in part

owing to the critical mass of scholarship and theoretical refinement taking place within

the 'reflectivist' / 'postpositivist' paradigm itself in the context of what is sometimes

---

[1] See, for example, Brooks and Wohlforth (2008) *World Out of Balance: International Relations and the Challenge of American Primacy*, Hurrell (2007) *On Global Order: Power, Values, and the Constitution of International Society*, Booth and Dunne, eds. (2002), *Worlds in Collision: Terror and the Future of Global Order*; and in a more critical vein, Harvey (2003), *The New Imperialism*, Hardt and Negri (2000), *Empire*, Dabashi (2008), *Islamic Liberation Theology: Resisting the Empire*

referred to as the fourth great debate in IR, constructivist theories of global politics occupied a place alongside rationalist theories in the mainstream discourse in the discipline. It is precisely at this moment, the transition between bipolar and unipolar international systems, that a new category of actor became prominent in both the academic and foreign-policy discourses on international order, and that actor-type is the *rogue state*.

This project begins with a basic question. What does the appearance of a certain category of state type (rogue state), precisely at the transitional moment from the bipolar international system which had existed since the end of the Second World War to a new world order marked by American supremacy, tell us about the dynamics of the international system in which it emerges? In an exercise of constitutive theorizing, I ask: how in the early 1990s did the notion of the rogue state become possible?[2] What were the material, ideational, and discursive structures and relations of power constitutive of the rogue state? Initially rising to prominence in the language of US policymakers in the late 1980s, and gaining traction through the mid to late 1990s, I argue that the rogue state appellation is reflective of the change from the bipolar international system of the Cold War to the system variously described as American unipolarity, hegemony, or would-be empire. The study of rogue statehood as a category / conceptual type illuminates the animating tensions internal to the structure of contemporary international order. The resurgence and diffusion of certain ideas during this new period, such as universal notions of human rights, neoliberal models of economic development and understandings of globalization, the supremacy of democracy and democratic peace, and the very

---

[2] For an overview of constitutive versus causal theorizing, see Wendt (1999), p. 79-88

meaning and role of international society in global politics, all contribute to the

emergence of a kind of liminal figure in international politics coined as the rogue state.

The dominance of these ideas led to prescriptions for their universal adoption, seen in

theories such as the modernization and secularization theses, as well as more broadly in

what some have referred to as the 'capitalist civilizational project' of our time.[3]

The rogue state, then, is not an adversary (neither ally nor partner) in the

traditional understanding of the term. The rogue is instead the *most expressive* expression

of the structural / systemic contradictions of contemporary global order. The rogue is the

contemporary expression of the outside, external force that both validates the

reproduction of the order it is constructed as apart from, and serves as a space (material

and ideational) toward which that order directs its expansion. The relationship between

the hegemon (and its allies) and the rogue should not, I argue, be described as a

conventional adversarial relation. This observation highlights a gap in our understanding

of rogue states and what their presence means in global politics today, and the recognition

of this point provides an opening for my research.

Derrida interestingly defines the rogue state as used in the language of the

American administration as "... a state that respects neither its obligations as a state

before the law of the world community nor the requirements of international law, a state

that flouts the law and scoffs at the constitutional state or state of law."[4] The states most

commonly designated as rogues, North Korea, Iran, Iraq, Cuba, and Libya,[5] are therefore

---

[3] Dunaway (2003)

[4] Derrida (2005), p. xiii

[5] Lake (1994); a much more extensive list is found in Caprioli and Trumbore (2003) whose Rogue State
Index identifies 46 states which qualified as 'rogues' at some point during the period 1980-1992, though
their usage of the term differs significantly from mine and perhaps more closely resembles an
assortment of authoritarian, weak, and failed states.

constructed not only as threats to the *security* of the budding hegemonic system, but as threats to its very core *values*. This shift in vocabulary is significant in at least two ways. First, it imposes obligations on members of the international community regarding how to deal with and relate to rogue states. Generally, they are meant to be isolated, targeted, and transformed according to the values of the dominant power in the system.[6] Only after a radical transformation in terms of their state identity can rogues be reintegrated into the international community. Meaningful political engagement here is therefore not a legitimate possibility. Second, the rogue states function as a kind of motive force or perennial outside, limit, or frontier, against which and in contradistinction to which the dominant international order is legitimated and reproduced over time.

While the first of these points has been studied in some detail by political scientists, I argue that the second point, *how rogue states function in the reproduction of contemporary international order*, has received less direct treatment. This point, then, is of particular interest for my study and serves as a jumping off point of sorts. What aspects of the contemporary relation between rogue states and the standard bearers of international order today[7] can be understood as in continuity with the modes of relation across asymmetries of power in previous historical periods? What is *new* or distinctive about these relations? I argue that to answer these important questions it is necessary to reconsider several of the taken-for-granted and naturalized understandings of what the figure of the rogue state means on the global stage today.

---

[6] Here the literature on economic sanctions is particularly instructive, see for example, Baldwin and Pape (1998), Drezner (1999), Fayazmanesh (2003), Amuzegar (1997), Mueller and Mueller (1999), and Pape (1997), Pape (1998)

[7] Here for rogue we might read Iran, and for standard bearers of order the United States, NATO, 'the West', etc.

An aspect of the rogue state type that I argue is distinctive in contrast to other similar analytical categories, such as *weak state*, *failed state*, or *illiberal state*, for example, is the degree to which it resists quantification. The rogue state functions as a kind of 'internal constituent' of contemporary global order.[8] A notable trend in political science research, particularly in the field of Comparative Politics (CP) is the shift toward establishing clear quantitative criteria by which to identify and categorize states, illustrating in my view the depth of influence of the broader 'end of history' understanding of the post-Cold War era on our thinking.[9] That is, states are now generally described as on a path toward democracy (democratizing or in some stage of the democratization process), liberalism, capitalism, human rights, or some amalgamation of this package, and as such their progress can be evaluated against an endpoint typically defined by the United States or the West more generally. These clear evaluative criteria, despite the efforts of some[10], are noticeably absent from the rogue state category. It seems that rogues are known less for what they do / how they behave, and more for *what they are,* or perhaps phrased differently *what they mean* to those who name them as such. This is a point I will unpack in further detail in my analysis of the post-Cold War international order.[11] My argument is that the rogue state is unique in this way in the

---

[8] Zizek (1989), p. 18 – the idea here, which I explore in more detail in the theory chapter in relation to the meaning of the rogue state, outlines a certain logic of exception. Zizek comments on the logic of the Marxian critique of Hegel: "... as soon as we try to conceive the existing social order as a rational totality, we must include in it a paradoxical element which, without ceasing to be its internal constituent, functions as its symptom – subverts the very universal rational principle of this totality. For Marx, this 'irrational' element of the existing society was, of course, the proletariat, 'the unreason of reason itself' (Marx), the point at which the Reason embodied in the existing social order encounters its own unreason."

[9] For example, on the relationship between development and democracy, Przeworski and Limongi (1997); on regime change, Linz and Stepan (1996); and on rogue states, a clear example of this approach is found in Caprioli and Trumbore (2003)

[10] Caprioli and Trumbore (2003)

[11] Chapter 5

landscape of contemporary global order. The rogue is neither a rival, nor a developing

state on the path toward being a 'responsible stakeholder' in the international system (as

may be said of categories such as *weak states*, *partial democracies*, or *less developed*

countries). The rogue instead stands simultaneously as a radical other which is subject to

isolation and targeting, and an objective manifestation of the 'wrong' values / 'wrong'

ways of being which function to reaffirm the normative order of the hegemon.

The violation of a law validates the law as long as the violator is sufficiently

designated as a criminal. In this sense, external structures give meaning to the social

categories or social kinds which are embedded within them. As Wendt argues, this

relationship between structures and social kinds importantly designates certain types of

actions as either legitimate or illegitimate, and constitutes certain types of actors in

relation to one another. So, for instance, the idea of a 'treaty violation' only has meaning

within a discursive structure that prioritizes certain interpretations of a given treaty, or

international law more broadly.[12] Similarly, I argue, the rogue identity is constituted

through and embedded within an external structure of ideas and language surrounding

hegemonic (that is, consent-generating) values and hegemon-rogue relations. Some of

the most common descriptors applied to the rogue state reinforce this notion and are as

follows: threatening, untrustworthy, deceptive, non-compliant with law, non-conformist,

irrational (or hyper-rational), savage, terroristic, inferior, and destabilizing. One scholar's

description of rogue states and the central role that 'rogue thinking' plays in the minds of

American policy makers is useful to note here:

In the rhetoric of American policy makers *the greatest threat to peace and stability* since
the end of the Cold War is the existence of 'rogue' states; states which are accused of
violating international norms of behavior by, for example, sponsoring international

---

[12] Wendt (1999), p. 84

terrorism, committing human rights abuses and seeking weapons of mass destruction. Also referred to as 'pariahs,' 'outcasts,' and 'outlaws,' these countries are commonly the subject of diplomatic isolation, economic embargo, political and economic sanctions, and even military attack.[13]

Applications of this definition to the specific case that will be the focus of this project, the Iranian case, will be explored in more detail in Chapter 6. In the next section of this introductory chapter I introduce the rogue concept and outline its importance in relation to contemporary global order.

The concept of order in the contemporary era, I argue, is less explicitly about a conventional, material understanding of how state power and hierarchal systems can alleviate the problem of anarchy [where the principal concerns are the distribution of power and systemic polarity, as mentioned in the first paragraph of this chapter], and instead more about advancing a package of processes associated with the construction of the complete, modern, fully developed state actor in global politics.[14] This developmentalist thinking, or '-ization' package as we might think of it, is present in several aspects of academic discourse in IR and CP. The rogue state again is *disruptive* in this sense because it elides placement on such continua, and questions the values posited by these processes.

Rogue states, I suggest, have generally been understood as dysfunctional or reflective of a dysfunctional relation to the dominant order. My intervention is to

---

[13] Hoyt (2000b), emphasis mine. The author goes on to raise three important puzzles regarding rogues and their place in the international system: 1 – why do rogues maintain their rogue behavior and resist efforts to compel them to change? 2 – why don't strong states simply remove rogues? 3- why is the rogue relationship so persistent?

[14] It may be helpful to consider the concept of order in contemporary international politics as related to more specific questions associated with processes of *modernization, democratization, industrialization, secularization, bureaucratization, globalization, securitization, Westernization, liberalization, marketization,* etc. - developmentalist thinking and the tendency toward legalization – and less in terms of an international system principally concerned with the distribution of material power.

highlight the fact that rogues can be understood not only as dysfunctional in the traditional sense, but also as quite functional, particularly in terms of: systemic stability, integration, and effectiveness. I think elaborating on the ways in which rogues disrupt stability, resist integration, and diminish the effectiveness of the international system (perhaps by calling into question its claims of universal value), while also noting that this very disruption is also functioning to reinforce the system in other ways helps draw out the complexity of the rogue figure and the new *boundaries* of constitutive inside and outside which mark global politics today.

Defining the Phenomenon of Rogue States

A logical starting point for my analysis of rogue states in the post-Cold War era lies in understanding how the international system sometimes referred to as America's unipolar moment in the early 1990s shaped American foreign-policy thinking to conceptualize global politics as an arena of 'us and them' populated by rogue states.[15] Again, I claim that the co-emergence of the new unipolar international system in the aftermath of the collapse of the Soviet Union, and the rise in prominence of 'rogue thinking' in the discourse of American foreign policy is not coincidental. That is, the new relations of power and hierarchy which emerged in the early 1990s at most led to and at least facilitated such an understanding of global politics. There is a kind of 'sweeping up of the remainder' aspect to the act of designating certain states as rogues. I argue that this speaks to a unique quality of unipolarity, namely, the absence of a clear competitor, both materially and ideologically, as is present in bipolar and multipolar international systems. The idea of the distinctiveness of the unipolar system and the effects of this radical break

---

[15] Krauthammer (1990)

from previous bipolar or multipolar systems is well-captured by Hardt and Negri in their

comments on the shift of global power relations and tendencies toward Empire, they note

that,

> ... what used to be conflict or competition among several imperialist powers has in important respects been replaced by the idea of a single power that overdetermines them all, structures them in a unitary way, and treats them under one common notion of right that is decidedly postcolonial and postimperialist."[16]

From the point of view of the dominant power under unipolarity, objections,

critiques, or proposed alternatives to their vision of the good / how to be a responsible

stakeholder in the international system are, unless dismissed by naming the objector as a

rogue or with some other pejorative, disruptive to the maintenance of the status quo in a

more jarring way than they had been in the past. Whereas the logics of alliances and the

formation of blocs under multipolar and bipolar systems structured the relationship

between an inside and outside in these systems, it's less clear how this boundary is

defined and policed under unipolarity. Hence, the value of the rogue concept. In a sense,

the figure of the rogue reinserts the radical, transgressive, outside element into an

international system marked by the preponderant power of a single state. Bipolar

international systems are defined by the competition between two states with a relative

degree of parity in terms of their power, or at minimum a system in which two states are

clearly on a higher level than the rest. In a way, the hegemon-rogue framework

reproduces aspects of this bipolar competition, only now the relative parity in terms of

---

[16] Hardt and Negri (2000), p. 9. My more traditional use of unipolarity is of course not synonymous with what Hardt and Negri have in mind by their idea of Empire; however, in terms of the *effects* of these new forms of power relations, I do draw on and agree with much of their analysis. For example, the idea that Empire produces "... a new notion of right, or rather, a new inscription of authority and a new design of the production of norms and legal instruments of coercion..." (p. 9) is quite close to what I have in mind in terms of what the rogue figure calls into question about the contours of contemporary global order (i.e., its objective criteria for development, universal value, equity, etc.).

the distribution of power is noticeably absent.

As I've gestured toward above, the first point is that my development of the rogue concept will begin with a treatment of how the contemporary rogue state as I understand it could only emerge in the shadow of American unipolarity, as in some ways a reproduction of dichotomous, rival-based thinking which informed policy-making during the Cold War, but also as a way of naming an outside, given the near-hegemonic status of the United States. This second point leads to a reconsideration of how rogue states fit in with existing accounts of *threat* in global politics and how states should respond to threats. This rethinking of the notion of threat, its construction, and how it is dealt with is an important area that will be explored in further detail in Chapters 5 and 6, as the behaviors most commonly associated with rogue states – nuclear proliferation, sponsorship of terrorism, and violation of international law and norms – can all be organized around the classical IR thematic of threat, but with a distinct inflection in each instance.

Furthermore, the rogue state concept unsettles some of the assumptions of the main theoretical lenses of IR. Structural realism, with its focus on great powers as the main actors in global politics, and the assumption that because uncertainty about the motives of others is so pervasive states should behave as power-maximizers, captures elements of the threat posed by rogue states. Ultimately, however, its understanding of this threat seems less applicable owing to its focus on great power rivalry, and not on the threat or challenge posed by non-hegemonic states in a hegemonic global order. Barkawi and Laffey aptly highlight this absence in the following:

> Paradoxically, the core concepts of IR work to drain international relations of their content! The discipline's object of analysis – the international – becomes a spare

space of strategic interaction between 'pre-existing' entities. This is especially true of structural realist approaches, which demote sovereignty and focus on autonomous political-military entities in a condition of anarchy. By beginning with the state and then analysing its activities in world politics, IR obscures the relations of mutual constitution through which states, societies, and other international phenomena are produced. As a result, the periphery of the international system, and the less powerful more generally, can drop out of the analysis of 'great power' politics, except as bargaining chips or as the location of natural resources. Alternatively, the periphery becomes the site of Western good intentions, of humanitarian intervention and development assistance.[17]

This excerpt draws attention to several biases which my research addresses. First, I note the tendency to focus on the effects of international anarchy, and in doing so effacing the consequences of hierarchical relations which exist within these international systems. The 'rules of the game' of international politics do not apply equally to all; inequalities exist among states that are often erased or ignored by their nominal equivalence, and these power differentials shape the terms by which states relate to one another. Second, Barkawi and Laffey rightly re-focus attention on the periphery of the international system. By looking at core-periphery relations across various types of international systems in different historical periods, my research makes the assumption that these relations can shed light on how power operates and is reproduced differently in these contexts, thereby contributing to our understanding of the meaning of global order. The third and final point that I want to highlight here from the Barkawi and Laffey excerpt is their comment that peripheral actors are typically only present in the calculus of great power politics as 'bargaining chips or as the location of natural resources.' This is a clear expression of the two state types from previous historical periods, client state (bargaining chip) and colony (location of natural resources), that I will draw in

---

[17] Barkawi and Laffey (2002), p.112

comparison and contrast to the rogue state of contemporary global politics[18]. Also, their recognition of the passivity of the periphery in much IR scholarship, the idea that the periphery is reduced to 'the site' of Western action, is a theme I will revisit in the following chapter.

The prescription, then, offered by structural realists that states should seek more power as a way to provide security does not address the *type* of threat posed by rogue states in a meaningful way. In what ways is the threat posed by rogue states distinct from the threat posed by non-rogue states? Again, I will show that 'rogue state thinking' was a real and significant discourse in American foreign-policy making in the 1990s, and that the imprint of this understanding can be seen again in the early 2000s with George W. Bush's 'Axis of Evil' framework.[19] While a structural realist approach accepts that rogue states pose a serious threat to the international order and to the United States and the West more generally, it does not contribute to our understanding of how that threat is distinctive from the threat of a non-rogue actor. What we are left with, then, is the conclusion that only rogue states threaten international order, or the threat posed by rogue states is no different than any other type of threat. In both cases, the concept is drained of its meaning and becomes analytically fruitless. As such, this line of inquiry merits more serious engagement, a part of which is thinking through the extent to which existing IR theories can incorporate the rogue concept, and the work that that concept does in the production of international order.

---

[18] The three case study chapters look at the case of Iran. First, (Chapter 3) in the late-1890s to early 1900s as a colony in the context of British and Russian colonialism. Second, (Chapter 4) in the mid-20th century as a client state in the context of Cold War competition. Third, (Chapter 5) in the late-20th and early-21st century as a rogue state in the context of American unipolarity.

[19] Heradstveit and Bonham (2007)

Similarly, Liberal IR theory in its various stripes also seems ill-equipped to incorporate an analysis of rogue states. Liberals argue that security and ultimately cooperation can be achieved not only through the pursuit of power or the balancing of threat, but through certain forms of constructive engagement in global politics, broadly including: commerce, organizational cooperation, and the promotion of norms and institutions (for example, democracy, international law, liberal norms, etc.). The liberal recommendation then takes the shape, depending on its specific variant, of policies which promote more engagement in the areas of trade, institutional cooperation, and the proliferation and deepening of ties within international organizations.

As with Realism, the problematic aspects of these theories when we take seriously the figure of rogue states are almost immediately apparent. The rogue appellation in international politics is perhaps most synonymous with behavioral traits such as being untrustworthy, objecting to the values espoused by the dominant, status-quo powers, and either openly violating or covertly subverting the institutions and institutional procedures meant to promote a world order of specific configuration. Prior to the engagements advocated by Liberal theory, given the premium that these theories place on the notion of trust and rational cost-benefit analyses by actors, it seems that the values of the rogue must necessarily be transformed in some way in order for the expectations of Liberal theory to hold water. In absence of this shift in values, it's not clear why rogue states, if allowed to participate in trade, international organizations, etc., would not do so simply to benefit in an instrumental way from their participation (most notably in trade), or to subvert the hegemonic order to which these institutions function as standard-bearers. It would precisely be the irrationality of rogue states which would lead them to act

differently than other states under this instrumental approach. Their alleged irrationality, meaning their inability to discern the net gains from cooperation, would either prevent the emergence of cooperation, or make its sustainment over time tenuous and fragile.

The mainstream IR theory whose tool-kit perhaps has the most to contribute to an analysis of rogue states in my view is clearly Constructivism. Its focus on identity, values, and processes of socialization, and the important work done on the construction of threat, rather than its assumed existence as a given reality in the social world all suggest that a Constructivist view would have much to say on the rogue phenomenon. Simmons and Lloyd capture much of the potential value of applying a Constructivist perspective to the question of the rogue state in the following quote on threat perception, issue framing, and the logic of appropriateness:

> One of the central aspects of responding to the dilemmas of globalization is *how actors come to understand* the nature of the phenomena they confront... Rational policy choices are *conditioned* on the prior and socially defined processes of issue framing. Once a dominant frame is broadly accepted, states adopt policies that are appropriate to their situation *as interpreted* through their selected frame.[20]

Surprisingly, the topic of the concept of rogue states has not warranted much attention yet from scholars applying this approach. My research aims to move into this space. Here we observe an interesting continuity across the Iranian case in the three historical periods I study in the historical case study chapters which follow. In an international system marked by colonialism and its relations of power, Iran existed as a non-colony on the margins of colonial reach; in a system marked by the alignment of US-Soviet bipolar competition, Iran (for the part of the period which is my primary focus) existed as a non-aligned state; and, lastly, in a system marked by liberal hegemony, Iran

---

[20] Simmons and Lloyd (2010), p. 3, emphasis mine

exists as a rogue. In each period, I focus on what the order of the day meant to those who were espousing it, and how it was experienced by those who were subject to it (colony, client, and rogue). Important here will be the contestation at the rhetorical level between the dominant and the non-dominant. How were critiques of order constructed, and how and at what point did dominant actors respond to these contrary points of view, if at all? What is it about the identity of rogue states that, despite their diversity, marks them as rogues? What do rogues share in common in terms of their *relation* to hegemonic order? Are rogues new in global politics, and if so what is new about them? These are some of the guiding questions informing my research.

Two perspectives which I view as complementing one another and which I incorporate in my research come from the English school and Network Analysis. Both approaches are oriented toward the systemic level of analysis which my project is seeking to better understand. The interpretive methodology outlined by scholars of the English school view in IR dovetails with my work in two important ways. First, the theoretical emphasis on defining concepts and tracing relations between them as a way to elucidate changes in complex dependent variables such as world order speaks to how I am trying to use the rogue concept and the hegemon-rogue relation in this project. Second, the attention given to historical context and historical understanding in the English school approach is reminiscent of more classical approaches to the study of IR, and a move away from the positivism and quantitative analytical focus which marked the Neorealism-Neoliberalism debate and in my view substantially narrows IR's field of inquiry around testable hypotheses and the strict application of scientific methods.

Lastly, work done on the concept of power using Network Analysis could be a

fruitful area of further study. Power within a network is less based on the material attributes of any given node, and more on their position vis-a-vis other nodes, and the nature of the relation between nodes. This definition draws attention to the importance of *position* and *relation* when conceptualizing network power, and these two points help show why my focus on imperial-colony, patron-client, and hegemon-rogue relations can contribute to our understanding of how power operates and how relations are structured in hierarchical international systems of different types[21]. Relational explanations focus on communication and negotiation, and locate language in general at the center of analysis. Here my focus on the naming of rogues and their rhetorical responses, and the ensuing contestation at the level of discourse is meaningful. Through this negotiation, boundaries are drawn between an inside and outside, and as one scholar has noted, "... rhetoric can create and redraw boundaries among groups, and in the process produce entirely new social identities."[22] Consequently, rhetoric (such as the usage of the rogue terminology) does not only reveal information about an actor's (the naming state, the hegemon in this case) preferences, it also can transform these preferences by taking certain options off the table, thereby binding an actor into a certain course of action. It is this meaning-making activity that shapes how states conceive of and act on the world, and where language is as stark as it is in the rogue case, this is an important area to look at more closely. A network approach takes seriously Constructivist ideas such as the co-constitution of actors and structures in global politics, while drawing attention to a unique way in which we can make relations and relationality more central to our analysis.

Hegemon-Rogue Relations

---

[21] This discussion will be expanded further in Chapter 2.
[22] Goddard (2010), p. 16

The discussion above highlights one of the main components of what makes the hegemon-rogue relation distinct, and that is the distinctiveness of the *threat* posed by rogue states. Rogues are framed as threatening to the hegemonic order not only in material terms (for example, through sponsoring terrorism, the proliferation of nuclear weapons, the disruption of economic flows), but also, and I suggest most importantly, in terms of values. The ways in which foreign policy-making may be shaped by both the perceived material and existential or ideational threat posed by a rogue state are brought into clearer relief by considering the following quote from Katzenstein:

> The cost calculations that the leaders of groups and states make when they weigh their options... cannot be treated as exogenous to the *systems of meaning that constitute threat perceptions*. Although policies are often influenced by the logic of instrumental choice among alternatives subject to rules of maximization and satisficing, policies are also shaped by habitual standards of appropriateness, social processes of interpretation, emotional arousal, and political visions.[23]

Rogues expose much of what is taken-for-granted in the normative order of the hegemon, and sometimes function as a mirror which reflects the ways in which the dominant fail to live up to the values which they espouse.[24] By focusing on the hegemon-rogue relation, it is my assumption that we might better understand the 'systems of meaning' Katzenstein mentions, in order to gain insight into both the meaning and constitution of 'threat' in contemporary global order. A crucial insight from Katzenstein's statement is that it makes clear the incomplete nature of either wholly rationalist or wholly constructivist accounts of state behavior. When considering behaviors most commonly associated with rogue states, for example, nuclear proliferation, it may often be the case that actions which are interpreted as relatively benign by one actor can

---

[23] Katzenstein (2003), p. 736, emphasis mine

[24] Here one recalls the United Nations General Assembly addresses of Mahmoud Ahmadinejad and Hugo Chavez in the 2000s.

simultaneously be interpreted as posing a grave threat to security by another. The monopoly on normative authority in making that determination seen in unipolar systems, with a single actor functioning as the leading figure, means that the policing of behavioral boundaries may often reflect the particular systems of meaning of the hegemon rather than a universally or broadly conceived threat perception. This is an important theme, and one which I revisit in more detail in subsequent chapters. The main point to note here is that rogues re-open or resist closure on several normative questions which for many have fully transitioned from the realm of deliberation to a universally held truth that simply requires diffusion throughout the international system.

Furthermore, as I mentioned above in the discussion on Liberal IR theory, one of the key aspects of the hegemon-rogue relation is *trust*, or more accurately the absence of trust. How does this mistrust express itself, and in what ways is it distinct from the mistrust experienced between any non-rogue actors in international politics? A third aspect of the hegemon-rogue relation which stands in contrast to the empire-colony and patron-client relational pairs is the idea that the rogue is a violator / in *violation* of an order defined and shaped by the hegemon. This theme of violation takes many forms, and is not limited to formal violations of institutional procedures (for example, specific IAEA protocol). In a sense, the 'rogue as violator' figures back again to the notion of 'rogue as untrustworthy' because it is this lack of trust, and in fact fairly open distrust and suspicion, which transforms the rogue into a perpetual violator and saboteur. The lack of trust also shows in part why rogues are threatening. The behavior of rogues is unpredictable, and it is not clear that the expectations of socialization posited by constructivist thinkers is applicable to rogue states. These aspects of the hegemon-rogue

relation (*threat, mistrust, violation, unpredictability / irrationality*) are in some ways overlapping, but are helpful to begin to parse out conceptually in order to more clearly understand the specific mechanisms which constitute the relation.

Approach

How then do I propose to study these questions? Here I make three analytical choices. The first is that one fruitful way to study rogue states in relation to a unipolar system is to look for historical comparisons while varying the system type. More simply, what type of actor suggests itself as an analogue to the rogue state under Cold War bipolarity? Or under the European imperial system of the 19th and early 20th century? The first choice, then, is to try to put the rogue state of the late 20th and early 21st century into historical context by comparing it against state types which functioned in what I argue to be a similar way under different conditions of international order. These earlier periods provide the necessary baseline against which the contours of contemporary political order can be more clearly defined and assessed. As one scholar puts it, such historical analysis can be understood as a "task of retrieval with an eye toward the present moment."[25] It is from this idea that I draw the tentative title of my project, *Colonies, Clients, and Rogues*. My assumption here is that each period contains outcomes which are contingent products of history, and I am therefore interested precisely in the processes associated with this historical production, rather than a cold analysis of the products / outcomes themselves.

---

[25] Munck (1993) - The balance outlined in this article between theory and history is one that I seek to establish in this project as well. Munck captures the essence of the balance in the following remark: "The methodological challenge... is to bridge the historically informed but generally untheoretical and narrowly based works in 'traditional' area studies and the broad-ranging and theoretically driven but ahistorical approach of cross-national studies." (p. 480)

The second wager I make in this project is that one case, Iran, is particularly instructive as an initial study to help develop my theoretical arguments. Though Iran was never formally colonized, it existed in what one scholar has in my view quite rightly termed 'the shadow of colonialism'[26] Iranian history in the late 19th and early 20th century presents several significant events which outline colonial logics of power. I propose to highlight these critical episodes in my analysis of this period. Furthermore, this period, I argue in agreement with Iranian historians, functioned as the source and origin of modern Iranian politics.[27] Therefore to understand the contemporary dynamics of Iranian politics and Iran as a rogue state requires, in my view, a certain familiarity with this period. Iran during the Cold War is another illustrative case in that during the period from approximately 1941-1978 the state was, I argue, an archetype of sorts for client states. The dramatic shift against this clientelism and the patronage of the United States occurred in the course of the Revolution of 1978-79 and its subsequent Islamicization. In this broader period (1940s – 1980s) I intend to highlight the political dynamics associated with Iran as a client state, Iran's role in the bipolar system more broadly, particularly associated here with Iran in relation to the Non-Aligned Movement (joined in 1979)[28], and the impact that the notion of Iran as a client state had during the revolutionary period. Lastly, perhaps second only to North Korea, Iran has served as the rogue state *qua* rogue state over the course of the last three decades. Studying Iran as a rogue state case is therefore a relatively straightforward choice. Connecting my first point (comparative historical analysis) with the second point I have just briefly outlined (Iran as single case

---

[26] Dabashi (2013), *VICE* interview
[27] Abrahamian (2008), p. xxvii
[28] In fact, Iran recently held the presidency of the Non-Aligned Movement (2012-2015)

study), the picture of my proposed project begins to emerge with greater clarity.

The third choice relates to how I propose to study the concept of order. This relates closely to my use of international systems (imperial, bipolar, unipolar / hegemonic / Empire). What exactly do I mean by *order*, how do I define it, and why is it an important concept in my study? In one sense, I agree with more traditional, mainstream IR conceptions of international systems as derivative of the distribution, or balance, of power. Multipolar, bipolar, and unipolar systems are differentiated by the number of great powers as defined by material capabilities, particularly military and economic might. This seems relatively uncontroversial. What I am more interested in exploring in my project, however, is not what characterizes an international system at any given point in time from a material, structural point of view, but rather how that system reproduces itself and the order which defines it over time. Here it is not only material capabilities which are significant, but immaterial, normative articulations defining a particular order. This will be a point of substantial inquiry in my development of the rogue concept. Again, this question is not a new one for students of International Relations. The political dynamics of competition between bipolar dyads was perhaps the topic which was of most interest for American political science during much of the 20th century. My intervention is to study these systemic dynamics not from the interactions between the powerful, but instead across asymmetries of power. Rather than focus on the inter-imperial rivalries of the colonial period, or the US-Soviet rivalry of the Cold War, or the question of rising great powers such as China in the contemporary period, my study attempts to put to the forefront other actors (the colony, the client, and the rogue) which I suggest are significantly implicated in the reproduction of the orders in which they exist.

The Scholarly Context of This Study

I turn now to the academic literature on rogue states, and examine to what extent selected existing accounts have engaged with the rogue concept, and how these works inform my own inquiry. To clarify, my analysis focuses on the U.S. discourse of the rogue, rather than a broader international discourse. I focus on the U.S. discourse because the international system which created the conditions of possibility the articulation of the rogue figure was one fundamentally shaped by American hegemony and the triumphalism of the post-Cold war era. It was American policymakers who first brought the language of the rogue state into consistent usage, and advanced the view of the rogue state as the primary threat facing the international community. While a study of the persuasive efforts of the United States to convince its allies, other world powers, and international institutions to adopt the rogue state paradigm would be an illuminating, my focus is instead on the very real effects of the American discourse of rogue statehood on its targets, and how these targets contested this externally imposed, reductive definition.

One of the prominent tendencies in the literature on rogue states is the effort to apply the methods of quantitative analysis to the concept. I argue that this is misguided because it misses the fundamental quality of the rogue state concept as a constructed, social kind, rather than a given, measurable quantity.[29] This tendency in the scholarship asks if the rogue state is best understood as a binary (rogue / non-rogue) or a continuum (more or less roguish), and how, if at all, is the rogue state recuperated and transformed back into a good state actor. This is the subject of Yahia Zoubir's article on Libya entitled "Libya in US foreign policy: from rogue state to good fellow?"[30] Similarly, Ray Takeyh

---

[29] I revisit this distinction between social kinds and natural kinds in Chapter 2.
[30] Zoubir (2002)

also looks at the Libyan case in terms of its designation as a rogue in his article "The Rogue Who Came in from the Cold."[31] The problem is that these accounts overemphasize the degree to which rogue state's agency alone determines their classification. An absence of consideration for structural and relational factors means that these agent-based assessments are overly simplistic. For example, scholars of economic development do not establish a category of state called a 'developing state' and then argue that the agency of those states is the sole determinant of whether they remain developing states or transition into developed states. The inattention to the structural conditions which perpetuate underdevelopment in such a hypothetical analysis would be striking; however, in the case of rogue states, some analysis presents the image of bad actors acting badly as the *sine qua non* of the phenomenon.

Some scholars have also looked at South Africa, Israel, and others in terms of either their transformation from rogues into good actors, or the varied nature of their rogue characterization over time.[32] Writing in 2007, one year after the United States' designation of Libya as a state sponsor of terrorism was rescinded by the Bush administration, Schwartz observes the following:

> From the low point of the 1988 destruction of Pan Am Flight 103, U.S.-Libyan relations have improved to the point that Libya now has the distinction of being the first country under current law to be removed from the U.S. Terrorism list without a change in regime. The United States can claim a diplomatic success in helping to end Libyan support for terrorism and the pursuit of WMD. In return, Libya has benefited from the lifting of both UN and U.S. sanctions. While each situation is unique, it is still possible to draw some lessons from this record for dealing with a 'rogue' nation.[33]

The lessons that Schwartz draws from the Libyan experience focus on the

---

[31] Takeyh (2001)
[32] For example, Bassil (2009); Harkavy (1981); Schwartz (2007)
[33] Schwartz (2007), p. 577-78

effectiveness of multilateral sanctions, institutional cooperation coupled with bilateral

engagement, and need for cooperation between the executive branch and Congress in

policy-making. Despite the degeneration and collapse of the Qaddafi regime in Libya

during the Arab Spring, the Libyan experience from 1988 and the Lockerbie bombing to

July 2006, as well as the removal of Libya from the state-sponsor of terrorism list

suggests that the rogue concept is better understood as neither a sliding scale nor a

dichotomous category, but a category subjectively produced and reproduced through the

hegemon-rogue relation. The South African case may be less instructive, as it predates

the heyday of the rogue term's usage in the language of U.S. policy-makers in the 1990s,

unlike the Libyan case. Schwartz concludes his article with the following observation:

> … Libya's removal from the terrorism list, culminating the restoration of normal relations, took place only after an arduous eighteen-year period in which different tools were tried and U.S. policy evolved considerably. Perhaps this is the final lesson of the Libya experience. Flexibility, creativity, and patience, coupled with firmness on basic principles, enabled the United States to overcome differences with a country once considered the worst outlaw regime on the planet. That should at least inspire hope for dealing with other 'rogue states,' and ideally promote greater civility in the debate over how to address the national security threats they present.[34]

It is interesting to note that in the formulation that Schwartz provides, it is the

United States which does the overcoming, is able 'to overcome differences,' and not

Libya. Is it the case that the transformation had more to do with changes occurring in the

United States at that time (July 2006) than in Libya? This demonstrates the reciprocal,

interactive character of the concept that my analysis emphasizes and which existing

accounts like Schwartz's too quickly gloss over.

Turning from the issue of recuperating rogues and the spectrum of 'rogueness,' it's

worth spending some time thinking through the period of the early to mid-1990s in which

---

[34] Schwartz (2007), p. 580

the rogue term was most prominent in the language of US foreign policy-makers.

Writing in the fall of 1998, one scholar observed the following:

> The period from February 1991 to February 1998 constituted *the 'golden age' of the rogue doctrine*. Following the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, Congress abandoned all talk of the 'peace dividend' and few outside Congress offered significant resistance to the new posture. As details of the elaborate Iraqi preparations for nuclear, chemical and biological warfare gradually became known in the post-war period, the concept of the 'rogue state' took hold in the think tanks and the media, *driving out all competing strategic paradigms*.[35]

The author goes on to note:

> Since 1990, US military policy has been governed by one overarching premise: that U.S. and international security is primarily threatened by the 'rogue states' of the Third World. These states – assumed to include ***Iran, Iraq, Libya, North Korea, and Syria*** – are said to threaten US interests because of their large and relatively modern militaries, their pursuit of weapons of mass destruction (WMD), and their hostile stance toward the United States and its allies [my addition: Israel, Arab Gulf states, South Korea].[36]

Klare's analysis is useful in that he rightly asks why the use of rogue language gained greater prominence when it did in the early 1990s, and why by early 1998 it was becoming less pervasive. While his discussion focuses more on international political events than the relation between the United States and the assortment of rogue states, it does provide some helpful insights into US strategic thinking at that time. With the collapse of the Soviet Union during the George H.W. Bush presidency, Klare notes that then Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff General Colin Powell presented outlines of a new US strategic vision to President Bush. Klare describes this outline in the following: "With a diminished Soviet threat and sharply reduced resources, he [Powell] argued, the focus of strategic planning should shift from the global war with the Soviet Union to

---

[35] Klare (1998), p. 12
[36] Ibid., p. 12, emphasis mine

regional encounters with rising Third World powers."[37] This is an early articulation of

the notion that the collapse of the Soviet Union provided the United States with its

'unipolar moment,' and an unprecedented opportunity to reshape the international

environment according to its aims. The recognition of a need to shift away from existing,

Cold War-based military policy toward something new was a prominent theme in the

language of the Clinton campaign in 1992, and figured significantly in the foreign policy

of the Clinton administration. This is captured in the following excerpt from Klare:

> By 1994, the rogue state threat and opposition to [nuclear] proliferation had become the defining theme of Clinton's policy. In a seminal article in *Foreign Affairs*, former National Security Adviser Anthony Lake declared that 'our policy must face the reality of ***recalcitrant and outlaw states*** that not only choose to remain outside the family of nations but also assault its basic values.' These states can be characterized, he explained, by a 'chronic inability to engage constructively with the outside world,' and an unceasing quest for weapons of mass destruction. Just as the United States once led the drive to contain Soviet expansionism, Lake argued, it now had a responsibility to 'neutralize' and 'contain' this new group of enemies.[38]

Lake's statement expresses several themes relevant to my analysis of rogue

statehood. First, there is a clear boundary between those states within the 'family of

nations' and those who are outside of it, namely 'recalcitrant and outlaw states.' Lake

suggests that these rogues *choose* to remain outside the family of nations, but I argue that

it's less clear if the rogues are choosing to remain on the outside, or if they are being

designated on the outside. The second critical point is that rogues 'assault' the basic

values of the family of nations. Does the assault stem from the rogue's choice to remain

outside of the family of nations, or is it more explicit than this? Third, Lake's statement

---

[37] Klare (1998), p. 13

[38] Ibid., p. 13, emphasis mine; also, Zoubir (2002) cites the same quote from Lake, but after the phrase 'the family of nations' he adds in brackets, '[now committed to the pursuit of democratic institutions, the expansion of free markets, the peaceful settlement of conflict and the promotion of collective security]'. This is a good first-cut in terms of defining the values posited by the post-Cold War liberal order. (Zoubir (2002), p. 34)

places further blame on rogues as being unable to 'constructively engage' with the outside world; however, the terms of this constructive engagement seem to be taken as non-negotiable. To what extent does constructive engagement allow for the activity and choice of all participants, or is it more defined by passivity and capitulation to the prerogatives of the dominant? Fourth, this statement highlights the integral relationship between rogueness and the pursuit of WMD. This is a theme which I engage with in some detail in the Iranian case. Fifth, although the Clinton administration intended to move American foreign policy away from the then outdated model of the Cold War, they ended up reproducing the logics of containment, only now shifting the coded category of global confrontation from the Soviet Union / Warsaw Pact countries to the 'new group of enemies' coined rogues. Sixth and finally, the choice of not only 'contain' but also 'neutralize' speaks to the issue raised earlier in the paper on the potential reintegration of rogues into the hegemonic system and their recovery into good state actors. In subsequent chapters, I explore the relationship between containment and transformation / regime change. In which rogue cases is the primary objective to contain and mediate the *behavior* of rogues, and in which cases is US policy focused on neutralizing and effecting change in the *identity* of rogues? The distinction between influencing behavior / interaction on one hand, and identity / constitution on the other is a useful one.

Shifting gears, I will conclude this section with some notes on the Iranian rogue case in particular, as it is the subject of my historical case study. There are several books that my analysis of post-revolutionary Iran in relation to liberal global order will draw on. Roshandel provides important context on three key aspects of the rogue appellation in Iran's case: the nuclear issue, sponsorship of terrorist groups / engagement in proxy wars,

and Iran's role in the broader stability and security of the region. This book also contains

a chapter specifically on the US-Iran relationship, including an evaluation of the Obama

administration's first-term policy of trying to establish dialogue with rogue state leaders.[39]

While Roshandel's analysis rightly draws our attention to the significance of domestic

politics in shaping both Iranian and American behavior on the international stage, it does

not provide as full of an engagement with the 'third image' of international relations, that

of international systemic dynamics. My approach revises this by incorporating systemic

effects through an emphasis on the structured, patterned modes of relation which

developed over time between Iran and the outside world. Similarly, Arjomand traces the

post-revolutionary evolution of Iranian politics and society, emphasizing areas central to

my argument, including: Iranian foreign policy, the question of nuclear development, and

the relationship between tradition and modernity in post-revolutionary Iranian society.

Arjomand's analysis provides a thorough sketch of the progression of Iran after the

Islamic Revolution to just prior to the Green movement of 2009. This history includes

the anti-monarchy sentiment of the revolution, its subsequent Islamicization under the

leadership of Khomeini, the Iran-Iraq war, the death of Khomeini, the initiation of

politics in Iran in the 1990s around the Hardliner-Reformist axis, the reform movement

and Khatami presidency (1997-2005), and finally the conservative resurgence around

Ahmadinejad (beginning with municipal elections in 2004, then Ahmadinejad's election

as president in 2005).[40] Overall, Arjomand provides thorough analysis of the basic

architecture of the Islamic system in Iran, its main political currents, and its relation to its

neighbors in the region and the great powers in international politics. However, like

---

[39] Roshandel (2011)
[40] Arjomand (2009)

Roshandel, he overemphasizes the role of individuals and domestic politics and de-emphasizes the constraining and enabling effects of existing structural conditions, for example involving the production of meaning about the colony, client, and rogue state under different configurations of international order.

While Ram's work focuses on Israeli perceptions of Iran, both before and after the Islamic Revolution, the author's focus on the production of meaning about Iran is noteworthy because it tries to understand why post-revolutionary Iran appears so threatening to modernity, as marked by secularism, Western values, and American hegemonic power.[41] Here there is significant insight into more foundational aspects of Iran's rogueness. Adib-Moghaddam's call for a Critical Iranian Studies is motivated by his desire to unpack "... the ways Iran has been interpreted both within and outside the country over the periods before and after the Islamic revolution in 1979."[42] As such, this text speaks meaningfully to the historical periods that I am looking at in this project. The author cites the well-known quote from lauded Iranian filmmaker Abbas Kiarostami 'Not east, not west, not north, not south, only this spot I am standing on now.'[43] This is an adaptation of the well-known slogan from the revolutionary period in Iran, *nah sharq nah gharb*, *faqat Jumhuri-yi Islami,* meaning 'neither east, nor west, only Islamic Republic,' and signifying the staunch independence and religious nationalism which motivated many Iranians during the revolution. This observation speaks to the importance of engaging tensions within Iranian society regarding how to move forward in modernity, and how to develop. Also important here is Iran's position in the international system,

---

[41] Ram (2009)
[42] Adib-Moghaddam (2008), p. vii
[43] Ibid., p. 1

and an analytical approach sensitive to the significance of this positionality and the

debates surrounding it, for example Network Analysis, could improve our understanding.

Adib-Moghaddam's book also engages with two central ideas in Iranian political

thought of the last half century, *Bazgasht beh khish* (return to oneself) and *Gharbzadegi*

(Westoxification). Both of these trends figured largely in the lead-up to the Islamic

Revolution, and continue to inform Iranian perceptions of its engagement with the

outside world, and the liberal, Western, hegemonic order which defines it. Adib-

Moghaddam comments on this point in the following:

> The impulse to flee the present reality in reverence for the past found its radical
> form in the narratives of *Bazgasht beh khish* and *Gharbzadegi* which were central
> to intellectual life in 1960s and 1970s Iran. 'Iranian romanticism' condemned the
> materialism of Pahlavi Iran and transplanted the intellectual himself into the
> struggle for an idealized future. Its agents advocated respect for origins, for
> authenticity; Iranian romanticism placed a special value on the past, and revered
> the great heroes of Islamic civilization, especially the persona of Imam Hussein,
> who was celebrated as the eponymous hero of the evolving revolutionary play[44].
> [*ta'zieh*]

What had been the patron-client relationship between the United States and Iran

during the Pahlavi regime came to an abrupt end as the Islamic Revolution began to

consolidate itself as such in the course of 1979. Under the monarchy, the Iranian state

apparatus ensured the protection of American economic interests in the Persian Gulf

region in exchange for endorsements, both material and ideological, from the United

States which lent the regime greater security and international legitimacy.[45] A central

tenet of the revolutionary regime revolved around breaking with this state of affairs, and

was expressed through Ayatollah Khomeini's deployment of the notion of *Gharbzadegi*, a

concept which simultaneously implied the need for national development and national

---

[44]Ibid., p. 20-21
[45]Fayazmanesh (2003)

self-sufficiency while also placing paramount importance on highlighting the very real

dangers to the nation (the phrase itself connotes being stricken by disease) associated

with wholesale emulation and adoption of Western models for organizing societal,

cultural, economic, and political life. The idea has been mirrored by strands of post-

colonial theory, for example in theorizations of the post-colonial state, in its desire "... to

critique the prevailing orthodoxy, which universalizes Western ideas and remains

committed to a Eurocentric reading of the 'non-European' world."[46] This antipathy

toward Western modernity, the sharp rupture with the passivity and submissiveness of the

relationship between the Iranian monarchy and the West, and specific historical events

which unfolded in the course of the Islamic Revolution, particularly the seizure of

American hostages, provided justification for the policy of sanctioning Iran, beginning in

November 1979, and effectively excluding Iran from the international community and

designating it as an exception , or rogue, through such forms of condemnation and

punishment.

Other works shift the optics of the rogue discourse and highlight the ways in

which the United States, as the only superpower in the international system, is the true

rogue state. While at times quite polemic, these texts often include discussions on Iran,

particularly highlighting the 'double standards' in US-Iran relations regarding the nuclear

issue and economic sanctions, the politics of oil, terrorism and the War on Terror, and

regime change in the Bush doctrine.[47] Chapter Eight, entitled simply 'Iran,' in Solingen

provides an interesting contrast to the rogue understanding of the motives behind Iran's

---

[46]Amin-Khan (2012), p. 12
[47] Allman (2004); Blum (2005)

nuclear program.[48] Solingen's account paints a picture less of an irrational, revisionist

Iran seeking nuclear weapons to dominate its region, and more an insecure state,

motivated by its experience with external threat (namely Iraq and the eight year Iran-Iraq

war), and increasing vulnerability to now-nuclear neighbors (Israel, Pakistan, India).

This is reflective of a broader trend in political science research to reconsider the

assumption of irrationality of actors that engage in seemingly archetypical irrational

behavior.[49] Again, while I argue that this rightly challenges the irrationality assumption

which is taken-for-granted in much of the literature on rogue states, I disagree with the

theoretical prescription that rational choice analysis can then be used to shed light on

rogue state behavior. Rather than apply the methodological individualism and strict

assumptions of fixed preferences of rational choice theory, my recommendation is to

study rogue states relationally, through the interactive and reciprocal relation between

rogues and the hegemon, and historically, through a comparative analysis of the rogue

state with its precursors.

Lastly, and following from my point that rogue states should be studied

historically, Abrahamian provides an excellent history of Iran from the Qajar period to the

mid-2000s. Of particular note for understanding Iran as a rogue state is Abrahamian's

discussion of the worldview codified in the Islamic constitution calling for the Islamic

Republic to aid the "*mostazafen* (oppressed, the meek, exploited, wretched of the earth)

of the world struggle against their *mostakaben* (oppressors)."[50] This conception of world

order at the time of the revolution as a world populated by *mostazafen* and *mostakaben*

---

[48] Solingen (2007)
[49] Most famously expressed, for example, in Pape (2005)
[50] Abrahamian (2008), p. 167

was highly disruptive to the role Iran had been playing as a client state of the United States in the Middle East. Further, this was not an endorsement of Soviet Marxism, as the Soviet Union was included among the oppressors of the world. This ideology challenged the alignment of the Cold War, and posited Iran as a representative for the interests of the Third World, and leading voice in the Non-Aligned Movement.

Concluding Remarks

I began with the premise that an analysis of peripheral actors coined rogue states could help contribute to our understanding and shed meaningful light on some of the characteristics of contemporary global order, its mechanisms of reproduction, and the challenges which confront it. What can be said thus far on this point? We might consider here the subject of Iran's nuclear program and the sanctions that have been brought against Iran as a consequence. Cesaire observed that the doctrine of colonialism enabled the West's annexation of science, history, and knowledge itself, and that this act was necessarily accompanied by the annexation of ethics, thereby depriving both the content and the language with which to express grievance regarding the resulting state of deprivation from the non-Western, colonial figure.[51] The West's position on Iran's nuclear program might be similarly viewed as an attempt to annex scientific knowledge and the ethical claim of responsibility that corresponds with it. In fact, this is precisely the position that has been taken by Ayatollah Khamenei, with one report noting that: "He has always viewed the nuclear program as a sign of Iran's technological advance, and that this is the way Iran will achieve independence... He sees our [Western] opposition to the nuclear program as a function of our efforts to deny them their independence."[52]

---

[51] Cesaire (1972), p. 31
[52] Risen (2012)

Seemingly, Iran has been found by the West to be too threatening, too untrustworthy, and too unpredictable to develop this technology except under its terms and tutelage. Independence from the West has been an ideological pillar and *raison d'etat* of the Islamic Republic of Iran since its inception, and the social forces which assumed control over the machinery of the state in the period of the consolidation of the revolution (the clerical establishment and the merchant class most importantly) can trace at least a century long tradition, dating back to the colonial era, emphasizing this value. The reality of this situation makes compromise difficult, and being seen to succomb to pressure from the West which names them as a rogue equivalent to political suicide. What seems to be demanded from Iran-as-rogue is not simply that Iran kowtow to Western pressure and take its place as an equal in the international community, a state like any other, but that Iran radically transform and cede greater authority to the dominant powers of the day. This 21st century trade-off for peripheral states between sovereign choice and the idea of becoming a passive recipient in the international hierarchy shaped by American unipolarity in some ways mirrors the earlier choice in the colonial encounter between national independence and benevolent domination.

Most importantly, in my view, we can see here the tension brought into stark relief between the conventional wisdom of the transhistorical idea of modernity as an absolute category, closely tied as it is to concepts of universalism and the nation-state, and the questioning of this paradigm from those placed perpetually on its periphery. Mirsepassi captures the creative potential opened in this process of questioning in the following: "From the kaleidoscopic point of view of the present... we must ask how we may produce a narrative of modernity that can at once critique Iran's traditional concepts and

institutions and take account of the shortcomings of the received paradigm of modernity. Then, facing the roads to the future, we must ask which of them will help us overcome the shortcomings of both national tradition and the universal experience of modernity as we have so far known it."[53]

As with any method of comparative analysis, a comparative historical analysis of a single case is not without its limitations. One might criticize this project by suggesting that I am positioning the Iranian case as representative of the experience of all colonies, client states, and rogue states, and that this assumption is deeply problematic. I recognize and agree with this critique. My response is that, because I am interested in each historical period in studying the relation, rather than the structure or agent involved, this concern is less relevant than it may first appear. I am not attempting to describe the structures of colonialism, international clientelism, or hegemon-rogue relations in all of their complexity, nor am I interested in generalizing the lived experience of the colony, client, or rogue across all of their varied cases. My more modest claim is that through a detailed historical analysis of a single critical case in each period we can gain a more detailed understanding of the definitive aspects of the mode of relation that facilitated the reproduction of that order. Furthermore, practitioners of intensive research designs like case studies argue that this method exhibits distinctive strengths in terms of enabling the identification of causal mechanisms which underpin and produce patterned relationships.[54] Because my research question is oriented toward understanding the causal *mechanisms* involved in the construction and reconstruction of relations over time

---

[53] Mirsepassi (2010), p. 185
[54] See Gerring (2009), particularly Section 5: 'Causal Insight: Causal Mechanisms Versus Causal Effects'; Sayer (1992), Chapter 9, "Problems of explanation and the aims of social science."

and less focused on estimating discrete causal *effects*, the case study approach is a useful

tool for my research objectives. Lastly, my emphasis on relations and a relational

approach draws on interesting work from both Network Theory and areas of

Constructivist thought, reflecting the broader 'relational turn' in IR in recent years.[55]

Articulating the terms and operative forms of that relation, between imperial

center – colony, patron – client, and hegemon – rogue, is the central aim of my inquiry.

These could then serve as a starting point for the analysis of new cases. For example, my

description of the hegemon – rogue relation could then be applied to other states that

have been named as rogues. More importantly than this application, in my view, is the

novel perspective that my project contributes to the existing literature on contemporary

international order. In my view, the approach I suggest is distinct in that it offers a

middle-cut, at the level of relation, between traditional approaches which generally focus

more on the one hand on the agency of the strong, or on the other the systemic structural

conditions which shape the conditions of international politics.

In Comparative Politics (CP), my research project speaks to a number of extant

literatures, including the literature on Islam and Democracy, and also offers a fresh

perspective into the politics associated with state categorization according to type,

particularly in relation to theses on modernization, secularization, and democratization,

which are themes that attract significant attention in the scholarly discourse. A notable

trend in political science research has been the shift toward establishing objective criteria

by which to identify and categorize states. This process is not as apolitical as it might

---

[55] Jackson and Nexon (February 2009), "The Relational Turn in the Study of World Politics" Paper
presented at the annual meeting the ISA, 50th Convention; Nexon (2009); Kahler, ed. (2009); Albert,
Cederman, and Wendt, eds. (2010)

appear, and these evaluative criteria are noticeably absent from the rogue state designation. Further, I hope to highlight how processes of incorporation are implicated in sustaining the particular order in which they become taken-for-granted. Lastly, my focus on the Iranian case means that my research speaks to an interdisciplinary literature on Iran, Iranian politics, and Iran's place in the contemporary global arena. This work by Iran specialists includes historians, sociologists, political scientists, scholars of Middle East Studies, and others.[56]

Again, I will argue subsequently that the rogue state is the contemporary expression of an outside, external force in global politics that both validates the reproduction of the order that they are constructed apart from, and serves as a space toward which that order directs its expansion. The rogue is similar to the colony and the client because it stands as this external, 'constitutive other' / outside figure, but the rogue is unique in that it emerges in the context of the supremacy of a single material and ideological power. These specific similarities and differences will be drawn out in more detail in the case study chapters of the project, but before turning to that analysis it is first necessary to elaborate on the theoretical aspects of this project, and that is the subject of the following chapter.

Looking ahead to Chapter 2

In the next chapter I outline the basic characteristics of a relational approach, addressing the following questions: what types of evidence does it draw on, and how does it revise largely structural or agentic accounts of outcomes in international politics? Also, I discuss the comparative methodology that will be followed in the historical

---

[56] Including the works of Ervand Abrahamian, Janet Afary, Said Amir Arjomand, Hamid Dabashi, Nikki Keddie, Ali Mirsepassi, Mansoor Moaddel, and Ray Takeyh.

chapters [Chapters 3-5], weighing the strengths and weaknesses of this method and making an argument for the case study approach. I elaborate on my justification of case selection and explain how I am using periodization as an analytical tool in the project.[57] Lastly, in the following chapter I further discuss and clarify what I view as two of the project's central conceptual terms: order and rogue.[58]

In many ways, the notion of the rogue state is the central conceptual category of this project. A key question in the field of Critical IR is to ask 'how the world is produced such that X (in the case of this project, the rogue state) seems to be or appears as a natural, normal condition?' This type of question is a departure from the strictly positivist, causal theorizing which has guided much of the existing scholarship on rogue statehood. By shifting from an explicitly causal toward a constitutive theoretical question, my aim is to draw attention to 1.) The ideational and discursive structure within which the rogue state concept is embedded, 2.) The set of practices which reinforce these structures, and 3.) The patterns or modes of relation which become routinized given these ideas and practices. In other words, I perceive this project as in line with the Critical IR tradition in its interrogation of that which is seemingly progressive (the production of 'good' state actors), but which recreates and reinscribes power at each step. National-actor types of all stripes, I argue, only emerge from the discourse, practices, and mode of relation between the actor in question and the dominant powers of the international order of that era. Phrased differently, the national-actor type appears in our thinking as natural

---

[57] This discussion of comparative methodology draws on, regarding periodization Haydu (1998), on case studies Dion (2003), McMichael (1990), and Ragin and Becker (1992), and on the practices of historical research more generally Mahoney (2000) and Pierson (2000).

[58] Some of the works to consider on the concept of order are noted in footnote 1. On the concept of the rogue and rogue state, see Derrida (2005), Caprioli and Trumbore (2003) and (2005), Gordy and Lee (2009), Kapur (1996), O'Reilly (2007), Saunders (2006).

and definitive largely as a consequence of the way in which the dominant actors in a given international order relate to and seek to incorporate others into that order as they envision it and as that order appears to require. As such, the colony appears as natural through the enactment of, or as a corollary to, the master-slave relationship of colonialism. The client state appears as a corollary to the enactment of the patron-client relationship of the bipolar order. And the rogue state, I argue, appears as a corollary to the enactment of the hegemon-rogue relationship in a globalizing world order premised on the material and ideological supremacy of a single actor. The hegemon-rogue case is distinctive, however, because it is possible to conceive of a hegemon without a rogue, whereas by definition there cannot be a master without a slave, nor a patron without a client. Apprehension of this fact opens up space to ask why and how did American hegemony in the post-Cold War era take the particular form it did, as one that constructed the primary threat to international order in the form of the rogue state? Also, how has American hegemony sustained the image of the rogue state over time, and what opportunities have there been or may there be in the future to imagine an American hegemony without rogue states? I explore these questions in the dissertation's concluding chapter.

Furthermore, in this chapter I engage with the rogue term on largely a conceptual / theoretical level. The main idea is that the figure of the rogue state is unique to an international order defined by the supremacy of a single power, in this case the United States in the wake of the Cold War. In previous historical periods, the discursive and ideational structures of dominant powers clashed with one another through relations of rivalry and competition. This meant that they could be *internally* justified through a

contrast drawn against the ways of being and systems of value of rival powers. While this was true of inter-imperial competition in the 19th and early 20th century, and the US-Soviet competition of the Cold War, it is less clear how this competitive logic of reproduction takes place under an international system marked by the material and ideational supremacy of a single power, its discourse, and its practices more broadly. It is in this context, I argue, the figure of the rogue state serves a critical function in the justification and reproduction of global order. Here I will introduce this theorization of the meaning of the rogue figure in more detail. In Chapter 5, I deal with the historical case of Iran as rogue state in the post-Cold War era, and in Chapters 6, I address in more detail the instances of Iran-as-rogue across three substantive issue areas (the nuclear issue, sponsorship of terrorism, and democracy / human rights), which map to major IR subfields (security, development, norms / institutions).

Chapter 2

Theoretical Background

Introduction

As discussed in the introductory chapter, this project seeks to critically engage with taxonomies of states in at least two ways. The first question I pose is the following: how does the structure (both material and ideational) of the international system help constitute the kinds of taxonomies or typologies of states which emerge as embedded within it? In each historical period under examination I ask what is it about this type of international system (European colonialism, Cold War bipolarity, American hegemony) which shapes how dominant actors perceive and give meaning to the world, including how constructions of legitimate, appropriate behavior toward those actors on the margins of the system took shape. While this question has received attention in the context of colonialism and bipolarity, there is more to be said in making sense of the constitution of rogueness in the contemporary era. In this chapter I elaborate my argument how the structure of American hegemony emerging in the early 1990s gave rise to the classification of 'rogue states,' and how this can be understood against the backdrop of its historical antecedents of the 'colony' under colonialism and the 'client state' under Cold War bipolarity.

The second question I address in this chapter is: what are the political consequences, particularly in terms of the mode of relation between the dominant and non-dominant, of these different conceptual understandings of state type? After describing how dominant ideas construct or constitute actor types, and exploring how these ideas are reproduced through sets of practices, I then turn my attention to how these

practices become routinized over time into what we can reasonably classify as recognizable patterns or modes of relation. Under colonial structures, this progression from ideas to practices to relational mode was perhaps best expressed through forms of coercive domination and extraction. In the case of the Cold War structure of bipolarity, this mode of relation most commonly took the form not of coercive domination and extraction, but instead submission and dependence. Lastly, under the structures of American hegemony, the operative mode of relation between the hegemon and rogue states is primarily by relations of exclusion. The ideas underpinning these modes of relation and the practices that embody them are the subjects of each of the historical case studies and will be addressed in more detail there.[59] As a first step here, we might consider the following question: how are the boundaries of exclusion and inclusion defined, and what practices and forms of politics have they engendered, both within and across boundaries? I argue that these labels are significant because they represent assumptions about state motives, capabilities, and, at bottom, perceptions of state identity. In summary, this chapter explores the power dynamics through which a particular collective identity, for example, colony, client, or rogue, is imposed from the outside by an external structural constellation of power, and how this categorization then orders the interactions and relations through which that actor takes part in and experiences the international system.

Social versus Natural Kinds

In an effort to denaturalize the figure of the rogue and address the 'how possible' question which underlies my constitutive theoretical inquiry, it is necessary first to

---

[59] Chapters 3, 4, and 5, respectively

discuss the distinction between natural and social kinds. I argue that the rogue state

represents not an objective fact or natural kind of actor in international politics, but rather

is an example of a *social kind*. The concept of social kind in my usage is grounded in

Constructivist theorizing in International Relations. Applying a Constructivist

interpretive lens to the current international system enables us to capture both the

ideational and holistic aspects of the rogue term and its usage.[60] Social kinds, unlike

natural kinds, are dependent constitutively on people's ideas about them. The idea here is

that the material world such as it is does not exist independently of how actors think

about or conceive it. Ontologically, corporate actors lack an inherent essence in reality

apart from the identities which emerge through the continuous process of relation with

others. The onus of analysis here clearly shifts away from appraising the natural world,

rogue states and all, to unpacking and deconstructing actors' interpretations of the world

as they understand it and, equally importantly, drawing attention to the sets of social

rules, institutions, and behavioral habits which continually reproduce these

understandings.

In elaborating the distinctions between natural kinds and social kinds, Wendt

highlights three differences discussed by Bhaskar, and he adds a fourth feature of his

own.[61] On Bhaskar's three points, the first is that social kinds demonstrate greater *space-time specificity* than natural kinds. This creates a significant chink in the armor of strictly

positivist, empiricist approaches to apprehending state types, such as rogues, as a

universal, essentialized, and in a sense transhistorical category. Also, this insight draws

our attention away from causal and toward constitutive theoretical analysis. What were

---

[60] Wendt (1999), p. 22-29
[61] Ibid., p. 69-72; citing Bhaskar (1979), p. 48-49

the conditions which made possible the discourse of rogue statehood among American foreign policy makers in the 1990s? A question such as this is muted if we uncritically accept the essential character of rogue states posited in much of the causal analysis on this subject.

The second difference between social kinds and natural kinds shifts our focus away from an 'objective' assessment of the material world and instead posits that the subjective 'beliefs, concepts, or theories held by actors constitute social kinds[62]. Here a brief aside from Wendt's analysis is particularly instructive:

> Drawing on the work of Foucault, for example, Ian Hacking – a realist about natural science – shows how the invention in the nineteenth century of the category of 'homosexual' helped create or 'make up' a certain kind of person and its associated social possibilities, which are not reducible to the material fact of engaging in same-sex behavior. The same is true of witches, doctors, and states. Before the emergence of the shared ideas that constitute them (if not the actual words themselves), these social kinds did not exist.[63]

Alongside space-time specificity, the *rejection of object/subject independence* has important consequences for how one might go about studying a concept like rogue statehood, or other inherently social kinds. Just as the invention of the category of 'homosexual' created a certain kind of person and established the boundaries of their position and relations in societies at large, so too has the invention of the category of 'rogue state' created a certain kind of state and both bounded and structured its relations in international politics. Also, importantly, just as the figure of the 'homosexual' is not reducible to some set of same-sex behaviors, neither is the 'rogue state' constituted solely by its engagement in certain rogue behaviors (i.e., nuclear proliferation, sponsorship of terrorism, suppression of democracy and human rights, treaty / norm violation, etc.).

---

[62] Ibid., p. 70
[63] Ibid., p. 70-71

This can be demonstrated in at least two ways. First, rogues have struggled to shed the label of rogue long after they have ceased engaging in roguish behaviors, or, in a more extreme cases, have disputed the fact that the behaviors they engaged in were roguish in the first instance. Secondly, many states that have engaged in the same roguish behaviors have not been categorized as rogues. There is not, therefore, a one-to-one correlation between behavior and designation. Just as the presence of shared ideas was necessary in the constitution of the notion of the 'homosexual,' so too are shared ideas necessary in the production and reproduction of the 'rogue', and it is these ideas which are often more consequential than the material behavior of the named party. Taking these two points seriously (space-time specificity, rejection of object/subject independence), I argue that a detailed historical analysis of the social forces and world order in which social kinds are constituted can shed light on the meanings of the term in a way that avoids reducing it to some set of behaviors.[64]

We might think of the third distinctive feature of social kinds from natural kinds as the material corollary to the previous point. If the existence of social kinds depends on some set of shared beliefs held at a particular time and place, then these beliefs further depend on some set of practices which bring them into action. This *emphasis on practice* is important because it demonstrates that ideas alone are not sufficient to give meaning and form to social kinds. By way of example, Wendt clearly illustrates this concept by arguing: "If people stop behaving as if there are witches (even if they still privately believe in them), then there are not witches. Social kinds are a function of belief *and* action."[65] The existence of rogue states depends not only on actors' shared beliefs in the

---

[64] Cox (1981)
[65] Wendt (1999), p. 71

existence of such states, but also on the practices engaged in (for example, discursive practices like rhetorically naming and shaming rogues, pursuing economic sanctions, seeking to exclude rogue states from international institutions, or threatening rogues with military action) to reinforce, reproduce, and effectively translate the rogue social kind from the realm of ideas into the realm of material practice.

Wendt's addition to Bhaskar's three factors discussed so far distinguishing social kinds from natural is that social kinds display both an internal and external structure. This means that social kinds are inherently *relational*, and are constituted in the process of social relations. As Wendt puts it: "Social kinds seem to lack any essential, self-organizing core, making scientific study of them impossible."[66] This understanding refutes the often essentializing characterization of rogue states that is either implicit or explicit in much of the existing literature on the subject. Or phrased differently, reductionist / methodologically individualist explanations fail to appreciate the simply phrased observation from Wendt that "To be a professor is, by definition, to stand in a certain relation to a student; to be a patron is, by definition, to stand in a certain relation to a client."[67] In summary, applying Bhaskar and Wendt's framework on the distinctiveness of social kinds versus natural kinds, I argue that rogues are not rogues:

    1.) Outside of a particular spatial and temporal context

    2.) Independent of shared subjective assessments of them by others

---

[66] Ibid., p. 71

[67] Ibid., p. 71 - Extending the metaphor, I would add 'To be a rogue is, by definition, to stand in a certain relation to a hegemon.' Making the point again, but in a different way, Wendt observes that "There is no freestanding, prediscursive essence in virtue of which a witch is a witch, and thus no objective reality exerting a regulatory influence on our theorizing about witches."

3.) Without some shared behavioral practices which translate and reproduce ideas into action

4.) Apart from their ongoing constitution as such through social relations

To illustrate the self-organization hypothesis, or internal constitution of a state's identity, Wendt succinctly observes that "What makes, say, Germany 'Germany' is primarily the agency and discourse of those who call themselves Germans, not the agency and discourse of outsiders."[68] The key point here is that this boundary-drawing and meaning-making process of external and internal definition is on-going and contested, and is not independent from the broader operation of power in the structure of the international system.

Power and the Production of Order: Makers and Takers

Though the modern international system of states is marked by the formal condition of anarchy, scholars generally recognize that inequalities within this system will produce more of what we might conceptualize as a spectrum between anarchy and hierarchy, rather than a dichotomous choice between one or the other. Hierarchies can be understood as a consequence of distributional inequality marked by, for example, disparities in military power or wealth. The notion of hierarchy that I argue is more compelling departs from this materialist definition, and instead views hierarchy not primarily as a function of distributional inequality, but instead as an expression of relational inequality. In this construction we can better observe the operation of the 'power to define,' the significance of which one source addresses when considering how a rogue state emerges as such, and usefully defines as "the authority of (hegemonic) states

---

[68] Wendt (1999), p. 74

to dictate what counts as basic community norms and the ability to determine who should be regarded as perennial or unredeemable violators of those norms."[69] The monopolization of the legitimate authority to not only decide on but also interpret the norms of the international community is perhaps the key facet of what I mean by relational inequality. The encounter between makers and takers in this sense has to do less with who is or is not a signatory to a specific international treaty,[70] and more to do with who can act as the arbiter of what constitutes compliance and non-compliance with a norm in practice.

A key dilemma for actors on the periphery of global politics, then, is less that they find themselves deficient in terms of certain *valued attributes*, and more that they find themselves deficient in terms of their *ability to define value*, as a concept, itself. This is perhaps seen most clearly in radical expressions such as 'rogue', 'pariah', and 'outlaw' state, with these types of states, through their differentiation, unable to exert much of an impact in terms of advancing a counter-hegemonic or alternative normative vision of their own.

These inequalities call into question the assumption, most clearly articulated in Neorealist thought, that all states are 'like units' and therefore functionally equivalent. It is through this understanding of hierarchy as structured relational inequality that the significance of studying the patterns of power relations between strong and weak actors and their differential capability to act becomes apparent. Over time, these patterns may

---

[69] Wagner, Werner, and Onderco (2014), p. 6

[70] In fact, as we will see in Iran's case, its status as a signatory to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty has not protected it against accusations of violation of the norm of non-proliferation. In part, I argue, this has to do with the perceived illegitimacy of Iran's claim that it has the right to contest and reinterpret the dominant interpretations of what the treaty obliges and entitles.

work to stabilize a given international system, upholding the rule of the dominant, or they may exert a destabilizing influence, to the extent that they are unable to adapt to changing conditions. I argue that this conceptualization of hierarchy and emphasis on relational analysis is particularly helpful in understanding the dynamic nature of systemic adaptation and reproduction, and offers fresh insight that static, materialist conceptions of hierarchy fail to capture. This approach lends itself to the study of what Foucault termed "the techniques and tactics of domination."[71]

Drawing on work from Charles Tilly and others, I argue that alongside hierarchy, the concept of boundaries and boundedness is central to the task of analyzing international order. The distinction between insiders and outsiders pervades all types of political systems; whether imperial, feudal, or state-based, these distinctions and the consequent senses of community have been present. This opposition through the production of an *Other* helps consolidate a society's own perhaps precarious sense of identity. Commenting on the political consequences of boundaries, Tilly argues, "When people put *q* political boundary in place, they also organize social relations on each side of the boundary, relations across the boundary, and stories about the whole ensemble."[72] This suggests four distinct areas of analysis when considering a boundary in international relations: first, how the boundary organizes relations among those included in the in-group; second, how the boundary organizes relations among those excluded in the out-group; third, how the boundary organizes relations across or between in-group and out-group; and lastly, what the boundary itself, its form, tells us about the broader system within which it appears.

---

[71] Kelly, ed. (1998), p. 40
[72] Tilly (2005), p. 182

This framework provides a useful blueprint for the types of considerations that will be central in the analysis that I develop in later chapters. The colonial, bipolar, and unipolar orders I examine through the Iranian experience each reflect different forms of boundedness, whether premised on ideas of civilization, development, power, identity, or values. These boundaries sought to bring order to the relations of those within the in-group, those included, for example, in the First World, Developed World, the 'West,' or 'community of nations'. In each case, these boundaries also profoundly impacted Iran's internal political development, as well as its relation to dominant powers across boundaries, through its marginalization in the colonial context, subordination in the context of Cold War competition, and demonization and isolation as a rogue state under American unipolarity. The normative implications of insider or outsider status are here clear to see. Finally, I argue that an area which this project addresses that has been overlooked by much of the existing scholarship is Tilly's final point, what the boundary tells us about the whole ensemble, or system. My hypothesis is that analyzing boundary-making activity can provide insight into how different types of international systems lend themselves to varying expressions of power.

Another key aspect of the theorization of order I am suggesting here pertains to the concept of deviance. While the theme of deviance has been studied by Sociologists and Political Scientists focusing on domestic politics, in IR it has received less explicit attention. Given the focus on norms, socialization, identity, ideas, and the prevalent argument that the international system is better understood as an international *society* of states, this absence of attention to deviance is noteworthy. One group of scholars have also gestured toward this absence in both IR and the study of international law, and

suggested some reasons which may account for it. An excerpt from their remarks is as

follows:

> In IR, the dominance of a postitivist metatheory further contributed to the
> negligence of deviance. According to its proponents, IR should aim at the
> detection of patterns and regularities, if necessary at a 'medium range' to address
> what Lepgold calls 'issue-oriented puzzles' (1998). Especially in quantitative
> analyses, this discouraged the study of deviance. Instead, deviant cases were
> understood to be non-representative and, as a consequence, treated as 'noise,' that
> is information without relevance for the study of regularities and patterns (Belsey
> et al. 2004, Fox 1991)... In international law, postitivism has resulted in a strong
> emphasis on doctrinal analysis, which tied the legal scholar to a particular and
> restricted vocabulary. As international law does not know categories such as
> 'outlaw', 'renegade' or 'rogue states', this has hampered the study of formal
> inequality in the international order.[73]

While the colony and client state were more commonly framed as primitive,

backward, uncivilized, and underdeveloped, it seems clear that the rogue state is

primarily known through a definition which leans heavily on the concept of deviance, and

this point therefore merits further attention here. By engaging with the rogue state

concept as an expression of the formal inequality in the existing international order, my

analysis offers novel insights into how that order is constructed and how it operates.

A recent study highlights a common understanding of deviance from a

sociological point of view as follows: deviance, "... as behavior that violates social norms

and thus attracts disapproval and sanctions if detected."[74] This notion of deviance speaks

to much of what was identified in the previous chapter's discussion on the difficulty in

defining the rogue state. The authors go on to note: "The specific content and form of the

social norms, their violation and the sanctions to follow are context dependent and cannot

be determined in advance."[75] The context dependence of deviance, of norm violation, is

---

[73] Wagner et al. (2014), p. 3
[74] Ibid., p. 1
[75] Ibid, p. 1

a critical point. I argue that this context largely emerges from the existing patterns of relation between the actor upholding the norm and the actor which may be violating or challenging it. This is precisely why it is necessary to study these relational patterns, the conditions of their emergence and evolution over time, because they shape much of the context through which current behaviors are understood.

Patterns of Relation between Dominant and Subordinate Actors

In the next three chapters of the dissertation, I look in detail at three historical periods in modern Iranian political history. My analysis is informed by the work of Robert Cox on world orders.[76]

social forces

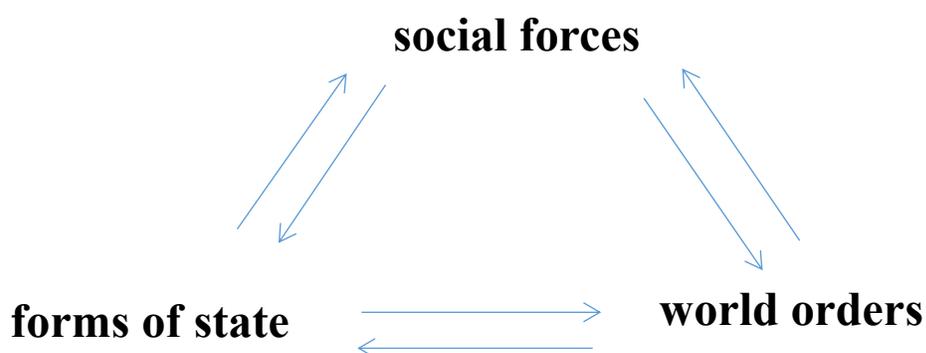**forms of state**   **world orders**

Figure 1 – Cox's framework of social forces, states, and world orders

Building on the notion that prevailing historical structures are produced through the reciprocal, interactive relations among material capabilities, institutions, and ideas, Cox applies this heuristic device of historical structures to the three spheres of activity represented in the figure (forms of state, social forces, and world orders). The arrows between each level or sphere of activity is meant to show that causality is not operating in

---

[76] Cox (1981), Figure 2, p. 138, reproduced here as Figure 1

a unilinear manner. A particularly configuration of social forces exerts an influence over the formation of a world order *while simultaneously* the configuration of social forces is influenced by the already existing world order. The same reciprocal, interactive relations are operating between the other spheres of influence as well. The task then, following Cox, is to understand "How are these reciprocal relationships to be read in the present [or past] historical conjuncture?"[77] How, at each level, is a dominant structure reproduced, and when do emergent rival structures unsettle an existing, otherwise stable historical process?

The aim of these case studies is to draw attention to the primary characteristics which mark how dominant actors have used their power under different systemic conditions to spread their influence and ideas beyond their own borders. Additionally, following Tilly, I consider how boundaries are established, maintained, and crossed or shifted[78]. Unlike much of the existing literature on this subject, my analysis looks at this boundary-contestation from the vantage point of the dominated (or marginal) rather than the dominant. The basic idea is that an international system arises out of the connectivities between actors, particularly between the dominant and the non-dominant. In each case, I apply a Constructivist analytical lens, in that my approach emphasizes that actions are informed by norms, values, and identities, rather than solely by cost-benefit calculations premised on more or less static understandings of state interests. Unlike much mainstream constructivist work that focuses on the normalizing, homogenizing effects of norms and institutions, shared ideas, and socialization processes in global politics, my analysis tries to bring attention to the exclusions which these normative

---

[77] Cox (1981), p. 138
[78] Tilly (2005)

orders create and in some ways rely upon for their reproduction. The manner in which

these exclusions take shape, the discourses surrounding them, and the political

consequences for equitable engagement are themes that I will revisit throughout each

historical case study in subsequent chapters, and which I will gesture toward briefly here

in the following sub-sections.

	Period 1	Period 2	Period 3
Time Period	1870s – 1910s	mid-20th century, particularly 1963-1979	1979-present
International Order	European colonialism	US-Soviet Bipolarity	American Hegemony
Subordinate Actor Type	colony	client	rogue
Mode of relation	core-periphery	patron-client	hegemon-rogue
Primary relational mechanism	extraction	dependence	exclusion

Figure 2 – Case Study Framework

Colonialism: Extraction (division, aggressive incorporation)

Randolph Persaud, drawing on observations from the French structural

anthropologist Claude Levi-Strauss, comments on the impulse to classify in scientific

work, an impulse which I argue was also central to the colonial project of conquest. An

excerpt from his observations are as follows:

While all problems of science begin with a puzzle, the first step in the scientific
enterprise begins at the level of taxonomy. Whether one is rationally ordering plant
species or states, intelligent statements about the *theoretical object* of research can only
be made if seemingly disparate properties / phenomena are parsimoniously categorized

on the basis of an explicit principle of delineation... It is for these reasons that scientists, including social scientists, begin with classifying things. The subfield of foreign policy in particular, and the field of international relations in general, are no different. The general thinking is that by classifying states one could proceed to make general descriptive and theoretical statements about the foreign policy behavior patterns of an entire *class* of states.[79]

In the colonial context, the impulse to classify generally pivoted around the notion of civilization, and following this the world could be understood as populated by the figures of the civilized 'man' and barbarous 'native.' Persaud goes on to observe that this tendency toward classification, drawn from inherent positivist and realist assumptions and the quest for a 'physics' of international relations, has led to tendencies for over-generalization [a 'repression of specificity and historicity'] and the marginalization and homogenization of the vast, diverse class of peripheral, Third World actors.[80] This critique of Third World foreign policy, or what Persaud terms 'The Small/Weak State School,' is equally relevant to the analysis of rogue states. What rogue states share as a *class of state* is not any fixed attribute, such as their geographic size, population, or gross national product, but some component of a behavioral attribute understood in relation to a dominant international order, or more properly understood as the perception of a behavioral attribute, in a way not dissimilar to how 'natives' were classified as a homogenous group in the colonial imagination.[81]

The postcolonial insight into both the physical and epistemic violence associated with the emergence and reproduction of international order is a recurrent theme which I explore in the historical case studies. A postcolonial perspective is particularly

---

[79] Persaud (2001), p. 9

[80] Ibid., p. 10

[81] The most common of which being: 1 – the pursuit of WMD; 2 – terrorism or sponsorship of terrorism; 3 – domestic repression. I explore each of these in Chapter 6.

instructive, I argue, in its exposure and rejection of 'native essentialism', contestation with universalist views of Western rationalism, and reorientation of emphasis toward local knowledge and lived experience. An implicit assumption underpinning much mainstream, positivist theoretical work in IR on international order is that order itself, generally speaking, has an inherent positive value. Order here often typically implies the absence of great power conflict, or the proper functioning of the international system from the perspective of those actors most involved in its construction, but also includes the diffusion of international norms, institutions, law, and a particular conception of international morality broadly speaking. Grovogui's following comment on the different understanding of power and legitimacy in international order brought to bear from a postcolonial perspective merits consideration here:

"... postcolonialism asks questions about the international order and international law and morality that do not comply with disciplinary verities or received notions of critique and judgment. Again, the key to postcolonial difference rests in the fact that the experiences of the conquered and colonized contrast with those of the conquerors and colonizers. Whereas the latter might recall *Pax Britannica* among other events as the flawed beginnings of a positive enterprise, the former might recall it as a quilt of nightmarish scenarios lived across time and space."[82]

Bipolarity: Dependence (submission, control)

In the context of the Cold War, two logics dominated American foreign policy thinking: containment and deterrence. Both of these logics were oriented toward the threat posed by the Soviet Union, the only other superpower on the global stage in the aftermath of the Second World War. As a fellow Allied power, the Soviet Union also occupied a seat, with veto power, alongside the United States, France, China, and the United Kingdom in the United Nations Security Council. This point is critical to

---

[82] Grovogui (2013), p. 240

understanding one of the distinctive qualities about the system of American hegemony that would emerge after the collapse of the Soviet Union. Given that the superpower competition brought the Third World into the foray of great power politics, it became much more difficult for either the United States or Soviet Union to target a particular state for exclusion from the international community without the other vetoing this decision and seeking to curry favor with the targeted state. This is part of the reason why, I argue, dependence became the operative mode of relation between the superpowers and the Third World rather than the exclusion we observe with increasing frequency in the 1990s under American unipolarity.

Hegemony: Exclusion (sanction, transformation)

As seen in the above discussion on Colonialism, Postcolonial IR theory seeks to expose the particularism masked within universal moral injunctions by powerful actors in global politics. Or, as phrased by Grovogui, "Postcolonial antipathy is directed at the imperial desire for hegemony, or the aspiration to set the terms and rules of politics and culture unilaterally; to adjudicate international outcomes singly; and/or to manage knowledge and the memory of international relations."[83] In the post-Cold War era, this moral injunction was informed by the hegemony of liberal values and American triumphalism. In much of the existing scholarship on rogue states, the very concept of the rogue is accepted uncritically as a category, and as Wagner and his co-authors note, the question focuses primarily on 'what we should do about rogue states.'[84] While some have argued that the 'rogue state' was simply the substitute for the now absent communist *other* which had fallen alongside the Soviet Union, I argue that this misses much in terms

---

[83] Grovogui (2013), p. 244
[84] Wagner et al. (2014), p. 7

of the new expressions of power, and the increasing prioritization of the 'power to define,'

which mark this new period. While it is true that the 'rogue state' functions to help shore

up the identity within the core of the international community, as an intersubjective

category, by definition, it will function differently than the communist *other* did in the

context of the Cold War.

One of the unique aspects of the unipolar international system in contrast to both

colonialism and bipolarity is the absence of a clear ideological competitor. Commenting

on the state of US-Iran relations in 2001, one scholar's observations help bring this point

out in starker relief:

> The failure of the postrevolutionary state demonstrates the prowess of
> international capital and the dependence of peripheral states on it for modern
> technology, technological expertise, economic aid, and trade. Globalization of the
> capitalist system and integration of the developing world into the world system
> makes it extremely difficult, if not impossible, for any single nation-state to
> completely free itself and its economy from the military, political, economic, and
> cultural influences of that capitalist world system, or to bring about its demise.[85]

Why is it that the rogue state concept did not take hold as a strategic paradigm

until after the emergence of the unipolar system? In their study of deviance, Wagner and

his co-authors hearken back to Durkheim's notion that deviance "... is a main driving

force of societal development and its study is a key to understanding a society's norms

and values."[86] This raises at least two points that warrant further attention. First, by

focusing on deviance (the rogue) we can gain insight into the motive force or movement

entailed in development. Second, and as a consequence of the first point, it becomes

more evident that the supposedly universal processes associated with development are in

fact guided by the values of those actors who have assumed a right to speak on behalf of

---

[85] Emadi (2001)
[86] Wagner et al (2014), p. 1

the international community. This speaks to one of the functions of power at the

international level of analysis, the delineation of boundaries and ability to set the agenda

for action. Commenting on how this form of power operates under unipolarity, Saunders

comments, "Powerful states – or in the case of a unipolar system, the most powerful state

– have the ability to put forward new ideas, to define (or redefine) international society,

and to exclude those states that do not comply."[87] Saunders' analysis brings together

considerations of power and shared ideas, and argues that shared ideas among great

powers regarding the 'rogue state' debate, particularly European dissent after the US

invasion of Iraq in 2003, were limited and therefore impeded the United States' ability to

act as a norm-entrepreneur shaping the boundaries of exclusion in international society.

While Saunders is right to point to the contestation that even a dominant power like the

United States faces under unipolarity from other great powers, her analysis fails to

consider the ways in which rogue states themselves contest their exclusion and 'abnormal'

role in international relations. This is a major gap in our understanding of rogue states,

and one which this project seeks to address.

I agree with the intervention in the literature on rogue statehood by Wagner and

his co-authors' in which they argue that the critical component in understanding the

politics of classifying states as rogues "... lies in understanding where the defining power

of doing so lies."[88] Whereas much of the literature on rogue statehood emerges either

from a think-tank, policy analysis perspective, spending its time trying to uncover the

objective criteria defining a rogue state and suggesting optimal options for 'dealing with'

---

[87] Saunders (2006) - This echoes the nuanced conceptualization of power and its various forms articulated
     in Barnett and Duvall (2005).
[88] Wagner et al. (2014), p. 4

rogues; or from more critically-oriented engagements with this first approach, inverting

its optics in an effort to expose dominant actors [most notably the United States, though

also Israel, the UK, Canada, and others] as rogues, Wagner and his co-authors here

usefully suggest a third way. This third way, which my analysis also follows, is most

clearly articulated in their introductory remarks, an excerpt of which I include as follows:

> ... This volume problematizes the very practice in which states or regimes are
> labeled as rogues and subjected to specific disciplinary regimes. Its main question
> is what the labeling, disciplining and activities of 'rogue states' tell us about the
> deep structure and underlying values of the international society as a whole.[89]

One aspect of the value-added from this dissertation project to the research

question posed by Wagner and his co-authors is that my analysis provides deeper

historical context and asks the same question across three types of international systems.

Both the colony and the client state, like the modern rogue state, were subject to specific

disciplinary regimes, and their labeling and disciplining also provide insight into the

structure and values of the international systems of their respective eras. Furthermore,

through the detailed thematic case chapters which follow these historical case chapters,

this project provides greater breadth of analysis across the range of proposed elements of

rogueness [nuclear proliferation, state-sponsorship of terrorism, and international

normative behaviors].

Power

My emphasis on ideas, practices, modes of relation, and social kinds in general

warrants some explanation here on how I theorize the meaning and operation of power.

In this section I highlight two important aspects in how I understand and apply the

concept of power in my analysis of state types. First, I outline the distinction between

---

[89] Ibid, p. 5

interactive power, which has been the focus of most of the existing scholarship on both Iran and the notion of rogue statehood, and constitutive power. My argument is that the constitutive forms of power can improve our understanding of how dominant ideas translate into practices, which then over time construct collective identities through recurrent patterns of relation. Second, I engage with the literature on hard power versus soft power. Here, following Mattern, I argue that the juxtaposition between hard and soft power hinges on a false binary between coercion and persuasion / attraction, and that soft power properly understood is more a continuation of hard power by other means rather than a qualitatively different form of power.

Constitutive and Interactive effects

My emphasis on power as expressed through structured relations (empire-colony, patron-client, hegemon-rogue), which themselves are the products of dominant ideas and practices over time, builds on Barnett and Duvall's insight that power in international politics exists in multiple, interconnected forms.[90] Rather than viewing international institutions and normative structures as mechanisms through which power is tamed or muted, my analysis of Iran's modern political history illustrates the ways in which it operates through these structures, in terms of both their interactive and constitutive effects. This follows from Barnett and Duvall's general definition of power as "the production, in and through social relations, of effects that shape the capacities of actors to determine their circumstances and fate."[91] Power here is understood as fundamentally *relational*, and lacks an objective, material meaning outside of or apart from the context of social relations. Also, I suggest that power is rightly characterized here not as an

---

[90] Barnett and Duvall (2005)
[91] Ibid., p. 42

outcome or quantity, but as a *process* of differential self-determination. Lastly, by emphasizing the mediation of social relations, this view of power closes the loop in the false separation between structure and agency posited by rationalist theories in IR.

In the case study analysis which follows in Chapter 3, 4, and 5, I draw attention to the ways in which these multiple, interconnected forms of power have operated in Iran's foreign relations. Existing accounts have emphasized compulsory power, and to a lesser extent institutional power, but have largely neglected structural and productive power. This gap in analysis speaks to the broader prioritization or perhaps general level of comfort with interactive social relations over social relations of constitution and attempts at constitutive theorizing. Because I am interested in addressing identity formation and the 'how possible' question pertaining to the appearance of certain peripheral, and in some sense deviant, state types both the direct and diffuse forms of constitutive relations which correspond to structural and productive power are of particular interest. Concerning structural power, I intend to explore the ways in which this form of power constitutes differential, unequal capacities of actors and their own self-understandings. Concerning productive power, my analysis will draw attention to the broader systems of knowledge, discursive practices, and fixing of meaning which shape the conditions of possibility in international politics, particularly in terms of limiting the capacities of disempowered actor types (colonies, clients, and rogues).

Soft power

Soft power has traditionally been understood in IR as a relatively cheap, diffuse, and ethically appealing form of power. In this sense, soft power reflects the attractiveness of good ideas or the appeal of nominally universal values through non-

coercive means[92]. This notion of soft power becomes more complicated as we inquire into exactly what we mean by attraction, and the process in which one actor is attracted to the position of another through the use of soft power. As Mattern persuasively argues, when attraction is understood through the framing of representational force, and particularly the strategy of verbal fighting, soft power does not appear so soft after all.[93] Instead, soft power is suffused with coercion, and at its core is premised on a threat to the target's ontological security to coerce compliance. Mattern's intervention here and application of the tools of sociolinguistics to the concept of soft power is particularly insightful in aiding our understanding of Iran's relations with outside powers over the course of its political history, and more specifically its relations with the United States during the post-revolutionary period. For Mattern, analysis of the sociolinguistic construction of reality in the process of communicative exchange has disproportionately focused on content (what is said), speaker (who says it), and audience (to whom do they say it), while overlooking a critical fourth component of these speech acts, form / genre (how it is said).[94]

In terms of form (*how* a statement is said), Mattern discusses several genres: persuasive arguing, bargaining, manipulation, seduction, and verbal fighting. The most effective genre, verbal fighting, is defined as "a communicative form through which an author attempts to bully the audience into agreement with his interpretation."[95] This bullying is expressed by making a threat to limit the choices of the target and effectively trap the target into agreement. Threats are directed toward the target's sense of self, or

---

[92] See, for example, Nye (2004)
[93] Mattern (2005)
[94] Ibid., p. 596-598
[95] Ibid., p. 602

ontological security, and attempt to draw attention to contradictions in the target's sense of self, thereby calling into question core notions of their identity. Mattern's own illustration of this subjectivity trap is the post-9/11 proposition from the Bush administration that 'you are either with us or with the terrorists,' with the idea being that this construction effectively silences 'dissident' interpretations of the realities of the War on Terror, and universalizes the American construction of reality.

What is revealed in the interchanges between Western and Iranian foreign policy establishments is a dispute on the one hand (within the West, generally between the United States on one side and the European Union on the other) between advocates of approaches prioritizing either hard or soft instruments of power; and on the other hand (in Iran), a deeper critique of what constitutes 'normality' in international relations. Appreciating the coercive aspects of soft power helps us denaturalize concepts such as the rogue state, terrorist, and treaty-violator. Again we see here that ideas, expressed in discursive structures, have material consequences both in terms of the practices they enable and in the degree to which they limit the ability of actor's to think otherwise.

Concluding Remarks

The schema I propose here for studying how order is produced in an international system focuses on the relational patterns that define these connectivities over time. Through these patterns, boundaries are established and maintained which reinscribe the power and authority of the system's dominant power(s). By studying these transactions across power differentials, we can better understand the hierarchies, boundedness, and conceptions of deviance in varied international systems, which are of particular importance under unipolarity in which a single power is poised to exert a great deal of

influence in advancing a singular, universal vision of global politics.

My analytical focus centers on unequal categories (strong and weak states), and relations across these categorical boundaries of state type. As with scholarly work done on similarly unequal categories like social classes, I argue that boundaries and categories / expressions of collective state identities continually make and remake each other, and in this sense function as a duality. Part of the challenge I have been gesturing toward in all three historical periods is that the discourses surrounding state classifications and taxonomic understandings of the global political landscape often do more to obscure meaning than to reveal it. In each case, a classification of a state as among 'class x' (whether client, rogue, etc.) does more to reduce, singularize, and concretize that state's identity than illuminate the pluralities which underpin it. Adib-Moghaddam drives this point home in the context of Iran's identity, succinctly noting that "... any reduction of Iran along a set of easily digestible propositions has a political purpose..."[96] Furthermore, Mattar's analysis comes to a similar conclusion, arguing that the unilateral logic of the rogue state defines and in a sense appropriates Iran as a singular, menacing entity for ideological purposes, and in doing so denies a more pluralistic understanding of Iran's political, societal, and cultural life.[97]

Many compendiums on International Relations include the term rogue state. In light of the above discussion on hierarchy, boundaries, deviance, and identity, two examples of such entries are particularly instructive to consider, and are as follows:

> **Rogue State**: A term that originated in the USA, meaning those states that pose a threat to international peace and that should be considered outside the circle of civilized nations. It has been used especially to point the finger of accusation at those countries that are hostile to Western interests and have been sponsors of

[96] Adib-Moghaddam (2008), p. 189
[97] Mattar (2012)

international terrorism, such as Iraq and Libya, and/or may be developing weapons of mass destruction, such as North Korea, which presents a potential nuclear threat."[98]

Rogue State: A state that regularly violates international standards of acceptable behaviour. Over the last decade Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, Libya, and North Korea have all been given this highly pejorative label. It evokes images of a state that is outwardly aggressive, a threat to international peace, highly repressive, xenophobic, and arrogant, and which has no regard for the norms of international society. It is no accident, then, that the term has found a home among some American policymakers. To refer to a state as a rogue is a way of justifying certain policy options, as well as mobilising public support for political action against such a state. What should not be lost sight of, however, is that in most cases it is the leadership that is rogue, and not the general populace. The term does not differentiate in this regard and, in most cases, it is the people who ultimately pay the price when the international community takes collective action against the rogue state. This is particularly evident in the case of Iraq...

…One of the problems in treating particular states as rogues, pariahs or 'backlash' states is that the international community must bear some of the responsibility for their recalcitrant behaviour. This is why there is something disingenuous about policymakers who use this language to describe certain states. For example, the United States has been only too willing to prop up and court unsavory dictators, sell them advanced military hardware, and ignore their uncivilised and repressive behaviour if it served its interests to do so. It should be noted that rogue states are partly a product of an inequitable distribution of power and wealth in the international system. The best way to ensure that states like Iran, Libya, and Iraq do not become rogues in the first place is through strategies of inclusion, restraint in the sale of weaponry, debt cancellation, and a more ethical approach to the Third World by the international community. [99]

In the case of the first excerpt, Weigall's definition touches on several of the main themes that have been discussed throughout this chapter: exclusion from civilization, deviant behavior, and that the interests of the international community are understood as synonymous with Western or US interests. In the second excerpt, Griffiths and O'Callaghan are quick to make the distinction that the rogue definition often fails to make the distinction between the regime / leadership and the populace of a rogue state. Also, a

---

[98] Weigall (2002), p. 195
[99] Griffiths and O'Callaghan (2002), p. 280-282

theme which I have not addressed in great detail to this point is raised in the second

excerpt, that of the responsibility or sense of ownership that is implied in treating

particular states as rogues. Mattar raises this point on the performative contradictions of

the usage of the rogue state term, that it requires roguish behavior on the part of the

naming state, in his 2012 article, drawing on work from Chomsky and Derrida.[100] Mattar

cites Chomsky's intervention, which argues that "a 'rogue state' is not simply a criminal

state, but one that defies the orders of the powerful – who are, of course, exempt."[101] The

paradox here is that rogues are rogues to the extent that they defy the prevailing

normative order, unless they are the powerful states who helped formulate this order, in

which case their defiance of that order is justified *post hoc* as a consequence of extreme,

or to borrow Agamben's terminology, exceptional, circumstances. For Derrida the optics

of the rogue state are inverted in another fashion, not dissimilar from the caveat on

responsibility suggested by Griffiths and O'Callaghan in their compendium definiton of

the rogue state, and Mattar describes Derrida's argument in the following:

> He [Derrida] argues that the act of declaring or branding a state 'rogue', of declaring its exception from the international community, itself constitutes the assumption of a sovereignty over that community that has the power to decide who is included in and excluded from the family of nations. This assumption of sovereignty indicates a *roguishness logically prior to* that of the state declared rogue, as it flouts international law as founded by the UN and based on democracy and the equality of states."[102]

This chapter introduced some of the main theoretical questions that motivate the

line of inquiry that will follow in subsequent chapters. How does the distribution of

power in the international system influence the ideas and self-understandings held by

---

[100] Chomsky (2000); Derrida (2005)
[101] Chomsky (2000), p. 30
[102] Mattar (2012), p. 554

dominant powers, particularly those ideas which demarcate boundaries of inclusion and exclusion in international society? How does this posture and mode of relation impact the political engagement between dominant and non-dominant actors, and how is deviance within a hegemonic normative order understood and addressed?

One might reasonably ask, 'What is the role of agency in this account?' As I will show in the next three historical case study chapters, though these power dynamics produce strong patterns of relation, they are not immune to contestation and even moments of rupture. Scholars of socialization in IR have emphasized the process through which weak or developing states might *emulate* the behavior of the strong or successful states, and while this decision to emulate is an expression of their agency, I argue that it is often a constrained one. If states choose not to emulate the powerful, they risk facing real costs, for example being viewed as violating social norms and attracting disapproval and sanction. Even further, if emulation is tied to specific institutional procedures, for example IMF loan conditionality, then concrete consequences and exclusions will follow a failure to emulate.   Might rogue behavior then be more accurately described as counter-hegemonic, norm-entrepreneurial behavior? Lastly, in the two instances of systemic transitions of power (from a colonial global order to a bipolar global order, and from a bipolar global order to a unipolar global order) we observe shifts in how the dominant powers understand and engage with the rest of the world. These changing patterns of relation, normative order, and definition of international community are areas to which this study can contribute deeper insights.

PART II: Case Studies

Chapter 3

Iran as colony:

Period 1 (1872-1911)

Introduction

This chapter is the first of three historical case studies focusing on relations

between states across asymmetries of power. One of the central arguments of this project

is that an analysis of the relational dynamics between those at the core and those at the

periphery of global politics can aid in our understanding of both the nature of how power

operates in different types of international systems, and the patterns through which these

systems reproduce themselves over time. Mainstream International Relations literature

already conceptualizes power in basic relational terms, with the dominant paradigms

recognizing the differences between absolute and relative power, but our insights into

international systems remain highly structural. I argue for a shift toward a more

relational understanding of systems themselves, deriving their content less from their

categorical attributes, and more from the patterns of transaction which they facilitate.

Relationalist scholars, like Constructivists, make a further distinction that power should

be understood in social terms, through meaning-making interactions, and by analyzing

social ties, categorical identities, and networks.[103] However, my intervention is to look at

forms of power relations through these mechanisms between disparate actors, specifically

between the strong and the weak, and unpack what the patterns are that typify these

relations, shape state identities, and what these patterns tell us about how power operates

and is resisted at the systemic level. I draw attention to three components of the core-

---

[103] Nexon (2009), p. 24-25

periphery relation in this chapter: *extraction, division, and aggressive incorporation*. I explore below how these modes of relation operated in the Iranian case, what they reveal about the nature of the colonial international order, and what consequences they have had for Iran's political development and subsequent relations with the outside world.

This chapter focuses on the late 19th and early 20th century. This time period was marked by a multipolar, imperial international system. As mentioned, my focus is on relations between the core and periphery, in this case between European colonial powers (specifically the British Empire, and to a lesser extent the Russian empire) and the Iranian monarchy. While Iran was not formally colonized in the manner of its neighbors to both east and west, its experience in international politics in the 19th century was largely defined by the dictates of colonial relations of power. Both the British and Russian empires had political and economic interests in Iran, and were actively attempting to shape the political environment in the Iranian near abroad. Alongside this increasing interest in the region from European colonial powers, the Iranian state under the rule of the Qajar dynasty was in a period of steady decline. In this chapter, I focus on how the international system marked by European colonial power influenced both the international relations of Iran and Iran's domestic political development during this period. This era marks Iran's formative encounter with European modernity, constituted through European colonial projects. Consequently, this encounter is foundational to understanding Iran's role in the international relations of the time, specifically in relation to Western power and its modes of operation, the consequences of which continue to inform aspects of Iran's relations with the outside world today.

My focus in this chapter is on three critical episodes in the history of this era.

First, I explore the politics associated with the Reuter concession, an 1872 concession to a single British citizen of control over all Iranian infrastructure, and the domestic backlash it sparked. Second, I turn to the Talbot concession, a similar granting of rights and privileges by the Iranian monarchy to a British citizen, in this case British Major G.F. Talbot, of full monopoly control over the Iranian tobacco industry. Historians have linked the events associated with the Talbot concession and the protests which followed it (1890-1892) to the Constitutional Revolution which would occur after the turn of the century (1905-1911). Noting the historical significance of this event, one scholar has drawn the link between the Islamic Revolution of 1979 and this early constitutional period: "The contemporary history of this success and failure of Islamic ideology in Iran [referring to the Islamic Revolution] in particular can be traced back to any number of points in its modern history, but perhaps most immediately to the Constitutional Revolution of 1906-1911, in which the Qajar absolutist monarchy (1789-1926) was radically curtailed by way of a momentous event that gave Iranians their very first constitution – mutating their definition from subjects of a monarchy to citizens of a modern nation-state."[104] The themes of rejecting an unjust ruler that is perceived as overly passive and deferent to great powers of their era are clearly present in both the Constitutional and Islamic Revolution narratives, and my approach allows us to unpack how these patterns of relation reflected the international systems in which they appeared as natural conditions.

My analysis re-frames this narrative by drawing attention to the importance of international level of analysis, namely the core-periphery relation under colonialism, in

---

[104] Dabashi (2006), p. xiv

which these events unfolded. In this way, I add a new perspective to existing accounts of the Constitutional Revolution which tend to emphasize the domestic political or state-society levels of analysis. The third and final episode I address in this chapter revolves around a theme which will recur in later chapters, that of the politics of oil. The D'Arcy concession of 1901 is perhaps the clearest and most often cited example of the competition between empires for control over Iranian interests during this time period, and indeed the struggle for control over Middle Eastern resources informed much of the calculus which motivated foreign interests in the region. My analysis locates D'Arcy in the context of its predecessor concessions, Reuter and Talbot, and examines the ways in which these events reflected the imperatives of the colonial world order, its values and self-understandings, and its definition for legitimate and appropriate relations between core and peripheral actors. By re-examining these events from a critical perspective, I conclude this chapter by observing how Iran's position as a peripheral state, operating in the shadow of colonialism, shaped the manner in which it was targeted for extraction, subjected to a divide-and-conquer strategy of rule, and aggressively incorporated into the international system of the era.

Historical Context

Qajar Dynasty in Decline

Iran, unlike its Arab and Indian neighbors, was not subjected to formal colonial rule. Despite this, one scholar has aptly observed that during the Qajar era of the 19th century Iranians, "... received the universal promises of Enlightenment modernity through the gun barrel of European colonialism."[105] Emerging from a series of military defeats,

---

[105] Dabashi (2007), p. 47

first by the Russian Empire in 1813 (Treaty of Gulestan) and 1828 (Treaty of

Turkmanchai), then by the British in 1857 (Treaty of Paris), the Qajar regime in the late-

19th century felt the insecurity of its position of lesser power.[106] One scholar described

the situation as such: "Between 1796 and 1925, the Qajar rulers saw their form of

dynastic leadership waning as the colonial powers, especially Great Britain and Russia,

sought and gained land and influence in the region."[107] In fact, Britain and Russia had

effectively divided Iran into their spheres of influence through the 1907 Anglo-Russian

Convention, with the Russians controlling the north of the country, including major cities

such as Tehran and Tabriz, as well as the entirety of Iran's Caspian shoreline, and the

British controlling Iran's southwest, including the major port of Bandar Abbas and Iran's

waterway from the Persian Gulf into the Arabian Sea.[108]

As a way to quickly generate capital and gain favor with imperial patrons needed

to maintain their grip on power, the Qajar regime felt itself compelled to grant economic

concessions to foreign interests. Through these concessions, Iran was deprived not only

of its natural resources, but also the domestic economic growth necessary to create a

national bourgeoisie and middle class, industrialize, and begin to reap the benefits as a

society of the economic modernization which was occurring in states on similar

developmental trajectories. Some have suggested that the unequal development and

underdevelopment perpetuated by these concession policies were one of the causes

inhibiting the growth of civil society and democratic institutions in Iran during this era.[109]

---

[106] All three of these treaties were regarded as humiliating defeats for the Qajars, forcing them to cede
territory and recognize their own military and technological inferiority. Territorial losses from these
treaties included modern-day Azerbaijan, Dagestan, parts of Eastern Georgia, and other areas of the
South Caucasus to the Russian Empire; and the loss of the city of Herat to the British.
[107] Osanloo (2013), p. 413
[108] Kinzer (2010), p. 20
[109] Dabashi (2007), p.76

I explore these concessions in further detail later in the chapter; suffice to say at this point that these policies were reflective of the overall state of Qajar rule on its last legs in Iran, out of new ideas, and sufficiently alienated from trends occurring in Iranian society at large. In addition to economic concessions, there was also a significant cessation of territory, as Osanloo notes in the following: "The Qajar rulers ceded much of the northwestern territories to Russia and split the province of Azerbaijan between themselves and their Russian counterparts, dividing the Azeri Turks between Persian and Russian territories."[110] What is important to note here is the trend that these concessions expose in terms of the Iranian state's inability and unwillingness at this time to engage in costly domestic development, and instead to turn control over critical resources to outside powers, thus instituting what we might think of as a quasi-self-imposed extractive colonial relationship to European powers. Iran's categorical identity in the imperial mindset was largely as a resource to be mined, as a stockpile of potential, unrealized value available to reinvigorate the home country economy, and the Qajar rulers' acquiescence in this process, though their acting otherwise would likely have been extremely costly, furthered the notion that Iran and its resources could be accessed at a relatively small cost in the form of payment to its staggering monarchy.

British and Russian designs

Both the British and Russian empires had designs to create a sphere of influence in Iran to protect their national interests in the Middle East region, and as mentioned above, they in fact did so formally in 1907. However, foreign interest and penetration in Iran began in earnest early in the 19th century, with Iran suffering territorial losses to the

---

[110] Osanloo (2013), p. 413

British and Russian empires which created the broad outlines of what we know today as

the modern Iranian state, as well establishing the British and Russian empires as Iran's

'southern' and 'northern' neighbors, as they came to be referred to by Iranians.[111]

Commenting on the 'Great Game' played by these European empires against the Iranian

backdrop, Abrahamian's remarks on its effects on the development of Iran's political

worldview merit consideration here:

> Their representatives [the British and Russians] became key players in Iranian
> politics – so much so that they had a hand not only in making and unmaking
> ministers but also in stabilizing the monarchy and influencing the line of
> succession throughout the century. This gave birth to the notion – which became
> even more prevalent in the next century – that foreign hands pulled all the strings
> in Iran that foreign conspiracies determined the course of events, and that behind
> every national crisis lay the foreign powers. The 'paranoid style of politics' which
> many have noted shapes modern Iran had its origins in the nineteenth century.[112]

These territorial losses, the influence of foreign representatives in the country, and

the general state of decline of Qajar rule set the stage for the series of concessions which

followed later in the 19th century, and which I focus on in further detail beginning in the

next section of the chapter.

In the aftermath of the discovery of oil in Iran in 1908, the British and Russians

realized that because of its vast oil reserves, ensuring control over access to Iran was now

an even greater national security concern. Osanloo effectively summarizes the situation

facing the British and Russian empires, and Iran's place in the Anglo-Russian Entente of

1907, in the following excerpt: "Britain and Russia competed for various interests in Iran

and divided the country into spheres of influence, with the Russians holding sway over

northern Iran and Britain having control over the southern, oil-rich areas. While neither

---

[111] Abrahamian (2008), p. 36
[112] Ibid., p. 36-37

power ever formally colonized Iran, foreign domination challenged the legitimacy of

Iran's rulers, and the influence of foreign corporations and governments would provide

the primary source of growing nationalism among Iranians during the twentieth

century."[113] Russia renounced their claims in Iran after the Bolshevik Revolution, though

Soviet interests in the region would re-emerge as the Second World War drew to a close,

and the competition of the Cold War took hold. The experience of the American-Soviet

rivalry and its consequences for Iran is the subject of the next chapter [Chapter 4]. Now I

will turn to the three episodes of concession I alluded to in the introductory remarks,

beginning with the Reuter concession (1872), moving on to the Talbot concession (1890),

and concluding with the D'Arcy concession (1901).

Reuter concession - Infrastructure

In 1872, then Qajar shah Naser al-Din, the fourth Qajar ruler of Iran, granted

British citizen Baron Julius Reuter control over all Iranian infrastructure (including roads,

the planned construction of a railroad, telegraphs), factories, mills, the exploitation of

forests, the extraction of resources, and other public works.[114] The Reuter concession

was calculated by the Qajars as a means through which to maintain and strengthen their

hold on power in at least three ways. First, in their view, this agreement would appease

the British and enhance British interests in maintaining stability in Iran, thereby giving

the Qajars at least the informal patronage of British imperial power. Second, it would

weaken the hand of would-be domestic opposition to the monarchy by stripping them of

much of their material power. Potential opposition to the regime would now find it much

more difficult to mobilize resources in their favor. Thirdly, the concession was meant to

---

[113] Osanloo (2013), p. 414
[114] Dabashi (2007), p. 47

help balance against the influence of the encroaching Russian empire, ever-present on Iran's northern border, by enabling Iran to develop, it was thought, at an accelerated rate than they would have been able to on their own, and signal to the Russians their closer relationship with the British.

In reality, the Reuter concession proved to be a great debacle for the Qajars, igniting strong opposition from both the local population as well as the Russian government, and most notably eliciting the condemnation of Shi'a religious leaders. As such, it was canceled in 1873, having lasted only one year instead of its proposed twenty-five. The affair of the Reuter concession set the stage for the hugely influential Tobacco Protests that would follow in 1890-92 (following the Talbot concession, which I discuss in the next section) by illustrating that opposition groups were in fact capable of influencing the course of action taken by the Qajar regime, that the state was not functioning in a wholly uncontested relationship of domination with Iranian society. Furthermore, this episode uncovered the complex constellation of social forces in Iranian society at that time, their varied motives and critical interpretations of actions taken by the government, thereby challenging notions of a unified actor following either the dictates of monarchical ideology, religion, or decisions taken in European capitals.

Commenting on the significance of the Reuter concession in Iranian history, Dabashi points out that "When analyzing these developments it is crucial to distinguish between the revolutionary role that lower-ranking Shi'a clerics play in anticolonial movements and the treachery of the high-ranking clerics in protecting their own lucrative interests – always coterminous with those of the Qajar aristocracy; it is equally important to distinguish between the reformist policies of visionary courtiers... and their at times

obsequious and entirely uncritical stands vis-a-vis European colonialism."[115]

Talbot concession – Tobacco Politics

If the Reuter concession can be understood as an attempt to cede control over the veins and arteries of the body of the Iranian state, the Talbot concession of 1890 represents the attempted forfeiture of its very lifeblood. In March 1890, again under stress of financial burden and in need of fast access to capital, Qajar ruler Naser al-Din Shah granted full monopoly control over the production and sale of Iranian tobacco for a period of fifty years to British Major G.F. Talbot. In exchange for this transfer, the Qajar state was to receive the relatively modest annual payment of 15,000 pounds, twenty-five percent of yearly net profits, and a five percent dividend on capital. The immensity and potential for future growth of the Iranian tobacco industry at that time magnifies the short-sightedness of the decision taken by Naser al-Din Shah. The Imperial Tobacco Corporation of Persia (ITCP) subsequently established its monopoly, with all Iranian producers of tobacco being forced to sell their product to its agents at prices set by the ITCP, which would then limit the supply of tobacco reaching market until a more favorable price from their perspective could be reached.

The devastating and widespread effects of this concession on the material condition of existence for many Iranians stemmed in large part from the sheer size of the tobacco industry in Iran at that time. In 1890, estimates place the number of people employed in the tobacco industry at over 200,000, all of whom were now in a precarious position of vulnerability, insecurity, and dependency on the calcuations of the ITCP and its administrators.[116] As such, there was significant room for overlapping interests among

---

[115] Dabashi (2007), p. 53
[116] Moaddel (1992), p. 459

parties aggrieved by the concession; for example, between those who opposed the concession based on ideological principles (on the grounds of nationalism and national independence), and those who opposed it based on interests (on the grounds that it was detrimental to their material interests). On this overlap and the strength it lent to criticism of the policy, Dabashi observes that "The tobacco concession became a major bone of contention between the Qajar court and some members of the Shi'a clerical establishment, particularly those who had a vested interest in tobacco production."[117]

As a result, by fall 1890, the first rumblings of opposition to the concession began to emerge, only to intensify in the following months and into spring 1891. The role of religious leaders in giving voice to this popular discontent and, perhaps most significantly, framing it in terms of the need to protect national interests from outside domination and exploitation was vital. The galvanizing act in this process came in December 1891, with a fatwa forbidding the use of tobacco issued by the highest religious authority (*marja-e taqlid*) in Iran at the time, Mirza Hasan Shirazi. The context for this edict began to emerge in May 1891, when Sayyed Ali Akbar, an influential religious leader in the southern city of Shiraz, was forced into exile into modern-day Iraq as a punishment for his sermons in opposition to the tobacco concession. In exile, Akbar met with well-known pan-Islamist reformist thinker Jamal al-Din al-Afghani. Akbar persuaded al-Afghani to write a letter to Shirazi back in Iran encouraging him to speak out more strongly against the tobacco concession, characterizing Naser al-Din Shah as a criminal attempting to auction the land of Iran away to the imperial powers.[118]

Shirazi's position of prominence in the religious establishment as the highest

---

[117] Dabashi (2007), p. 58
[118] Mottahedeh (2000), p. 216-217

credentialed cleric (*marja-e taqlid*) granted legitimacy to the righteous indignation which had been growing among much of the population over the course of the year 1891. For example, mass protests combining elements of the *bazaari* merchant class and religious leaders (*ulama*) and their students had already taken place prior to the fatwa in several Iranian cities (most notably in cultural and commercial centers such as Tehran, Shiraz, and Tabriz), and these protests moved with relative ease between what had prior been the largely separate milieus of marketplace and mosque. Shirazi's fatwa in December 1891 led to the collective response of widespread boycott of tobacco among the Iranian populace, and sporadic closures of several of the country's main bazaars. Dabashi draws an interesting historical analogy in the following: "Like Gandhi's boycott of imported British cloth in favor of homespun cotton half a century later, the clerical banning of the use of tobacco until and unless the concession was rescinded symbolically assumed a larger anticolonial character and became a dress rehearsal, if not in ideological articulation then certainly in popular mobilization, for the Constitutional Revolution."[119] By January 1892, only one month after the declaration of Shirazi's fatwa and the acceleration of oppositional activity which accompanied it, Qajar monarch Naser al-Din Shah succumbed to the pressure of the Tobacco protest and canceled the Talbot concession. This series of events is significant in Iranian politics in that it established in the mind of many *ulama* the understanding of themselves as the last bulwarks against foreign domination. This is a sentiment which was expressed by Ayatollah Khomeini in 1970 in his reassessment of the role of the clergy in politics. His claim is not only one in support of more active involvement from the religious leaders, but also an indictment of

---

[119] Dabashi (2007), p. 58

the capability of the Shah's regime to protect Iran's national interests and develop Iranian society. It is as follows: "Foreign experts have studied our country and have discovered our mineral reserves – gold, copper, petroleum, and so on. They have also made an assessment of our people's intelligence and come to the conclusion that the only barriers blocking their way are Islam and the religious leadership."[120]

D'Arcy concession – Oil Politics

Mozaffer al-Din Shah succeeded his father Naser al-Din Shah in 1896 after his death in office to become the fifth Qajar ruler of Iran. It was Mozaffer al-Din who, through intermediary British diplomats, would encounter William D'Arcy and his ambitions to speculate in Iranian oil. Mozaffer al-Din, like his father, relied on the sale of concessions to foreigners to finance his throne. In 1901, the D'Arcy concession was signed, Kinzer describes the details of the concession in the following: "The concession agreement, signed in 1901, gave D'Arcy the exclusive right to seek oil in almost all of Iran's territory, and then, if he found any oil, the exclusive right to extract, refine, and sell it."[121] What did the Qajars get in return in this exchange? "For this concession, which was to run for sixty years [1901-1961], he paid 20,000 pounds in cash, then equivalent to about $95,000; promised to pay an equal amount when he began production; and agreed to give Iran 16 percent of his future profits."[122]

The initial discovery of oil in Iran was made in 1908 by D'Arcy, who then formed the Anglo-Persian Oil Company (APOC) in 1909, and by 1913 Iranian oil had entered the world market.[123] Geologists employed by D'Arcy struck oil in May 1908 at Masjid-i-

---

[120] Algar (1981), p. 140
[121] Kinzer (2010), p. 25
[122] Ibid., p. 25
[123] Osanloo (2013), p. 413

Suleiman, Khuzestan province, in southwestern Iran. The discovery of oil was a catalyst

for a reinvigoration of interest in Iran from Europe. According to one scholar the

discovery of oil "... *intensified* the European colonial powers' resolve to exploit not only

Iran's oil but also its other natural resources and ensure that they would have a dominant

position in its expanding commercial markets."[124] The British government quickly

orchestrated the transformation of the D'Arcy concession into the APOC, with the British

government itself figuring as the majority shareholder. The British pursued their national

interests in Iran, through APOC, and in 1919 foreign secretary Lord Curzon announced

the 'Anglo-Persian Agreement,' which although it was not ratified by the Iranian

parliament, and was in fact formally denounced in 1921 by that body, exposes the effort

at aggressively incorporating Iran under British rule. Kinzer describes the agreement, in

which "... Britain would turn Iran into a protectorate by taking control of its army,

treasury, communications system, and transport network. The three Iranian officials who

signed this agreement were induced to do so by generous bribes."[125]

Lord Curzon's own rationale for the necessity of British dominion over Iran, as

cited by Kinzer, are a clear exhibit of the core-periphery mode of relation which shaped

the colonial imagination:

> If it be asked why we should undertake the task at all [of controlling Persia], and
> why Persia should not be left to herself and allowed to rot into picturesque decay,
> the answer is that her geographical position, the magnitude of our interests in the
> country, and the future safety of our Eastern Empire render it impossible for us
> now – just as it would have been impossible for us any time in the last fifty years
> – to disinherit ourselves from what happens in Persia. Moreover, now that we are
> about to assume the mandate for Mespotamia, which will make us coterminous
> with the western frontiers of Asia, we cannot permit the existence between the
> frontiers of our Indian Empire and Baluchistan and those of our new protectorate,
> a hotbed of misrule, enemy intrigue, financial chaos and political disorder.

---

[124] Dabashi (2007), p. 85
[125] Kinzer (2010), p. 26

Further, if Persia were to be alone, there is every reason to fear that she would be overrun by Bolshevik influence from the north. Lastly, we possess in the southwestern corner of Persia great assets in the shape of oil fields, which are worked for the British navy and which give us a commanding interest in that part of the world.[126]

As a colonial possession, Iran is an 'inheritance' of the British Empire, and is here likened to a passive thing rather than actor or subject, more a piece on a chessboard than an opponent. Curzon's central fears, of misrule, economic and political disorder, and opportunities for gains for an adversary, would persist as threat images in the minds of British and later American strategists as the 20th century would unfold. The royalty payments that the Qajar regime received as a consequence of the D'Arcy concession were ultimately unable to keep the dynasty afloat, and they would fall from power in 1921, with one scholar commenting on the affair that the Qajars had effectively "... sold their birthright for a pittance."[127]

Constitutional Revolution and its meanings

In many accounts, Iran's Constitutional Revolution is understood primarily as a revolution of the Iranian people against the monarchy. It is a narrative of the people attempting to weaken the powers of the monarchy and to increase the powers of elected officials. While the short-term triggers were spiking inflation and government bankruptcy in 1904-05, this was more a question of timing, as the long-term causes were evident in the steady decline of Qajar power throughout the 19th century.[128] This revolution was an attempt to reconfigure Iran's political institutions to reflect the preference for popular rather than divine sovereignty, and to establish democratic accountability in the

---

[126] Ibid., p. 26-27
[127] Kinzer (2003), p. 50
[128] Abrahamian (2008), p. 41

governance of the state. What these accounts miss or minimize, I argue, becomes clearer through the review of the concessions in the late-Qajar era which have been the focus of much of this chapter thus far. The Constitutional Revolution was not only a rejection of the powers of the monarchy, but also a rejection the role of Iran in the international system at that time. As one scholar rightly comments: "The roots of the revolution go back to the nineteenth century – especially to the gradual penetration of the country by the West."[129] It was the critical moment in the Iranian encounter with colonial modernity, the ramifications of which were felt in the Islamic Revolution, and continue to impact Iranian politics to the present day.

Dabashi catches the significance of this international dimension in his comment: "The Constitutional Revolution of 1906-11 was the most significant event in the course of the Iranian encounter with colonial modernity – perforce narrated in nationalist terms and *launched against domestic tyranny and foreign occupation and influence alike*."[130] Iranians were aggrieved with being a target of extraction, division, and aggressive incorporation by the world powers to which the monarchy was either compelled or chose to (or both) repeatedly capitulate. The Constitutional Revolution, then, was a revolt against both the foreign expropriators operating through corporations like the Imperial Tobacco Corporation of Persia, as well as "... those members of the Qajar aristocracy and Shi'a clergy who were the immediate and direct beneficiaries of these investments," and as such had become disconnected and alienated from wider Iranian society.[131] It is important to remember that it was during the course of the Constitutional Revolution that

---

[129] Ibid., p. 35
[130] Dabashi (2007), p. 85, emphasis mine
[131] Ibid., p. 77

oil was discovered in Iran, in 1908.

The following excerpt from a sermon delivered in Tehran in 1907 captures many

of the grievances of Iranians and their overall assessment of the world around them:

> O Iranians! Behold Your neighbors the Russians, who a hundred years ago were
> in much worse condition than we. Behold them now how they possess
> everything. In bygone days we had everything, and now all is gone. In the past,
> others looked on us as a great nation. Now we are reduced to such a condition
> that our neighbors of the north and south already believe us to be their property
> and divide our country between themselves. We have no guns, no army, no secure
> finances, no proper government, no commercial law. All this backwardness is due
> to autocracy and injustice and to want of laws. Also your clergy are at fault, for
> they preach that life is short and worldly honors are only human vanities. These
> sermons lead you away from this world into submission, slavery, and ignorance.
> The monarchs, at the same time, despoil you... And with all this come strangers
> who receive from you all your money, and instead furnish you with green, blue,
> and red cloth, gaudy glassware, and luxury furniture. These are the causes of your
> misery.[132]

The Constitutional Revolution created a written constitution, established Iran's

form of government as a constitutional monarchy, and created the country's first

parliament (*Majles).* The link between the mosque and the bazaar was critical in the

Constitutional Revolution, as it had been in the effectiveness of earlier protests against

Qajar concessions to foreign interests. For both the clergy and merchants, rising foreign

influence and penetration in Iran was threatening because it unsettled their economic and

social positions, and this aggrieved, propertied class would form the core of what became

known as the traditional middle class (*tabaqeh-e motavasateh-e sunnati*).[133] Osanloo's

comments on the significance of these events for the trajectory of Iranian political

development are important to consider. She observes the following: "The implications

for Iranian politics were profound: although the Qajar shah remained in power, for the

---

[132] Abrahamian (2008), p. 34
[133] Ibid., p. 35

first time in its long history, Iran was moving away from absolute monarchy and toward democracy. The political alliance between the *bazaari* and *ulama* brought new societal groups [including the new formation of the traditional middle class] into politics and energized a vibrant movement for a new form of government."[134] Ultimately, the aspirations of the Constitutional Revolution were thwarted by the onset of the First World War and the tightening grip of foreign control, particularly British, which stifled the nascent Iranian parliament. Furthermore, the collapse of the Qajar dynasty and installation of the Reza Shah Pahlavi as Iran's new ruler in 1921 marked a sharp turn back toward authoritarian rule.

Critical Features of the Core-Periphery Relation (extraction, division, and aggressive incorporation)

One scholar has rightly observed that since Westerners began to travel to Iran with greater frequency in the nineteenth century, Iran has been imagined from the outside, and this external image has often dominated understanding.[135] We must ask ourselves, what did the colonial powers of this period imagine when they thought of Iran, and how did their image shape their way of relating to Iran? As we have seen above, one of the key aspects of the core-periphery relation during this period was one of *extraction*. Peripheral states like Iran existed in the colonial imagination as sites to be mined for their value, with little consideration given to the conditions of the population except as not to impede the extractive processes. Scholars have long distinguished between two types of colonization strategies, 'settlement' or 'extractive.' While colonization strategies of course varied, we can usefully think of them as tending toward one of these two conceptual

---

[134] Osanloo (2013), p. 413
[135] Dabashi (2010), p. 148

types. The following description of extractive colonialism is worth noting while considering the Iranian experience: "Since the imperial power's primary interest was to *extract and transfer* wealth back to the home country, colonial administrators paid little attention to safeguarding the rights and private property of the locals. Instead, they ruled via slave or forced labor and impeded the emergence of representative assemblies and checks on government power."[136]

The extractive tendencies which I highlighted in this chapter peaked in the late-19th century as pressure was put on the balance of power within the Concert of Europe itself, as the British, French, and Russian empires all struggled to cope with the rising power of a unified Germany. It is not a coincidence that Germany's rise and concerns over its possibly revisionist tendencies occurred alongside increased efforts to extract value from the colonial periphery. Scholars have noted that the pre-World War I balance of power entered this new, more tumultuous phase in 1890, with Germany's ventures into overseas imperialism challenging the naval supremacy of the British, and in the absence of Bismarck's adept statesmanship which had kept the European balance more or less intact during the 1870s and 1880s. These factors led to a polarization of the system, and pressured the existing core-periphery relations as perceptions of threats between empires increased.[137] The effects of this intensified extractive relationship functioned to perpetuate inequalities in Iranian society, slow the development of Iranian political institutions, and hinder domestic economic development.

A second important aspect of the core-periphery relation is that of *division*. Scholars of colonialism have noted the indispensability of the divide-and-rule approach

---

[136] Samuels (2013), p. 306, emphasis mine
[137] Nye and Welch (2011), p. 79-80

to colonial administration. In the case of Iran, this meant elevating a small elite around the figure of the monarchy, enabling them to effectively silence voices of dissent in society and put down opposition, and work with these colonial managers to enact policies facilitating the extractive processes noted earlier. Buoying this elite group of colonial managers and administrators had the ultimate effect of alienating the society from its rulers and delegitimizing both the rulers and those to whom they were perceived to owe their position of power, in this case the British.

What does an historical analysis of the events described in this chapter tell us about the international system and modes of relation between the dominant and weak which constituted it? As we have seen, a concession as an economic instrument represented in this case a voluntary capitulation on the part of one actor to another. If the Qajar monarchy had been entirely subsumed by European colonial power and administration, then there would be no need to grant a formal concession as such; in fact, in that case, the very idea of a concession would become devoid of any real meaning. Instead, more to the point, as Dabashi notes: "Through these concessions, the nascent Iranian national economy was being *aggressively incorporated* into a colonial configuration within the global economy of the British empire and its rivals."[138]

This brings attention to the third key aspect of the core-periphery relation of this period, that of *aggressive incorporation*. Justifying the concessions as aggressive attempts to modernize the country, the Qajar rulers failed to realize how their modernization calculus would be read by the clerical establishment, merchant class, and much of the population at large as a form of self-imposed colonization at the expense of

---

[138] Dabashi (2008), p. 77, emphasis mine

national prerogatives. As a consequence, the Tobacco protest opened the door for the active politicization of religion as an arena for mass mobilization and protest, the expanding political legitimacy of the clergy (particularly around such charismatic figures as Shirazi), and the increasing identification of the clergy in Iran as both the standard-bearers of national sovereignty and independence from foreign domination. As we will see in later chapters, these themes continued to manifest themselves throughout the next century in Iranian politics. This distancing from the Qajar state and the mental siege of colonial relations that had occupied the Qajar regime allowed the Shi'a clerics to more critically engage with and therefore challenge the received wisdom of the colonial project of modernity as such, and question Iran's incorporation into this paradigm, and imagine a future political trajectory for the country otherwise.

The mode of relation highlighted in this chapter, between the colonizer and the colonized, premised on extraction and aggressive incorporation, persists in many parts of the world today, particularly in the relations between impoverished, Third World states and global economic powers. These relations are now typically couched under the somewhat opaque rubric of 'development.' As concessions in the colonial era often reflected the parsing of the non-European world under the umbrellas of the competing colonial powers of the day, the present-day neocolonial experience of concessions retains aspects of the colonizer-colonized relation while coupling it more explicitly with the imperatives of global capitalism and involving struggles over the legitimacy of post-independence states in the developing world. In *Discourse on Colonialism*, Cesaire describes the relations between colonizer and colonized in the following terms, words that ring true to the Iranian experience:

> Between colonizer and colonized there is room only for forced labor, intimidation, pressure, the police taxation, theft, rape, compulsory crops, contempt, mistrust, arrogance, self-complacency, swinishness, brainless elites, degraded mass. No human contact, but relations of domination and submission which turn the colonizing man into a classroom monitor, an army sergeant, a prison guard, a slave driver, and the indigenous man into an instrument of production.[139]

What does the Iranian experience of the late-19th and early-20th century have to tell us about the consequences of this mode of relation between the dominant and the weak? What kind of politics is this approach likely to engender? Landlessness, marginalization, deprivation, dispossession, uneven development, and exacerbated inequality – these have been the consequences of this mode of relation. Ideologically, these policies create a tremendous deficit in the efficacy and the legitimacy of the state, and incubate a revolutionary politics which aims to destabilize and dismantle the status quo.[140]

Concluding Remarks

The analysis presented in this chapter brought attention to how our understanding of the international system of the late 19th and early 20th century benefits from a re-reading of Iranian history which places core-periphery relation at the center of its analysis. Highlighting recurrent themes of extraction, division, and aggressive incorporation in this history, I outlined how these types of behaviors reflect and reinforce colonial ideologies and modes of thinking which posited the periphery as a backward, undeveloped site in contrast to the modern, developed core. In the next chapter, I turn from the colonial period of Iranian history to the period shaped by the international structure of bipolarity in the aftermath of the Second World War. As the core-periphery

---

[139] Cesaire (1972), p. 42
[140] Mirsepassi (2010), p. 127

relation between the imperial metropole and the colony, premised on extraction, division, and aggressive incorporation, was the primary focus of this chapter, in the next chapter I examine the patron-client relation which was the dominant mode of relation between states of the First World and states of Third World during the Cold War. My analysis focuses on the following three qualities of the patron-client relation in the Iranian context: submission, dependence, and control. The logics of containment and deterrence which were prominent in the minds of policy-makers during this era had profound consequences for how the global superpowers engaged in relations with the developing world. This strategic calculus had profound consequences on the political trajectory of Iran, and I examine this history, with particular focus on the shah's White Revolution policies of the 1960s, and the gradual unsettling of the monarchy and eventual revolution in Iran in the late 1970s.

Chapter 4

Iran as client:

Period 2 (1963-1979)

Introduction

The previous chapter explored Iran's relationship with the outside world during

the late-19th and early-20th century. As outlined, this relation was defined in large part

by the material and ideational structures of colonialism which prevailed during that

period. The systemic changes which occurred in the wake of the collapse of the Concert

of Europe with the onset of World War I led to a drastic reconfiguration of world order.

While scholars may differ in their view of the exact timing of these changes or which

events were more critical than others, the commonly held view is that the onset of World

War I marked the beginning of a systemic shift away from the multipolar system which

had shaped much of global politics during the previous century (1815 – 1914). During

World War I and the interwar period, how this system might remake itself was still

uncertain. However, as the Second World War neared its conclusion, it became apparent

that two states, the United States and the Soviet Union, would emerge as dominant global

powers, thus marking a new bipolar system as the successor to the previous multipolar,

colonial world order. The Second World War witnessed the dramatic weakening of the

European core, with, for example, British rule ending in India in 1947, and in Palestine

one year later. Alongside this decline in power in the European core was the rise of the

United States and Soviet Union, first coined 'superpowers' in 1944.[141] This chapter seeks

to understand how this break from a world order premised on colonialism as an ordering

---

[141] Hurrell (2007), p. 264

principle to one premised on the logic of the Cold War rivalry impacted Iran's international relations and political trajectory. A key purpose of this chapter also is to analyze how the hierarchical relation (patron-client) functions in the production of the international order of bipolarity. Lastly, as in the previous chapter, I examine the key mechanisms underlying the patron-client relation which shaped Iran's experience in international relations during this period, which I argue are the following: *submission, dependence, and control.*

Historical Context - Pahlavi dynasty and Post-war Politics

In 1921, with British support, Reza Khan Pahlavi staged a *coup d'etat* against Sultan Ahmad Shah, the last of the Qajar rulers of Iran. Reza Khan effectively took control of the country at that point, though he was not formally proclaimed Shah of Iran until 1925, thus bringing an official end to Qajar rule of Iran and establishing the Pahlavi dynasty. Reza Shah would hold power until 1941, when Britain and the Soviet Union invaded Iran to ensure functional operation of the Trans-Iranian Railway as a military supply route, supplying both British aid and American Lend-Lease supplies to the Soviet Union, and fearing Reza Shah's flirtations with Germany at that time[142]. The Anglo-Soviet invasion effectively ended the reign of Reza Shah, but the British and Soviets, along with the Americans after they joined the war in December 1941, placed value on maintaining control and order in Iran due to its oil resources, which would be critical to supporting the war effort, and to its function as a land corridor to the Soviet Union. Reza Shah's son, Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, was permitted to take his father's place on the Peacock Throne on September 15th, 1941, and Iran remained occupied by the Allied

---

[142] Dabashi (2007), p.123

powers during the duration of the war. Abrahamian cites one Sir Reader Bullard, a

British minister and future ambassador, whose comment on the occupation and ouster of

Reza Shah was as follows: "The Persians expect that we should at least save them from

the Shah's [referring to Reza Shah] tyranny as compensation for invading their

country."[143]

As a brief aside, it is important to consider the tremendous effect that the forced

abdication of his father must have had on the new shah's understanding of Iran's place in

the scheme of international politics. Milani's point on this matter is here instructive: "As

the young, reluctant new Shah watched all of this and saw how easily British and Russian

power had forced the abdication of his once-omnipotent father, he seemed to have

internalized the idea that big powers, particularly Britain, Russia, and America, could do

anything in Iran, and that in fact nothing would happen in the country without their overt

approval or their covert intrigue."[144] In the shah's mind, these 'big powers' had

demonstrated their capability and willingness to intervene and redirect the course of

governance in Iran, and therefore could do so again if they chose. Furthermore, in the

early years of his rule the shah's position was a highly precarious, dependent one, with

one scholar describing his position in the early 1940s as "... a weakly installed head of

state barely capable of claiming any authority and held in power chiefly by the collective

will of the Allied forces and a series of old and wise politicians."[145] The shah later used

the example of the fate which befell his father to justify vast military expenditures during

the 1960s and 1970s, though despite this military build-up, a tremendous sense of

---

[143] Abrahamian (2008), p. 97
[144] Milani (2011), p. 87
[145] Dabashi (2006), p. 412

insecurity vis-a-vis the 'big powers' would persist throughout the shah's reign. This internalization of vulnerability, of being a small, weak, or underdeveloped state in relation to the great powers which had orchestrated the abdication of his own father is an interesting psychological explanation for the shah's willingness to take up the position as an obedient client of the United States.

The Allied occupation of Iran came to an end in 1946, and from this time until 1953 the domestic balance of power began to swing away from the monarchy and toward the Iranian parliament and its Prime Minister Mohammed Mossadeq. In fact, Dabashi observes that, "Between 1941 and 1953, the young shah's reign was on very shaky foundations (in 1949 he was almost killed in an assassination attempt), but he had the full support of the Allies, the United States in particular."[146] One key example of the growing strength of the Parliament vis-a-vis the monarchy during that time is noted in the following: "In 1951 Mossadeq had led the nationalization of Iranian oil and was involved in moving funding from the military and the shah toward the country's Health Ministry and the poor."[147]

The 1940s also witnessed the growth and development of a socialist (*eshteraki*) movement in Iran, beginning merely a month after the abdication of Reza Shah, Iranian socialists and revolutionaries formed the Tudeh party *(Hezb-e Tudeh*, Party of the Masses)[148]. The founding members of the Tudeh aimed to create, "... a broad-based organization that would appeal to socialistic, patriotic, democratic, and even constitutionalist sentiments."[149] As published in the party's main newspaper, *Rahbar*

---

[146] Dabashi (2007), p. 123
[147] Van Inwegen (2011), p. 222
[148] Dabashi (2006), p. 412
[149] Abrahamian (2008), p. 108

(Leader), in early September 1944, the party's first official program stated the following:

> Our primary aim is to mobilize the workers, peasants, progressive intellectuals, traders, and craftsmen of Iran. Our society has two major classes: those who own the main means of production; and those who have no significant amounts of property. The latter include workers, peasants, progressive intellectuals, craftsmen and traders. They work but do not receive the fruits of their labor. They are also oppressed by the oligarchy. They have little to lose but much to gain if the whole social structure were radically transformed and the main means of production were owned by the people... When we say that our aim is to fight despotism and dictatorship we are not referring to specific personalities but to class structures that produce despots and dictators. In August 1941 many thought that Reza Shah's abdication had ended overnight the dictatorial system. We now know better; for we can see with our own eyes that the class structure that produced Reza Shah remains. What is worse, this class structure continues to create petty Reza Shahs – oligarchs in the form of feudal landlords and exploiting capitalists, who, through their ownership of the means of production, continue to control the state.[150]

Tudeh's appeals were highly successful, and by the mid-1940s they were regarded as the only real functioning political party in Iranian politics, drawing support from an astonishing 75 percent of the industrial labor force, urban wage earners, and the salaried middle class, and achieving concessions on working conditions from corporations as well as pressuring the government into passing the first comprehensive labor law in the Middle East.[151] However, by 1945-46, the Tudeh party began to suffer setbacks which internally divided its membership between leftists and nationalists. For example, nationalists in the Tudeh were angered when the Soviet Union demanded an oil concession in Khuzestan province in northern Iran. More importantly, Kurdish and

---

[150] Ibid., p. 108

[151] Ibid., p. 109-110, The author provides the following details, which are worth noting here, "By 1945, the British reported that the Tudeh-led Cenral Council of Federated Trade Unions had thirty-three affiliates with more than 275,000 members... Its membership included 45,000 oil workers, 45,000 construction laborers, 40,000 textile workers, 20,000 railwaymen, 20,000 carpet weavers, 11,000 dockers, 8,000 miners, and 6,000 truck drivers." On the comprehensive labor law mentioned in this passage, the concessions included: "... the eight-hour day; Friday pay; six day's annual holidays, including May day; worker's insurance and unemployment pay; minimum wages based on local food prices; outlawing of child labor; and the right of workers to organize independent unions."

Azerbaijan separatist movements during this period also challenged the party, and called into question their commitment to Iran's territorial integrity, especially given the Soviet Union's support for these national autonomy movements. It was then relatively easy for the Shah's government to accuse the Tudeh party of aiding and abetting the 'secessionist' movements, and through the use of martial law was able to close many Tudeh party offices and arrest party officials. Abrahamian paints a clear picture of the situation by the late 1940s and the demise of the Tudeh in mainstream Iranian politics in the following: "Even more drastic, the shah in February 1949 took advantage of a failed attempt on his life by a lone assassin to declare nationwide martial law, outlaw Tudeh, close down its newspapers, round up as many leaders as possible, and sentence to death in absentia those who managed to escape."[152]

It was into this political vacuum that the nationalist movement emerged after the demise of Tudeh. This coincided with international developments at the time, as observed by Milani, commenting on the state of Iran's politics in 1950: "The wave of nationalism that swept the countries of the Third World in the aftermath of World War II helped Iranian nationalists."[153] The clearest expression of this came through Mohammad Mossadeq's National Front party (*Jebhe Melli*), which took aim against both the intervention of outside powers in Iran, particularly the British, as well as the overreach of the monarchy in the political life of the country. Along with domestic policies emphasizing national independence and development, National Front leaders favored the foreign policy approach of non-alignment in the Cold War conflict. This made them unpopular among the US State Department, and canceled any notions that the party could

---

[152] Abrahamian (2008), p. 112
[153] Milani (2011), p. 141

be involved in a new power-sharing arrangement between the Iranian parliament and monarchy.[154]

Mossadeq's popularity resulted both from his domestic political orientation as a strict constitutionalist seeking to limit the arbitrary powers of the monarchy and enhance the powers of Iran's parliament. Mirroring his anti-Shah domestic policies, Mossadeq was strongly against foreign, and especially British, influence in Iran. Following in the theoretical tradition of leftist and 'Third Way' intellectuals such as Jalal Ale-Ahmad and such as Khalel Maleki, Mossadeq's National Front imagined Iran as a non-aligned, neither capitalist nor communist, power in the Middle East. Given the mass appeal of the National Front in the early 1950s, the movement was able to organize several direct actions against both the regime and foreign interests in Iran. The key moment came in April 1951, when the now underground remnants of the Tudeh party led a general strike in the oil industry, which gave Mossadeq the leverage he needed to push an oil nationalization bill through Iran's parliament. The passage of the oil nationalization bill led to the creation of the National Iranian Oil Company (NIOC) in 1952, and by the summer of 1952 Mossadeq and the National Front-led parliament were in a stand-off with both the British as well as the Shah.

The major pendulum swing back toward the monarchy and authoritarian rule came in 1953, and the events in question are summarized by one scholar as such: "In response to a constitutional crisis in 1953, Mossadeq dissolved the parliament, and the shah dismissed Mossadeq. When Mossadeq supporters took to the streets, the shah fled the country. His [the shah's] military supporters were able to regain control, and the shah

---

[154] Milani (2011), p. 264

returned to create a much more repressive regime centered on his personal rule."[155]

Commenting on the meanings of the 1953 coup, Abrahamian provides important context

for understanding this event in the following: "The 1953 coup has often been depicted as

a CIA venture to save Iran from international communism. In fact, it was a joint British-

American venture to preserve the international oil cartel. Throughout the crisis, the

central issue was who would control the production, distribution, and sale of oil.

Although the word 'control' was scrupulously avoided in public pronouncements, it was

very much the operative term in confidential reports issued in both London and

Washington."[156] In the opinion of others, the deposition of Mossadeq was a clear

example of the Cold War logic of containment, re-instituting the rule of the pro-Western

shah, and eliminating the anti-Western prime minister, and an illustration of the

intensification of the Cold War which was happening throughout the world in the 1950s

and early 1960s.[157] What is particularly noteworthy here is to observe how action of a

military coup against Mossadeq's government was first conceived and legitimated

through the ideas and discursive structure with which the British, the Americans, and the

Shah's regime came to understand Mossadeq. Some of the words which the British

publicly used to describe Mossadeq bear a striking similarity to the language used to

describe post-revolutionary Iranian leaders, they are as follows:

> Fanatical, crazy, erratic, eccentric, slippery, unbalanced, demagogic, absurd,
> childish, tiresome and single-minded, inflammatory, volatile and unstable,
> sentimentally mystical, wild, wily Oriental, unwilling to face fact, dictatorial,
> xenophobic, Robespierre-like, Frankenstein-like, unprepared to listen to reason
> and common sense, and swayed by martyrdom complex.[158]

---

[155] Van Inwegen (2011), p. 222
[156] Abrahamian (2008), p. 118
[157] Jentleson (2004), p. 121-122
[158] Abrahamian (2008), p. 120

The actual events of the coup itself, the collaboration of the CIA and MI6 with royalist religious and military leaders and street gangs from the bazaars and *zurkhanehs* (houses of strength), only became conceivable after the discursive demonization of Mossadeq and the articulation of the 'threat' he and his movement represented to the security and future of the Free World.[159] It's worth noting that in this formulation, Iran, and presumably other oil-producing states, are not conceived of as a part of the 'Free World' which depends on their resources. These states instead represent a passive, docile site of extraction which must be controlled. A further danger of Iranian control over its oil from the perspective of the British, Americans, and other oil-importing states at this time was the concern that Iran might decide to reduce its level of production to a much lower amount. In illustrating this concern, Abrahamian cites a British confidential memo outlining this concern, part of which reads as follows:

> … It is false to assume an identity of interests between the Western world and Persia over how much oil should be produced and to whom it would be sold and on what terms. The Persians could get all the oil and foreign exchange they need from much reduced operations.[160]

This concern that if Iran fully controlled the decisions pertaining to the production and distribution of its oil that it might set production levels lower than demanded by industrial, oil-importing states like Great Britain and the United States demonstrates the logic of dependence which would come to define Iran's patron-client relationship with the United States from 1954-1979. Iran's economic policies in the period were designed to satisfy the needs of its First World patrons, and only after these needs were met, to

---

[159] The notion that Iranian control over Iranian oil posed a threat to the future of the Free World is cited in Abrahamian (2008), p. 120, from one Drew Pearson, who Abrahamian refers to as 'the venerable dean of American journalism.'
[160] Abrahamian (2010), p. 119

ensure the stability and security of the Shah's regime. The policies best suited to meet the needs of the Iranian people were largely absent from consideration.

For a generation of Iranians who were politicized during this period, the coup of 1953 was a definitive moment in shaping the lens through which they viewed international relations. Dabashi describes it as "... the most haunting national trauma of their modern history – foreign intervention followed by domestic tyranny."[161] The political paradigm of 28th Mordadism, referring to the date of the coup in the Persian calendar month of Mordad, continues to impact Iranian politics and influence how many Iranians, particularly those who lived through the events, view the threat of foreign interference in Iran's domestic politics. The 1953 coup has rightly warranted a great deal of attention from academics and popular commentators on modern Iranian politics, and Van Inwegen's omission of the CIA's role in the coup in his summary remarks is a noteworthy exclusion; however, for the purposes of this study, the main analytical focus of this time period is not 1953, but rather 1963, the year which marked the initiation of the Shah's wide-reaching program of modernization which he called the White Revolution. The legacies of the 1953 coup are manifold in Iranian politics, and their effects were acutely felt in the decade that followed. The coup delegitimized the monarchy and it "... identified the shah with the British, the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, and the imperial powers."[162] Most crucially, this event tarnished America's reputation, and "... Iranians began to see the main imperial enemy as no longer just Britain but Britain in cahoots with America."[163]

---

[161] Dabashi (2010), p. 92
[162] Abrahamian (2008), p. 122
[163] Ibid., p. 122

Lastly, as we have seen, both the socialist (*Tudeh*) and nationalist (National Front) movements were left in shambles, while the grievances which mobilized supporters around these movements persisted. One particular grievance was the demand for Iran's oil industry to be put under the effective control of the NIOC. The nationalization of Iran's oil was effectively undone by the 1954 Consortium Oil Agreement, under which the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company (which would change its name to British Petroleum in December 1954) took a 40% share in Iran's oil industry, followed by a 14% share for Royal Dutch Shell, 8% shares each for five American oil companies (Standard Oil, Standard Oil of New York, Standard Oil of California, Texaco, and Gulf Oil), and a 6% share for the French *Compagnie Francaise des Petroles* (CFP).[164] While the NIOC exercised ownership and control over Iran's oil and infrastructure *on paper*, effective control resided with the foreign consortium's holding company, Iranian Oil Participants Ltd. (IOP), which was incorporated and headquartered in England. The IOP was the parent company of two operating companies, the Iranian Oil Exploration and Producing Company and the Iranian Oil Refining Company, which as their names suggest, retained *effective control* over the operation and management of Iran's oil refineries and the general operation of the oil industry from extraction to sale, excluding Iranians from positions of management and decision-making. The norm of 50/50 profit sharing between the host government and the consortium was established in the Consortium Agreement, and after passing both houses of Iranian parliament in the fall of 1954, the agreement was signed into law by the Shah on October 29, 1954.

---

[164] Encyclopaedia Iranica, online, "Oil Agreements in Iran: 1901-1978," http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/oil-agreements-in-iran

The political crackdown on nationalists and leftists, and the failure to address the grievances which had inspired popular support for these movements created a political vacuum which would enable the emergence of a different political ideology in Iranian politics, that of political Islam. Summarizing this point, Abrahamian rightly concludes by arguing, "In an age of republicanism, nationalism, neutralism, and socialism, the Pahlavi monarchy had become inseparably and fatally identified with imperialism, corporate capitalism, and close *alignment* with the West. One can argue that the real roots of the 1979 revolution go back to 1953."[165] Here we see an aspect of the patron-client relation, that of *alignment.* The Shah's client state suffered a crisis of legitimacy because of its perception precisely as a client, servant state, following the dictates of Washington at the expense of the national interests of Iran. One of the aspects which made the 1979 revolution such a jarring and significant event in world politics was precisely this rejection of alignment and Iran's dependence on the United States, and in this we see a rejection of the patron-client relation which had shaped Iran's behavior and position in international relations since the end of the Second World War.

In the next section I examine how this new patron-client relation between the Iranian monarchy and the United States impacted Iran's politics in the 1960s and 1970s. I argue that the period from which we stand to gain clear understanding of the dynamics of the patron-client relation which defined Iran's position in the global political landscape of this time comes from 1963 to the Islamic Revolution itself in 1979. In what follows in this chapter I focus primarily on this 15 year window.

Politics of Bipolar Competition

---

[165] Abrahamian (2008), p. 122, emphasis mine

Dabashi helps contextualize Mohammad Reza Shah's time in power with the changes occurring in the international system in the following: "The reign of Mohammad Reza Shah, the second and last Pahlavi monarch, was coterminous with the rise of the United States as a global superpower, its worldwide competition with the Soviet Union, its imperial extensions as far as Vietnam, and its systematic formation of satellite states such as Iran, Israel, Saudi Arabia, and Pakistan as major military bases and regional allies against the Soviets."[166] It is important to appreciate the consequences of this systemic shift brought on by the new bipolar order, and how it impacted the Third World. Hurrell usefully observes that "... the Cold War 'order' and the long peace of 1945-89 were constructed in very traditional fashion around attempts to regulate the balance of power between the superpowers (through arms control agreements, summits, and mechanisms of crisis management) and through the *exploitation of hierarchy* (through the mutual, if tacit, recognition of spheres of influence and through the creation of an oligarchical non-proliferation system designed to limit access to the nuclear club).[167] The inequality which marked the relations between the European core and the periphery in the colonial era would persist, but function differently under a bipolar system, with the array of balancing strategies being increasingly reduced to deterrence and containment. Instead, Iran's identity in relation to the United States would take the form of a client or vassal state, with one scholar accurately noting that by 1950, "The Cold War was in full force, and the Shah tried to position himself as the last bastion against the Communist threat in Iran."[168] This meant that if the United States wanted to prevent the spread of communism

---

[166] Dabashi (2007), p. 122
[167] Hurrell (2007), p. 35
[168] Milani (2011), p. 142

in West Asia, it would be necessary to intervene in Iranian politics by aiding the shah against both external and internal threats to his regime.

For the Soviet Union, Iran, located on its southern border, had an added territorial immediacy in its strategic calculations that the United States did not. Kinzer comments on the competition between the US and Soviet Union for influence in Iran, noting that when the Kennedy administration was a less eager patron of the regime, "... his reticence led the shah to begin flirting ostentatiously with the Soviets; Leonid Brezhnev was in Tehran on the day Kennedy was assassinated in 1963."[169] These periodic flirtations notwithstanding, Iran was increasingly perceived as of vital interest to the United States. Kinzer summarizes the situation of the early 1970s in the following: "The United States relied heavily on Iran. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger considered the shah 'that rarest of leaders, an *unconditional ally.'* He and other American leaders saw the shah as a bulwark against both the Soviet Union and the rising tide of Arab nationalism – a 'regional policeman' always available to do Washington's bidding."[170] What Kissinger describes as a relationship of unconditional allegiance seems more accurately termed what it actually was, a relationship between a powerful patron and an accommodating, vulnerable client. The reality is captured more clearly by Kinzer's characterization of Iran as 'always available to do Washington's bidding' than by the pretense of equality denoted by the term ally.

I argue, simply, that international systems are simultaneously anarchical and hierarchical, and that as a consequence the structural position of states within the system affects not only what that state can do, but how others relate to it. However, this is not to

---

[169] Kinzer (2010), p. 105
[170] Ibid., p. 108, emphasis mine

say that state behavior is determined by structural position. My claim is that structural position is reconstituted and reinforced through interactions among states, and that these interactions themselves begin with an understanding of power dynamics and appropriate forms of action derived in part from recognition of where one another are positioned with the existing international structure. For example, when strong states interact with weak states, to the extent that the strong state recognizes and believes it is a strong state interacting with a weak state, and to the extent that a weak state recognizes and believes it is a weak state interacting with a strong state, then certain patterns or modes of relation shape how these states interact, and this can give us some information about the nature of the international system within which these states are functioning and their interactions take place. In the context of the Cold War and the bipolar international system which defined it, the preponderance of research has looked at US-Soviet relations, and pivoted around themes of deterrence, containment, arms races, and mutually assured destruction. My intention here is to look instead within the United States' sphere of influence to try to better understand how the US related to Iran. As we've seen, Iran had tremendous strategic importance for the United States in the context of its rivalry with the Soviet Union. What does the US-Iran relation in the 1960s and 1970s tell us about the types of ties fostered in a patron-client relationship of this kind, and what were the consequences of this relationship? By looking in further detail at this episode in Iranian history and US-Iran relations, I hope to begin to answer these questions.

White Revolution (and Black Reaction) (1963)

Emerging from the failed assassination attempt of 1949, and the constitutional crisis and eventual ouster of Prime Minister Mossadeq in 1953, by the early 1960s the

monarchy was preparing to reassert its control over Iranian society and bolster its claim as an indispensable ally of the United States in the region. The vehicle for this came in the series of modernization and development initiatives launched under the moniker of the White Revolution of 1963. These reforms addressed several aspects of Iran's economic and social development, focusing on land reforms, strengthening industry, modernizing the country's economic infrastructure, and providing education and health care programs for the working class and urban and rural poor. Additionally, 1963 witnessed the enfranchisement of women as a part of the reforms. The Land Reform Law of 1962 saw the redistribution of vast tracts of land from the small landholding minority, including religious endowments[171], to small-scale cooperatives and cultivators, eventually redistributing land to approximately 2.5 million families.[172]

One of the unintended consequences of the reforms from the point of view of the regime is noted in the following: "Ironically, the reforms of the White Revolution increased the number of people who had historically opposed the monarchy: working classes and intellectuals."[173] Because the regime was unable to create an adequate support system for these new small-scale farms, they had a high failure rate, and many recipients of land deserted their farms and migrated to cities in search of work. This created a tenuous environment in many of the country's urban centers, with one text noting that "The extended family... deteriorated as increasing numbers of young Iranians crowded into the country's largest cities, far from home and in search of work, only to be met by high prices, isolation, and poor living conditions."[174] Furthermore, among those

---

[171]*Vaqfs* in Persian; or *waqfs* in Arabic
[172]*Iran: The Essential Guide to a Country on the Brink* (2006), p. 211
[173] Osanloo (2013), p. 415
[174] *Iran*: *The Essential...* (2006), p. 212

most negatively impacted by the land reforms were the *ulama*, many of whom had

controlled large tracts of land which were seized by the state. Aggrieved by intervention,

and opposed to some of the social reforms championed by the Shah, religious leaders

began speaking out against the monarchy. Osanloo synthesizes these developments in the

following: "Thus, the rural peasantry and urban poor who often looked for guidance to

the *ulama* felt increasingly uneasy about the seemingly un-Islamic programs the shah was

implementing."[175]

What did the *ulama* have to say about these reforms? How were they understood

and framed by those who opposed them at the time? Here it is instructive to turn to

Khomeini's own writings on the meaning and effects of the shah's efforts to modernize

the country, as understanding the revolutionary discourse advanced by Khomeini during

this period is, in the words of one scholar, "... to reach for the most vital nerves of the

Islamic Revolution in Iran."[176]

In the declaration "In Commemoration of the Martyrs at Qum," delivered April 3,

1963, and the speech "The Afternoon of 'Ashura," delivered June 3, 1963, a recurrent

theme is Khomeini's interpretation of the Shah's modernization policies as overt

expressions of the regime's fundamental opposition to Islam and the existence of

religious institutions in Iran.[177] The Shah's White Revolution was so closely identified

with modernity and modernization as a singularly Western notion that Khomeini framed

it as a secular attack on Islam. Khomeini goes so far as to reproach the Shah,

sarcastically asking "Are the religious scholars really some form of impure animal?"[178]

---

[175] Osanloo (2013), p. 415
[176] Dabashi (2006), p. 413
[177] Algar (1981), p. 174-180
[178] Ibid., p. 179

Further criticizing the Shah and commenting on an inversion of the 'White' Revolution slogan likening the clergy to 'black reactionaries' of feudalism, imperialism, and communism in contrast to the Shah's 'white modernity,' Khomeini continues to chide the Shah, exclaiming, "The religious scholars and Islam are Black Reaction! And you have carried out your White Revolution in the midst of all this Black Reaction! What do you mean, a White Revolution? Why do you try to deceive the people so? Why do you threaten the people so?"[179]

Another issue which sparked unrest in Iran related to the 'status of forces' agreement the United States had with Iran as a consequence of its maintaining military bases in the country. Osanloo describes some of the grievances which garnered attention in the early revolutionary period: "Among Khomeini's criticisms were of the shah's brutal crackdowns on student protests and the Status of Forces Agreements, a set of treaties between the United States and Iran that granted diplomatic immunity to Americans living in Iran. These laws, which were not reciprocated by the United States, guaranteed that U.S. Military personnel and their dependents who committed crimes in Iran would be sent home for processing by military courts instead of standing trial in Iran."[180] This new agreement granting immunity to American soldiers and their dependents was imposed in 1964, and was seen by many Iranians, including Khomeini, as "... another lash from the imperial whip that had been flogging Iran for generations."[181] And in perhaps one of his most vociferous condemnations of the Shah, the speech which would be the immediate

---

[179] Ibid., p. 179, As Algar notes in his footnote 26, p. 309, the initial phrase 'Black Reaction' came from a speech that the Shah himself delivered in Qum on January 23, 1963. Here, Khomeini is using the Shah's words against him to illustrate the regime's alienation from the *ulama*, and hence from the values of Islam.

[180] Osanloo (2013), p. 416

[181] Kinzer (2010), p. 106

cause of his exile one week after it was delivered, Khomeini lambasted the status of

forces agreements, as seen in the following excerpt from the speech delivered on October

27, 1964, from his residence in Qum:

> If some American's servant, some American's cook, assassinates your *marja'* [highest religious authority] in the middle of the bazaar, or runs over him, the Iranian police do not have the right to apprehend him! Iranian courts do not have the right to judge him! The dossier must be sent to America, so that our masters there can decide what is to be done! … They have reduced the Iranian people to a level lower than that of an American dog. If someone runs over a dog belonging to an American, he will be prosecuted. Even if the Shah himself were to run over a dog belonging to an American, he would be prosecuted. But if an American cook runs over the Shah, the head of state, no one will have the right to interfere with him... By God, whoever does not cry out in protest is a sinner! By God, whoever does not express his outrage commits a major sin![182]

Islamic Revolution (1979)

> In short, these idiotic and treacherous rulers, these officials – high and low – these reprobates and smugglers must change in order for the country to change. Otherwise, you will experience worse times than these, times so bad that the present will seem like paradise by comparison.[183]

The above quotation is drawn from *Kashf al-Asrar* ('The Unveiling of Secrets'),

published in 1944 after Reza Shah's abdication from power, and written by Ayatollah

Khomeini. *Kashf al-Asrar* was a three-pronged attack against the rising tide of socialism,

owing to its anticlerical orientation, the Pahlavi monarchy, and, increasingly, 'the West'

and the import of Western ideas into Iranian political culture.[184] The book was his first

public statement on Iranian politics, and his assessment of the need drastic political

change as early as 1944 provides an apt introduction to this section on the Islamic

Revolution which followed nearly four decades after its writing.

---

[182] Algar (1981), p. 181-185
[183] Ibid., p. 173
[184] Dabashi (2006), p. 412

Any attempt to understand the impetus behind the 1979 Islamic Revolution in Iran must give consideration to what the movement was attempting to overthrow. This was not a revolution which ignited from a single spark. In support of this, Kinzer cites historian Ervand Abrahamian's description of the revolution, when he argued, "The revolution erupted not because of this or that last-minute political mistake... It erupted like a volcano because of the overwhelming pressures that had built up over decades deep in the bowels of Iranian society."[185] The authoritarian monarchy of Mohammad Reza Pahlavi was scathingly criticized from both the political left and right, religious and secular, democratic and socialist voices in Iranian society, derided for its violent treatment of political opposition, and criticized for what was perceived as an overtly pro-West, pro-US foreign policy. Fakhreddin Azimi highlights this frustration in the following passage: "The systematic subversion of constitutionalism had provoked a crisis of *legitimacy*, rendering the Pahlavi state intrinsically vulnerable. Its intolerance of opponents and even of nonservile would-be supporters had antagonized many."[186] The decision of the Shah in 1975 to abandon the existing two-party political system, flawed though it was,[187] in favor of single-party rule (in the form of the Resurgence Party – *Hezb-e Rastakhiz* - and its affiliated organizations) was characteristic of the regime's attempts to further tighten its control over Iranian society[188]. This act was crucial in exacerbating frustration with the regime, particularly by antagonizing formerly apolitical Iranians, most notably the influential merchant class (*bazaaris*).

---

[185] Kinzer (2010), p. 113
[186] Azimi (2008), p. 437, emphasis mine
[187] The two official political parties, New Iran (*Iran Novin*) and the official pseudo-opposition People's party (*Mardom*) were popularly described as the 'yes' and the 'yes, sir' parties. Abrahamian (2008), p. 130
[188] Cleveland (2004), p. 424; Milani (2005), p. 31-32.

By the mid-1970s, Iran's class structure reflected the exacerbating state-society tensions which defined the period. The Iranian upper class was composed of the Shah's extended family, favored military officers, and a small contingent of well-connected businessmen and civil servants, in total constituting less than 0.1% of the population. The middle class was divided between the traditional middle class, mostly composed of landholding clerics, bazaaris, commercial farmers, and small business owners, and the new, modern middle class, composed of urban salaried workers, professionals, college students, and members of the intelligentsia (*rowshanfekran*). Altogether, the middle class constituted about 25% of the Iranian populace, divided roughly evenly.[189] The remaining three-fourths of Iranian society were members of the working class. Approximately 1 in 3 Iranians were part of the urban working class, consisting of industrial workers, workshop workers, peddlers, and the urban unemployed, while about 45% of the population, the largest single group, was part of the rural working class. Despite the White Revolution's efforts at land reform, rural poverty was the everyday reality for many Iranians, with the rural working class being composed of a small group of landed peasants, and much larger groups of near landless and landless peasants, as well as the rural unemployed. Paradoxically, the industrialization and social reforms which were part of the White Revolution functioned to more than quadruple the size of the two classes that had historically opposed the monarchy (the intelligentsia and the urban working class), while the unevenness of the top-down development of the White Revolution exacerbated both the urban-rural divide as well as the rich-poor divide.

Although the coalition of interests opposing the monarchy was indeed diverse, it

---

[189] Abrahamian (2008) estimates the modern (salaried) middle class at 10% of the total population, and the traditional (propertied) middle class at 13%

was the leadership of Ayatollah Khomeini and the organizational superiority of his

Islamic Republic Party (IRP), formed in early 1979, which proved most capable of

consolidating power after the Shah's ouster and guiding the political development of the

state[190]. By no means, however, was this a foregone conclusion in the revolutionary

years of the late-1970s. One of the strongest opposition voices other than Khomeini

came from Ali Shariati. Shariati advanced a form of Islamic Socialism which

emphasized Shi'ism as a form of liberation theology, emphasizing revolution against all

forms of oppression. As a student, Shariati was influenced by a biography of one of the

less well-known companions of the Prophet Mohmmad, *Abu Zarr: Khodaparast-e*

Sosiyalist (Abu Zarr: The God Worshipping Socialist), which he translated from

Arabic.[191] Shariati's impact on the political lexicon of modern Persian is wide-reaching,

some of the examples of this are included in the following excerpt:

> Shariati injected radical meanings into stock scriptural terms. He transformed
> *ummat* (community) into dynamic society in permanent revolution; *towhid*
> (monotheism) into social solidarity; *imamat* (rule of the imam) into charismatic
> leadership; *jehad* (crusade) into liberation struggle; *mojahed* (crusader) into
> revolutionary fighter; *shahed* (martyr) into revolutionary hero; *momen* (pious) into
> genuine fighter; *kafer* (unbeliever) into passive observer; *sherk* (idol worship) into
> political submission; *entezar* (scriptural commentary) into the skill of extracting
> radical meaning from sacred texts; and, perhaps most significant of all,
> *mostazafen* (the meek) into the oppressed masses – as in the wretched of the
> earth.[192]

In his radical reinterpretation of religious language, Shariati denounced the

passive clergy as collaborators with the regime and the dominant class interests.

Classifying the conservative clergy as representative of 'Black Shi'ism,' Shariati called

---

[190] Cleveland (2004) p. 432
[191] Abrahamian (2008), p. 143
[192] Ibid., p. 144-145

for a new, 'Red Shi'ism' oriented more toward political action and social justice than

esoteric exegesis on Islamic law. In his last work, *Jehatger-ye Tabaqat-e* (Islam's Class

Bias), Shariati clearly outlined the alliance of interests between the clerical establishment

and petty bourgeoisie. Given that he viewed the *ulama* as corrupt and complicit in the

regime's structures of control and domination, Shariati argued that the intelligentsia

would be the class that must unsettle the alliance of the *ulama* and propertied classes.

While Shariati gained support from the intelligentsia and some in the urban middle class,

Khomeini was more successful in mobilizing the traditional middle class, including those

in the clerical institutions, as well as the working classes in both urban and rural areas.

Ayatollah Khomeini had been one of the most outspoken critics of the Shah's

White Revolution modernization policies, publicly denouncing them in June 1963.

From Khomeini's point of view, these policies were not only against the interests of the

Iranian people, but also anti-Islamic, and he began to speak out against them, as they

represented the twin offenses of Western, secular modernization and close alliance

(though understood less as an alliance and more as a relation of dominance and

submission) with the United States. Khomeini emerged from the crisis surrounding the

White Revolution in 1963-64 as a leading voice of opposition to this path taken by the

shah.[193] Given the long history of foreign intervention in Iran's domestic affairs, and the

awareness of this in the popular consciousness of the 1970s. This narrative of Iran as

powerless against the whims of 'big states,' an idea which we saw earlier left its

imprimatur on the psychology of the shah himself, in the words of one scholar, "... had

made Iranians particularly responsive to calls of revolt against indications of external

---

[193] Takeyh (2009), p. 14

domination. Throughout his revolutionary career, Khomeini was always a defiant cry of revolt against foreigners. The term 'foreigners' (*ajaneb*) became an outright label of damnation for the revolutionary master."[194] Osanloo further describes the signficance of Khomeini's political speeches and declarations in the 1960s in the following: "His speeches marked a shift in the orientation of the bookish religious scholar toward more political pursuits. His outspokenness resulted first in his arrest, and later, in April 1964, in exile in Najaf... Khomeini's exile sparked days of anti-shah rioting in the city of Qom."[195]

The historical progression in the mid to late 1970s protests, brutal suppressions, further protests, and further suppressions paired with meager efforts at reform accelerated, culminating in the events of 1979. One of the first key events in the run-up to the revolution came in 1976 when Abol-Hassan Bani-Sadr, who would later become Iran's first president under the Islamic Republic, published an article in an exiled newspaper entitled "Fifty Years of Treason."[196] Bani-Sadr lambasted the Pahlavi dynasty and listed fifty separate counts of treason against the regime to correspond to its fifty years in power (1925-1975). These indictments included capitulating to foreign powers, repressing domestic opposition, the 1953 coup against Mossadeq, and spreading 'cultural imperialism,' among others. The effect of this article and the popular opinion it aroused against the Shah from within Iran, alongside pressure from outside of Iran from President Carter and human rights organizations like Amnesty International and the International Commission of Jurists, in the fall of 1977 the Shah granted some concessions in terms of

---

[194] Dabashi (2006), p. 420
[195] Osanloo (2013), p. 416
[196] "Fifty Years of Treason," *Khabarnameh* (Newsletter), Number 46, April 1976; Cited in Abrahamian (2008), p. 156

loosening the restrictions on political expression and trying to introduce more formal aspects of the rule of law into Iran's criminal justice system. Rather than improving state-society relations, this small crack in the façade of the regime acted as a political opportunity for the opposition, which had been largely stifled since the coup against Mossadeq in 1953. In October 1977, a poetry reading in Tehran among dissidents spilled into the streets and resulted in clashes between protesters and police. This was followed on December 7, 1977, Iran's unofficial student day, by more public demonstrations, clashes with police, and arrests; however, because the Shah was concerned with Iran's international image as a bastion of human rights in the region, these arrested protesters were given relatively light sentences, and this encouraged further protests.[197]

In January 1978, *Ettela'at*, a government-controlled newspaper, published a controversial editorial which criticized the *ulama*, and specifically named Ayatollah Khomeini as a 'black reactionary' and went on to impugn his character by alleging that he was an agent of foreign powers and that he "… had led a licentious life in his youth, indulging in wine and mystical poetry, and that he was not really an Iranian…"[198] The *Ettela'at* article sparked protests among seminary students in the city of Qom, which, depending on regime versus opposition casualty estimates, left between two and seventy killed, and hundreds wounded. The crackdown on the seminary students in Qom initiated a cycle of 40-day protests that resulted in violent clashes in Tabriz on February 1978, protests in Yazd and Isfahan in March, and by May (the 3rd iteration of the 40-day cycle) protests spread across twenty-four towns, meaning that the opposition movement had taken on a truly national scope. These series of protests left between 22 and 250 dead.

---

[197] Abrahamian (2008), p. 156-158
[198] Ibid., p. 158

Adding to this already volatile situation, on August 19, 1978, on the 25th anniversary of

the 1953 coup against Mossadeq, a fire at the Cinema Rex in the city of Abadan left more

than 400 civilians dead. Though the exact cause of the fire remain unknown, Abrahamian

observes that "The public automatically blamed the local police chief, who, in his

previous assignment, had ordered the January shooting in Qom."[199] By September the

domestic turmoil had become unmanageable, and on Friday, September 8, the Shah

declared martial law, banning all street meetings and demonstrations, ordering the arrest

of opposition figures, and increasing the military presence on the streets of major cities,

particularly Tehran. Clashes between protesters and the military in Tehran, particularly

around Jaleh Square, and the indiscriminate firing of the military into the assembled

crowds resulted in the deaths of 84. September 8, 1978, came to be known as Black

Friday, and the scale of the violence is hinted at in the estimate of Michel Foucault, who

was in Iran at the time covering the events of the revolution for an Italian newspaper, that

4,000 protesters had been shot.

The Qom protests, Cinema Rex fire, and especially the events of Black Friday

represented the steady undoing of the Shah's regime over the course of 1978. By the fall

and into the winter of that year, strikes, demonstrations, and other mass mobilizations of

discontent spread across the country. On the day of Ashoura, December 11, 1978, a

crowd of more than 2 million assembled in Shahyad Square in Tehran to call for, among

other demands, the ouster of the Shah and the expulsion of imperial powers from Iran.[200]

On January 16, 1979, the Shah left Iran for the last time, and two weeks later, on

February 1, 1979, Ayatollah Khomeini returned from exile in France and was met by a

---

[199] Ibid., p. 159
[200] Ibid., p. 161

crowd in excess of 3 million.

My aim in this chapter is not to produce a comprehensive history of the Islamic

revolution itself, but to highlight the effects it had on the patron-client relation which had

marked Iran's position and identity in international relations since the end of the Second

World War. I revisit the drama that played out in Iran in 1979, with the Shah fleeing the

country in mid-January and Ayatollah Khomeini returning on February 1 of that year, in

the next chapter, as these events provide the critical context in understanding Iran's third

and final mode of being in global politics, that of the rogue state.

Critical Features of the Patron-Client Relation (submission, dependence, and

control)

Ahmad Nasirinasab runs a small business in Tehran and says [President] Rouhani hasn't
done anything useful over the past three years: 'Inflation is still high, and unemployment
is high, too.' Nasirinasab fears that having foreign companies invest in Iran would
amount to going back to the times before 1979, when Britain and the US dominated
Iran's economy. 'Before the revolution, Iran was totally dependent on foreign countries
and the West,' said Nasirinasab. 'They used to decide for us. But now we are
independent.'[201]

One of the noteworthy features of the patron-client relation pertains to the notion

of *submission*. The dual logics of the Cold War, containment and deterrence, meant that

the national interests of client states or satellites had to be made compatible with the

national interests of their patron. Any divergence would mean an exposure of strategic

vulnerability to one's bipolar rival. Given the high stakes of the competition, and the

acceptance of corollary logics such as the Domino Theory, this called for a subordination

of the interests of the client state to the broader strategic imperatives of the patron.

A second key feature of the patron-client relation was that of *dependence*, and

---

[201] Erlich (2016), "Foreign investments spark controversy in Iran"

dependent development in its various forms. For example, commenting on the land

reforms which accompanied the Shah's White Revolution, in a speech from February

1979, Khomeini offers a different point of view regarding their motive, that of nurturing a

dependence on American agriculture: "You will remember that the Shah's regime carried

out land reforms on the pretext of turning the peasants into independent cultivators, and

that those reforms ultimately resulted in the complete destruction of all forms of

cultivation. Our agrarian economy was ruined, and we were reduced to depending on the

outside world for all our essential needs. In other words, Muhammad Riza (Reza)

enacted his so-called reforms in order to create markets for America and to increase our

dependence upon America."[202] Furthering this notion of dependence, we can examine the

material aid given by the United States to the Shah's regime, with the Eisenhower

administration giving the Shah more than $1 billion dollars in aid.[203]

During the colonial period, the British and Russian empires sought to exact tribute

from the Qajar rulers of Iran in the form of economic concessions. This relation of

extraction transformed in the Cold War period as outright economic concession instead

took the form of the oil-for-arms treadmill, in which the Shah's regime shared profits

from the sale of Iranian oil with a consortium of western oil companies,[204] and a

significant amount of Iran's share of the profits were channeled back to western arms

manufacturers to supply the regime with the most advanced military technologies. This

situation was distinct from the more explicitly coercive, extractive relation of

colonialism, but it did represent Iran's position of what we might call 'double

---

[202] Algar (1981), p. 257
[203] Kinzer (2010), p. 105
[204] Codified in the 1954 Oil Consortium Agreement

dependence' – meaning Iran's dependence first at the state level manifested in its patron-client relationship with the United States, and second Iran's dependence on western multi-national corporations, particularly the oil consortium and western arms manufacturers.

A third and final feature of the patron-client relation is that of *control*. As has been mentioned earlier in the chapter, after World War II, the European colonial system which had dominated much of international relations from the early 19th century until the First World War, was clearly replaced by a new bipolar system, with the United States and Soviet Union inheriting the imperial roles which had previously been played by European powers. This situation meant that both the United States and Soviet Union had broadened the scope of their interests into what had been more remote, or less strategically significant areas of the world. The need to incorporate and control territories to prevent them from falling into the hands of one's rival, and to marshal their resources in support of one's own cause became a clear logic of the Cold War. For the United States, according to one scholar, that meant developing policies designed for dealing with each world region affecting US interests.[205] Regarding Europe (the First World), America relied on the Marshall Plan; regarding the Soviet Union (the Second World) there emerged myriad Cold War "... policies, studies, even a mentality..." which informed the dyadic relation between superpowers. That left only what was known as the Third World, which Said comments was "... an arena of competition not only between the United States and the Soviet Union but also between the United States and various native powers

---

[205] Bayoumi and Rubin (2000), p. 190 – This section of the Reader is from Said's work "Islam as News," originally published in 1980, in part in response to the media's coverage of the Iran hostage crisis.

only recently in possession of their independence from European colonizers."[206] In the First World imagination, the Third World was constructed as underdeveloped, primitive, traditional, stagnant, and weak. This was the habit of seeing the Third World during this time and the solution for these deficiencies was modernization, and, in Said's words, this was the 'order of the day' as far as the United States policymakers were concerned.[207]

In fact, during the two decades that followed World War II, Iran was in the minds of many the modernization success story of the region, with President Carter proclaiming in 1978 that Iran was 'an island of stability' in the troubled Middle East region.[208] The damage done to the American psyche by the Iran hostage crisis and the sharp reversal in Iran's foreign policy toward the United States after the ouster of the Shah quickly called this statement into question. As Dabashi notes, the paramount foreign policy question in the 1980 American presidential election was "Who lost Iran?... as if an entire nation halfway around the globe were the collective property of the United States."[209] That being said, the Islamic Revolution did result in the loss of an American client state in the Middle East that had been counted on as an 'unconditional ally' at least since the CIA-orchestrated coup which ousted Mossadeq in 1953. In the context of the Cold War, Iran transitioned from an American client state to a nonaligned state. This was a source of frustration for American policymakers, as their thinking was based on the Cold War vision, which argued that "... nonaligned nations were simply on a slippery slope, a short step from falling into the hands of the Communists."[210]

---

[206] Bayoumi and Rubin (2000), p. 190
[207] Ibid., p. 190
[208] Ibid., p. 192-194
[209] Dabashi (2007), p. 167
[210] Milani (2011), p. 264

Concluding Remarks

In the next chapter I turn to the third and final historical case study, looking at the post-Cold War unipolar or hegemonic era and the hegemon-rogue relation which I argue supplanted the patron-client relation of the bipolar, Cold War period. Iran's *rogueness* begins as a direct consequence of the Islamic Revolution and the ideological emphasis Khomeini placed on the US-Iran relation, and the image of the United States as the Great Satan. The inter-imperial competition which informed the modes of relation between the core and periphery that were the focus of analysis in this chapter and the previous one are distinguished from the present-day situation, which, in the absence of clear material and ideological rival, is driven more explicitly by the incessant need to access new markets, new supplies of labor value, and to expand the domain of modernity as defined by global capital as a series of needs which operate through yet simultaneously transcend the nation-state.

Having examined the core-periphery relation of the colonial period in the previous chapter, and the patron-client relation in this chapter, one scholar's comments on the importance of studying the imperial-rogue [or as I define it, hegemon-rogue] relation merit consideration here. Hoyt notes: "The existence of what are deemed "rogue states" represents a serious challenge to policy makers around the world and also to international relations theory. Given the level of attention they receive in international policy circles it is important that political scientists evaluate how well these states fit with our theoretic expectations."[211] Commenting specifically on the imperial-rogue relation, he goes on to say: "The imperial-rogue relation warrants critical attention from both policy makers and

---

[211] Hoyt (2000b)

political scientists because it is so *unlike* the Cold War relationship between the United States and the Soviet Union. Critical differences between the two as to the *level of threat perception* and the *relative strategic balance* makes the imperial-rogue dyad much more dangerous in that deterrence does not hold and the desire to seek mutual accommodation is much weaker."[212]

The author goes on to comment that the imperial-rogue relation is puzzling because political scientists do not yet fully understand: 1.) why rogues maintain their rogue behavior, and resist the international community's efforts to compel them to change? 2.) Why don't powerful states simply remove rogues? 3.) And, why is the imperial-rogue relation so persistent? The next chapter recasts these and other questions relevant to the meaning of the rogue state figure and its relation to global order by focusing on the Iranian rogue case. While Hoyt is correct in noting that both the level of threat perception and the relative strategic balance in the imperial-rogue relation is qualitatively different than the dyadic competition between the United States and the Soviet Union during the Cold War, he misses the deeper point that this is neither the sole nor the most appropriate comparative analysis in which we might situate rogue states. As I have attempted to demonstrate in the previous chapters, we stand to gain a much more nuanced understanding of rogue states by contextualizing their appearance under the structures of American hegemony against the backdrop of the figure of the colony under European colonialism and the figure of the client state under Cold War bipolarity. In this sense, the asymmetry in the 'relative strategic balance,' as Hoyt puts it, is no longer striking. The overwhelming character of American hegemony in some ways overwhelms

---

[212] Ibid., emphasis mine

the strategic imbalance between colonizer and colonized, or between patron and client, particularly given the absence of a clear material and ideological competitor against which a weaker actor might seek to balance American power. What does hold from Hoyt's analysis after we readjust our comparative lens is the fact that the level of threat perception by the hegemon of the rogue state does seem to be much higher than either the level of threat perception by the imperial center of the colony or the level of threat perception by the patron state of its client. In fact, as I will make clear in the next chapter, this notion of threat is perhaps the central idea informing the practices and constructing the appropriate modes of relation through which the rogue state is constituting.

Chapter 5

Iran as rogue:

Period 3 (1979-2013)

Introduction

In the previous two chapters, we have seen Iran's position and identity in relation

to international order defined largely, first in the colonial period as a location of natural

resources to be extracted, and then in the bipolar period as a bargaining chip in the great

power politics of the Cold War.[213] This chapter focuses on Iran's post-revolutionary

relationship to international order, and asks: what becomes of a bargaining chip after the

competition ends? What new strategic paradigm would emerge in the wake of the

Islamic Revolution and the end of Cold War competition and the patron-client relation it

nurtured between American hegemony and the Third World?

From Iran's point of view, the rupture with the patron-client relation and pattern of

dependence is perhaps most clearly articulated in Article 152 of the new Constitution of

the Islamic Republic, which was adopted by referendum on October 24, 1979, and reads

in part as follows:

> ARTICLE 152 – The foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of shall be based on
> the negation of excreting or accepting any form of domination whatsoever,
> safeguarding all-embracing independence and territorial integrity, defense of the
> rights of all Muslims, non-alignment with domineering powers and peaceful and
> reciprocal relations with non-belligerent states... [W]hile completely refraining
> from any interference in the internal matters of other nations, it supports the
> rightful struggle of the oppressed people against their oppressors anywhere in the
> world.[214]

The three major themes that would come to define Iran's post-revolutionary

---

[213] Barkawi and Laffey (2002), p.112. [Footnote 14, Chapter 1]
[214] Moslem (2002), p. 282

posture in global politics, and draw stark contrast to the pattern of development adhered to by the Shah's regime, 1.) Rejecting foreign domination; 2.) Non-alignment; 3.) Supporting the oppressed against the oppressors, were all articulated in this article of the Constitution. After the collapse of the Soviet Union in December 1991, the international system was marked by a new reality: American supremacy. This reflected not only the United States' military and economic dominance, but also its surplus of normative authority in shaping and guiding the evolution of the new unipolar international system. The United States, whether using the weight and influence of its unilateral action, or through the international institutional apparatus that operates under its auspices, constructed the boundaries of demarcation for appropriate behavior and appropriate ways of being in this new period.

It was in this context that Iran's status as a rogue state emerged. The above excerpt from Iran's 1979 Constitution reflects the break from the old pattern of relation, this would be followed in the 1980s by a decade of uncertainty and a search for a consistent approach from the United States in its relation with the new Islamic Republic. I address this history later on in the chapter, but it is helpful to provide a cursory overview by way of introduction. The main progression involved the fallout from the hostage crisis (1979-1981), Iran's support for Hezbollah in Lebanon which led to its inclusion in the US State Department list of state sponsors of terrorism, and its framing as an 'outlaw' or 'pariah' state during the Reagan administration. Whereas in the 1970s the term 'outlaw state' had generally referred to a state's internal behavior, and some common examples of such states were Idi Amin's Uganda and the Khmer Rouge in Cambodia, beginning around 1980 a shift occurred from orienting this concept toward internal state

behavior to external state behavior, most notably state sponsorship of terrorism. This trend continued until 1991, and after the collapse of the Soviet Union and Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, we begin to observe the emergence of the rogue appellation supplanting the language of outlaws and pariahs. The rogue doctrine dominates until the summer of 2000, when the Clinton administration on its way out of office opts for the softer language of 'states of concern'; this however is relatively short-lived, as the events of September 11, 2001 are followed by the January 2002 State of the Union address by George W. Bush in which he outlines his Axis of Evil metaphor, which would be the dominant discourse throughout the Bush presidency (2001-2009).

I agree with the three basic insights from Wagner et al. (2014) on how we might seek to better understand the figure of the rogue state in global politics today, and I include these points in the following, as they help foreground the analysis which follows:

(1) 'Rogue states' are the product of constitutive linguistic acts

(2) 'Rogue states' are defined in terms of hegemonic conceptions of legitimate statehood in a particular era

(3) The power to define and manage 'rogue states' is distributed unevenly across states – hegemonic powers have a privileged position in this respect.[215]

In what follows below, I continue the historical analysis of Iran's political development after the consolidation of the Islamic Revolution, through the 1980s and its categorization as an 'outlaw state,' the conceptual predecessor to the rogue state. I then move on to discuss the 'rogue state' paradigm that emerged in the early 1990s in further detail. My emphasis here is on highlighting the key features of the hegemon-rogue

---

[215] Wagner et al. (2014), p. 6

relation, and how it differs from both the core-periphery and patron-client relations which were the focus of the previous two chapters. Whereas Iran's experience under colonialism was premised on an *extractive* relation, and its experience under bipolarity was premised on a *dependent* relation, I argue that its experience under American hegemony has been premised on an *exclusive* relation, and I explore the forms of this exclusion in this chapter.

Additionally, I discuss the trends in Iran's politics in the 21st century, and the trajectory of the US-Iran relation during this period. This chapter is the final of the three historical case studies. The following chapter [Chapter 6] is organized thematically around three issue-areas which are critical to understanding Iran's designation as a rogue state, and those are, respectively: the nuclear issue, state-sponsorship of terrorism, and regime type / human rights. I will address each of these issues in further detail there, while my focus in this chapter is on providing the necessary historical context, drawing out the points of comparison and contrast between the three historical periods I have discussed to this point in my analysis, and illustrating how the shift in global order toward American hegemony impacted Iran's position in the international system.

Historical context

Initial Post-revolutionary Era: 1979-1989

The legacy of Iran's dependent, patron-client relation with the United States carried over into the post-revolutionary period and continued to impact Iran's development. In support of this point, Emadi observed, "The deterioration of the U.S.-Iranian relationship made it difficult later on for Iran to operationalize its dependent

industries and obtain military equipment for its armed forces."[216] This would prove to be a particularly bitter challenge to the Iranian state and reminder of the consequences of dependence throughout the 1980s, following the September 1980 invasion from Saddam Hussein's Iraq and eight year Iran-Iraq war that followed. After the return of Ayatollah Khomeini to Iran from his exile in France on February 1, 1979, he appointed Mehdi Bazargan as Iran's interim Prime Minister on February 5, 1979. In a speech from this period, Khomeini said, "In support of this nation, I will appoint a government. I will shut this government [referring to the Shah's government] up."[217] Power was effectively transitioned from the military regime of the Shah to Khomeini's coalition, headed by Bazargan by February 11, 1979, following violent clashes between revolutionaries and the Imperial Guard in which hundreds were killed.[218]

During this early period in the post-revolutionary phase, it seemed to many that Ayatollah Khomeini was permitting the conditions for non-clerical rule in Iran. Khomeini had appointed Bazargan, a non-cleric, as Prime Minister, and supported the presidential candidacy of Abolhassan Bani Sadr in Iran's first presidential election in January 1980. According to one scholar, these actions "... seemed to support Khomeini's statements that he and the clergy would not rule directly."[219] However, while supporting the development of the elected (*entekhabi*) state structure of the Islamic Republic, Khomeini was also developing the authority of the appointed (*entesabi*) state structure of the government. Owing to the mass support, organizational prowess, and the perception of external threat to the regime provoked by overtures from the United States during the

---

[216] Emadi (1996)
[217] *Iran and the West: The Man Who Changed the World*, 7 February 2009
[218] Keddie (2003), p. 238-239
[219] Ibid., p. 241

hostage crisis of 1979-1981[220] and Iran-Iraq war[221], the powerful clerical institutions were

able to come to dominate what had been the secular-led provisional government.[222]

While factional politics have been persistent throughout Iran's post-revolutionary history,

and were present even in the early 1980s, these struggles were conducted within a context

of the overriding power of state institutions. As the space for contestation within these

institutions contracted significantly around the time of the second parliamentary elections

in 1983, political groups that opposed the principle of *velayat-e faqeh* were effectively

excluded from participation in state institutions, and in that sense the officially Islamic

character of the regime was fully established.[223]

The legacy of the Iran-Iraq war for Iran's efficacy in international institutions and

the international community to provide security and make credible commitments, and the

general level of trust toward the international community and the West specifically, is

difficult to overemphasize. Former President Hashemi Rafsanjani, for example, said that

"the war [with Iraq] taught us that international laws are only scraps of paper."[224] A

particularly recurrent grievance relates to the use of chemical weapons by Iraq against

Iran (as well as against Iraqis) during the conflict, and the inaction from the international

community in punishing Saddam Hussein's regime. Commenting on Iraq's use of

chemical weapons and its effects, General Mohsen Razaee, Head of Iran's Revolutionary

Guard during the Iran-Iraq war has said: "I went to see for myself. From afar, our

soldiers looked alive and ready to fight. When we got closer, we found they were

---

[220] November 4, 1979 to January 20, 1981; 52 Americans were held hostage for 444 days. This includes
    Operation Eagle Claw, the failed attempt to rescue the hostages in April 1980.
[221] Beginning with the bombing of Mehrabad airport by Iraqi forces on September 22, 1980.
[222] Keddie (2003), p. 241
[223] Moslem (2002), p. 47
[224] Solingen (2007), p. 175

dead."[225] Echoing this sentiment, Mohsen Rafiqdoust, a Revolutionary Guard

Commander, described a similar battlefield scene in the wake of a chemical weapons

attack: "Where those chemical shells landed, they froze everyone – instantly. One was

fossilized, leaning through a window."[226] George Shultz, then-US Secretary of State,

described the strategic logic of the US at the time, which prompted its inaction, in simple

though stark terms in the following: "It's a very hard balance. They're [Iraq] using

chemical weapons, so you want them to stop using the chemical weapons. At the same

time, you don't want to see Iran win the war."[227] The Reagan administration feared an

Iranian victory in the war because they were concerned that Iran's alleged revolutionary

expansionist tendencies would be emboldened by such an outcome. This could then

create instability in region, threaten the security of Israel, and threaten the flow of oil in

the Persian Gulf. As one scholar put it, by the late 1980s officials in the Pentagon

became convinced that Iran "… would need to be taught a lesson sooner or later…"[228]

Secretary Schultz statement is particularly prescient when one considers that this

sentiment effectively became enshrined as American foreign policy toward Iran and Iraq

in the form of the 'dual containment approach' of the mid-1990s.

For many in Iran's political leadership, this failure to act and uphold the Geneva

Conventions cast considerable doubt on the legitimacy of the United Nations system and

the reliability of great powers to act in accordance with their rhetorical commitments.

The ideological legacies of the Iran-Iraq war are expressed not just in Iran's approach to

international politics, but in everyday cultural representations in Iranian society, including

---

[225] *Iran and the West: The Pariah State*, 14 February 2009
[226] Ibid.
[227] Ibid.
[228] Razoux (2015), p. 421

the spawning of an entire genre of film. This example is noted by Adib-Moghadadam in the following: "In Iran itself, the war continues to be a central theme of the burgeoning film industry; central to the scripts of the *sinamay-e jang* (the war cinema) with its eulogistic treatment of the 'lost generation' who fought what continues to be referred to as *defa-ye moghadas* (the holy defence) or *jangeh tahmili* (the imposed war) in the official jargon of the Islamic Republic and by some Iranian analysts."[229]

Turning from the Iran-Iraq war, the 1980s also witnessed the initiation of one of the Islamic Republic's longest enduring and most strategically significant alliances, with Hezbollah in Lebanon. Following Israel's invasion of Lebanon in June 1982, in order to remove the safe haven for PLO fighters based there, Iran began actively supporting Hezbollah and their resistance against Israeli occupation. On June 20, 1982, Iran deployed a force of approximately 1,000 men, with Rafiqdoust describing the situation as follows: "... we took 1,000 troops to Lebanon. They vacated an army barracks for us close to the Lebanese border with Syria, at our request. We took the force there to train the youth of Lebanon. Of course, later on we trained some trainers amongst them and they took over the training."[230] Rafiqdoust's description of events is validated by Sheikh Tufeyli, a founding member of Hezbollah, in his statement that "They [Iran] helped to get us established. We made good use of their training. The Iranians inspired our young men. They helped us confront Israel's army."[231] Iran's support for Hezbollah in Lebanon eventually led the US State Department to add Iran to its list of State Sponsors of

---

[229] Adib-Moghaddam (2008), p. 86
[230] Ibid.
[231] *Iran and the West: The Pariah State*, 14 February 2009

Terrorism, which was created in 1979. Iran was added to the list on January 19, 1984,[232]

three months after the October 23, 1983, truck bombing of a US Marine base in Beirut,

which resulted in the deaths of 241 Americans, 58 French servicemen, and six civilians.

Though Iran has denied any connection to this attack, and the responsibility was claimed

by Islamic Jihad and not Hezbollah, American officials argued that the Iranian contingent

sent to Lebanon in June 1982, was connected to the attack through the training and

military aid they provided.

The Department of State's List of State Sponsors of Terrorism presently includes

three countries: Iran, Sudan, and Syria.[233] For Iran, inclusion in the list in January 1984,

meant, for one thing, it would be much more difficult to purchase arms with which to

fight the ongoing war against Iraq. The Department of State's website outlines the legal

determinations which lead to inclusion in the list, and the categories of sanctions resulting

from this designation, and I include those parameters below as follows:

> Countries determined by the Secretary of State to have repeatedly provided
> support for acts of international terrorism are designated pursuant to three laws:
> section 6(j) of the Export Administration Act, section 40 of the Arms Export
> Control Act, and section 620A of the Foreign Assistance Act. Taken together, the
> four main categories of sanctions resulting from designation under these
> authorities include restrictions on U.S. foreign assistance; a ban on defense
> exports and sales; certain controls over exports of dual use items; and
> miscellaneous financial and other restrictions. Designation under the above-
> referenced authorities also implicates other sanctions laws that penalize persons
> and countries engaging in certain trade with state sponsors.[234]

By 1987, the war with Iraq had reached a stalemate, with Iran having reclaimed

their early territorial losses, but with either side unable to deal a decisive blow against the

---

[232] U.S. Department of State website, http://www.state.gov/j/ct/list/c14151.htm

[233] This was reduced from four in May 2015 when Cuba was officially removed from the list as part of a
broader effort by the Obama administration to normalize U.S.-Cuban relations.
[234] U.S. Department of State website, http://www.state.gov/j/ct/list/c14151.htm

other. Commenting on the status of the war at that time, Hashemi Rafsanjani, then

Deputy Commander in Chief, observed: "The war had reached a point of no return. The

West allowed Iraq to break international law [referring to Iraq's use of chemical weapons,

and to its territorial aggression]. They even armed Saddam Hussein."[235] United Nations

Security Council Resolution 598 was adopted by both Iran and Iraq on July 20, 1988, and

became effective on August 8, 1988, officially bringing the eight-year war to an end.

Ayatollah Khomeini famously remarked via national radio address on the adoption of the

resolution: "Bless the injured, the dead and their families. Accepting the ceasefire

resolution has been to me like drinking a chalice of poison."[236] Khomeini's metaphor

proved more apt than he had imagined, and a heart attack resulted in his death less than a

year after the end of the war, on June 3, 1989.

The end of the Iran-Iraq war in 1988, and the death of Ayatollah Khomeini in

1989, marked a transition to a new phase in Iran's post-revolutionary politics. Ayatollah

Khamenei was chosen as Iran's new Supreme Leader on June 4, 1989, one day after the

death of Khomeini, and Hashemi Rafsanjani would assume the number two position in

Iran's emerging political hierarchy, that of President, in August of the same year.

Alongside the 1989 presidential election, a constitutional referendum was held, which,

among other minor changes, rescinded the necessary qualification that the Supreme

Leader be a *marja* (or Grand Ayatollah), gave the Assembly of Experts (*Majles-e

Khobregan*) more oversight over the Supreme Leader, and eliminated the position of

Prime Minister. Effectively, these changes enabled Ayatollah Khamenei, himself not a

marja, to assume the office of Supreme Leader, while giving both the Assembly of

---

[235] *Iran and the West: The Pariah State*, 14 February 2009
[236] Ibid.

Experts and the President a stronger role in Iranian politics. These changes helped ease

the transition out of the phase of charismatic leadership of Khomeini, and into a post-

Khomeini politics. From a doctrinal point of view, then, the situation in Iran in June

1989 was more similar in terms of its potential openness to the early period of the

revolution (1978-79) than the efforts at regime consolidation that followed in the early

1980s. This situation is effectively summarized by Moslem in the following:

> By the time of his death on June 4, 1989, Khomeini had left a canon full of
> ambiguities and contradictions to which his followers could resort to authenticate
> their reading of the true Islamic state after he had left the scene... His final
> pronouncements showed that he reluctantly recognized the need to position the
> revolution and the country at the head of a far less religious-revolutionary path.
> These rulings and the changes made to the Iranian constitution provided more
> legal powers for the republican institutions and further strengthened the populist
> dimension of the state, qualities that would ensure the regime's survival after the
> demise of its founder and inspiration.[237]

This internal shift was, of course, accompanied by a major transition in the

international political landscape as well, the collapse of the Soviet Union and onset of

America's 'unipolar moment' in the early 1990s. I turn now to this trend in the next

section.

Rupture: Collapse of Bipolarity, Rise of Unipolarity

As with any period of transition or distinction between the end of one period and

the beginning of a new period, it is important to recognize that continuities between

periods are also significant. The notion of the rogue state in American strategic thinking

has been described by some as a reproduction of the dichotomous, rival-based approach

which informed policy-making during the Cold War. However, this dynamic would now

---

[237] Moslem (2002), p. 81 - The 'rulings' alluded to here include Khomeini's support for various amendments
to the Constitution which would be approved through popular vote in August 1989, including the
elimination of the Office of Prime Minister, the elimination of the requirement that the Supreme Leader
have the special religious designation as *marja*, and others.

play out much differently in the context of American supremacy, in that the relative parity

of power between adversaries and the absence of an ideological competitor meant that the

United States would have much more freedom of action and influence in setting the

global political agenda. Also, the liberal order upheld by American power that took shape

after the collapse of the Soviet Union was based on difficult to define, ambiguous terms

such as 'humanity,' 'humaneness,' and 'mankind,' and as a consequence, some have noted

that this meant that "... those who challenge the authority of the hegemon are easily

labeled as 'enemies of mankind', who lack respect for basic considerations of humanity...

[and leading to] … the labeling of states as 'rogues' and the adoption of extraordinary

measures of dubious legality."[238] The Manichean worldview and reduction of politics to

a righteous 'us' and transgressive 'them' has been a theme of American political

engagement on the world stage during much of the post-Cold War period, particularly in

the 21st century and the context of the global War on Terror.

      The theme of continuities with the Cold War era is drawn out in Klare's analyis, in

which he postulates that fears of budget cutbacks in military funding in the early 1990s

may have motivated senior officials in the Pentagon and Department of Defense to

enhance what had been thought of as relatively minor threats to American security.[239]

Karim Mattar effectively summarizes Klare's argument in the following:

> As only minor threats existed at the time, the Pentagon needed to elevate them
> into 'major adversaries' 'posing a clear and present danger to American security
> interests.' This was achieved by the now-institutionalized method, termed by
> Klare a 'New Demonology,' of foregrounding their 'anti-western orientation,' their
> proliferation activities, their sponsoring of terrorism, and their leaders' 'violent
> and immoral intensions.' Thus a 'Rogue Doctrine' was forged in the early 1990s
> and was crystallized through the foreign policy discourses of successive

---

[238] Wagner et al. (2014), p. 6
[239] Klare (1995)

presidents.[240]

These arguments notwithstanding, I suggest that the forms of exclusion which necessarily follow from the doctrine of 'rogue state' are unique in form and degree, and represent a break from the previous patterns of relation between dominant powers and the Third World (namely, dependence) during the Cold War. I explore these themes in the context of US-Iran relations from 1989 to the present in the remainder of the chapter.

Post-Khomeini and the 'Golden Age' of the Rogue Doctrine: 1989-1997

Iran's new president in 1989, Hashemi Rafsanjani, signaled the country's willingness to work with Western powers early on in his presidency, stating, "Iran will be ready to work with Western countries. But only if they approach us in the right way. That means as equal partners, and with no colonial attitudes."[241] The cautious willingness to engage with the West and work toward normalizing its relations with the outside world would be impacted by external political events, in this case, Iraq's invasion of Kuwait in August 1990 and the subsequent Operation Desert Storm in January 1991. Though Iran clearly had no love lost toward Saddam Hussein, their anxieties over a western military presence in the region are well-encapsulated by Mohammad Javad Zarif's comments during this time, given in his capacity as Iran's UN envoy:

> We believe the presence of foreign forces in the region are inherently destablizing. Furthermore, we believe that the presence of foreign forces in the region, particularly those of the United States, have objectives which go beyond the liberation of Kuwait; and these are, in reality, sources of grave concern.[242]

Iranian security concerns about the American military presence in the region pivot

---

[240] Mattar (2010), p. 553-554, citing Klare (1995), p. 14, 24-26. Concerning the Iranian case the 'New Demonology' described by Klare (1995), see also Beeman, (2008)
[241] *Iran and the West: The Pariah State*, 14 February 2009
[242] Ibid.

around the fear that the state goals of this troop presence, maintaining a stable status quo, masks a more ambitious desire to reshape the region. Given the historical legacy of foreign intervention in its domestic politics, it should come as no surprise that Iranian leaders are weary of the prospect of a foreign-supported regime change. In its precarious position as a rogue state, and amplified by its history of relations with outside powers, Iran displays a deep mistrust toward the presence of the American military in the region and on its borders. Consider also how threatening, demonizing statements from American policy-makers can exacerbate these fears, for example in the following remark by then Secretary of State Madeline Albright in 1998:

> Rogue states are those that not only do not have a part in the international system, but whose very being involves being outside of it and throwing, literally, hand grenades inside in order to destroy it.[243]

The point that Albright misses in the above quotation, and is captured in the work of scholars of global capital such as Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, and Hamid Dabashi focusing more on Iran, is that this construction 'apart from' is in fact a critical element in the constitution and reproduction of the system of American hegemony which created the rogue type itself. That the construction and policing of these boundaries of inclusion / exclusion is a source of legitimation for the dominant powers in the system is the essential, underappreciated reality. In support of this, I agree with Wendt's emphasis on the impact of the representational practices of the international community on the social relations between rogue states and other actors in global politics; Wendt argues that rogue states are "... constituted by social relations to other states in the form of the representational practices of the international community (and of the Great Powers in

---

[243] Former Secretary of State Madeline Albright, speech from February 1998, cited in Caprioli and Trumbore (2005), p. 776

particular)."[244] If rogue states truly were on the outside of the system as Albright

suggests, radically outside, then why would the dominant powers spend so much effort

on normalizing certain representations of rogues, and using these representations to

impact how other states relate to rogue states?

Khatami and the Prospects for Detente: 1997-2000

There were a number of push and pull factors which led many observers to

believe that the 1990s would witness the gradual normalization of relations between the

United States and Iran. Emadi, one such observer writing in 2001, summarizes that

sentiment in the following:

"The demise of bipolarity in the 1990s and the rise of a unipolar, capitalist world order

compelled the clerical state to abandon its 'Neither West nor East' politico-economic

development alternative and seek reconciliation and resumption of diplomatic ties with

the United States after a decade of hostility."[245]

The 1997 presidential election in Iran was notable for several reasons, not least of

which is that the candidate who received the official endorsement of the Supreme Leader,

Ali Akbar Nateq-Nouri, received a meager 25% of the overall vote, compared to nearly

70% for the reformist candidate and winner, Mohammad Khatami. Secondly, this

election witnessed nearly 80% voter turnout, the highest turnout in any election in Iran up

to that time.[246] Khatami included in his remarks at his swearing-in as Iran's new

president on August 4, 1997 what would become the main foreign policy vision of his

---

[244] From Wagner et al. (2014), p. 6, citing Wendt (1998), p. 113
[245] Emadi (2001), p. 74
[246] This voter turnout figure would be exceeded in the 2009 presidential election, which saw 85% turnout. Estimates on voter turnout in Iranian elections are drawn from ongoing research by Pourebrahimi and Hosli (2015)

presidency, that of the 'Dialogue of Civilizations': "We are in favor of a dialogue between civilizations and a detente in our relations with the outside world."[247]

Coupled with the desire for more cultural, educational, and non-governmental interaction under Khatami's 'Dialogue of Civilizations' approach, the late-1990s witnessed shared interests between the United States and Iran vis-a-vis the rise of the Taliban in Afghanistan. Commenting on Iran's relations with the Taliban, Khatami has said that "The Taliban saw Iran as an enemy. They reject our form of Islam. Having the Taliban on our border was a serious threat to Iran."[248] Furthermore, a Taliban attack on the Iranian consulate in Mazar-i Sharif in August 1998, which resulted in the death of nine Iranian diplomats, prompted Iran, through President Khatami, to speak out on the necessity for international cooperation in combating terrorism at the September 1998 meeting of the United Nations General Assembly in New York. It was not until after the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, however, that the US-Iran cooperation on Afghanistan came to fruition, through the mechanism of the Six Plus Two group. The Six Plus Two group was an informal coalition of the six states bordering Afghanistan [Iran, Pakistan, China, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan] and the United States and Russia. Through this group, Iran cooperated with the United States, providing critical intelligence that helped facilitate the success of the bombing campaign against the Taliban in the fall of 2001 and into early 2002. This period of shared security interests and a seeming thaw in US-Iran relations [September 2001 – January 2002] was disrupted by the articulation of a new foreign policy approach to Iran in the context of the War on Terror, which I turn to now in the next section.

---

[247] Rubin (2000), p. 31
[248] *Iran and the West: The Pariah State*, 14 February 2009

The 'Axis of Evil' and the Conservative Resurgence: 2002- 2013

A major turning point in Iran's relations with the United States came in January

2002 when President George W. Bush included Iran as a part of the 'Axis of Evil' in his

State of the Union address. Coined by Bush speech writer David Frum, this term

represented a re-branding of the Clinton-era rogue paradigm, and diminished the

cooperation between Iran and the United States that had taken place after the September

11, 2001, in Afghanistan. Despite this inflammatory rhetoric from the Bush

administration, some in Iran, including President Khatami and reformists within his

government remained open to the idea of cooperating with the American-led coalition in

the run-up to the war in Iraq. Khatami described his meeting on October 9, 2003, with

British Foreign Secretary Jack Straw, who was then in Tehran as part of a tour of the

Middle East to drum up support for the Iraq war, in the following interview excerpt:

> I told him [British Foreign Secretary Jack Straw], 'Let's repeat the Afghanistan
> experience [Iran's provision of intelligence on targets, general military
> collaboration] in Iraq. Let's make it Six Plus Six. That's the six countries
> bordering Iraq [Jordan, Syria, Turkey, Iran, Kuwait, and Saudi Arabia], America,
> the other Security Council members [the P5], plus Egypt.[249]

Despite their mutual enmity toward Saddam's Iraq, politics within the United

States prevented Khatami's proposal for cooperation from getting off the ground. Though

some in the US State Department were sympathetic toward the idea, the Bush

administration was unwilling to cooperate with a state they had named as within the Axis

of Evil. The significance of rhetoric and the image of one's adversary, not as a traditional

adversary whom one might still cooperate with under changed circumstances, but as a

rogue, or part of an Axis of Evil, and the political consequences of this discourse are

---

[249] *Iran and the West: Nuclear Confrontation*, 21 February 2009

clearly visible in this episode. As Khatami himself suggested, the United States had painted itself into a corner in terms of its thinking on Iran, and was unable to "... look at Iran as a power that can solve problems, rather than as a problem itself."[250]

The initial optimism among reformists in Iran that swept Khatami into the office of the presidency in 1997 had significantly waned in the later years of his second term (2001-2005). Municipal and parliamentary elections in 2003 and 2004 saw big gains for conservative, hard-line / principalist candidates. The coup de grace to the reformists came in 2005, when hard-liner Mahmoud Ahmadinejad assumed the office of the presidency. The conciliatory posture of Khatami and his attempt to transcend boundaries and decades of enmity between Iran and the West through a 'Dialogue of Civilizations' was brought into stark contrast by the foreign-policy rhetoric of Ahmadinejad. To cite one example, on the nuclear issue, in a speech delivered on February 11, 2006, Ahmadinejad said, "The West are not scared of nuclear weapons. They are scared of our self-confidence. Iran will never abandon its rights. This is what the Iranian nation says about nuclear power: '*nuclear power is our absolute right' [crowd chants]*."[251] The confrontational, absolutist tone of the new president utilized Iran's exclusion for the purpose of political gain within Iranian domestic politics. As suggested by Tilly's framework on boundaries discussed in Chapter 2, boundaries within a system help organize relations not only across the boundary, but within the in-group and out-group as well. Iran's rogueness and the boundary between Iran and the international community that accompanied it, for Khatami and the reformists implied something to be overcome, whereas for Ahmadinejad and the hard-liners this boundary was used as an opportunity to

---

[250] Ibid.
[251] Ibid.

bolster their position in Iran's internal politics, quiet dissent, and reinforce their notion of Iran as under threat for dominant powers.

Critical Features of the Hegemon-Rogue Relation (exclusion, sanction, transformation)

As I discussed in the introductory chapter, the concept of the rogue state is underpinned by themes of threat, mistrust, violation, unpredictability, and irrationality. How are these traits translated into the way in which the hegemon relates to rogue states? This is the question I will address in this section. As I have attempted to show above, I agree with the basic Constructivist insight that categories such as 'rogue state' are not pre-given, but fundamentally socially constructed, premised on subjective and contested notions of threat, trust, and rationality. While I argue there is something unique to unipolarity which encourages the exclusionary thinking, for example a worldview which envisions the terrain of global politics as a struggle between good and evil, that gives rise to a concept such as that of the rogue, I want to emphasize here that I do not view this process as a determinative one.

I argue that three relational mechanisms are operative in this case. First, the dominant actor(s) seeks to rhetorically castigate or expose the rogue state based on an understanding of the rogue's deviance. They then seek to exclude the rogue from the 'family of nations' or international community which adheres to the normative order outlined by the dominant actors. This exclusion necessitates some form of sanction or discipline, whether economic, diplomatic, or in other forms. Lastly, the relation is premised on the fundamental transformation of the nature of the rogue, the erasure of their deviance in response to their isolation, and ultimately their reintegration into the

international community as a 'normal' state. The prospect, or 'carrot', is the normalization

of relations with the actors or institutions sanctioning the rogue state. This normalization

is dependent on both a change in behavior (for example, suspending nuclear program,

allowing rigorous inspections, changing existing laws of the country, etc.), and a change

in values or ways or organizing the country's domestic political system (changes in

identity).

According to this logic, only after a radical transformation in terms of state

identity can a rogue be reintegrated into the international community. For example,

former Head of Arms Control at the US State Department, John Bolton, encapsulated this

understanding of Iran as a rogue state when asked to comment on the Bush

administration's position on Iran's nuclear program in mid-2003:

> Fundamentally, both the President and Vice President thought we were going to
> have to overthrow the regime. Iran, under the control of the Islamic Revolution
> was never going to be a rational partner, and that the ultimate way to stop Iran
> from pursuing nuclear weapons or supporting international terrorism was to
> change the regime in Tehran.[252]

Concluding Remarks

In President George H.W. Bush's inaugural address in January 1989 he made the

following reference to American hostages being held in Lebanon, and what some have

interpreted as a rhetorical gesture toward improving relations with Iran, his remarks were

as follows:

> There are today Americans who are held against their will in foreign lands, and
> Americans who are unaccounted for. Assistance can be shown here and will be
> long remembered. Goodwill begets goodwill. Good faith can be a spiral that
> endlessly moves on.[253]

---

[252] *Iran and the West: Nuclear Confrontation*, 21 February 2009
[253] *Iran and the West: The Pariah State*, 14 February 2009

The image here of the endless spiral of good faith and the principle that goodwill begets goodwill were echoed, in a sense, in President Barack Obama's own inaugural address, twenty years later, in January 2009, in which he outlined his own principle for improving strained relations, arguing:

> To those who cling to power through corruption and deceit and the silencing of dissent, know that you are on the wrong side of history, but that we will extend a hand if you are willing to unclench your fist. [254]

Is President Obama's statement not a recapitulation of President Bush's goodwill begets goodwill paradigm? I will discuss US-Iran relations under the Obama administration, and particularly the trajectory since the election of President Rouhani in Iran in June 2013 in more detail in the dissertation's concluding chapter.

In this chapter I provided an outline of the main trends in Iran's post-revolutionary political history, focusing particularly on its strained relations with the United States and the West. Starting with the seizure of the American embassy in Tehran in November 1979, the Islamic Republic was categorized as an outlaw or pariah in world politics. This image was reinforced through Iran's support of Hezbollah in the 1980s, and codified in American foreign policy in 1984 when Iran was added to the Department of State's list of state sponsors of terrorism, which it remains on presently. It was not until the early 1990s, with the collapse of the Soviet Union and the emergence of American supremacy that Iran was classified as a rogue state. Though the prevalence of this doctrine seemed to decline by mid-2000, it re-emerged in a new form, the 'Axis of Evil' by early 2002. This conceptual framework would dominate during the George W. Bush administration and in the context of the War on Terror. The Obama administration, since 2010, has

---

[254] "President Barack Obama's Inaugural Address" - https://www.whitehouse.gov/blog/inaugural-address

opted for the diplomatic language of 'outlier states' rather than rogues, outlaws, or pariahs.[255] To the extent that President Obama's outlier policy focuses more on changing the behavior of outlier states rather than changing their regime, it does seem to mark a qualitative departure from the policies suggested by the rogue doctrine. I revisit this term in the concluding chapter and weigh the extent to which it marks a substantive shift in policy, or simply another re-branding of a now decades old concept.

---

[255] Litwak (2012)

PART III: Implications and Conclusion

Chapter 6

Rogue Behaviors Reconsidered

Introduction

Given my argument regarding the constitutive effects of ideas and practices in constructing the rogue state and reproducing it over time through structured patterns of relations, what can be said about the behaviors associated with rogueness in international politics? Applying the lens of constitutive theorizing to these behaviors is the subject of this chapter. By emphasizing the third category of *process* against the more widely cited explanatory frameworks of structure and agency, my analysis draws attention to the reality that the process of 'becoming normal' or 'becoming a normal state' is not wholly determined by behavioral adjustments made by the rogue. Instead, how behavior is perceived and given meaning in the process of ongoing patterns of relation is central to my analysis. The oft-repeated question when it comes to rogue states in general and Iran in particular, "Is it better to sanction and punish a troublemaker, or entice it toward normality,"[256] uncritically brackets and takes for granted both the identity of the 'troublemaker' and the hierarchical hegemon-rogue relation. These are the topics which inform the proceeding line of inquiry.

This difference in the construction of normality is expressed in the three areas which this chapter will focus on in further detail: the nuclear issue, terrorism, and domestic politics. These are the foundational aspects of Iran's status as a rogue state found in the existing literature and each reinforces the image of Iran as, '… a bad actor that causes nothing but trouble.'[257] Concerning the nuclear issue, Iran responds to

---

[256] Kinzer (2010), p. 205
[257] Ibid., p. 205

allegations against it of pursuing a clandestine nuclear weapons program by questioning

the normality of the existing security situation in the region, most notably the US military

presence in the region, and the 'open secret' of nuclear proliferation in Israel.

Furthermore, concerning the broader security and stability in the region, Iran reverses the

allegation levied against it by the United States that it threatens peace in the region. In

the context of the Arab uprisings, this has led to a series of denunciations and counter-

denunciations between the United States and Iran. Iranian leaders have emphasized

American support for non-democratic regimes like the monarchy of King Hamad in

Bahrain, and its failure to condemn Saudi military interventions in Yemen. Similarly,

American leaders have criticized Iran for its support of the Assad regime in Syria. For

both the United States and Iran, their spotty records of support for the democratic

aspirations of the people of the region indicate that their respective policies are calibrated

toward interests rather than ideology, and that Iran is in this instance quite 'normal' in its

willingness to sacrifice principle at the altar of pragmatism.[258]

On the subject of terrorism, Iran contests the West's, and also some regional actors

like the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC), definition of Hezbollah and Hamas as terrorist

groups, and instead emphasizes the situation of the Palestinian people and other

oppressed groups in the region. Thirdly, relating to domestic politics, the Iranian political

system embodies an alternative to both the Western model of democratic rule and the

tendency in the region for monarchical, authoritarian systems of governance. Iran's dual

structure of elected and appointed political institutions disrupts the one-size-fits-all model

of ideal regime type advanced under the universal heading of democratization propagated

---

[258] For an overview of Iran-Syria relations and a more detailed account of how Iranian interests shape foreign policy more than ideology, see Goodarzi (2013); Milani (2013); Razavi (2013)

by the United States and prescribed for the region. When criticized for human rights violations such as the censorship and jailing of journalists and political opposition figures, repression of women and minority groups in society, and the arbitrary application of the rule of law, the Iranian regime and its leaders have responded by lodging counter-accusations against their critics, highlighting inequalities and tensions in the societies and state-society relations of their accusers. I explore each of these cases in more detail in what follows below. Suffice to say here that in each of these three instances, the behaviors most commonly associated with rogue statehood are highly contested and involve diverging subjective constructions in making sense what too many observers uncritically accept objective realities.

The Nuclear Issue

> Now that Iran has rehabilitated itself by signing a nuclear deal with the West, the unyielding media images of a death-cult totalitarian land that I used to push back against have given way to elegant fashion spreads, lists of Persian foods that blow your tastes buds away and features touting skiing in Iran over the Alps… *Is the image of Iran that holds sway at any given moment tethered to any reality, or is it simply a projection of what we wish and require of it at the time?*[259]

The fluidity in the image of Iran to the outside world is a general theme which has been captured in the analysis of the previous three chapters, and which is also brought into relief when we examine the history of Iran's nuclear program. Iran's earliest foray into nuclear energy occurred in the 1960s, under the regime of the Shah, when it purchased a small research reactor from the United States. In 1968 Iran signed the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, and in 1974 the Shah established the Atomic Energy Organization of Iran (AEOI). As a client of the United States, these developments toward nuclear energy did not arose the fears of the West, and a 1975 National Intelligence

---

[259] Moaveni (2016), emphasis mine

Estimate said the likelihood of Iran acquiring nuclear weapons was lower than other potential nuclear aspirants like Pakistan and India. As domestic unrest worsened throughout 1978, the further development of Iran's nuclear program was halted, and plans to supply Iran with nuclear technologies such as light-water reactors were suspended.[260] As the stability of the Shah's regime eroded, so too did the perception of Iran's behavior in the field of nuclear technology as non-threatening.

After the Islamic Revolution, the early years of the Iran-Iraq war witnessed a suspension of Iran's nuclear activities. During this time, Iran maintained its commitment as a signatory to the NPT. By the mid-1980s, after the initial territorial gains made by Iraq in the Iran-Iraq war had been undone, Iran restarted its nuclear program, with the restoration of the Bushehr nuclear facility and the order for the construction of a nuclear research center in Isfahan. At this point, the fundamental difference between Iran's nuclear program before the revolution and after the revolution had to do with the new challenges in terms of the degree of trust the international community had toward Iran, and the difficulties in demonstrating that Iran was honoring its treaty obligations. An important point to note here when considering the nuclear issue in relation to Iran's status as a rogue state is that since becoming a signatory to the NPT in 1968, Iran has remained within the non-proliferation regime. Unlike states such as India, Pakistan, and Israel which are non-signatories to the treaty, or North Korea which signed the treaty in 1985 but withdrew in 2003, Iran has sought to develop its nuclear program within the confines of the international legal regime of the NPT. The question this presents is: Is Iran's contestation *within* the NPT demonstrably more rogue-like than the behavior of those

---

[260] Solingen (2007), p. 164

states which fail to participate in the NPT and yet evade the rogue designation (India,

Pakistan, and Israel)? I will revisit this question in the section on the nuclear issue in the

next chapter.

Furthermore, from Iran's point of view in the mid-1980s when the decision was

taken to restart its nuclear program, its experience as a victim of non-conventional

weapons during the Iran-Iraq war, and the failure of the international community to act

against Saddam Hussein's regime for using these illegal weapons suggested that the

international norms and institutions regarding WMD were not as robust in practice as

they were on paper. Illustrating this, Solingen cites then Speaker of Iran's Parliament

Hashemi Rafsanjani, who argued the following:

> With regard to chemical, bacteriological, and radiological weapons training, it was
> made very clear during the war that these weapons are very decisive. It was also
> made clear that the moral teachings of the world are not very effective when war
> reaches a serious stage and the world does not respect its own resolutions and
> closes its eyes to the violations and all the aggressions which are committed in the
> battle field. We should fully equip ourselves in the offensive and defensive use of
> chemical, bacteriological, and radiological weapons.[261]

The emphasis on 'double standards' expressed by Rafsanjani here is a recurrent

theme in Iranian discourse on the nuclear issue. In one sense, this has to do with the

violations of international norms by others that the international community either

ignores, denies, or somehow rationalizes. For example, Iraq's use of chemical weapons

against Iran during the Iran-Iraq war, the failure of Israel to sign the NPT, and the

acquisition of nuclear weapons by India, Pakistan, and Israel (at least presumably, as

Israel follows a policy of 'nuclear ambiguity' but is generally recognized to possess a

nuclear stockpile of approximately 80 nuclear weapons).[262] A further issue raised by Iran

---

[261] Solingen (2007), p. 165-166
[262] See, for example, Arms Control Association (2013), http://www.armscontrol.org/factsheets/israelprofile

in terms of what we might call the doctrine of double standards highlights the failure of

the nuclear weapons states (NWS) to honor their commitments toward nuclear

disarmament. The failure of NWS to not only not move toward disarmament, but instead

to continue to develop more sophisticated nuclear weapons technologies and delivery

systems is framed as evidence of bad faith and is a source of mistrust among Iranian

leaders.

Exemplifying the challenges of competing rhetorical framings of the nuclear

issue, the following proposal by former Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad made

at the 65th Session of the United Nations General Assembly on September 23rd, 2010, is

worthy of note. The key aspects of his speech regarding the nuclear issue are noted in

this excerpt:

> The Non-Proliferation Treaty allows all member States to use nuclear energy without limits and the International Atomic Energy Agency is mandated to provide member States with technical and legal support. The nuclear bomb is the worst, most inhumane weapon and must totally be eliminated. The NPT prohibits its development and stockpiling and calls for nuclear disarmament. Nonetheless, note what some of the permanent members of the Security Council and nuclear bomb holders have done. They have equated nuclear energy with the nuclear bomb, and have distanced this energy from the reach of most nations by establishing monopolies and pressuring the IAEA. While at the same time, they have continued to maintain, expand, and upgrade their own nuclear arsenals... Not only the nuclear disarmament has not been realized, but also nuclear bombs have been proliferated... I would like here to propose that the year 2011 be proclaimed the year of nuclear disarmament, and '*Nuclear Energy for all, Nuclear Weapons for None*.[263]

The first relevant issue raised in the above quotation is Iran's grievance that the

IAEA has not done enough to aid in the development of the non-Nuclear Weapon States

(NWS) peaceful nuclear energy programs. This claim is based on an interpretation of the

Non-Proliferation Treaty that emphasizes the entitlement to peaceful nuclear energy as a

---

[263] United Nations General Assembly (2010)

right of all member states, with the rhetoric of binding obligations taking a back-seat to the rhetoric of entitlement. Secondly, Ahmadinejad makes the argument that NWS have not upheld their obligation to disarmament as outlined by the NPT. This is a crucial point, as the non-proliferation regime hinges on the basis of two commitments – the commitment of non-NWS not to seek or acquire nuclear weapons, and the commitment of NWS to move toward disarmament of nuclear weapons. The point made is with more nuance, however, than simply claiming that because the NWS have not upheld their end of the bargain, then Iran is not obligated to hold up its end. In actuality, what Ahmadinejad asserts in his statement is that nuclear proliferation is itself an effect of the failure to disarm. Inverting the conventional wisdom that proliferation or the risk of proliferation creates insecurity, which prevents disarmament, Ahmadinejad posits the reverse causal logic; namely, that the lack of significant movement toward disarmament is what generates insecurity, provides incentives for proliferation, and in turn is used by NWS to legitimize the maintenance, expansion, and upgrading of their nuclear arsenals.[264]

Despite significant progress in the normalization of Iran's nuclear program in 2015, much of the history of the negotiations on this issue have pivoted around the notion of conditionality. Conditional negotiations meant in practice that the United States refused to begin talks of any kind with Iran unless the Iranian regime acquiesced to

---

[264] The relative merits of either competing explanation are of course difficult to substantiate, but the important point is not whether the risk of proliferation or the failure of disarmament provides a stronger threat to international security *in reality*. The point that I am trying to illustrate is that competing frames of the nuclear issue suggest not only radically different counter-proliferation strategies, but radically different understandings of who is responsible for generating threat in the international system, and the extent to which we might observe one frame subsuming another may help explain why seemingly irrational policy choices were taken, or why seemingly rational policy decisions were not taken.

certain demands as a sign of good faith. These demands at times included recognition of the state of Israel, suspension of all nuclear activity, release of political prisoners, and others. The issue of conditional negotiations had long limited the potential for direct, bilateral diplomatic progress between Iran and the United States. From Iran's point of view, these measures illustrated the American effort to define the terms of its encounter with Iran, and thereby discredited the idea of an atmosphere of mutual respect and equality.

By the mid-1990s, with U.N. containment significantly limiting the threat posed by Saddam's Iraq, Iranian leaders framed the country's nuclear program more in terms of national pride, prestige, and technological achievement rather than in language relating to immediate threats to Iran's sovereignty and regime security. The symbolic value of the nuclear program hearkens back to a reaction against Iran's collective self-image as an actor exploited by foreign powers, dispossessed of its resources and left dependent and underdeveloped by decades of economic domination by first the British and then Americans.

The nuclear negotiations between Iran and the P5+1 group which resulted in 2015 in the signing of the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA) demonstrated many of the critical dynamics associated with the hegemon-rogue relation. What, if anything, did the JCPOA achieve in terms of reshaping this relation? I revisit this point in the next chapter. Next, I turn to the second behavior most commonly associated with rogue statehood: sponsorship of terrorism.

State-sponsored Terrorism

> We're not going to let a bunch of insidious terrorists, cowards, shape the foreign policy of the United States.

-Vice President, George H.W. Bush, speaking from Lebanon in the wake
of the October 23, 1983 bombing of US Marine barracks in Beirut

Long prior to the attacks of September 11, 2001, Iran was considered by the

United States as a state-sponsor of terrorism, owing largely to its support of Hezbollah in

Lebanon. The image of Iran as a state sponsor of terrorism surfaced again in June 1996

following a truck bombing at Khobar Towers in Saudi Arabia in which 19 American

servicemen were killed, and over 400 persons were wounded. An FBI investigation later

concluded that Iran had been involved in the Khobar Towers bombing plot; however, the

Iranian government maintained that these allegations are specious and that al-Qaeda was

responsible for the bombing. Despite Iranian denial, some American officials argue that

Iranian leaders were behind the attack. In June 2001, then Attorney General John

Ashcroft argued that it was Iranian officials who "inspired, supported and supervised

members of Saudi Hezbollah,"[265] and in December 2006 a U.S. District Court ruled that

Iran and Lebanese Hezbollah were ultimately responsible for the attack (in conjunction

with Hezbollah Al-Hejaz, an offshoot of Hezbollah operating in Saudi Arabia, Bahrain,

and Kuwait).[266] In his decision, Judge Royce C. Lamberth asserted that "The totality of

the evidence at trial… firmly establishes that the Khobar Towers bombing was planned,

funded, and sponsored by senior leadership in the government of the Islamic Republic of

Iran… The defendants' conduct in facilitating, financing, and providing material support

to bring about this attack was intentional, extreme, and outrageous."[267]

What were the consequences of this decision and how is it significant in

---

[265] Risen and Perlez (2001)
[266] Leonnig (2006)
[267] Ibid.

contributing to an understanding of Iran's image as a rogue state? It's instructive on this question to consider the broader strategic situation in the Middle East in late 2006. The security situation in both Iraq and Afghanistan was extremely unstable. Some in the U.S. State Department as well as leading Congressional voices[268] advocated direct dialogue with Iran in an effort to enlist Iranian cooperation in achieving a shared aim of greater stability particularly in Iraq, but also in the region more broadly. As Leonning notes in her reporting on the court's ruling of Iranian responsibility for the Khobar attack "The timing of the ruling comes as the Bush administration resists recommendations that it engage in diplomatic talks with Iran."[269] What this episode demonstrates is that by re-emphasizing Iran's image as a rogue state, a state sponsor of terrorism, the policy option of direct talks to achieve a mutual interest was effectively taken off the table, and the recommendations of those in favor of strategic rapprochement with Iran within the U.S. policy-making community were ignored.

What was the Iranian response to these charges? One year after the Khobar attack Mohammad Khatami became Iran's new president in a landslide election. A moderate, reformist leader, Khatami favored improved relations between Iran and the outside world, particularly with the United States and the West. As part of his "Dialogue of Civilizations" foreign policy approach, in his 1998 address to the United Nations General Assembly Khatami raised the issue of terrorism, stating the following: "We sincerely want to combat all terrorism, including state terrorism (*terrorism-e dowlati*). That is a high priority for Iran… To succeed, we must not only fight against this menace. We must

---

[268] For example, the bipartisan Iraq Study Group report, December 6, 2006
[269] Leonning (2006)

tackle its roots, through true international cooperation."[270] Khatami's intervention is noteworthy for two reasons. First, by specifically mentioning state terrorism (*terrorism-e dowlati)* Khatami's statement rejects the conventional definition of terrorism as an act perpetrated by non-state actors. The definition of the term, and therefore the norms, rules, and laws associated with policing the behavior implied by the term, are re-opened for contestation in this construction. The implication of Khatami's statement in this regard is that 'terrorism' understood as the targeted killing of civilians to achieve a political aim should not exclude the behavior of states. Khatami no doubt intended to raise the question of powerful state actors and the civilian casualties associated with their uses of force (particularly the United States and Israel). Second, Khatami's statement suggests a recommendation for counter-terrorist policy, namely that such policy should be focused on understanding the 'roots' or origins of terrorism, and that it can be best achieved through 'true' international cooperation. This is a call for an end to American unilateralism and for the inclusion of previously excluded actors, like Iran, in addressing the problem of transnational terrorism. This is a clear example of an Iranian leader attempting to shift from the passive role as a norm taker, to an active participant as a norm maker. This gained some traction in the late 1990s, and as discussed in the previous chapter there was some limited cooperation between the United States and Iran in fighting against the Taliban in Afghanistan in late-2001[271]; however, the deeper reconceptualization of the definition of terrorism and reorientation of counter-terrorist policy suggested by Khatami in his 1998 UNGA address was left unrealized.

---

[270] *Iran and the West: The Pariah State*, 14 February 2009
[271] The simple gesture of a handshake between Secretary of State Colin Powell and Iranian foreign minister Kamal Kharrazi at the United Nations headquarters in November 2001 was perhaps the most visible symbolic moment in this brief period of thawing relations.

In recent years, and particularly after the attacks of September 11, 2001, and the onset of the War on Terror, the figure of the terrorist has become the dominant representation of deviance on the international stage. While Iran's opaque behavior regarding the non-proliferation regime garnered more attention in the 1990s, 2000s, and 2010s, its activities in the domain of terrorism were an earlier justification for its classification as an 'outlaw' or 'pariah' state in the 1980s. The idea of Iran as a state-sponsor of terrorism has contributed to it being viewed as a 'spoiler' in the region. Whether pertaining to the situation in Iraq, Lebanon, Yemen, Bahrain, Israel-Palestine, and seemingly every significant conflict of interests in the region, the prevalence of the image of 'Iran as spoiler' belies and disregards the notion that Iran, like any normal state, may have legitimate national interests of its own, beyond acting as a disruptive, ideological, irrational, decaying force.

The fusion of the nuclear and terrorism issues in representations of Iran was clearly expressed by National Security Adviser Condoleezza Rice on January 31, 2002 (just two days after President Bush's 'Axis of Evil' State of the Union address) in the following remark: "Iran's direct support of regional and global terrorism and its aggressive efforts to acquire weapons of mass destruction belie any good intentions it displayed in the days after the world's worst terrorist attacks in history."[272] Rice's statement illustrates the difficulty that rogue states experience in rebutting their own designation as rogues, and suggests why these states more often dispute the legitimacy of their accuser or the interpretation of the norm itself rather than their own behavior. In Rice's construction, and indeed in the foreign policy posture of the successive American

---

[272] *Terror and Tehran* (2002) http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/tehran/axis/map.html, accessed 15 April 2016

administrations post-1979 toward Iran, any cooperative behavior on the part of Iran is muted by its failure to fully comply with other aspects of the hegemonic normative order. This demonstrates a disconnect between the tit-for-tat *rhetoric* of American presidents [for example, George H.W. Bush's 'goodwill begets goodwill' and Barack Obama's 'extended hand and unclenched fist'] and the diplomatic *practice* in which Iranian gestures toward rapprochement fail to generate trust and good intentions. The inertia of the status quo is clearly evident here, and it is important to note that it of course works in both directions. Iranian politicians are constrained by their own domestic politics concerns as well as the added necessity of not extending too far beyond the limitations of acceptable behavior defined by the Supreme Leader. By May 2002, the policy space of acceptable action in foreign policy for the Khatami government significantly shrunk, as Ayatollah Khamenei expressed his frustration with the Bush administration. In his May Day speech, Khamenei roused an audience of workers "The Islamic Republic of Iran will never succumb to America's bullying… Negotiations will not solve any problem. Negotiations with America are beneficial to the American government."[273] The notion of bullying expressed here echoes Mattern's argument that when soft power takes the form of verbal fighting it carries representational force which aims to challenge to the very identity of the targeted actor.[274] In the remainder of this section I explore the significance of the identity / interests distinction.

As is the case when analyzing Iran's behavior vis-à-vis the nuclear issue, so too in the domain of terrorism, in significant ways the discussion is fragmented by pre-given

---

[273] "Khamenei Refuses U.S. Dialogue" *Kuwait News Agency (KUNA)*, 01 May 2002; also reported in - http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/tehran/axis/map.html
[274] Mattern (2005)

ideas about Iran's collective identity as a rogue, one of the effects of which is to emphasize ideology as a driver of Iranian behavior, and de-emphasize its national strategic interests. As one example, if Iranian leaders are primarily driven by ideology rather than interests, how can we explain their support for majority-Christian Armenia in its conflict with majority-Shia Azerbaijan? Furthermore, ideology alone does not explain Iran's support for Hamas and Palestinian Islamic Jihad, both of which are Sunni Arab groups and not natural ideological allies with Shi'a Persian Iran. Nor can ideological factors fully account for Iran's support for the Assad regime in Syria. Though nominally Alawite, the Assad regime's political identity is secular Ba'athism, which is fields apart from Iran's revolutionary Shi'ism. These exceptions notwithstanding, Iran's construction as primarily ideologically motivated is doubly disabling because it fails to recognize that Iran may perceive and be capable of articulating and pursuing its own national interests in a way that differs from how external actors define those interests.

Iran's support for terrorism typically relates to three groups which oppose the Israeli occupation of Palestinian territories: Hezbollah, Hamas, and Palestinian Islamic Jihad. Given this, the question of terrorism is often collapsed alongside the issue of Iranian-Israeli relations, and particularly the threat of an Iranian attack against Israel, whether directly or through third-party groups. Discussion here often reverts back to a 2005 quotation from Iran's President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, claiming that he said 'Israel must be wiped off the map.' In fact, Ahmadinejad was quoting a statement made by Ayatollah Khomeini in 1978, which should more accurately be translated as: 'The Imam said: this regime which occupies Jerusalem should disappear from the pages of

time.'[275] [The Persian transliteration of Ahmadinejad's words are as follows: *Imam goft: een regim-e eshghalgar-e Qods bayad az safheh-e roozgar mahv shaved*]. The conceptual distinction between 'wiped off' and 'disappear' in terms of the former implying some action, some actor doing the 'wiping off,' and the latter indicating a potentially more passive historical process holds true in Persian as it does in English. The clarification of Ahmadinejad's exact phrasing notwithstanding, Beeman is correct in his assertion that blustery language was intended for a *domestic* audience of the conservative base and a *regional* audience of anti-Zionists in the Arab world. Moreover, Iran's president is effectively powerless concerning Iranian foreign policy, as this policy domain, particularly pertaining to its military and nuclear aspects, is under the authority of the Supreme Leader, not the president.[276]

The question one must ask when considering the likelihood of an Iranian attack against Israel is: does the logic of deterrence hold in this case? Given Israeli military superiority, Iranian leaders would effectively be signing a death warrant if they were to openly attack Israel. If, under a comparable threat in 1988, Iran was able to act strategically and accept a ceasefire with Iraq, is there sufficient reason to believe that it would not be able to separate interests and ideology in the case of Israel? The broader regional concern for Israel is likely not a direct attack from Iran, but the strategic effects of an empowered, emboldened Iran. This concern seems less pressing now (spring 2016) than it may have a few years ago, particularly given the decline in Iran's regional standing post-2011 in the wake of its support for the Assad regime in the ongoing Syrian civil war [particularly in much of the Sunni Arab world, but also the deterioration of

---

[275] Beeman (2013), p. 200
[276] Ibid., p. 200

Iranian-Turkish relations].[277]

Recent tensions between Iran and the United States concerning the issue of state-sponsored terrorism have resurfaced regarding a Supreme Court ruling in April 2016 which allows relatives of victims of the 1983 Beirut bombing to sue Iran for up to $2 billion from frozen Iranian funds. Commenting on the decision, President Rouhani argued:

> [The U.S. Supreme Court ruling] is a legal scandal for the U.S. From the political viewpoint, it also means continued hostility against the Iranian nation. This is [a] blatant hostility and an invasion from the U.S. administration. The great Iranian nation and the government, on behalf of the nation, will spare no effort to retrieve Iran's rights.[278]

Furthermore, Ayatollah Khamenei seized the political opportunity presented by the U.S. Supreme Court decision to reinforce the image of the United States government as an untrustworthy, hostile actor:

> Why should big world banks not want to deal with the rich Iranian market, with an 80-million population. There is an obstacle, and that obstacle is the United States. I have said a hundred times before that the U.S. cannot be trusted. The reason is becoming clear now.[279]

Although Iranian leaders have consistently denied responsibility for the attack, the United States has held Iran responsible. As indicated by Rouhani's comments cited above, this leads to a situation in which Iran feels that its rights have been lost or infringed upon, and therefore require retrieval. One domestic political effect of this and similar episodes is that it empowers those elements in Iran's government that are hostile to a restoration of Iran-US relations, and weakens the position of those, like President Rouhani and other moderates, who favor rapprochement.

---

[277] Stein and Bleek (2012); Unver (2012).
[278] Erdbrink (April 2016)
[279] Ibid.

A further complicating aspect of Iran's rogueness in terms of terrorism is that Iran strongly condemns, fights against, and is perhaps more threatened by many of the same terrorist groups as the United States and the broader international community. Iran, as a Shi'a majority country, is seen by takfiri groups such as ISIS, Al-Qaeda, and the Taliban as a nation of apostates and polytheists. Iranian leaders uphold and employ the language of international norms against terrorism in their denunciations of these groups. The disagreement is not about the validity of the norms against terrorism per se, but against the application of the terrorist designation to groups like Hezbollah and Hamas, which Iranian leaders have made no secret that their state supports. This disaggregation of state-sponsorship of terrorism is a seemingly obvious analytical step, but one which is often ignored or glossed over in much of the existing literature on Iran and terrorism. Does the fact that Iranian leaders uphold international norms against terrorism both in principle and in practice regarding some groups (for example, ISIS), lend any credibility, or at minimum a moment of pause, to their claim that the groups that they do support (Hezbollah, Hamas) are not terrorist groups, but armed resistance movements or political factions?

The capacity to define an entity as a terrorist group, or to dispute that definition, is unevenly distributed. Consider the example of Hezbollah. Iran and the United States disagree over whether or not Hezbollah is a terrorist organization, and international opinion is also divided on the question. Unlike a group like Al-Qaeda, Hezbollah is multifaceted in its political forms. It is an official Lebanese political party, holding seats in Parliament and the Cabinet, and at the same time it a paramilitary wing, as well as a broader presence as a social movement providing social services to underserved

constituencies throughout Lebanon, but especially in Shi'a majority areas in southern

Lebanon and the southern suburbs of Beirut. Former CIA officer Robert Baer draws an

interesting parallel between the different wings of Hezbollah and Sinn Fein and the IRA

in Northern Ireland, arguing the following:

> I don't agree that Hezbollah itself is a terrorist organization. It delivers powdered milk; it takes   care of people… It's a social organization; it's a political organization. It fights corruption…   Under the Hezbollah umbrella [is] the Islamic Jihad, which I call their special security… You can paint Hezbollah as a terrorist organization. You can do that for political reasons, but strictly speaking, it is many things.[280]

Human Rights, Regime Type and the Question of Violation

This section addresses the last of three behavioral characteristics most

synonymous with rogue statehood. Alongside the pursuit of WMD and sponsorship of

terrorism, the non-democratic nature of rogue states has been a recurrent theme in their

classification. Unlike the previous two sections, which focused on the external behavior

of rogue states, the analysis here will look at how a state's *internal* behavior has been

implicated in its categorization as a rogue state. Although not all non-democratic regimes

are rogues, all rogues exhibit non-democratic traits, or, at minimum, are not classified as

fully democratic. In the Iranian case, it is important to emphasize that the country's poor

human rights record or illiberal governance structures did not give rise to its image as a

rogue state. These factors garnered significant international attention only *after* questions

of Iran's behavior regarding proliferation and terrorism were raised.

Here I explore the relationship between democracy and state identity in the post-

Cold War international system. Additionally, I address what the treatment of rogue states

---

[280] *Terror and Tehran* (2002), "Hezbollah, Islamic Jihad, and Hamas"
http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/tehran/axis/map.html

tells us about the condition of democratic governance among democracies themselves. Furthermore, I analyze the relationship between the hegemony of democratic norms and institutions on the one hand, and how alternative interpretations of these norms have been represented as expressions of deviance, marking moments of closure and exclusion rather than moments of normative contestation.

Concerning democracy, human rights, and domestic political criteria of rogueness more generally, three themes consistently emerge in the literature. The first theme is the problem of overdetermination. There are many states with poor human rights records, but comparatively few states classified as rogues. What does this tell us? There are many non-democratic states, but only a small number of these, and arguably not even the most undemocratic of them, are classified as rogues. Second, is a country's human rights record what gives rise to its rogue image, or is this something that is considered later, after some other problematic relationship to the hegemonic normative order is observed? Put simply, what is the causal impact of different rogue behaviors (for example, non-proliferation, terrorism, human rights) in eliciting the rogue accusation? Third, how do rogues call into question the legitimacy of their accusers? Are the rogue's counter-accusations simply cynical attempts to deny or shift attention away from their own behavior, or are they attempts to challenge and disrupt both the legitimacy and universality of the hegemon's claims? My analysis suggests that the existing literature has too quickly dismissed the ways in which rogue states call into question the legitimacy of hegemonic states to act as the sole interpreters of international norms.

From 1998-2016, Iran received the same score from Freedom House for its level

of political rights, civil liberties, and overall freedom rating.[281] In the organization's 2016

report *Freedom in the World*, Freedom House scores 18 countries in the 'Not Free'

category with worse outcomes in terms of overall aggregate score than Iran.[282] Similar

findings come from other measures of democracy and human rights, including Polity IV,

the Democracy Index, and the Democracy Ranking.[283] Based on these findings it is

evident that while not all 'Not Free,' authoritarian, or autocratic states are considered

rogues, all rogues are 'Not Free,' authoritarian, or autocratic states. The question is: why

are some states with lower levels of political rights and civil liberties constructed as

rogues, while others are understood simply as dictatorships, failed states, weak states, or

states in transition?

The Saudi case merits further consideration in this regard. According to Freedom

House in 2016, Saudi Arabia received the lowest possible freedom rating (7.0), with the

10th worst overall aggregate score. Saudi Arabia scored higher than Iran on the scale of

autocracy according to Polity IV, receiving the maximum autocratic score of -10 in

contrast to Iran's -7 based on the 2014 data. Additionally, based on the Democracy Index

measure, Saudi Arabia in 2015 was more authoritarian (1.93) than Iran (2.16). Yet,

despite extremely low levels of political rights, particularly for women and ethnic,

---

[281] For all three measures, Iran scored 6.0 (1.0 = Best; 7.0 = Worst). Iran's civil liberties score improved from 7.0 to 6.0 between 1997 and 1998 owing to an increased tolerance of political expression. https://freedomhouse.org/

[282] Iran's aggregate score is 17 / 100 (0=Worst, 100=Best). The 18 countries with lower levels of freedom than Iran are as follows: Azerbaijan, Bahrain, Central African Republic, China, Cuba, Equitorial Guinea, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Laos, North Korea, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, South Sudan, Sudan, Syria, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan.

[283] For the Polity IV results, see http://www.systemicpeace.org/polity/polity4.htm; the Democracy Index: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Democracy_Index; Democracy Ranking: http://democracyranking.org/wordpress/rank/2012-2/; Interestingly, Polity IV shows that Iran was most autocratic in the period from 1956-1978, during which it scored the maximum score of -10 for autocracy. In the post-revolutionary period, the Islamic Republic's Polity score has fluctuated from -6 throughout the 1980s and mid-1990s, to as high as 4 in the early 2000s before falling back to a -7 in 2010.

religious, national, and gender minorities, and despite the complete absence of political pluralism and participation, Saudi Arabia is constructed not only *not* as a rogue actor, but as a key American ally in the region. One explanation could be that the Freedom House, Polity, and Democracy Index analysts misinterpreted and miscoded Saudi Arabia, and that American policy-makers understand the nuance and complexity of Saudi domestic politics more than these NGOs and academics. If that is the case, however, we should similarly be skeptical of the coding choices made regarding Iran, and indeed the entire methodology underlying these reports. A more plausible explanation is that the rogue image generally speaking, and Iran's rogue image in particular, is, as I have argued, not derived from its human rights behavior. Consequently, it is not clear that improvements in Iran's human rights record will lead to its declassification as a rogue state. To the extent that Iran's leaders appreciate this fact, rhetorical castigation of Iran as a rogue human rights violator are likely to ring hollow.

Like Freedom House, Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch also give condemnatory assessments of the human rights situation in Iran. Amnesty's 2015/16 Report, *The State of the World's Human Rights*, emphasizes Iran's status as a non-signatory to both the UN Convention against Torture (CAT) and the UN Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). Furthermore, the report highlights that the UN Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights in Iran was denied entry to the country by Iranian authorities, and other UN experts from the Human Rights Council were similarly denied access. The report raises the following human rights concerns: limitations on the freedom of expression and association (as evidenced by the house arrest of opposition leaders such as Mir Hossein Mousavi, Zahra Rahnavard,

and Mehdi Karoubi), torture and cruel and degrading punishment of prisoners, unfair

trials, religious persecution (focusing on the treatment of Baha'is, Sufis, converts from

Islam, and Sunni Muslims), discrimination against ethnic minorities (particularly Arabs in

Khuzestan, Azeri Turks, Baluchis, and Kurds), discrimination against women, and the

continued use of the death penalty (including against juvenile offenders).[284]

 While recognizing the seriousness of these indictments, the question is the same

as it was with the Freedom House report: Is Iran the worst offender on these measures,

and are they even the worst offender in the region? On all counts, the Amnesty report is

equally condemnatory of many other states that are not constructed as rogue actors. To

extend the comparative analysis with Saudi Arabia from the previous paragraph, the

Amnesty Report notes many similar human rights violations in the Saudi case as were

found in Iran. For example, the arbitrary arrest and imprisonment of government critics

is endemic in Saudi Arabia, particularly targeting human rights activists, women's rights

defenders, and members of the Shi'a minority. Migrants and foreign workers live in a

precarious, vulnerable situation, subject to several violations of their basic human rights,

arrest and deportation. According to the report, torture and the mistreatment of prisoners

were common and widespread, with courts imposing cruel and degrading punishments

such as flogging and the death penalty.[285]

 Similar findings come from Human Rights Watch. Dating back to August 1993,

periodic Human Rights Watch reports on Iran emphasize similar concerns as seen in the

foregoing discussion, including arbitrary detention, the status of political prisoners,

---

[284] For the full Amnesty report, see pages 190-194,
https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/pol10/2552/2016/en/
[285] The Saudi case is discussed on pages 309-313 of the Amnesty report

discrimination and violence against minority groups, repressive aspects of Iran's penal code, and public censorship. In addition to these, the Human Rights Watch reports also emphasize the undemocratic aspects of Iran's political system, particularly candidate vetting by the Guardian Council,[286] and the closure of political space for opposition groups. What is unique about the periodic Human Rights Watch reports is that they demonstrate that relative improvements in Iran's human rights record did not correlate with improvements in its general image in the international community. In fact, according to these reports the late-1990s witnessed an improvement in Iran's domestic political situation, while at the same time this was the 'golden age' of the rogue doctrine. Human rights violations and non-democratic governance alone are insufficient benchmarks to classify a state as a rogue. For rogue states, improvement on these fronts does not appear to be directly related to ceasing to be perceived as a rogue state, other things being equal. This holds true as well for the Polity scores discussed earlier, and is shown in Figure 2 on the following page. In the late-1990s and early 2000s Iran transitioned on this metric from a fully autocratic state to an open anocracy; however, this same period of domestic political reform corresponded with the rise of the image of Iran as a member of the 'Axis of Evil'.

American politicians have consistently emphasized Iran's human rights record as a reasons for its exclusion from the international community and its status as a rogue actor. Analysis done by groups like Freedom House, Amnesty International, and Human

---

[286] "Power Versus Choice: Human Rights and Parliamentary Elections in the Islamic Republic of Iran" 1 March 1996, https://www.hrw.org/report/1996/03/01/power-versus-choice/human-rights-and-parliamentary-elections-islamic-republic-iran; "Access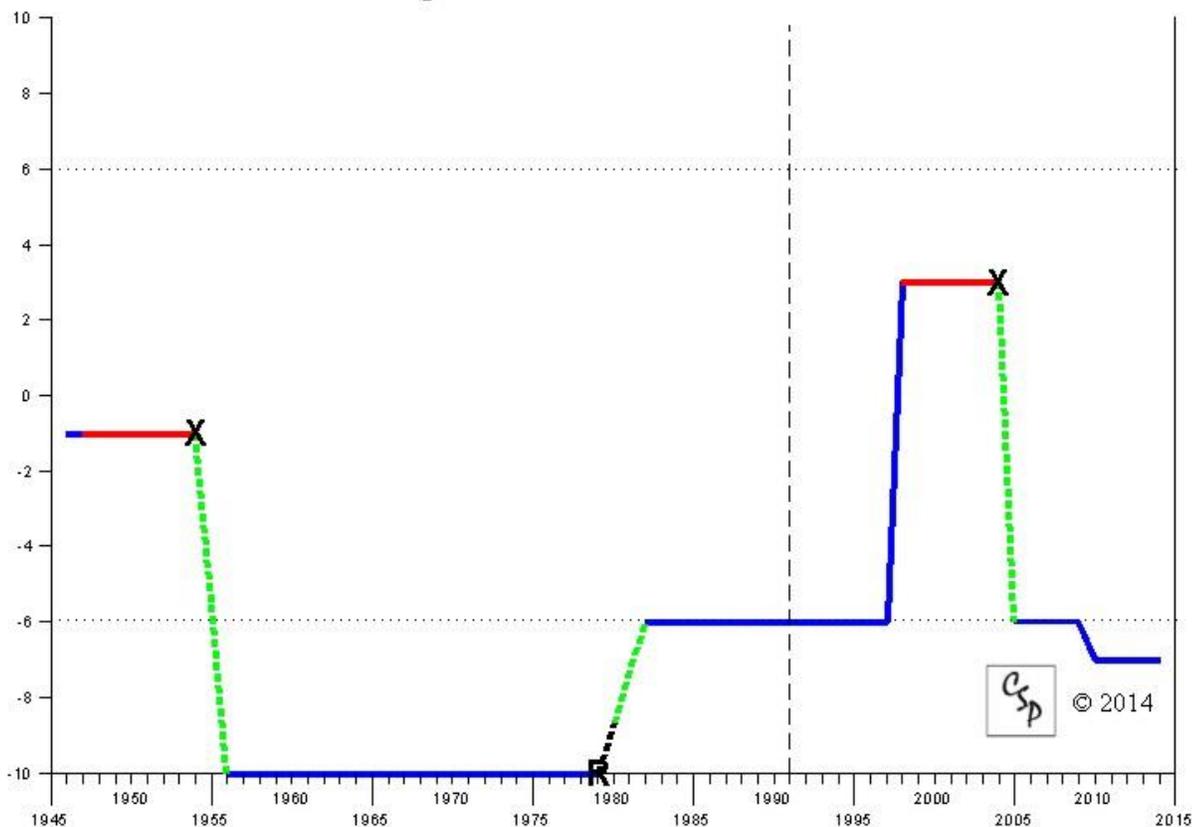 Denied: Iran's Exclusionary Elections" 12 June 2005: https://www.hrw.org/report/2005/06/12/access-denied-irans-exclusionary-elections

Authority Trends, 1946-2013: Iran

Fig. 2 - Polity IV, Country Regime Trends. http://www.systemicpeace.org/polity/irn2.htm

Rights Watch confirm that Iran does indeed have a poor human rights record, and is a

non-signatory to a number of widely diffused human rights conventions (CAT, CEDAW).

At the same time, Iran has signed and ratified many other human rights treaties,

including: the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights,[287] International

Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination,[288] International

---

[287] Signed 04 April 1968; Ratified 24 June 1975. All information on treaty ratification status from United Nations Human Rights, Office of the High Commissioner website - http://tbinternet.ohchr.org/_layouts/TreatyBodyExternal/Treaty.aspx?CountryID=81&Lang=EN

[288] Signed 08 March 1967; Ratified 29 August 1968

Covenant on Economic and Cultural Rights,[289] Convention on the Rights of the Child,[290] and Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities.[291] Furthermore, after the 1979 revolution, the Islamic Republic government continued to honor the treaty commitments established under the previous regime.

The basic human rights policy of Iran was clearly articulated in a memo from the Permanent Mission of the Islamic Republic of Iran to the United Nations on May 8, 2006.[292] The document outlines both Iran's understanding of the existing global human rights norms, and simultaneously reflects their efforts to redefine, reinterpret, or contest the meanings of this normative order. The document is particularly interesting because it demonstrates that the Iranian delegation was on the one hand adopting and reproducing the linguistic tendencies and organizational structure of international human rights norms, while at the same time presenting a reinterpretation of the meanings and commitments of those norms. As an example, consider the following excerpt from section 1.6 of the document 'Contribution to the Deliberation of International Human Rights Fora':

> The human rights policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran which
> -   is in full consistence with its international human rights commitments; and
> -   is reflective of national and regional particularities as well as cultural, historical and religious backgrounds,
>
> has continuously emphasized the significance of **interactive and cooperative** approach in resolving international problems of economic, social, cultural and humanitarian nature for the promotion and protection of human rights as stipulated in purposes and principles of the UN Charter as well as avoidance of confrontation and **resorting to political pressure**.
> The Islamic Republic of Iran's firm resolve in the promotion and protection of human rights includes inter-alia, undertaking of measures leading to further convergence of values and principles held by various countries with different

---

[289] Signed 04 April 1968; Ratified 24 June 1975
[290] Signed 05 September 1991; Ratified 13 July 1994
[291] Accession 23 October 2009
[292] 'Voluntary Pledges and Commitments' - http://www.un.org/ga/60/elect/hrc/iran.pdf

cultural, social and historical backgrounds, on human rights question. To this end, while enjoying a rich and ancient cultural heritage and civilization inspired by values and standards arising from its Islamic beliefs and perceptions, Iran attaches paramount important to human dignity, accordingly it has undertaken the following measures with a view to facilitating cooperation amongst different countries in the field of human rights:

- The Islamic Republic of Iran is fully convinced that politicization, selective approach and application of double standards significantly impede the genuine promotion of human rights as stipulated in Vienna Declaration and program of action (VDPA 1993) and should be avoided. To this end, the Islamic Republic of Iran's important and practical contribution was realized in the context of a resolution entitled "Enhancement of International Cooperation in the field of Human Rights" which was adopted by the General Assembly in 1996. Ever since, the said resolution has been adopted by consensus as a common initiate of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) in UNGA.
- In addition to the above-mentioned measure another resolution entitled "Human Rights and Unilateral Coercive Measures" was presented by the Islamic Republic of Iran and adopted by the General Assembly in the same year [1996]. Amongst other important concepts, the said resolution emphasizes the necessity of fostering a favorable international environment for growth and development of all countries, realization of all human rights and specifically underlines the necessity of refraining from unilateral coercive measures…[293]

Alongside the themes of enhanced cooperation, the avoidance of the selective application of human rights standards, the avoidance of double standards, and refraining from unilateral coercive measures, the document goes on to discuss the importance of cultural diversity, the dialogue among civilizations, and the bridging of Western and Islamic perceptions in the field of human rights. As a response to the notion that Iran as a rogue state is constructed apart from the international community, the document's concluding remarks are particularly illuminating, and they are as follows:

The above-mentioned pledges and commitments vividly testifies that the Islamic Republic of Iran is a responsible and effective member of [the] international community has continuously exerted its maximum efforts and extended its full and comprehensive cooperation with the respective UN bodies and organs for the promotion and protection of human rights… The Islamic Republic of Iran, if

---

[293] "The Islamic Republic of Iran's Pledges and Commitments on Human Rights" (2006), p. 5-6. http://www.un.org/ga/60/elect/hrc/iran.pdf

elected as Human Rights Council member, is determined to continue its interactive and cooperative approach and double its efforts for genuine promotion and protection of all human rights and fundamental freedoms through addressing the deficiencies and preventing political abuses of the council mechanisms which will pave the ground for realization of the common and noble goals of international community as stipulated in the purposes and principles of the United Nations.[294]

Finally, concerning the human rights issue in the Iranian case one should ask: how have Iranian leaders called into question the legitimacy of the hegemon (the United States)? Ayatollah Khomeini was a keen observer and commentator on American domestic politics, and Ayatollah Khamenei maintains that practice. Race relations and economic inequality are two of the most common themes that one observes when reviewing the public statements of Iranian leaders on America's moral authority. These counter-accusations of human rights violations are threatening to the hegemon because they threaten its monopoly on productive power on this issue and represent an attempt by the rogue state to redefine the meanings of legitimate, norm-compliant behavior.

Concluding Remarks

Countries that are inside a security system have an interest in maintaining and strengthening it; those that are kept out have the opposite interest.[295]

The inside-outside dynamic suggested by Kinzer in the above quote helps us understand how the dynamic of exclusion which have marked hegemon-rogue relations can, over time, function as a self-fulfilling prophecy. Iran's behavior in part can be explained by the pessimistic views some in the regime hold toward globalization. Ayatollah Khamenei, for example, expressed these doubts in the following:

What is globalization? It means that a group of world powers… many those who have influence over the UN and mainly those countries which have been colonialists in the past – want to expand their culture, economy and traditions

---

[294] Ibid., p. 11
[295] Kinzer (2010), p. 211

throughout the world. They want to set up a share-holding company in which they should hold 95% of its shares… They want to have authority. They want to make decisions. That is what globalization means.[296]

This conception of globalization as a process which empowers the strong and disempowers and dispossesses the weak is echoed in Rajaee's assessment of the theme of loneliness in the Iranian case.[297] Building on Arendt, Foucault, and David Riesman, Rajaee's analysis of the different modes of being separate from others (he discusses three: isolation, loneliness, and solitude) rightly highlights both docility and a kind of imposed immaturity as two of the significant consequences of being separate from others, and in both cases leading to a kind of effective incapacitation.

Furthermore, when considering the behavioral aspects of rogueness, we should consider to what degree the rogue image is responsive to changes along these behavioral dimensions. Can rogue states transition out of the category by reforming their human rights record, or by changing their relationship to the non-proliferation regime, or by transparently demonstrating that they are not sponsoring terrorist groups?

In sum, by analyzing the three behavior most commonly associated with the concept of the rogue state, this chapter has attempted to illustrate that the international system of American hegemony which gave rise to the rogue state is under significant challenge. This challenge manifests itself both strategically, in terms of the United States' capacity and willingness to 'go it alone' in achieving its international objectives, as well as normatively. The normative challenge is particularly important when it comes to defining what counts as a rogue behavior, and therefore who counts as a rogue state. As Onderco has argued, the question of audience is critical. The construction of the

---

[296] Solingen (2007), p. 179, citing Halliday (2005), p. 315
[297] Rajaee (2013)

rogue state requires that the accuser (the hegemon) successfully make two rhetorical moves to their audience (the international community): 1.) persuading the audience that the 'rogue' is truly a 'rogue,' which thereby establishes the legitimacy of the consequent set of policies which isolate and punish the rogue, and 2.) that the normative framework is legitimate.[298] As the capacity for the hegemon to convince the international community that the normative framework is legitimate decreases, then one can reasonably hypothesize that the hegemon's ability to successfully construct the image of a particular state as a rogue in the domain of that normative framework will also decrease. Following this, it makes sense why rogue states often protest the legitimacy of existing normative frameworks, whether in the domains I have discussed in this chapter (non-proliferation, terrorism, democracy and human rights) as well as others (for example, trade agreements, international institutions, sovereignty, territoriality, non-interference, humanitarian intervention).

The very idea of a rogue state, as I have argued, assumes agreement among an international community around some set of ideal values and legitimate actions. With the passage of America's triumphalist unipolar moment and the realization that claims of the 'end of history' in global politics were grossly exaggerated, the new reality concerning state behaviors in the domains of nuclear technology, terrorism, and regime type is one of contestation over the legitimacy and applicability of these normative frameworks rather than their universal diffusion.

---

[298] Onderco (2015), p. 6

Chapter 7

Conclusion

Introduction

By way of summation, in what follows below I dedicate attention to two questions in response to which I argue my analysis has important consequences. First, at the theoretical and conceptual level, how does my argument add to our understanding of the concept of rogue statehood? Second, at the empirical level, how does my analysis add to our understanding or Iranian politics and Iran's position in international relations? In considering how the rogue state came to be it is necessary to understand several characteristics of international politics: the structure of the international system, how power operates through particular modes of relations in that system, and how dominant powers make use of international institutions (norms, laws, organizations) to both reproduce their power and define and bound the international community. These processes create what theorists of international relations refer to as an international normative order. Under the international normative order defined by American hegemony, both in terms of material power and in terms of dominant ideas, the United States has sought to maintain the stability of this order by monopolizing the definitions of legitimate action and compliance with international norms and laws, and framing this definitions under the notion of universality. When these 'universal' practices and ways of being are challenged or violated, the violator is given the image of a rogue.

The Rogue State

> Today it's clear that the 'international community' defined by Western values is a
> fiction, and that for many states the term 'rogue' might just as well apply to the
> United States as to the renegades it seeks to isolate.[299]

---

[299] "The Myth of Rogue States" (January 2010)

An important point to revisit here pertains to the prospect of normalizing rogue states, or bringing rogues 'back in from the cold' as one scholar has phrased it.[300] Kinzer discusses two historical cases which suggest that normalization even under unfavorable circumstances is possible. The first case is US-China rapprochement under the Shanghai Communique (1972), with Kinzer arguing that "It was signed at a time when China was engaged in extreme 'bad behavior' – supplying weapons to North Vietnamese soldiers who were killing Americans every day. Nixon did not make good behavior a condition of negotiation. He recognized that diplomacy works in precisely the opposite way. Agreement comes first; changes in behavior follow."[301] The second case Kinzer cites is US-Soviet détente under the Helsinki Accords (1975) in Warsaw Pact and NATO members, including both the United States and the Soviet Union, pledged to respect human rights and solve future disputes peaceably. The question, then, is 'does normalization in the cases of the hegemon-rogue relation resemble the normalization which took place in these instances between the United States and China, or the United States and the Soviet Union?'

I argue that the more appropriate comparison comes from either the Libyan case, as analyzed by Takeyh, or the ongoing (at the time of this writing, spring 2016) normalization of relations between the United States and Cuba. There are two main reasons that the Libyan and Cuban cases are more appropriate comparisons than US-China and US-Soviet cooperation cited by Kinzer. First, Kinzer's examples took place under the international conditions of bipolarity, and while interesting, they do not help us

---

[300] Takeyh (2001) - The rogue in question for Takeyh is Libya.
[301] Kinzer (2010), p. 216-217

understand the unique dynamics involved in the hegemon-rogue relation that are the primary focus on this study. Secondly, at least in the US-Soviet example, détente took place between relative power equals, or at least between the two dominant state actors within the bipolar system. Again, this suggests that this is fertile ground for more traditional IR theories of cooperation, and is a departure from the specific scope conditions of relations *across* asymmetries of power, for instance between hegemons and rogues.

The future of the Iranian rogue case itself is at a moment of significant transition, particularly given the signing of the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA) that has established a framework for the normalization of Iran's nuclear program. While it seems clear that early pessimistic assessments of the Obama administration's efforts to restart relations with the world's rogue states were overstated, it's equally true that a Panglossian optimism is also misguided.[302]

The current international system of American unipolarity, like the previous systems of Cold War bipolarity and European colonialism, involves particular forms of hierarchical relations through which power operates. The hegemon-rogue relation, I argue, is the current form of this hierarchical relation. I have argued that the critical features or mechanisms of this relation are: exclusion, sanction, and transformation. I claim that the rogue state concept functions as an index or indicator in pointing out new fields of study or unresolved issues in the field of study of international order and its reproduction. Understanding continuity and change in a given international order in this framework offers new insights because it is neither focused primarily on state agency nor

---

[302] For an example of the early pessimistic view, see "The Myth of Rogue States" *Newsweek*, 28 January 2010, "… the outstretched hand has been met with the clenched fist."

on structural variables as traditionally conceived. Instead, the structure of the international system such as it is emerges *in and through* the ongoing relations among actors. Furthermore, perhaps particularly relevant under the systemic condition of unipolarity, we should focus on the hierarchical nature of relations between the strong and the weak, or the dominant and non-dominant, and how power functions relationally and dynamically (how it changes from place to place, and time to time). The ability or inability for rogue states to contest their rogueness therefore is a valuable indicator of both the stability of American hegemony and the acceptance of the universal values and international community which it attempts to uphold.

Iran in World Politics

The significance of Iran both regionally and internationally is apparent by its size, wealth, demographics, geographic location, and overall geopolitical strategic importance. As Germany was essential to post-war stability and prosperity in Europe, so too is Iran essential to stability and security in the Middle East.[303] Here we might ask: is a country reducible solely to its institutions? Is a country its political system, is it its people? Western representations of Iran-as-rogue betray a calcified practice of representing Iran at the surface level of its political institutions and the selected rhetoric from some of its more reactionary ideologues. As Kinzer notes, "Remaining imprisoned by old policies, old alliances, and old assumptions will produce only a repetition of old failures."[304]

What incentives does Iran have for normalizing relations? First, and most

---

[303] The comparison between Iran in the Middle East and Germany in post-war Europe comes from Kinzer (2010), p. 205
[304] Kinzer (2010), p. 217

significantly, normalization of relations under terms that the Islamic Republic could sell domestically as determined by Iran (no preconditions, based on mutual respect, etc.) would bolster the legitimacy of the regime at home. Second, the easing of Iran's economic isolation that would follow such normalization would likely reduce unemployment and Iran's dependence on oil as the motive force of economic development. Expanding economic opportunity in Iran could also help diminish the high levels of emigration among Iran's most highly skilled and educated young people, and may in fact encourage some of those living in the diaspora to reconsider the quality of life they could have living in Iran.

The Revolution Portrayed – or 'What is the Islamic Republic and Where is it going?'

While domestic political change has moved more slowly and experienced some setbacks in terms of democracy and free expression, the major accomplishment of President Rouhani's first term is undoubtedly the achievement of the nuclear deal in summer 2015. The signing of the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA) brought a sense of euphoria and possibility that had been absent from Iran's relations with the outside world since the late-1990s / early-2000s. However, as I discussed in the previous chapter, fall 2015 and spring 2016 brought significant challenges which deflated the initial optimism that followed the agreement. The resurrection of claims against Iran regarding the 1983 Beirut bombing brought new life to the image of Iran as a state sponsor of terrorism. Despite the easing of nuclear sanctions, non-nuclear sanctions remain in place, and Iranian leaders claim that the United States is using its influence to persuade foreign investors that investment in Iran is too high risk. As Ayatollah

Khamenei stated in a speech on his website in late April 2016, "America engages in tricks and practices deceit… They write on paper that banks can cooperate with Iran, but in practice they promote Iranophobia so that no one trades with Iran… American officials say that sanctions are still in place so that foreign investors get scared and do not come."[305]

In sum, what I have attempted to illustrate in the foregoing analysis is that the current literature on the rogue state concept suffers from a critical analytical shortcoming. One trend in the literature accepts the notion that rogue states exist, that they pose a serious threat to international security, and that these states can be identified based on certain behavioral dimensions, pertaining to nuclear proliferation, sponsorship of terrorism, and non-democratic governance and human rights violations. In this perspective, rogue states are constructed as willful violators of international norms and law. The task, then, is to develop a foreign policy approach [a counter-rogue policy] which names, sanctions, and excludes these states. This has been the objective of a vast body of work in the literature. A second approach takes the opposite view and instead argues that the very idea of the rogue state is either an exaggeration, and should therefore be dismissed altogether, or that if one sincerely accepts that rogue statehood is about the violation of international norms and rules then powerful states, most often the United States and other Western powers, should be considered rogues. After more considered reflection, this second approach is not as critical or conceptually emancipatory as it may first seem. This view continues to reproduce the notion that rogueness is primarily defined through behavior, rather than through an ongoing process of relation among

---

[305] Erdbrink (April 2016)

actors who are differently able to define their social world (in this case the international system) and persuade others that their worldview is definitive. What I have argued is that a relational, interpretivist perspective on the rogue state concept helps us capture the operation of power in these relations, and particularly how these relations aim to transform a subjective assessment into an objective fact. This operation of power is hegemonic to the extent that it is about generating consent in the international community that a highly emotive assessment of a state as a rogue is in fact nothing more than an objective, neutral reality.

My intervention contributes to the existing scholarly accounts of rogue statehood first by recommending a shift away from dispositional or structural explanations toward an understanding of the rogue state as a social outcome produced and reproduced through relations between accuser and accused states. I illustrated what this relational turn in our thinking about rogue states looks like by focusing on the hegemon-rogue relation, and historically contextualizing this relation again the patron-client and imperial-colony relational pairings in previous eras. Secondly, as a form of comparative analysis, I offered a unique approach to the case study. My aim was not to observe and accept the Iranian case as a real, actually existing 'rogue state' in order to say something about all rogue states. Instead, by looking at the Iranian case, I aimed to more fully elaborate on a particular form of relation to international order (hegemon-rogue relation), and through an analysis of this case developed a better understanding of the dynamic process of how that relation is both reproduced and challenged over time. The following comment from Kinzer captures the possibilities opened up by this dynamic conception of rogueness:

> A calm and prosperous Iran can be to the Middle East what a calm and prosperous Germany has been to Europe: a stabilizing power, a provider of security, and a

motor of economic development.[306]

Does Iran have hegemonic ambitions in the region, or are Iranian leaders responding to a power vacuum left behind in the wake of dramatic changes in the last fifteen years (in post-2001 Afghanistan, post-2003 Iraq, and the ongoing Syrian civil war and rise of ISIS)? Is the definitive answer to this question knowable? When experts in the American foreign policy establishment or think-tanks like the Washington Institute for Near East Policy definitively assert that Iran represents a looming Shia crescent, or they invoke the specter of Iranian / Shia expansionism, is their interpretation of events indisputable? I argue not. Where such analyses fall short is firstly in their oversimplification and reduction of 'Iran' from an inherently social kind to a natural kind, and secondly in their failure to appreciate the ways in which one's ideas, practices, and modes of relation toward an actor shape the ways in which that actor is conceived. It is critical to remember that this conception or process of imagining may have less to do with the object of one's imagination and more to do with one's own way of making sense of the world.

In June 2013, Hassan Rouhani won a landslide election to become the Islamic Republic's 7th president.[307] Rouhani himself is more a moderate conservative than liberal reformist, though he was backed by Iranian reformists such as former presidents Mohammad Khatami and Hashemi Rafsanjani. Moreover, compared to his opponents, Tehran mayor and hardline conservative Mohammad Baqer Qalibaf, principlist and

---

[306] Kinzer (2010), p. 206

[307] Based on information from Iran's Interior Ministry, voter turnout was 72.2% (36,704,156 total votes). Rouhani received 18,613,329 total votes (50.71%), and his next closest competitor, Tehran mayor Mohammad Baqer Qalibaf garnered only 6,077,292 total votes (16.56%). Source: http://www.moi.ir/Portal/Home/ ; English: http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-22916174

nuclear negotiator under the Ahmadinejad administration Saeed Jalili, former

Revolutionary Guards commander Mohsen Rezai, and close advisor to Ayatollah

Khamenei Ali Akbar Velayati, Rouhani was the clear choice for those favoring reform

and a departure from the politics of the Ahmadinejad era (2005-2013). As a personal

aside, I was in Iran during the run-up to the election. More specifically, when the

election results were announced on June 15th I was at a small restaurant in *Meydan-e*

Tajrish (Tajrish Square) in northern Tehran. As news of Rouhani's victory spread, the

streets quickly filled with his supporters who celebrated the result. On foot, bicycle,

motorbike, and in cars, the roadways became impassable as revelers waved flags and

placards, honked horns, and chanted slogans. The chants included: "*Ahmadi Bye Bye*"

(Ahmadi referring to outgoing President Ahmadinejad), "Long live reform, long live

Rouhani," "Nuclear energy is our inalienable right," and at their most bold "Mousavi,

Mousavi, I got back your vote," (referring to the highly disputed 2009 presidential

election results) and "Death to the dictator." The realities of governing in Iran,

particularly the limited foreign policy powers of the president and the ubiquitous

oversight of the Supreme Leader and Guardian Council, forced a cooling of this initial

optimism over the course of the year and a half between mid-2013 and 2015. The

gradualism of change notwithstanding, Rouhani's election marks a significant departure

from the course followed by the Ahmadinejad administration. Coupled with the fact that

Rouhani would be dealing with an Obama administration in its second term in office

suggested to many that US-Iran relations and Iran's status as a rogue actor could

potentially be transformed.

   Without question the definitive achievement of the Rouhani presidency in its first

term was the agreement between Iran, the P5+1, and the European Union on the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action regarding Iran's nuclear program. The agreement was reached on July 14, 2015, which is known as Finalization Day.[308] During the 90-day period after the JCPOA was endorsed by the United Nations Security Council (July-October 2015) the participants to the agreement made the necessary preparations to come into compliance with its terms, and on October 19, 2015, the agreement was adopted (known as Adoption Day).[309] Between October 2015 and January 2016 the IAEA carried out inspections of Iranian nuclear facilities to monitor compliance, and on January 16, 2016 (Implementation Day), the IAEA issued their report verifying Iran's compliance with the agreement.[310] Implementation Day brought into effect the formal termination of seven UN Security Council Resolutions against Iran sanctioning it for its nuclear activities, as well as the termination or suspension of nuclear-related economic and financial sanctions initiated by the European Union, and the cessation of enforcement of five US Executive Orders sanctioning Iran or freezing Iranian assets.[311] The recovery of Iran's frozen assets, which are assessed at approximately $100 billion, remains a point of contentious debate and is thus far still unresolved.

Four days prior to Implementation Day, on January 12, 2016, President Obama made reference to the progress made on the Iranian nuclear issue in his State of the Union

---

[308] The full text of the JCPOA can be found here: http://www.state.gov/e/eb/tfs/spi/iran/jcpoa/

[309] Presidential Memorandum, 18 October 2015 – "Preparing for Implementation of the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action of July 14, 2015 (JCPOA)" - https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2015/10/18/presidential-memorandum-preparing-for-implementation-of-the-joint-comprehensive-plan-of-action

[310] For the full text of the IAEA report "Verification and Monitoring in the Islamic Republic of Iran in light of United Nations Security Council Resolution 2231 (2015)" Derestricted 19 January 2016, see: https://www.iaea.org/sites/default/files/gov-inf-2016-1.pdf

[311] JCPOA, Section 18, UNSCR 1696, 1737, 1747, 1803, 1835, 1929, 2224. Section 21, Executive Orders 13574, 13590, 13622, 13645, and Sections 5-7 and 15 of 13628.

address. Outlining his vision of what threatens international security, President Obama

argued "In today's world, we're threatened less by evil empires and more by failing

states."[312] This remark suggests a shift in the framing of threat from an understanding of

threat originating with bad, evil, or rogue actors, and instead a threat originating from the

weakness and disorder of failed states. Threat, in this construction, is less a problem of

bad agency, and more one of deteriorating structural conditions. How exactly this notion

applied to the Iranian case was not clearly elaborated in the speech, and it is not yet clear

if this marks a substantive doctrinal shift in American foreign policy. Concerning Iran,

President Obama marked the distinction between the unilateralism of the Bush

administration in dealing with Iran's nuclear program and the success of the multilateral

JCPOA approach. On the importance of mobilization the international community to

address global problems, he argued "That's why we built a global coalition, with

sanctions and principled diplomacy, to prevent a nuclear-armed Iran. And, as we speak,

Iran has rolled back its nuclear program, shipped out its uranium stockpile, and the world

has avoided another war."[313]

The positive report by the IAEA and the progress from Finalization to Adoption to

Implementation Day from July 2015 to January 2016 was met with widespread optimism

in Iran as well. Commenting on Adoption Day in a televised public address, President

Rouhani emphasized the significance of the JCPOA, arguing that "Today is the end to

acts of tyranny against our nation and the start of cooperation with the world."[314] He

continued, "This is a reciprocal deal. If they stick to it, we will. The Iranian nation has

---

[312] https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2016/01/12/remarks-president-barack-obama-%E2%80%93-prepared-delivery-state-union-address
[313] Ibid.
[314] Hafezi, Charbonneau, Irish and Mohammad (July 2016)

always observed its promises and treaties."[315] Rouhani emphasized an image of Iran as

trustworthy, and that despite a history of perceived injustice his government was

committed to beginning a new era of cooperation based in international law. This

perspective was counterbalanced by the skepticism of Iranian hardliners and the Supreme

Leader who, in a public letter to Rouhani published on July 16, cautioned the President

that the text of the agreement required careful analysis and that the good faith of the

Western negotiating partners should be continuously scrutinized. Furthermore, in a

televised speech on July 18, Ayatollah Khamenei clearly outlined that the nuclear deal

would not initiate a wholesale change in Iranian foreign policy toward the United States:

> Our policy towards the arrogant US government won't change at all… US policies in the region are 180 degrees in contrast to Iran's policies… Whether this text (nuclear deal) is approved or disapproved, we won't give up supporting our friends in the region. The oppressed Palestinian nation, Yemen, Syria, Iraq, Bahrain, the honest mujahedeen of resistance in Lebanon and Palestine will enjoy our constant support.[316]

In parallel to Republican opposition to the JCPOA in the United States, Rouhani

and the moderate, reformist supporters of the deal in Iran also faced domestic opposition.

Of course, if Ayatollah Khamenei fully did not support the nuclear negotiations, then Iran

would not have taken part in the process in the first place. However, there is a sense that

Rouhani and his government may be pushing against the limits of the Supreme Leader's

appetite for normalized relations between Iran and the United States. The next significant

JCPOA commitment benchmark will not come until October 2023, eight years after

Adoption Day. This will mark Transition Day, at which point all EU sanctions against

Iran will be terminated and US sanctions against Iran will either be terminated or

---

[315] Hafezi et al. (July 2016)
[316] Dareini (July 2015)

modified. Two years after that in October 2025 (ten years after Adoption Day) is

Termination Day, at which time the JCPOA will terminate and, presumably, Iran will be

fully integrated in the non-proliferation regime as a normal state actor possessing nuclear

energy technology.

What can be said about the likely domestic political developments in Iran between

now (summer 2016) and Termination Day in October 2025? Analysis of Iran's 2016

Parliamentary and Assembly of Experts elections can shed some light on this possible

future trajectory. The Assembly of Experts is the body constitutionally empowered to

choose the next Supreme Leader in the event that the current Leader either dies or

becomes medically unfit to perform his duties. Concerns that Ayatollah Khamenei, now

in his late-70s and having undergone prostate cancer surgery in September 2014, may not

live until the next Assembly of Experts election in eight years (2024) made this election

particularly significant. Members to the 88-member Assembly are elected at the

provincial level, with representation roughly based on the population of the province.[317]

Centrist and reformist-backed clerics saw major gains in the election, increasing their

representation in the Assembly from approximately 25% to 60%. Most notably, in

Tehran, reformist-backed candidates won 15 of the 16 eligible seats, with the only

Principlist, Ahmad Jannati, finishing in 16th place. The highest vote-getters included

former President Rafsanjani with over 2.3 million votes, current President Rouhani, and

reformist-backed cleric Ayatollah Mohammad Emami-Kashani. Both the previous

Chairman of the Assembly of Experts, Mohammad Yazdi, and the staunch conservative

cleric Mohammad Taqi Mesbah-Yazdi failed to gain re-election to the body. The

---

[317] For example, as the most populous province, Tehran elects 16 members to the Assembly. Less populous provinces, like Ilam, Zanjan, and Hormozgan, among others, are elect only 1 member.

significant gains made by more centrist candidates notwithstanding, the election for the

new Chairman of the Assembly held on May 24, 2016, resulted in the selection of

Jannati, the sole hard-liner from Tehran province, as the Assembly's new Chairman. In

this capacity, Jannati will wield significant influence in the event of an election for a new

Supreme Leader.[318]

Iran's 2016 Parliamentary elections similarly witnessed sweeping gains for

moderate and reformist candidates, suggesting a vote of confidence in the path laid down

by President Rouhani in his first term in office. All 30 of the seats from Tehran province

went to candidates from the Reformist-Moderate list. The first round of voting was held

on February 26, and was followed by a second-round for constituencies in which no

candidate garnered the 25% vote threshold for victory on April 29. The List of Hope,

tacitly supported by President Rouhani and endorsed by both former Presidents

Rafsanjani and Khatami, gained the largest plurality of seats, with 42%. The Principlist

Coalition garnered 29% of the seats, while independents and smaller factions, many of

whom are reformist-leaning, accounted for the remaining 31%.[319] The next

Parliamentary elections will be held in 2020, so if re-elected in 2017, Rouhani will be

dealing with a more cooperative parliament than he encountered in his first term in office.

What about the United States political situation? The most obvious observation is

that the 2016 presidential election will dramatically influence the future course of US-

Iran relations. Donald Trump, the Republican nominee, articulates a return to the

demonization of Iran as a rogue, evil actor in global politics, and, like other prominent

---

[318] "Ayatollah Ahmad Jannati elected to head Iran's Assembly of Experts" (24 May 2016) *Agence France-Presse*. Jannati received 51 / 88 votes, while Tehran prayer leader Ebrahim Amini, the more moderate candidate though himself a conservative, received 21 / 88 votes.
[319] Results published by Iran's Interior Ministry: http://www.moi.ir/Portal/Home/

Republicans, has strongly criticized the JCPOA as "horrible" and "bad for Israel."[320] The

Democratic party nominee, Hilary Clinton, has articulated a view of the JCPOA more in

continuity with the position of the Obama administration; however, it's worth noting that

in a CNN Democratic debate in October 2015, when asked which enemy she was most

proud of making during her political career, Clinton haltingly responded: "Well, in

addition to the NRA, the health insurance companies, the drug companies… the

Iranians… probably the Republicans."[321] One might reasonably protest here and argue

that the pressure of the debate stage led Clinton to misspeak. I accept that this is most

likely the case; however, it is telling that Clinton chose to say 'the Iranians' rather than

the Iranian regime, Iranian hardliners, Ayatollah Khamenei, the Iranian government, or

some other more distinctive entity. The fact that 'the Iranians,' 80 million in number and

highly politically, socially, and culturally varied, can still be reduced to the simple image

of an enemy toward whom one should feel pride in having made an enemy of is, simply,

troubling. The persistence of the image of Iran as a rogue actor clearly cuts across the

partisan divides of American politics.

In June 2017, Iranians will go to the polls to cast their ballots in another

presidential election. Given the historical success of incumbents winning re-election[322],

it seems probable that Rouhani will be re-elected to a second term in office, which would

extend from 2017-2021. Further reason to support this prediction is that the crowning

achievement of Rouhani's first term in office, the nuclear deal, enjoys strong support

---

[320] Sherfinski, (July 2015)

[321] Datoc (October 2015)

[322] After the impeachment of the Islamic Republic's first president, Abolhassan Bani Sadr, in June 1981, and the assassination of its second president, Mohammad Ali Rajai, in August 1981, every subsequent Iranian president has been re-elected to a second term. Ali Khamenei (1981-1985; 1985-1989), Hashemi Rafsanjani (1989-1993; 1993-1997), Mohammad Khatami (1997-2001; 2001-2005), and Mahmoud Ahmadinejad (2005-2009; 2009-2013).

among the Iranian public. According to a telephone survey of the Iranian public

conducted by the University of Maryland Center for International and Security Studies, in

conjunction with researchers at the University of Tehran Center for Public Opinion

research, 57% of respondents expressed support for the deal, while only 15% opposed,

and 28% were ambivalent or unsure.[323] Additionally, the same study found when asked

"Would you prefer most of the Majlis to be composed of the supporters of President

Rouhani or Critics of President Rouhani?" 50% of respondents said they would prefer

supporters of Rouhani, and 24% said they would prefer critics.[324] Lastly, when asked to

assess the success of the Rouhani government in improving performance on a range of

issues, on four out of five measures Rouhani enjoyed significantly positive

assessments.[325]

Part of the problem, as recognized by long-time Iran analyst for the CIA Bruce

Riedel, is that the question of what motivates both Iranian leaders and everyday Iranians

has been based more on assumption than discerned through interaction or engagement.

This has created a substantial informational problem. Poor or absent information

regarding Iranian motives and interests, in effect, has facilitated the use of ready-made

stereotypes to act as the information filters and cognitive shortcuts in interpreting the

behavior of the Iranian regime. The images of the Islamic Revolution, Iran hostage crisis,

and of scowling, bearded, turbaned Ayatollahs reinforce the narrative strength of the 'Iran

as a bad actor with hegemonic aspirations' framing. In fact, Kinzer cites a striking quote

---

[323] Mohseni, Gallagher, and Ramsay (June 2015)
[324] Ibid., p. 23
[325] Ibid., p. 24. The specific issues and assessments of success are as follows: 1.) Improving the economic situation of our country (71% either very or somewhat successful); 2.) Reducing unemployment (42% either very or somewhat successful); 3.) Improving the security situation of our country (87% either very or somewhat successful); 4.) Improving Iran's relation with European countries (82% either very or somewhat successful); 5.) Reducing sanctions (70% either very or somewhat successful).

from former Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice on the dearth of intelligence in the State Department on Iran: "We don't really have people who know Iran inside our system… We don't really have very good veracity or a feel for the place."[326]

These accounts and the lack of 'feel for the place' are problematic for a number of reasons. Firstly, this framing minimizes the breadth of debate within Iran's domestic politics. As we have seen, for at least a century, Iran has been internally divided on the basic political questions that it continues to wrestle with today: the relationship between secular and religious authority, how to navigate between tradition and modernity, and how to advance democracy and government accountability while maintaining independence from foreign domination. Second, this view of Iran as either aspiring hegemon or maniacal rogue discounts the role that interests, rather than ideology, play in Iran's foreign policy-making process. Is Iran, like other normal countries, rational? Accounts which focus on the revolutionary language of the Islamic Republic's constitution to the exclusion or near exclusion of other broader structural and historical factors discount the fluidity of Iran's foreign policy. Iran's foreign policy has undergone several transformations in the post-revolutionary period alone, from the revolutionary fervor of the first years of the regime, to the pragmatism of the early 1990s, détente and a conciliatory posture in the late 1990s and early 2000s, to a more assertive, confrontational stance during the Ahmadinejad presidency, and again toward a more pragmatic, internationalist world view under the Rouhani presidency. If Iran is motivated primarily by religious ideology, then making sense of these significant shifts in both the rhetoric and policy of Iran's elected officials becomes quite an acrobatic effort. If, on the

---

[326] Kinzer (2010), p. 207

other hand, Iranian policy is based primarily on the rational pursuit of interests, most importantly its own state security and regime survival, in a changing strategic environment, then accounting for these changes in policy requires much less in the way of mental gymnastics and instead more of the everyday work of foreign policy analysis.

The deeper question for the international community vis-à-vis Iran is, simply, does Iran have *legitimate* interests? This debate on legitimacy is at the core, I argue, of the normative dispute between Iran and the United States and other Western powers in the post-Cold War period. Iran's rogueness ultimately hinges on whether or not its positions on a range of issues, from the nuclear question, to support for groups such as Hezbollah and Hamas, to democracy and human rights at home, are recognized as areas of legitimate difference, or dismissed as hostile reactions and provocations against the international community. This begs the following question: how does one determine the legitimacy of a state's position on a given issue in international politics?

One might reasonably begin by referring to the standards of international law. As illustrated in the previous chapter, however, the international legal terrain demonstrates the solidity of quicksand on many of these issues. What can be said of Iran's claims from a comparative political perspective? A number of similar cases are evidence of what seems to be a moving or unevenly applied standard of rogueness. For example, a number of states have acquired nuclear weapons outside of the framework of the NPT. Furthermore, several states have refused to sign and ratify the NPT, yet remain unclassified as rogues. The status of Hezbollah and Hamas as terrorist organizations also is disputed in the international community. Lastly, the level of democracy and human rights in Iran, when compared against other states in the region, is not clearly such an

extreme outlier. Several other states in the region are less democratic and have worse human rights records than Iran, yet maintain close ties with the United States and are not categorized as rogues. Considered together, this suggests that either a special confluence has led to Iran's position as a rogue state, or in support of my broader argument, the rogue designation has less to do with the accused state's behavior and is instead representative of the structured relations of power in the current international system.

One of the sources of tension in Iran's relation with the outside world results from what we might think of as a commensurability problem. This has parallels in the scholarly literature on China and its 'Middle Kingdom mentality'. To summarize, Iran perceives itself as large country with a rich history, and therefore aspires toward having the rights and status in the region, and indeed the world, commensurate with this self-image. This grandiosity exists alongside a self-image of victimhood, as explained by Kinzer in his observation that Iranians "… nourish a collective sense of grievance, a culture of resistance, and a profound belief that the rest of the world has spent centuries trying to keep them down."[327] This can be seen in recent statements by Ayatollah Khamenei in which he describes 'Iran-phobia' (*Iran haraasi*) as a persistent cause of tension in US-Iran relations.[328] Khamenei has claimed that American officials promote Iran's image as a rule-breaking, untrustworthy, deviant actor to the international community in order to discourage foreign investment in Iran, and in effect maintain a de facto sanctions regime in practice if not in law. In my view, the mistake of American foreign policy-makers has been to confuse Iran's desire for status and sense of historical grievance for an expansionist drive toward regional hegemony.

---

[327] Kinzer (2010), p. 214; For more on Iran's self-images, see Rajaee (2013)
[328] http://www.bbc.com/persian/iran/2016/04/160427_l12_iran_khamenehi_us_nuclear_deal, 27 April 2016

While the historical tendency for both European colonial administrators and American policy-makers in the Middle East has been one of making deals with ruling elites that exclude the citizenry, the United States should be equally cautious in Iran's case of making a deal with some in the opposition movement that excludes the regime. One of the lessons of Iraq is that regime change cannot be premised on a complete erasure and replacement of the existing institutional structures of a state, no matter how reprehensible that regime may have been. The political vacuum, institutional paralysis, and pervasive sense of alienation from the Shia-led central government in Iraq among many Iraqis is undoubtedly one of the background conditions which contributed to the rise of ISIS and the overall situation of political instability in the region. The notion that the United States or other outside powers can and should throw their support behind particular opposition figures in Iranian politics (for example, Mousavi and the Green Movement following the 2009 election crisis) reflects a dangerously short-term vision. Consider, for instance, the highly unlikely scenario that a foreign-backed, democratic opposition candidate was able to effect a *coup d'etat* against the Islamic Republic regime. What would Iran's political transition look like? Would the supporters of the regime simply give up on the Islamic Republic system? The reality is that even with mass popular support such a scenario in Iran would likely result in years of protracted civil war and a devolution of power that would greatly decrease the stability and security of both the country and the region. A shift in thinking away from the rogue state paradigm would help promote better policy outcomes in this regard.

Bibliography

Abrahamian, Ervand. 2008. *A History of Modern Iran*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Adib-Moghaddam, Arshin. 2008. *Iran in World Politics: The Question of the Islamic Republic*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Albert, Mathias, Lars-Erik Cederman, and Alexander Wendt, eds. 2010. *New Systems Theories of World Politics*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Algar, Hamid. 1981. *Islam and Revolution: Writing and Declarations of Imam Khomeini*. Berkeley: Mizan Press.

Allman, T.D. 2004. *Rogue State: America at War with the World*. New York: Nation Books.

Amin-Khan, Tariq. 2012. *The Post-colonial State in the Era of Capitalist Globalization: Historical, Political and Theoretical Approaches to State Formation*. New York: Routledge.

Amnesty International. 23 February 2016. "Amnesty International Report 2015/16: The State of the World's Human Rights." https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/pol10/2552/2016/en/

Amuzegar, Jahangir. 1997. "Iran's Economy and the US Sanctions," *Middle East Journal*, 51.2, 185-197.

Arjomand, Said Amir. 2009. *After Khomeini: Iran Under His Successors*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Arms Control Association. 2013. "Arms Control and Proliferation Profile: Israel." http://www.armscontrol.org/factsheets/israelprofile#14

"Ayatollah Ahmad Jannati Elected to Head Iran's Assembly of Experts." 24 May 2016. *Agence France-Presse.*

Azimi, Fakhreddin. 2008. *The Quest for Democracy in Iran: A Century of Struggle against Authoritarian Rule*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Baldwin, David A., and Robert A. Pape. 1998. "Evaluating Economic Sanctions," *International Security*, 23.2, 189-198.

Barkawi, Tarak, and Mark Laffey. 2002. "Retrieving the Imperial: Empire and International Relations," *Millenium*, 31.1, 109-127.

Barnett, Michael, and Raymond Duvall. 2005. "Power in International Politics," *International Organization*, 59.1, 39-75.

Bassil, Noah. 2009. "Israel: International Rogue?" *Australian Quarterly*, 81.1, 10-16.

Bayoumi, Moustafa, and Andrew Rubin, eds. 2000. *The Edward Said Reader*. New York: Vintage Books.

Beeman, William. 2008. *The 'Great Satan' vs. the 'Mad Mullahs': How the United States and Iran Demonize Each Other*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

-----. 2013. "US-Iran Relations: Mutually Assured Estrangement," Chapter 12 in *Iranian Foreign Policy Since 2001: Alone in the World*. Thomas Juneau and Sam Razavi eds. London: Routledge.

Bhaskar, Roy. 1979. *The Possibility of Naturalism*. Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press.

Blum, William. 2005. *Rogue State: A Guide to the World's Only Superpower*. London: Zed Books.

Booth, Ken, and Tim Dunne, eds. 2002. *Worlds in Collision: Terror and the Future of Global Order*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Brooks, Stephen, and William Wohlforth. 2008. *World Out of Balance: International Relations and the Challenge of American Primacy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Caprioli, Mary, and Peter F. Trumbore. 2003. "Identifying 'Rogue' States and Testing their Interstate Conflict Behavior," *European Journal of International Relations*, 9.3, 377-406.

-----. 2005. "Rhetoric versus Reality: Rogue States in Interstate Conflict," *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 49.5, 770-791.

Cesaire, Aime. 1972. *Discourse on Colonialism*. Trans. Joan Pinkham. New York: Monthly Review Press.

Chomsky, Noam. 2000. *Rogue States: The Rule of Force in World Affairs*. London: Pluto Press.

Cleveland, William L. 2004. *A History of the Modern Middle East*, 3rd ed. Boulder: Westview Press.

Cox, Robert. 1981. "Social Forces, States and World Orders: Beyond International Relations Theory," *Millenium*, 10.2, 126-155.

Dabashi, Hamid. 2006. *Theology of Discontent: The Ideological Foundation of the Islamic Revolution in Iran*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers.

-----. 2007. *Iran: A People Interrupted*. New York: The New Press.

-----. 2008. *Islamic Liberation Theology: Resisting the Empire*. London: Routledge.

-----. 2010. *Iran, the Green Movement and the USA: The Fox and the Paradox*. London: Zed Books.

-----. 2013. Interview with *VICE News*. "Redefining Revolution in Syria and the New World Order: VICE Podcast 016," September 19, 2013.

Dareini, Ali Akbar. 18 July 2015. "Iran Says Nuke Deal Won't Change Its US Policy," *Associated Press.*

Datoc, Christian. 13 October 2015. "The Enemy Hillary's Most Proud Of? 'Republicans,'" *The Daily Caller*.

Democracy Index 2015. "Democracy in an Age of Anxiety." A report by the Economist Intelligence Unit. http://www.yabiladi.com/img/content/EIU-Democracy-Index-2015.pdf

Democracy Ranking 2015. Democracy Ranking Association. Dir. Sandor Hasenohrl. Vienna, Austria. http://democracyranking.org/wordpress/

Derrida, Jacques. 2005. *Rogues: Two Essays on Reason*. Trans. Pascale-Anne Brault and Michael Naas. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Dion, Douglas. 2003. "Evidence and Inference in the Comparative Case Study," in *Necessary Conditions: Theory, Methodology, and Applications.* Eds. Gary Goertz and Harvey Starr. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc. 95-112.

Drezner, Daniel W. 1999. *The Sanctions Paradox: Economic Statecraft and International Relations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dunaway, Wilma. 2003. "Ethnic Conflict in the Modern World-System: The Dialectics of Counter-Hegemonic Resistance in an Age of Transition," *Journal of World-Systems Research*, 9.1, 3-34.

Emadi, Hafizullah. 2001. *Politics of the Dispossessed: Superpowers and Developments in the Middle East*. London: Praeger.

Encyclopaedia Iranica, online edition. http://www.iranicaonline.org/

-----. Mina, Parviz. 2004. "Oil Agreements in Iran: 1901-1978."

Erdbrink, Thomas. 27 April 2016. "U.S. Ruling Over Compensation for '83 Beirut Bombing Riles Iran," *The New York Times*.

Erlich, Reese. 2016. "Foreign investments spark controversy in Iran," accessed online 16 March 2016, http://www.dw.com/en/foreign-investments-spark-controversy-in-iran/a-19117475.

Fayazmanesh, Sasan. 2003. "The Politics of the U.S. Economic Sanctions against Iran," *Review of Radical Political Economics*, 35.3, 221-240.

Freedom House. 2016. "Freedom in the World" reports. https://freedomhouse.org/report-types/freedom-world

Gerring, John. 2009. "The Case Study: What It Is and What It Does," in *Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics*, eds. Charles Boix and Susan Stokes. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Goddard, Stacie. 2010. *Indivisible Territory and the Politics of Legitimacy: Jerusalem and Northern Ireland*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Goodarzi, Jubin M. 2013. "Syria and Iran: Alliance Cooperation in a Changing Regional Environment," *Middle East Studies*, 4.2, 31-54.

Gordy, Katherine, and Jee Sun E. Lee. 2009. "Rogue Specters: Cuba and North Korea at the Limits of US Hegemony," *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political*, 34.3, 229-248.

Griffiths, Martin and Terry O'Callaghan. 2002. *International Relations: The Key Concepts*. London: Routledge.

Grovogui, Siba N. 2013. "Postcolonialism," in *International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity*. Third Edition. Eds. Tim Dunne, Milja Kurki, and Steve Smith. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hafezi, Parisa, Louis Charbonneau, John Irish, and Arshad Mohammad. 14 July 2016. "Iran Deal Reached, Obama Hails Step Towards Hopeful World," *Reuters*.

Haggai, Ram. 2009. *Iranophobia: The Logic of an Israeli Obsession*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Halliday, Fred. 2005. *The Middle East in International Relations: Power, Politics, and Ideology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hardt, Michael, and Antonio Negri. 2000. *Empire*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Harkavy, Robert E. 1981. "Pariah States and Nuclear Proliferation," *International Organization*, 35.1, 135-163.

Harvey, David. 2003. *The New Imperialism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

"Hassan Rouhani wins Iran presidential election." 15 June 2013. *BBC News*. http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-22916174

Haydu, Jeffrey. 1998. "Making Use of the Past: Time Periods as Cases to Compare and as Sequences of Problem Solving," *American Journal of Sociology*, 104.2, 339-371.

Heradstveit, Daniel, and Matthew G. Bonham. 2007. "What the Axis of Evil Metaphor Did to Iran," *Middle East Journal*, 61.3, 421-440.

Hoyt, Paul D. 2000a. "The 'Rogue State' Image in American Foreign Policy," *Global Society*, 14.2, 297-310.

-----. 2000b. "'Rogue States' and International Relations Theory," *Journal of Conflict Studies*, 20.2.

Human Rights Watch. 1 March 1996. "Power Versus Choice: Human Rights and Parliamentary Elections in the Islamic Republic of Iran." https://www.hrw.org/report/1996/03/01/power-versus-choice/human-rights-and-parliamentary-elections-islamic-republic-iran

-----. 12 June 2005. "Access Denied: Iran's Exclusionary Elections." https://www.hrw.org/report/2005/06/12/access-denied-irans-exclusionary-elections

Hurrell, Andrew. 2007. *On Global Order: Power, Values, and the Constitution of International Society*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

International Atomic Energy Agency. "Verification and Monitoring in the Islamic Republic of Iran in light of United Nations Security Council Resolution 2231 (2015." Derestricted 19 January 2016. https://www.iaea.org/sites/default/files/gov-inf-2016-1.pdf

Iran: The Essential Guide to a Country on the Brink. 2006. Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons.

Iran and the West: The Man Who Changed the World. 7 February 2009. Producer Norma Percy. BBC Two. Documentary film.

Iran and the West: The Pariah State. 14 February 2009. Producer Norma Percy. BBC Two. Documentary film.

Iran and the West: Nuclear Confrontation. 21 February 2009. Producer Norma Percy. BBC Two. Documentary film.

Jackson, Patrick, and Daniel Nexon. 2009. "The Relational Turn in the Study of World Politics," *50ᵗʰ Annual Convention of the International Studies Association*. New York, NY.

Jentleson, Bruce. 2004. *American Foreign Policy: The Dynamics of Choice in the 21ˢᵗ Century*, 2ⁿᵈ ed. New York: W.W. Norton & Company.

Kahler, Miles, ed. 2009. *Networked Politics: Agency, Power, and Governance*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Kapur, Ashok. 1996. "Rogue States and the International Nuclear Order," *International Journal*, 51.3, 420-439.

Katzenstein, Peter J. 2003. "Same War – Different Views: Germany, Japan, and Counterterrorism," *International Organization*, 57.4, 731-760.

Keddie, Nikki R. 2003. *Modern Iran: Roots and Results of Revolution*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Kelly, Michael, ed. 1998. "Two Lectures," *Critique and Power: Recasting the Foucault/Habermas Debate*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

"Khamenei Refuses U.S. Dialogue." 01 May 2002. *Kuwait News Agency (KUNA)*.

Kinzer, Stephen. 2003. *All the Shah's Men: An American Coup and the Roots of Middle East Terror*. Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons.

-----. 2010. *Reset: Iran, Turkey, and America's Future*. New York: St. Martin's Griffin.

Klare, Michael. 1995. *Rogue States and Nuclear Outlaws: America's Search for a New Foreign Policy*. New York: Hill and Wang.

-----. 1998. "The Rise and Fall of the 'Rogue Doctrine': The Pentagon's Quest for a Post- Cold War Military Strategy," *Middle East Report*, No. 208.

Krauthammer, Charles. 1990. "The Unipolar Moment," *Foreign Affairs*, 70.1, 23-33.

Lake, Anthony. 1994. "Confronting Backlash States," *Foreign Affairs*, 73.2, 45-55.

Leonnig, Carol D. 23 December 2006. "Iran Held Liable in Khobar Attack," *The Washington Post*.

Linz, Juan J., and Alfred C. Stepan. "Toward Consolidated Democracies," *Journal of Democracy*, 7.2, 14-33.

Litwak, Robert. 2012. *Outlier States: American Strategies to Change, Contain, or Engage Regimes*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Mahoney, James. 2000. "Path Dependence in Historical Sociology," *Theory and Society*, 29.4, 507-548.

Mattar, Karim. 2012. "Rereading the 'Rogue State': The Politics of Gender in Anglophone Iranian Literature," *Interventions: International Journal of Postcolonial Studies*, 14.4, 551-568.

Mattern, Janice Bially. 2005. "Why Soft Power Isn't So Soft: Representational Force and the Sociolinguistic Construction of Attraction in World Politics," *Millenium*, 33.3, 583-612.

McMichael, Philip. 1990. "Incorporating Comparison within a World-Historical Perspective: An Alternative Comparative Method," *American Sociological Review*, 55.3, 385-397.

Milani, Abbas. 2005. "A Historical Perspective," *Journal of Democracy*, 16.4, 23-34.

-----. 2011. *The Shah*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Milani, Mohsen. 2013. "Why Tehran Won't Abandon Assad(ism)," *The Washington Quarterly*, 36.4, 79-93.

Ministry of Interior. Islamic Republic of Iran. http://www.moi.ir/Portal/Home/

Mirsepassi, Ali. 2000. *Intellectual Discourse and the Politics of Modernization: Negotiating Modernity in Iran*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

-----. 2010. *Democracy in Modern Iran: Islam, Culture, and Political Change*. New York: New York University Press.

Moaddel, Mansoor. 1992. "Shi'I Political Discourse and Class Mobilization in the Tobacco Movement of 1890-1892," *Sociological Forum*, 7.3, 447-468.

Moaveni, Azadeh. 2016. "Not the Iran I Had Hoped For," *The New York Times*, op-ed, March 1.

Mohseni, Ebrahim, Nancy Gallagher, and Clay Ramsay. June 2015. "Iranian Public Opinion on the Nuclear Negotiations." Center for International & Security Studies at Maryland, full paper: http://www.cissm.umd.edu/sites/default/files/UTCPOR-CISSM-PA%20final%20report%20062215.pdf

Moslem, Mehdi. 2002. *Factional Politics in Post-Khomeini Iran*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press.

Mottahedeh, Roy. 2000. *The Mantle of the Prophet: Religion and Politics in Iran*. Oxford: Oneworld.

Mueller, John, and Karl Mueller. 1999. "Sanctions of Mass Destruction," *Foreign Affairs*, 78.3, 43-53.

Munck, Gerardo L. 1993. "Between Theory and History and Beyond Traditional Area Studies: A New Comparative Perspective on Latin America," *Comparative Politics*, 475-498.

Nexon, Daniel. 2009. *The Struggle for Power in Early Modern Europe: Religious Conflict, Dynastic Empires, and International Change*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Nye, Joseph S. Jr. 2004. *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*. New York: PublicAffairs.

Nye, Joseph S. Jr., and David A. Welch. 2011. *Understanding Global Conflict and Cooperation: An Introduction to Theory and History*. New York: Learning Solutions.

Onderco, Michal. 2015. "Constructing Deviance in International Politics," Working paper, European University Institute, Max Weber Programme. http://cadmus.eui.eu/bitstream/handle/1814/35679/MWP2015_07.pdf?sequence=1

O'Reilly, K.P. 2007. "Perceiving Rogue States: The Use of the 'Rogue State' Concept by U.S. Foreign Policy Elites," *Foreign Policy Analysis*, 3, 295-315.

Osanloo, Arzoo. 2013. "Iran," Chapter 11 in *Case Studies in Comparative Politics*, ed. David Samuels. Boston: Pearson.

Pape, Robert A. 1997. "Why Economic Sanctions Do Not Work," *International Security*, 22.2, 90-136.

-----. 1998. "Why Economic Sanctions Still Do Not Work," *International Security*, 23.1, 66-77.

-----. 2005. *Dying to Win: The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism*. New York: Random House.

Persaud, Randolph. 2001. *Counter-Hegemony and Foreign Policy: The Dialectics of Marginalized and Global Forces in Jamaica*. Albany: SUNY Press.

Pierson, Paul. 2000. "Increasing Returns, Path Dependence, and the Study of Politics," *The American Political Science Review*, 94.2, 251-267.

"Polity IV Project: Political Regime Characteristics and Transitions, 1800-2013." Dir. Monty G. Marshall. http://www.systemicpeace.org/polity/polity4.htm

Pourebrahimi, Arash, and Madeleine O. Hosli. 2015. "Voter Turnout in the Iranian Presidential Elections: The Impact of Ideological Differences Among Candidates," working paper presented at the 73rd Annual Midwest Political Science Association Conference, April 16-19.

"President Barack Obama's Inaugural Address." 21 January 2009. https://www.whitehouse.gov/blog/2009/01/21/president-barack-obamas-inaugural-address

Presidential Memorandum. 18 October 2015. "Preparing for Implementation of the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action of July 14, 2015 (JCPOA)." https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2015/10/18/presidential-memorandum-preparing-for-implementation-of-the-joint-comprehensive-plan-of-action

Przeworski, Adam, and Fernando Limongi. 1997. "Modernization: Theories and Facts," *World Politics*, 49.2, 155-183.

Ragin, Charles C., and Howard Saul Becker. 1992. *What is a Case?: Exploring the Foundations of Social Inquiry*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Rajaee, Farhang. 2013. "Conclusion: Why 'Alone'?" in *Iranian Foreign Policy Since 2001: Alone in the World*. Thomas Juneau and Sam Razavi eds. London: Routledge.

Razavi, Sam. 2013. "Iran's Levantine Ambitions," Chapter 7 in *Iranian Foreign Policy Since 2001: Alone in the World*. Thomas Juneau and Sam Razavi eds. London: Routledge.

Razoux, Pierre. 2015. *The Iran-Iraq War*. Trans. Nicholas Elliott. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Risen, James. 13 April 2012. "Seeking Nuclear Insight in Fog of the Ayatollah's Utterances," *The New York Times*.

Risen, James, and Jane Perlez. 23 June 2001. "Terrorism and Iran: Washington's Policy Performs a Gingerly Balancing Act," *The New York Times*.

Roshandel, Jalil, with Nathan Chapman Lean. 2011. *Iran, Israel, and the United States: Regime Security vs. Political Legitimacy*. Santa Barbara: Praeger.

Rubin, Michael. 2000. "Iran's 'Dialogue of Civilizations' – A First-Hand Account," *Middle East Quarterly*, 7.1, 31-38.

Samuels, David. 2013. *Comparative Politics*. Boston: Pearson.

Saunders, Elizabeth N. 2006. "Setting Boundaries: Can International Society Exclude 'Rogue States'?" *International Studies Review*, 8.1, 23-53.

Sayer, Andrew. 1992. *Method in Social Science*, 2nd ed. London: Routledge.

Schwartz, Jonathan B. 2007. "Dealing with a 'Rogue State': the Libya Precedent," *American Journal of International Law*, 553-580.

Sherfinski, David. 14 July 2015. "Donald Trump Blasts 'Horrible' Iran Nuclear Deal," *The Washington Times*.

Simmons, Beth, and Paulette Lloyd. 2010. "Subjective Frames and Rational Choice: Transnational Crime and the Case of Human Trafficking," *Unpublished paper*. Department of Governance, Harvard University, Cambridge.

Solingen, Etel. 2007. *Nuclear Logics: Contrasting Paths in East Asia and the Middle East*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Stein, Aaron, and Philipp C. Bleek. 2012. "Turkish-Iranian Relations: From 'Friends with Benefits' to 'It's Complicated,'" *Insight Turkey*, 14.4, 137-150.

Takeyh, Ray. 2001. "The Rogue Who Came in from the Cold," *Foreign Affairs*, 80.3, 62-72.

-----. 2009. *Guardians of the Revolution: Iran and the World in the Age of the Ayatollahs*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Terror and Tehran. 2002. Dir. Neil Docherty. *PBS: Frontline*. http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/tehran/axis/map.html

The Iraq Study Group Report. 2006. James A. Baker, III, and Lee H. Hamilton, Co-Chairs. New York: Vintage Books.

"The Myth of Rogue States," Newsweek Staff. 28 January 2010. *Newsweek*.

Tilly, Charles. 2005. *Identities, Boundaries, and Social Ties*. New York: Routledge.

United Nations. Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights.
http://www.ohchr.org/EN/pages/home.aspx

United Nations General Assembly. 2010. 65th Session. Address by the President of the
Islamic Republic of Iran, Mahmoud Ahmadinejad. http://gadebate.un.org/65/iran-islamic-republic

United States. Department of State website. "State Sponsors of Terrorism."
http://www.state.gov/j/ct/list/c14151.htm

-----. 14 July 2015. "Iran Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA)."
http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/245317.pdf

Unver, H. Akin. 2012. "How Turkey's Islamists Fell Out of Love with Iran," *Middle East
Policy*, 19.4, 103-109.

Van Inwegen, Patrick. 2011. *Understanding Revolution*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner.

Wagner, Wolfgang, Wouter Werner, and Michal Onderco, eds. 2014. *Deviance in
International Relations: 'Rogue States' and International Security*. New York:
Palgrave Macmillan.

Weigall, David. 2002. *International Relations: A Concise Companion*. New York: Arnold.

Wendt, Alexander. 1998. "On Constitution and Causation in International Relations,"
Review of International Studies, 24.5, 101-118.

-----. 1999. *Social Theory of International Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge
University Press.

Zizek, Slavoj. 1989. *The Sublime Object of Ideology*. London: Verso.

Zoubir, Yahia H. 2002. "Libya in US Foreign Policy: From Rogue State to Good
Fellow?" *Third World Quarterly*, 23.1, 31-53.