

---

*Politics Quarterly*  
Journal of the Faculty of Law & Political Science

Volume 53, Issue 2, Summer 2023

**Abstracts and References in English**

---



## Table of Contents

*Faslnāmeḥ-ye siyāsāt (Politics Quarterly) 53, 2 (Summer 2023): 215-424*

Authors	Title	Pages
Javadi Arjmand, M. Jafar; Amin Moeini	The Drivers of Change in the Middle East Security Environment and the Future of Iran's Security	215-235
Saniabadi, Elham Rasooli	A Comparative Study of the Alliance Strategies of States in the International System	237-264
Zahedgharavi, Mehdi Saeed; Karimipotanlar	Causes of Corruption: An Economic Approach	265-290
Fadaei Mehrabani, Mehdi; Keyvan Khosravi.	The Entanglement of Aristotle's Ethics and Politics as the Metaphysics of Human Affairs	291-314
Gheisari, Noorollah	Elections and Resource Mobilization: A Theoretical Model for Explanation of Electoral Competitions	315-342
Karami, Jahangir	Russian Theory of International Relations: Debate of Identity, Security and Development	343-367
Motaghi, Ebrahim M.; Reza Naseri	Analyzing Institutional Factors Influencing the Formation of the State and its Performance in Afghanistan, 2001-2014	369-398
Hadian, Nasser & Issa Adeli	Transformation in the US Offshore Balancing and the Regional Rivalry between Iran and the GCC, 2001-2021	399-424



Research Paper

## The Drivers of Change in the Middle East Security Environment and the Future of Iran's Security

Mohammad Jafar Javadi Arjmand<sup>1\*</sup> , Amin Moeini<sup>2</sup> 

<sup>1</sup> Corresponding Author: Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, Faculty of Law & Political Science, University of Tehran, Iran. Email: [mjjavad@ut.ac.ir](mailto:mjjavad@ut.ac.ir)

<sup>2</sup> PhD in Political Science, Department of Political Science, Faculty of Law & Political Science, University of Tehran, Iran.

### Abstract

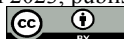
The surrounding environment of the region has a fluid and changing nature, and thus the national security of each of the states in the Middle East depends on understanding the dynamics and reliability of the regional security environment. In recent years, especially after the Arab Spring, the Middle East has seen rapid changes and emerging trends that have influenced regional security, patterns of coalition building, and regional security architecture. The speed, depth and scope of the transformation in the security environment of the Middle East are to such an extent that identifying the effective *drivers* and understanding the upcoming trends has become one of the significant research topics in political and international studies. Accordingly, the main objectives of the present study are to identify and analyze national, regional, and international drivers of change within the theoretical framework of Buzan's regional security complex (RSC), and find appropriate answers to the following questions: a) What are the drivers of transformation in the security environment of the Middle East; and b) How do these developments influence the future of Iran's security?

Remarkable transformation is taking place at three national, regional and international levels. Thus, in the research hypothesis, the authors postulate that the drivers of change in the security environment of the Middle East have a significant impact on Iran's security. The drivers include the fundamental forces which influence the security environment of the Middle East, and in turn have implications for Iran's security. The drivers which

---

**\*How to Cite:** Javadi Arjmand, Mohammad Jafar; and Amin Moeini. (2023, Summer) "The Drivers of Change in the Middle East Security Environment and the Future of Iran's Security," *Faslnāmeḥ-ye siyāsāt (Politics Quarterly)* 53, 2: 215-235, <DOI:10.22059/JPQ.2023.343868.1007964>.

Manuscript received: 30 July 2022; final revision received: 15 March 2023; accepted: 16 April 2023, published online: 17 September 2023



influence regional and national security include the growth of unstable governments, the multiplicity and severity of regional security challenges which had been triggering dangerous competitions between adversaries and rivals (e.g., the escalation of tension in Iran-Saudi relations), the success and failures of coalition building in the Israel-Arab axis with repercussions for Iran's security policies and strategic stability, the redefinition of the roles and interests of the Great Powers in the region which had been leading to the intensification of their rivalries and changes in their military-security doctrines. Trend analysis of qualitative data is used to identify and explain key developments in the Middle East and to understand what the future will look like for Iran's security. Trends are gradual forces, factors or patterns that cause changes in the desired phenomenon. Macro trends are important and dominant trends that have significant impact on the transformation of the phenomenon in question. *Pishrān* refers to the major forces that shape the future and consists of several processes that cause changes in the desired phenomenon.

The authors organize their analyses and discussions in four parts. In the first section, the research objectives, main concepts and research method are described. In the second part, the concepts of regional security complex (RSC), extraterritorial security environment and regional security are explained. Moreover, they review recent work in security studies which examine the question of how socio-economic and political developments will ultimately affect regional and national security. The third part is dedicated to explaining the national, regional and international drivers and trends that have the ability to transform Iran's security environment. In the final part, they discuss the transformation of the security environment, particularly the transformation in the patterns of regional order and the change in the patterns of confrontation and cooperation among regional states. They also draw attention to the security threats arising from this transformation that affect the security of the region. The findings of the research indicate that the transformation of the regional security system with its new order will lead to the intensification of security threats for Iran. The results might be helpful for the policymakers who are enthusiastic about the task of developing forward-looking strategies to confront the current and future security threats.

**Keywords:** Iran, Middle East, Regional Order, Regional Security Complex, Trend Analysis

#### **Declaration of conflicting interests**

The authors declared no potential conflicts of interest with respect to the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

#### **Funding**

The authors received no financial support for the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

## References

- Ahmadi, Hamid. (2011) *Bonyād'hā-ye hoveiyat-e melli-ye Īrān (Foundations of Iran's National Identity)*. Tehran, Research Institute of Cultural and Social Studies, Ch 2. [in Persian]
- Ayub, Nazih. (1995) *Over-Stating the Arab State: Politics and Society in the Middle East*. London: I. B. Tauris.
- Bell, Wendell. (2012) *Mabāni-ye Ayandeh'pajohi: tārikhcheh, ahdāf, dānesh (Foundations of Futures Studies: History, Purposes, and Knowledge)*, trans. Mustafa Tagavi and Mohsen Mohaghegh. Tehran: Defense Science and Technology Future Research Center. [in Persian]
- Blanchard, Christopher M. (2021, October 5) "Saudi Arabia: Background and U.S. Relations," *Congressional Research Service*, RL33533, 1-61. Available at: <https://sgp.fas.org/crs/mideast/RL33533.pdf> (Accessed 24 June 2022).
- Buzan, Barry, et al., eds. (1998) *Security: A New Framework for Analysis*. London: Lynne Rienner.
- Buzan, Barry; and Eli Weaver. (2015) *Manātegh va ghodrat'hā: sākhtār-e amniyat-e bein'ol-mellal (Regions and Powers: The Structure of International Security)*, trans. Rahman Kahramanpour. Tehran: Research Institute of Strategic Studies, Ch. 3. [in Persian]
- Ghiselli, Andrea. (2022, April 5) "Understanding China's Relations with the Middle East," *East Asia Forum*. Available at: <https://www.eastasiaforum.org/2022/04/05/understanding-chinas-relations-with-the-middle-east> (Accessed 2 February 2023).
- Gordon, Adam. (2012) *Fahm-e āyandeh (Understanding the Future)*, trans. Tayyebeh Vaezi. Tehran: Strategic Studies Research Institute. [in Persian]
- Graham, David A. (2015, June 5) "Israel and Saudi Arabia: Togetherish at Last?" *The Atlantic*. Available at: <https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2015/06/israeli-saudi-relations/395015> (Accessed 24 June 2022).
- Hinebusch, Raymond; and Anoushirvan Ehteshami. (2010) *Siyāsat-e khārejī-'i keshvar'hā-ye khāvar-e miyāneh (Foreign Policy of the Middle East Countries)*, trans. Rahman Kahramanpour and Morteza Masah. Tehran: Imam Sadegh University Press. [in Persian]
- Jamshidi, Mohammad. (2014) "Tajdid-e tavāzon: estrāteji-ye kalān-e ayalāt-e motahedeh dar doreh-ye Obāmā (Rebalancing: US Grand Strategy in the Obama Era)," *Journal of Political Science* 11, 3: 7-50. Available at: [http://www.ipsajournal.ir/article\\_293.html?lang=en](http://www.ipsajournal.ir/article_293.html?lang=en) [in Persian]
- Khamenei, Seyed Ali. (2022) "Bayānāt dar didār-e basijīān (Statements in the Basijian Meeting)," *farsi.khamenei.ir*. Available at: <https://farsi.khamenei.ir/speech-content?id=47066> (Access 25 September 1402). [in Persian]
- Lake, David; and Patrick Morgan. (2015) *Nazm'hā-ye mantagheh'i-ye; amniyati'sāzi dar jahāni novin (Regional Orders: Security in the New World)*, trans. Seyed Jalal Dehghani Firouzabadi. Tehran: Strategic Studies Research Institute. [in Persian]

- Migdal, Joel, S. (1988) *Strong Societies and Weak States: State-Society Relations and State Capabilities in the Third World*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Moini, Amin. (2016) "Bohrān-e Qatar: zamīneh'hā va chashm'andāz (Qatar Crisis; Fields and Perspectives)," *Report 299* Center for Strategic Research. Available at: <https://csr.ir/0000Aw> [in Persian]
- Moini, Amin; and Ibrahim Motaghi. (2021) "Hoveyat'garāi va nazm-e mantagheh'i-ye khāvār-e miyāneh (Identism and Regional Order in the Middle East)," *Foreign Relations Quarterly* 13, 4: 714-693. Available at: [http://frqjournal.csr.ir/article\\_146121.html](http://frqjournal.csr.ir/article_146121.html) [in Persian]
- Prifti, Belder. (2017) *Siyāsāt-e khārejī-'i āmrikā dar khāvār-e miyāneh (American Foreign Policy in the Middle East)*, trans. Abdul Majid Saifi. Tehran: Qomes. [in Persian]
- Shanker, Thom; and Helene Cooper. (2014, February 23) "Pentagon Plans to Shrink Army to Pre-World War II Level," *New York Times*. Available at: <http://www.nytimes.com/2014/02/24/us/politics/pentagon-plans-to-shrink-army-topre-world-war-ii-level.html> (Accessed 24 June 2022).



This article is an open-access article distributed under the terms and conditions of the Creative Commons Attribution (CC-BY) license.



Research Paper

## A Comparative Study of the Alliance Strategies of States in the International System

Elham Rasooli Saniabadi\*  

Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, Faculty of Law & Political Science, Yazd University, Yazd, Iran. Email: [rasooli@yazd.ac.ir](mailto:rasooli@yazd.ac.ir)

### Abstract

Alliance strategies are considered as part of the grand strategy of each state. These strategies represent different ways of political interactions of a state with other international actors in order to safeguard and promote its national interests. As a result, alliances are one of the most important features of international politics and play an influential role in the foreign policy decision-making of any state. The origin and theoretical basis of alliance theories can be found in the literature on realism and realist theories of international relations. The realist theories, regardless of the power differences between the states, consider them as similar units and similar actors which are security seekers (defensive realism) or power seekers (offensive realism). Thus, no distinction is made between different types of alliance strategies of different states in the international system. The main purpose of this paper is to compare different types of alliance strategies of the states in the international system in a manner conforming with their relative power and position in the world system.

The primary research question is that, “what are the most important points of difference and similarities between the alliance strategies of states?” In the research hypothesis, the author claims that the relative power position of states will influence the types of alliance strategies which they formulate and adopt. For hypothesis-testing, qualitative data are collected for a comparative analysis of the theoretical assumptions, viewpoints and research findings presented by the prominent theorists in this field. Using the method of conceptual analysis of data, the author attempts to answer the research question. The comparative method is useful because it increases the researcher’s understanding of different political systems or political

---

\***How to Cite:** Saniabadi, Elham Rasooli. (2023, Summer) “A Comparative Study of the Alliance Strategies of States in the International System,” *Fasl’-nāmeḥ-ye siyāsāt (Politics Quarterly)* 53, 2: 237-264, <DOI: 10.22059/JPQ.2024.365247.1008113>.

Manuscript received: 17 June 2023; final revision received: 1 August 2023; accepted: 8 September 2023, published online: 17 September 2023





phenomena and prevents undue generalizations in the research. In this method, a political phenomenon is compared in different countries or institutions, and therefore it is different from the case study method. By comparing the alliance strategies of superpowers, great powers, middle powers and small states, the author finds that there are the greatest similarities between the alliance strategies of two sets of states: a) the satisfied great powers and the satisfied middle powers; b) the dissatisfied great powers and dissatisfied middle powers.

In the discussion of the conceptual framework, the unequal structure of power distribution in the international system and the positional rank of each state in this system are discussed. Then, the existing power structure in the international system are examined. One of the important features of the structure of the current international system that should be taken into account is the unequal distribution of power among states, which has led to the classification of states into superpowers, great powers, middle or secondary powers, regional powers, and small states. In the theoretical literature in this field, it can be seen that superpowers and great powers are system-determining states. In sum, some key findings of the research are as follows: 1. The difference in the states' relative power and positional rank in the international system is the most significant explanatory variable in the adoption of different alliance strategies by all types of states. 2. In the alliance strategies of the middle powers, the structure of the region and the type of patterns governing the region in which the middle powers are located are very important. 3. The power structure of the international system (e.g., the polarity of the system) is an important variable for determining the types of alliance strategies of each state. In the unipolar structure, for instance, the issue of which state is the superpower or what policies it follows will greatly affect types of alliance strategies of other states.

**Keywords:** Alliance Strategies, Great Powers, Middle Powers, Small States, Superpower

#### **Declaration of conflicting interests**

The author declared no potential conflicts of interest with respect to the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

#### **Funding**

The author received no financial support for the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

#### **References**

Archer, Clive; and Anders Wivell. (2014) *Setting the Scene: Small States and International Security*. London: Routledge, <DOI:10.4324/9781315798042>.



- Hersij, Hossein. (2008) "Ravesh-e moghāyes'ī: chisti, cherāi va chegonegi-ye be'kārgiri-ye ān dar oloom-e siyāsi (Comparative Method: What it is, Why and How to Use it in Political Science)," *Faslnāmeḥ-ye oloom-e edārī va eghtesādī (Quarterly Journal of Administrative and Economic Science)* 13, 1: 7-17. Available at: <https://ensani.ir/fa/article/291105> (Accessed 5 July 2023). [in Persian]
- Holbraad, Carsten. (1984) *Middle Powers in International Politics*. London: Macmillan Press.
- Ikenberry, G. John. (2018) "The End of Liberal International Order?" *International Affairs* 94, 1: 6-23, <DOI:10.1093/ia/iix241>.
- Kalleberg, Arthur. (1966) "The Logic of Comparison: A Methodological Note on the Comparative Study of Political Systems," *World Politics* 19, 1: 69-82, <DOI: 10.2307/2009843>.
- Keohane, Robert. (1969) "Lilliputians' Dilemmas: Small States in International Politics," *International Organization* 23, 2: 291-310. Available at: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/i327171> (Accessed 1 September 2023).
- Manicom, James; and Jeffrey Reeves. (2014) "Locating Middle Powers in International Relation Theory," in Bruce Gilley and Andrew O'Neil, eds. *Middle Powers and the Rise of China*. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.
- Mearsheimer, John. (2018) "The Rise & Fall of the Liberal International Order," *International Security* 43, 4: 7-50. Available at: <https://www.studocu.com/en-us/document/georgetown-university/international-relations/mearsheimer-on-international-order/21014219> (Accessed 4 September 2023).
- . (2001) *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*. New York: Norton.
- Mersheimer, John; and Stephan Walt. (2016) "The Case for Offshore Balancing, A Superior U.S. Grand Strategy," *Foreign Affairs* 95, 4: 70-83. Available at: <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2016-06-13/case-offshore-balancing> (Accessed 8 September 2022).
- Miller, Eric A.; and Arkady Toritsyn. (2005) "Bringing the Leader Back In: Internal Threats and Alignment Theory in the Commonwealth of Independent States," *Security Studies* 14, 2: 325-363, <DOI:10.1080/09636410500234079>.
- Posen, Barry. (1996) "Competing Visions for US Grand Strategy," *International Security* 21, 3: 5-53, <DOI:10.2307/2539272>.
- . (1984) *The Source of Military Doctrine: France, Britain, and Germany Between the World Wars*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Posen, Barry; and Andrew L. Ross, (1996) "Competing Visions for U.S. Grand Strategy," *International Security* 21, 3: 5-53, <DOI:10.2307/2539272>.
- Rasooli Saniabadi, Elham. (2022) "Anvāe rāhbord'hā-ye movāzeneh'garāyāneh dar nezām-e tak-ghotbi (Types of Balancing Strategies in the Unipolar Order)," *Faslnāmeḥ-ye siyāsāt (Politics*

- Quarterly*) 53, 2: 451-425, <DOI:10.22059/jpq.2023.346486.1007981>. [in Persian]
- . (2019) “Comparative Analysis of U.S. 2017 National Security Strategy Document towards China and Iran,” *Geopolitics Quarterly* 14, 4: 188-208, <DOI: 20.1001.1.17354331. 1401.18.68.9.1>.
- . (2014) “Māhiyat-e etehād’hā dar khāvar-e miyāneh: ghodrat va yā hoveiyat (The Nature of Alliances in Middle East: Power or Identity?)” *Faslnāmeḥ-ye motāleāt-e rāhbordi (Journal of Strategic Studies* 17, 3: 171-196. Available at: [https://quarterly.risstudies.org/article\\_10039.html](https://quarterly.risstudies.org/article_10039.html) (Accessed 5 July 2023). [in Persian]
- Schweller, Randall. (2011) “The Future is Uncertain and the End is Always Near,” *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 24, 2: 175-184. Available at: <https://osu.academia.edu/RandallSchweller/CurriculumVitae> (Accessed 2 September 2023).
- . (2004) “Unanswered Threats: A Neoclassical Realist Theory of Under Balancing,” *International Security* 29, 2: 159-201. Available at: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4137589> (Accessed 12 May 2022).
- . (1994) “Bandwagoning for Profit: Bringing the Revisionist State Back In,” *International Security* 19, 1: 72–107, <DOI: 10.2307/ 2539149>.
- Walt, Stephan. (2009) “Alliances in a Unipolar World,” *World Politics* 61, 1: 86-120. Available at: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40060222> (Accessed 4 September 2023).
- . (1987) *The Origins of Alliances*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Waltz, Kenneth. (1979) *Theory of International Politics*. London: Addison-Wesley.



This article is an open-access article distributed under the terms and conditions of the Creative Commons Attribution (CC-BY) license.



Research Paper

## Causes of Corruption: An Economic Approach

Mehdi Zahedgharavi<sup>1\*</sup> , Saeed Karimipotanlar<sup>2</sup> 

<sup>1</sup> Corresponding Author: Assistant Professor, Department of Economics, Ayatollah Boroujerdi University, Lorestan Province, Borujerd, Iran, Email: [m.zahedgharavi@abru.ac.ir](mailto:m.zahedgharavi@abru.ac.ir)

<sup>2</sup> Associate Professor, Department of Economics and Administrative Sciences, University of Mazandaran, Babolsar, Mazandaran, Iran, Email: [s.karimi@umz.ac.ir](mailto:s.karimi@umz.ac.ir)

### Abstract

Corruption and the fight against its various forms have constantly been a concern of theorists and policymakers because corruption is one of the important obstacles to socio-economic development. Economists have issued warnings about the devastating consequences of financial corruption and have argued that financial corruption increases transaction costs, reduces investment incentives, and ultimately reduces economic growth. Political scientists have pointed out the political costs of corruption for societies and claimed that an increase in corruption leads to a decrease in public trust in the political system and the destruction of the government's legitimacy, and could have a negative impact on democracy and political development. The manner in which this phenomenon influences growth and development is that it typically leads to more inequality and loss of public trust in government. By reducing political accountability, it undermines democracy and good governance. The economic approach is useful to study the causes of financial corruption because the researchers will be able to pay close attention to the underlying motivations and rationality to explain this problem of corruption. The researchers will be able to explain and understand why some individuals make choices based on their preferences that results in financial corruption. Some individuals are more corruption-prone and willing to engage in corruption when the opportunity arises to maximize financial gains for their own personal use or act as agents of corruption in their institutional roles for collective gains. Equally important

**\*How to Cite:** Zahedgharavi, Mehdi; and Saeed Karimipotanlar. (2023, Summer) "Causes of Corruption: An Economic Approach," *Faslnāmeḥ-ye siyāsāt (Politics Quarterly)* 53, 2: 265-290, <DOI: 10.22059/JPQ.2023.326442.1007818>.

Manuscript received: 5 January 2022; final revision received: 11 April 2023; accepted: 24 April 2023, published online: 17 September 2023



is the task of discussing the anti-corruption efforts to deter future corruption behaviors of individuals and to combat state-sponsored institutional corrupt practices. In order to formulate effective strategies and policies to win the fight against corruption, it is necessary to first identify and understand the causes of corruption.

With a qualitative approach and within the framework of public choice theory, the authors analyze a collection of the most important empirical and theoretical work on the causes of corruption with the goal of finding suitable answers to the following research questions: 1. What are the prominent differences between economic and non-economic approaches to explain the causes of financial corruption? 2. Does the economic approach used to explain the causes of financial corruption have more explanatory power than the non-economic approaches? The research hypothesis assumes that the use of economic approaches (general choice theory) to study financial corruption is more effective in analyzing the financial corruption-development association. The essence of the general choice theory to explain the behaviors of individuals and political elites is that these individuals seek to maximize their own personal gains and/or the collective benefits of a particular group, party, class and family with no or little regard for the maximization of the accrued benefits for the society at large. A key question is, to what extent the corrupt individuals are rational actors, given that they make choices which are generally perceived as irrational by other individuals—who do not get involved in corrupt practices. A multitude of reasons might influence an individual to make a ‘rational’ decision to engage in financial corruption practices. Theoretically, he makes a rational choice, because his calculations indicate that the expected benefit of financial corruption exceeds the expected cost including the cost of being detected, arrested and punished for his illicit acts.

The critics of the economic approach to explain financial corruption emphasize a score of economic and non-economic factors such as weak economic development, low levels of education, poor quality of the bureaucracy, reduced transparency in laws and tax regulations, misconduct of community leaders, and religious composition of the total population. The existence of ethnic-linguistic subgroups in a country, the low degree of democracy (indicated particularly by the lack of freedom of speech and the freedom of the press), and political instability have been emphasized in the non-economic approach to the study of financial corruption. However, the effects of the non-economic causes of financial corruption are indirectly through economic factors. The individuals generally base their decision-making on their cost-benefit analyses and if the gains exceed the cost, they get engaged in corruption. In other words, the improved quality of bureaucracy and transparency do not necessarily prevent a person from committing acts of financial corruption, but the high quality of bureaucracy and the high degree of democracy (particularly freedom of the press and transparency) reduce financial corruption by increasing the cost of corruption behaviors. The results suggest that non-economic approaches have been useful in explaining causes and consequences of corruption to a certain degree, but economic approach is more effective for understanding

the motivations of corruption and its consequences for economic and political development. These research findings are important for planning and implementing anti-corruption programs such as enforceable ethical code of conduct, and regulations to increase transparency and accountability for public officials.

**Keywords:** Anti-corruption, Financial Corruption, Democracy, Development, Government Size, Rational Choice Theory

**Declaration of conflicting interests**

The authors declared no potential conflicts of interest with respect to the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

**Funding**

The authors received no financial support for the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

**References**

- Aidt, Toke S. (2003, November) "Economic Analysis of Corruption: A Survey," *Economic Journal* 113: F632-F652, <DOI:10.1046/j.0013-0133.2003.00171.x>.
- Alatas, Syed Hussein. (1990) *Corruption: Its Nature, Causes and Functions*. Aldershot, UK: Gower.
- Alesina, Alberto, et al. (2003, June) "Fractionalization," *Journal of Economic Growth* 8: 155-194. Available at: <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1023/A:1024471506938> (Accessed 12 May 2019).
- Becker, Gary S. (1968, Mar-April) "Crime and Punishment: An Economic Approach," *Journal of Political Economy* 76, 2: 169-217, <DOI:10.1086/259394>.
- Chang, Eric; and Miriam Golden. (2007, January) "Electoral Systems, District Magnitude and Corruption," *British Journal of Political Science* 37, 1: 115-137, <DOI/10.1017/S0007123407000063>.
- De Graaf, Gjalt. (2007, April) "Causes of Corruption: Towards a Contextual Theory of Corruption," *Public Administration Quarterly* 31, 1: 39-86. Available at: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41288282> (Accessed 12 May 2019).
- De Graaf, Gjalt, et al., eds. (2015) *Cheshm'andāz'hā-ye nazari-ye fesād (The Good Cause: Theoretical Perspectives on Corruption)*, trans. Davoud Hosseini Hashemzadeh, et al. Tehran: Aghaz. Available at: <https://www.ssoar.info/ssoar/handle/document/36873> (Accessed 12 May 2019). [in Persian]
- Dreher, Axel, et al. (2007) "Corruption Around the World: Evidence from a Structural Model," *Journal of Comparative Economics* 35, 3: 443-466, <DOI:10.1016/j.jce.2007.07.001>.
- Herzfeld, Thomas; and Christoph Weiss. (2003, September) "Corruption and Legal (in) Effectiveness: An Empirical Investigation," *European Journal of Political Economy* 19, 3: 621-632, <DOI/10.1016/S0176-2680(03)00018-1>.

- Jain, Arvind K. (1998) *Economics of Corruption*. New York: Springer, <DOI:10.1007/978-1-4615-4935-2>.
- . (2001, February) "Corruption: A Review," *Journal of Economic Surveys* 15: 71-121, <DOI:10.1111/1467-6419.00133>. Available at: <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/1467-6419.00133> (Accessed 3 December 2023).
- . (2007) *Eghtesād-e siyāsī-ye fesād (The Political Economy of Corruption)*, trans. Ali Bakhtiarizadeh. Tehran: Strategic Studies Research Institute. [in Persian]
- Juraev, Javlon. (2018) "Rational Choice Theory and Demand for Petty Corruption," *Journal of Eastern European and Central Asian Research* 5, 2: 24-33, <DOI:10.15549/jeecar.v5i2.219>. Available at: <https://ieeca.org/journal/index.php/JEECAR/article/view/219> (Accessed 3 December 2023).
- Klitgaard, Robert. (1988) *Controlling Corruption*. Oakland, CA: University of California Press.
- La Porta, Rafael, et al. (1999, March) "The Quality of Government," *Journal of Law, Economics and Organisation* 15, 1: 222-279, <DOI/10.1093/jleo/15.1.222>. Available at: [https://scholar.harvard.edu/files/shleifer/files/quality\\_govt\\_jleo.pdf](https://scholar.harvard.edu/files/shleifer/files/quality_govt_jleo.pdf) (Accessed 3 December 2023).
- Lederman, Daniel, et al. (2005, March) "Accountability and Corruption: Political Institutions Matter," *Economics & Politics* 17, 1: 1-35, <DOI:10.1111/j.1468-0343.2005.00145.x>.
- Little, Daniel. (1994) *Tabain dar oloom-e ejtemā'i (Explanation in Social Science)*, trans. Abdul Karim Soroush. Tehran: Sarāt. [in Persian]
- Montinola, Gabriella; and Robert W. Jackman. (2002) "Sources of Corruption: A Cross-country Study," *British Journal of Political Science* 32, 1: 147-170, <DOI: 10.1017/S0007123402000066>.
- Mueller, Dennis. (1976, June) "Public Choice: A Survey," *Journal of Economic Literature* 14, 2: 395-433. Available at: <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/2722461>> (Accessed 5 August 2021).
- Nagel, Thomas. (1970) *The Possibility of Altruism*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Nicholson, Walter; Christopher Snyder. (2015) *Nazariyeh-e eghtesād-e khord: osool va bast-e mafāhim (Microeconomic Theory: Basic Principles and Extensions)*, trans. Siab Memipour and Daud Behbodhi. Tehran: Khwarazmi University. Available at: [https://edisciplinas.usp.br/pluginfile.php/2871502/mod\\_resource/content/1/Nicholson%20%20Snyder%20%282007%29%20-%20Microeconomic%20theory%20-%2010%20ed.pdf](https://edisciplinas.usp.br/pluginfile.php/2871502/mod_resource/content/1/Nicholson%20%20Snyder%20%282007%29%20-%20Microeconomic%20theory%20-%2010%20ed.pdf) (Accessed 3 December 2023). [in Persian]
- Paldam, Martin. (2001, February) "Corruption and Religion: Adding to the Economic Model," *Kyklos* 54, 2-3: 383-413, <DOI/10.1111/1467-6435.00160>.
- Polanyi, Karl. (1957) *The Great Transformation*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Rafipor, Faramarz. (2009) *Saratān-e ejtemā'i fesād (Social Cancer of Corruption)*. Tehran: Sherkat-e sahāmi-ye enteshār, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. [in Persian]
- Rahbar, Farhad, et al. (2002) *Bāz'shenāsi-ye ārezehyeh fesād-e māli (Reassessing the Problem of Financial Corruption)*. Tehran: Jahād-e dānesh'gāhi, Vol. 1. [in Persian]



- Rauch, James E.; and Peter B. Evans. (2000, January) "Bureaucratic Structure and Bureaucratic Performance in Less Developed Countries," *Journal of Public Economics* 75, 1: 49-71, <DOI/10.1016/S0047-2727(99)00044-4 >.
- Rose-Ackerman, Susan. (1978) *Corruption: A Study in Political Economy*. New York: Academic Press.
- Rose-Ackerman, Susan. (2006) *Fesād va dolat: Ellat'hā, payāmad'hā, va eslāh (Corruption and Government: Causes, Consequences, and Reform)*, trans. Manouchehr Sabouri. Tehran: Pardis Dānesh. [in Persian]
- . (2010) "The Institutional Economics of Corruption," in Gjalte de Graaf, et al., eds. *The Good Cause: Theoretical Perspectives on Corruption*. Opladen & Farmington Hills, MI: Barbara Budrich Publishers, 47-63, <DOI:10.3224/866492639>. Available at: <https://dnb.info/1191584313/34> (Accessed 12 November 2020).
- Rothstein, Bo. (2011) "Anti-corruption: the Indirect 'Big Bang' Approach," *Review of International Political Economy* 18, 2: 228-250, <DOI: 10.1080/09692291003607834>. Available at: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/23050624> (Accessed 3 December 2023).
- Sen, Amartya. (1982) *Choice, Welfare and Measurement*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Shabbir, Ghulam; and Mumtaz Anwar. (2007, March) "Determinants of Corruption in Developing Countries," *Pakistan Development Review* 46, 4: 751-764, <DOI/10.2307/41261194>. Available at: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41261194> (Accessed 3 December 2023).
- Sosa-Sandoval, Luis Alfredo. (1999) *Macroeconomic Effects of Corruption*, a PhD Dissertation in Economic, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, US, UMI Number 9954714. Available at: <https://www.proquest.com/openview/3b1f7aadcf79182f49ddd17d05ce6c71/pq-origsite=gscholar&cbl=18750&diss=y> (Accessed 3 April 2023).
- Tanzi, Vito. (1998, May) "Corruption Around the World: Causes, Consequences, Scope, and Cures," *IMF Working Papers (WP/98/63)* 45, 4: 559-594, <DOI:10.2307/3867585>.
- Transparency International. (2023) *Corruption Perceptions Index 2022*. Available at: [https://images.transparencycdn.org/images/Report\\_CPI2022\\_English.pdf](https://images.transparencycdn.org/images/Report_CPI2022_English.pdf) (Accessed 24 August 2023).
- Treisman, Daniel. (2000) "The Causes of Corruption: A Cross-National Study," *Journal of Public Economics* 76, 3: 399-457, <DOI:10.1016/S0047-2727(99)00092-4>.
- World Bank. (2020, February 19) "Anticorruption Fact Sheet," *worldbank.org*. Available at: <https://www.worldbank.org/en/news/factsheet/2020/02/19/anticorruption-fact-sheet> (Accessed 3 December 2023).
- Zahid Gharavi, Mehdi, et al. (2018, March) "Ellal, āsār, va ravand-e fesād-e mālli eghtesād-e Īrān (Causes, Effects, and Trend of Corruption in Iran: Multiple Indicators Multiple Causes (MIMIC) Model)," *Journal of Economic Studies and Policies* 4, 2: 101-126. Available at:

[http://economic.mofidu.ac.ir/article\\_34581.html](http://economic.mofidu.ac.ir/article_34581.html) (Accessed 3 December 2023). [in Persian]



This article is an open-access article distributed under the terms and conditions of the Creative Commons Attribution (CC-BY) license.



Research Paper

## The Entanglement of Aristotle's Ethics and Politics as the Metaphysics of Human Affairs

Mahdi Fadaei Mehrabani<sup>1\*</sup>  , Keyvan Khosravi<sup>2</sup> 

<sup>1</sup> Corresponding Author: Assistant Professor, Faculty of Law & Political Science, University of Tehran, Iran. Email: [fadaeimehrabani@ut.ac.ir](mailto:fadaeimehrabani@ut.ac.ir)

<sup>2</sup> A PhD Candidate, Faculty of Law & Political Science, University of Tehran, Iran. Email: [keyvan.khosravi@ut.ac.ir](mailto:keyvan.khosravi@ut.ac.ir)

### Abstract

There is a tradition within Islamic philosophy which distinguishes theoretical philosophy from practical philosophy based on the core of Aristotle's writings. This tradition thus far has had a pivotal role in the Islamic political philosophy. A succinct and simplified description is that philosophers such as Abu Nasr al-Farabi followed Aristotle, and divided philosophy into two aforementioned subdivisions. However, they needed a theoretical framework for their practical philosophy, and built a cosmological and metaphysical system based on the emanationist theory of Plotinus. Nevertheless, they followed closely behind Aristotle in theoretical philosophy. To elucidate more clearly, the purpose of using neo-platonic ideas in political philosophy was to conceal Aristotelian teachings. In political philosophy, the main objective is not essentially to understand "human affairs", but rather to establish a rational hierarchical society. In spite of this traditional interpretation, strictly speaking Aristotle's philosophy forms a coherent whole. To recognize this coherence, one should speak about the theoretical foundations of Aristotle's philosophy concerning human affairs. The philosophy of human affairs refers to all philosophical writings on ethics, law-making (*νομοθεσία*), and political regimes.

The primary research question is whether it is possible to establish a connection between ethics and politics based on a metaphysical foundation. The authors use the method of qualitative text analysis to examine important works of Aristotle and his critics to answer this question. In the research hypothesis, it is suggested that there is a significant relationship between

---

**\*How to Cite:** Fadaei Mehrabani, Mehdi; and Keyvan Khosravi. (2023, Summer) "The Entanglement of Aristotle's Ethics and Politics as the Metaphysics of Human Affairs," *Fasl' nāmeḥ-ye siyāsāt (Politics Quarterly)* 53, 2: 291-314, <DOI: 10.22059/JPQ.2023.349521.1008002>.

Manuscript received: 5 October 2022; final revision received: 2 July 2023; accepted: 23 July 2023, published online: 17 September 2023



ethics and politics based on metaphysical foundation. With the goal of exploring Aristotle's philosophical insights, the authors examine his most significant work which include *Nicomachean Ethics*, *Metaphysics*, *On the Soul (De Anima)*, *the Poetics*, and *the Politics*. By demonstrating the 'coherence of Aristotle's philosophy', the researchers attempt to raise awareness about the possibility of a connection between theoretical philosophy and practical philosophy. When, for instance, Aristotle speaks about soul in "*Ethics*", we can illuminate it with his claims in "*On the Soul*". When he discusses 'the good', we can seek it in the ninth book of "*Metaphysics*". We can shed light on what is not exact in *Politics and Ethics*. In other words, his political and ethical claims can be read in terms of the metaphysical, psychological and physical principles of his philosophy of human affairs. Aristotle's theory of rational thought is concerned with practical matters, and the role of rationality in leading humans to good and bad forms of reasoning. In Aristotle's view, God is perfect and immortal. Life of God is indeed the happiest, and humans could be happy by becoming more God-like. For Islamic thinkers and philosophers, Aristotle's theory of rational thought, and more specifically Aristotle's theory of God was the greatest obstacle to understanding his philosophy.

In this paper, one of the objectives of the authors is to examine the very foundation of ethics and politics. According to Aristotle, a person is independent if he or she exists for himself or herself and not for another. Being God-like means becoming independent and free in life. What is important in this process is the form of thinking which is based on Aristotle's analysis of reality and must be taken to the zone of episteme or theological thinking. Some scholars have claimed that there is no connection between theoretical philosophy and practical philosophy. According to Abenque, 'the true Aristotle' must be pursued by keeping away from Islamic and Christian interpretation of Aristotle. Nonetheless, Moslem philosophers have come to the conclusion that in practical philosophy we seek 'analogies of truth'— this kind of truth is explained not by the philosophers whose knowledge originate in *logos*, but by the jurists whose knowledge originate in revelation. This explains partly the eventual collapse of political philosophy and philosophic inquiry in the Islamic world.

**Keywords:** the Beautiful, Ethics, the Good, Metaphysics, Politics

#### **Declaration of conflicting interests**

The authors declared no potential conflicts of interest with respect to the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

#### **Funding**

The authors received no financial support for the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

## References

- Aristotle. (2019) *Khattābeh (Oration)*, trans. Ismail Saadat. Tehran: Hermes. [in Persian]
- . (2011) *Mantegh-e arasto (Aristotle's Logic)*, trans. Mir' Sharaf'olddin Adib Soltani. Tehran: Negāh. [in Persian]
- . (2009) *Darbāreh-ye honar-e sher (Poetics)*, trans. Sohail Mohsen Afnan. Tehran: Hekmat. [in Persian]
- . (1995) *Aristotle, The Poetics; Longinus: On the Sublime; Demetrius: On Style*, trans. Stephen Halliwell, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, Loeb Classical Library 199, Vol. XXIII.
- . (1988) *Metā-phizik (Metaphysics)*, trans. Sharaf'olddin Khorasani. Tehran: Goftār. [in Persian]
- . (1984) *Tabi'eyāt (Naturalism)*, trans. Mehdi Farshad. Tehran: Amir Kabir. [in Persian]
- . (1968) *Nicomachean Ethics*, trans. Harris Rackham. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- . (1935) *Athenian Constitution. Eudemian Ethics. Virtues and Vices*, trans. Harris Rackham. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, Loeb Classical Library 285.
- . (1935) *Metaphysics, Oeconomica. Magna Moralia*, trans. Hugh Tredennick, G. Cyril Armstrong. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, Loeb Classical Library 287, Vol. II: Books 10-14.
- . (1932) *Politics*, trans. H. Rackham. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Cornford, Francis MacDonald. (1950) *Plato and Parmenides*. London: Routledge.
- Farabi, Abu Nasr. (2015) *Ketāb al-horof (The Book of Letters)*, trans. Taybebeh Saifi. Tehran: Beheshti University. [in Persian]
- . (1986) *Ketāb al-horof (The Book of Letters)*, Mohsen Mehdi, ed. Beirut: Dārol'mashreq. [in Persian]
- Fidora, Alexander; and Anna Akasoy. (2005) *The Arabic Version of the 'Nicomachean Ethics'*. Aristoteles Semitico-Latinus 17. Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 1<sup>st</sup> ed.
- Halliwell, Stephen. (2009) *Pajoheshi darbāreh-ye fan-e sher-e arasto (An Analysis of Aristotle's Poetics)*, trans. Mehdi Nasrallahzadeh. Tehran: Mino-ye kherad. [in Persian]
- Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich. (2014) *Anāsor-e falsafeh-ye hagh (Elements of the Philosophy of Right)*. Tehran: Khatreh. [in Persian]
- Heidegger, Martin. (2002) *Grundbegriffe der Aristotelischen Philosophie (Basic Concepts of Aristotelian Philosophy)*. Frankfurt am mine: Vittorio Klostermann. [in German]
- Ibn Sina. (2019) *Dāneshnāmeḥ-ye alāi (Ala'i Encyclopedia)*, Mohammad Moin, et al., eds. Tehran: Movaly. [in Persian]
- Kamp, Andreas. (1985) *Aristotle's Political Philosophy and its Metaphysical Foundations: Essence Theory and Polis Order (Die Politische Philosophie des Aristoteles und ihre Metaphysischen Grundlagen: Wesenstheorie und Polisordnung)*. Freiburgim Breisgau, Baden-Baden: Karl Alber Publisher. [in German]

- Khosravi, Kayvan. (2020) *Fārābi roshan'gar-e be'cherāgh (Farabi, The Lightless Enlightened)*. Tehran: Māniā'honar. [in Persian]
- Liddell, Henry George; Robert Scott. (1996) *A Greek-English Lexicon*. Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press.
- Pordawood, Ebrahim. (2020) *Ketāb-e avestā, yasht'hā (Book of Avestā, Yashts)*. Tehran: Negāh. [in Persian]
- Saliba, Jamil. (1987) *Farhang-e falsafi (Philosophical Dictionary)*, trans. Manouchehr Sanei Darehbidi. Tehran: Hekmat. [in Persian]



This article is an open-access article distributed under the terms and conditions of the Creative Commons Attribution (CC-BY) license.



Research Paper

## Elections and Resource Mobilization: A Theoretical Model for Explanation of Electoral Competitions

Noorollah Gheisari\*  

Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Faculty of Law & Political Science, University of Tehran, Iran. Email: [ngheisari@ut.ac.ir](mailto:ngheisari@ut.ac.ir)

### Abstract

The main objective of this study is to present a theoretical model for explaining how one or more candidates or parties defeat their rivals and win in the national elections. Based on the framework of resource mobilization theory (RMT), different factors at different levels which determine the probability of the victory of a candidate in the presidential and parliamentary elections will be examined. The electoral resources—which are crucial to the success of candidates—include a collection of resource (e.g., explicit and hidden knowledge resources (KR), needs resources (NR), power resources (PR), influence and persuasion, moral resources (MR), facilitation resources (FR), and unforeseen resources (UR)). The relative importance and effectiveness of these six electoral resources are dissimilar. For instance, moral resources are the most sensitive and necessary requirements for entering an election race and remaining throughout the entire election cycle. Knowledge resources are second in importance, and their effectiveness primarily depend on a candidate's capabilities. The financial resources and social mobilization network are two of the facilitation resources which help to reduce a candidate's electoral expenses and/or increase his/her social and political capital. Among the unforeseen resources, the unfortunate events (e.g., wars, terror attacks, and economic crises) might provide opportunities for the conservative candidates, while the incidence of peace and favorable weather conditions often create opportunities for the reformist and change-seeking candidates.

The author attempts to find appropriate answers to the following primary and secondary research questions: 1. How do candidates win the elections against their competitors in electoral competitions? 2. What resources are

---

**\*How to Cite:** Gheisari, Noorollah. (2023, Summer) "Elections and Resource Mobilization: A Theoretical Model for Explanation of Electoral Competitions," *Faslnāmeḥ-ye siyāsāt (Politics Quarterly)* 53, 2: 315-342, <DOI:10.22059/JPQ.2023.305639.1007613>.

Manuscript received: 4 July 2020; final revision received: 20 August 2023; accepted: 8 September 2023, published online: 17 September 2023



needed to win the elections? 3. How should these resources be mobilized? In the hypothesis of the present study, it is claimed that the victory of a candidate in an election depends largely on a combination of factors, notably the resource mobilization, the degree of success in persuading the voters and other stakeholders in the elections to support their candidacy, and the amount of luck resulted from particular unforeseen events with positive consequences for the candidate, or negative consequences for the rival candidates. Within the theoretical framework of resource mobilization theory, the method of data collection and analysis is based on a careful review and qualitative content analysis of the available evidence and the arguments presented in earlier studies on the subject of presidential and parliamentary elections and voting behaviors. The findings of previous research have indicated that the probability of success of a candidate is higher than the other competitors, when a candidate or his/her political party use the best way to mobilize electoral resources to persuade the voters and other actors in different stages of the election process—ranging from registration, qualification, debates, nomination, voting, post-election acceptance—to support him/her instead of other candidates. The main conclusion of the research is that the availability of the electoral resources is important, but their timely mobilization and allocation in the optimal way by a candidate and his/her supporters are crucial in persuading the key actors (i.e., the electoral officials who must approve his/her credentials, the media and powerful political parties and factions who must nominate and publicize their support for him/her, and the voters who vote) to act in his/her favor. Persuasion is the result of prudent resource mobilization, and luck is increased by the occurrence of unanticipated events with repercussions for the outcome of the elections.

**Keywords:** Election Process, Electoral Resources, Persuasion, Resource Mobilization, Voting Behaviors

#### **Declaration of conflicting interests**

The author declared no potential conflicts of interest with respect to the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

#### **Funding**

The author received no financial support for the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

#### **References**

*The Holy Quran.*

- André, Audrey, et al. (2015) “Electoral Systems and Legislators’ Constituency Effort: The Mediating Effect of Electoral Vulnerability,” *Comparative Political Studies* 48, 4: 464-496, <DOI:10.1177/0010414014545512>.
- Austin, John L., et al. (1975) *How to Do Things with Words*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed.
- Ayyubi, Hojjatollah. (1998) "Tahlil-e raftār-e entekhābāti-ye rai'dahandegān (Analysis of Electoral Behavior of Voters- Part II," *Ettela'at-e siyāsī va eghtesādī (Political and Economic Information Journal)* 137-138: 100-



111. Available at: <https://ensani.ir/file/download/article/20101210141213-849.pdf> (Accessed 9 December 2022) [in Persian]
- Bassi, Anna. (2013, May 22) "Weather, Mood, and Voting: An Experimental Analysis of the Effect of Weather Beyond Turnout," *SSRN: ssrn.com*, <DOI:10.2139/ssrn.2273189>.
- Berg, Axel van den; and Thomas Janoski. (2005) "Conflict Theories in Political Sociology," in Thomas Janoski, et al., eds. *The Handbook of Political Sociology; States, Civil Societies, and Globalization*. New York and Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 72-96.
- Besley, Timothy. (2005, Summer) "Political Selection," *Journal of Economic Perspective* 19, 3: 43-60. Available at SSRN: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=895514> (Accessed 25 November 2022).
- Birch, Sarah. (2016, Autumn) "Our New Voters: Brexit, Political Mobilization and the Emerging Electoral Cleavage," *Juncture* 23, 2: 107-110, <DOI:10.1111/newe.12003>. Available at: <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1111/newe.12003> (Accessed 25 November 2022).
- Brams, Steven J. (2008) *The Presidential Election Game*. Wellesley, MA: A K Peters/CRS Press.
- Burns, Alexander. (2019, Nov 1) "Beto O'Rourke Drops Out of the Presidential Race," *The New York Times*. Available at: <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/11/01/us/politics/beto-orourke-drops-out.html> (Accessed 25 November 2022).
- Cambridge Cognition. (2015, August 19) "What is Cognition?" *cambridgecognition.com*. Available at: <https://cambridgecognition.com/what-is-cognition> (Accessed 11 April 2020).
- Caughell, Leslie. (2016) "When Playing the Woman Card is Playing Trump: Assessing the Efficacy of Framing Campaigns as Historic," *PS: Political Science & Politics* 49, 4: 736-742, <DOI: 10.1017/S1049096516001438>.
- Colorado Resource Mobilization Working Group, for the Colorado Division of Fire Safety. (2010, April) *State of Colorado Emergency Resource Mobilization Plan*. Available at: <https://www.codot.gov/business/emergency-flood-information/state-of-colo-emerg-res-mob-plan.pdf> (Accessed 2 July 2022).
- The Constitutional Council. (2023) "Qānoon-e entekhābāt-e majlis-e shorā-ye Islāmi-ye Īrān, bā eslāhāt va elhāghāt ta tārikh-e 1/5/1402 (The Election Law of the Islamic Consultative Assembly of Iran, with Amendments and Additions until 23 July 2023)," *shora-gc.ir*. Available at: <https://www.shora-gc.ir/fa/news/5730> (Accessed 9 December 2022) [in Persian]
- The Constitutional Council. (2013, March 7) "Qānoon-e entekhābāt-e riāsat-e jomhori-ye Islāmi-ye Īrān va eslāhāt-e badi, 4/5/1364 (The Law of the Presidential Election of the Islamic Republic of Iran and Subsequent Amendments, 26 June 1985)," *shora-gc.ir*. Available at: <https://www.shora-gc.ir/fa/news/2952> (Accessed 9 December 2022) [in Persian]
- Cress, Daniel M.; and David A. Snow. (2000) "The Outcomes of Homeless Mobilization: The Influence of Organization, Disruption, Political

- Mediation, and Framing,” *American Journal of Sociology* 105, 4: 1063-1104, <DOI:10.1086/210399>.
- Dehkhoda (n.d.) *Loghat nāmeḥ-ye dehkhodā (The Dehkhoda Dictionary)*. Available at: <https://dehkhoda.ut.ac.ir/fa/dictionary> (Accessed 9 December 2022) [in Persian]
- Dowling, Donor M.; and Amber Wichowsky. (2015, January) “Attacks without Consequence? Candidates, Parties, Groups, and the Changing Face of Negative Advertising,” *American Journal of Political Science* 59, 1: 19-36, <DOI:10.1111/ajps.12094>.
- Fairclough, Isabela; and Norman Fairclough. (2012) *Political Discourse Analysis*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Fairclough, Norman. (1989) *Language and Power*. New York: Longman.
- Fisher, Eddie John; and Yorkys Santana Gonzalez. (2013) “The Art of Influencing and Persuasion: How Managers Can Put ‘Square Pegs’ into ‘Round Holes’,” *Journal of Management Research* 5, 4: 1-19, <DOI:10.5296/jmr.v5i4.3971>. Available at: <https://www.macrothink.org/journal/index.php/jmr/article/view/3971/0> (Accessed 4 June 2022).
- Foa, Enda B.; and Uriel G. Foa. (2012) “Resource Theory of Social Exchange,” in Kjell Törnblom and Ali Kazemi, eds. *Handbook of Social Resource Theory: Theoretical Extensions, Empirical Insights, and Social Applications*. New York: Springer, 15-33.
- Frank, Robert H. (2020) *Under the Influence Putting Peer Pressure to Work*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Fredén, Annika, et al. (2020) “Betting on the Underdog: The Influence of Social Networks on Vote Choice,” *Political Science Research and Methods* 1–8, <DOI:10.1017/psrm.2020.21>.
- Garramone, Gina M. (1984) “Voter Responses to Negative Political Ads,” *Journalism Quarterly* 6, 2: 250-259, <DOI:10.1177/1077699084061002>.
- Gheisari, Nourollah, et al. (2016, Summer) “Entekhābāt-e riāsāt jomhori dar Irān; olgoi nazari barāye tabein-e pirozi-ye yek cāndid bar roghabā (The Presidential Elections in Iran: A Theoretical Model to Explain the Victory of a Candidate Over His Competitors),” *Fasl nāmeḥ-ye pajohesh hā-ye rāhbordi-ye siyāsāt (Strategic Policy Research Quarterly)* 6, 21: 41-72, <DOI: 10.22054/qps.2017.7686>. [in Persian]
- Gheisari, Nourollah, et al. (2014, Summer) “Modiriat-e entekhābāt dar Irān; kayfiyat va arzyābi-ye ejrā (Election Management in Iran; Quality and Implementation Evaluation),” *Fasl nāmeḥ-ye pajohesh hā-ye rāhbordi-ye siyāsāt (Strategic Policy Research Quarterly)* 4, 13: 39-34. Available at: [https://qps.atu.ac.ir/article\\_1501.html](https://qps.atu.ac.ir/article_1501.html) (Accessed 27 October 2022). [in Persian]
- Herrera, Helios. (2016, July) “Turnout Across Democracies,” *American Journal of Political Science* 60, 3: 607-624, <DOI:10.1111/ajps.12215>.
- Herzenstein, Michal. (2010) “Persuasion,” in Jagdish N. Sheth et al., eds. *Wiley International Encyclopedia of Marketing*. New York: Wiley, <DOI:10.1002/9781444316568.wiem03011>.
- Hewitt, Vernon. (2008) *Political Mobilization and Democracy in India; States of Emergency*. London and New York: Routledge.

- Holander, Christopher D., et al. (2012) "Transformation Networks: A Study of How Technological Complexity Impacts Economic Performance," in Andrea Teglio, ed. (2012) *Managing Market Complexity: The Approach of Artificial Economics*. Berlin and New York: Springer.
- Ivarsflaten, Elisabeth. (2008, January) "What Unites Right-Wing Populists in Western Europe? Re-Examining Grievance Mobilization Models in Seven Successful Cases Western European Right-Wing Populists," *Comparative Political Studies* 41, 1: 3-23, <DOI:10.1177/001041400629416>.
- Jenkins, J. Craig. (1983) "Resource Mobilization Theory and the Study of Social Movements," *Annual Review of Sociology* 9: 527-553, <DOI:10.1146/annurev.so.09.080183.002523>.
- Jones, Jennifer J. (2016, September) "Talk "Like a Man": The Linguistic Styles of Hillary Clinton, 1992–2013," *Perspective on Politics* 14, 3: 625-642, <DOI:10.1017/S1537592716001092>.
- Keshavarz Shokri, Abbas; and Ehsan Farhadi. (2011, Winter) "Basij-e manābeh-ye enghelāb-e eslāmī-'i Īrān (Mobilization of Resources in Iran's Islamic Revolution)," *Pajohesh' nāmeḥ-ye enghelāb-e eslāmi (Journal of the Islamic Revolution)* 1, 1: 107-79. Available at: [https://rjir.basu.ac.ir/article\\_4.html](https://rjir.basu.ac.ir/article_4.html) (Accessed 28 October 2022) [in Persian]
- Kitchens, James T.; and Larry Powell. (2015) *The Four Pillars of Politics: Why Some Candidates Don't Win and Others Can't Lead*. New York: Lexington Books.
- Lem, Steve B.; and Conor M. Dowling. (2006, September) "Picking Their Spots: Minor Party Candidates in Gubernatorial Elections," *Political Research Quarterly* 59, 3: 471- 480, <DOI:10.1177/106591290605900314>.
- MacWilliams, Matthew C. (2016) "Who Decides When the Party Doesn't? Authoritarian Voters and the Rise of Donald Trump," *PS: Political Science & Politics* 49, 4: 716-721, <DOI: 10.1017/S1049096516001463>.
- Marwell, Gerald; and Pamela Oliver. (1993) *The Critical Mass in Collective Action, A Micro Social Theory*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- McCarthy, John D.; and Mayer N. Zald. (1977) "Resource Mobilization and Social Movements: A Partial Theory," *American Journal of Sociology* 82, 6:1212-124. Available at: <https://www.journals.uchicago.edu/doi/10.1086/226464> (Accessed 25 November 2022).
- McCarthy, John D.; and Mayer N. Zald. (2006) "Resource Mobilization Theory: Vigorous or Outmoded?" in Jonathan H. Turner, ed. *Handbook of Sociological Theory*. New York: Springer, 533-567.
- McDonald, Maura, et al. (2020) "Running as a Woman? Candidate Presentation in the 2018 Midterms," *Political Research Quarterly* 73, 4: 967-987, <DOI:10.1177/1065912920915787>.
- McGhee, Eric. (2008) "The Role of Candidate Choice in the California Recall Election," *American Politics Research* 37, 3: 465-485, <DOI:10.1177/1532673X08322816>.
- Mirhashemi, Seyed Morteza, et al. (2018, Summer) "Tahlil-e mazmoon'hā-ye talimi-ye golestān bar bonyād-e nazariyeh-e konesh-e goftār-e searle

- (Analysis of the Didactic Themes of Golestan on the Bass of Searle's Theory of Speech Acts)," *Pajohesh'hā-ye adabi (Literary Research)* 15, 60: 141-176. Available at: <https://lire.modares.ac.ir/article-41-29190-fa.pdf> (Accessed 27 October 2022) [in Persian]
- Mobus George E.; and Michael C. Kalton. (2015) *Principles of Systems Science*. New York: Springer.
- Musolf, Andrea. (2016) *Political Metaphor Analysis: Discourse and Scenarios*. London: Bloomsbury.
- Oyibo, Kiemute; and Julita Vassileva. (2019, September) "The Relationship between Personality Traits and Susceptibility to Social Influence," *Computers in Human Behavior* 98: 174-188, <DOI:10.1016/j.chb.2019.01.032>. Available at: <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S074756321930041X> (Accessed 25 November 2022).
- Pontusson, Jonas; and David Rueda. (2010) "The Politics of Inequality: Voter Mobilization and Left Parties in Advanced Industrial States," *Comparative Political Studies* 43, 6: 675-705, <DOI:10.1177/0010414009358672>.
- Rocklage, Matthew D., et al. (2018) "The Evaluative Lexicon 2.0: The Measurement of Emotionality, Extremity, and Valence in Language," *Behavior Research Methods* 50: 1327-1344, <DOI:10.3758/s13428-017-0975-6>. Available at: <https://link.springer.com/article/10.3758/s13428-017-0975-6> (Accessed 25 November 2022).
- Russell, Bertrand. (2009) *The Basic Writings*. London: Routledge.
- Tilly, Charles. (1978) *From Mobilization to Revolution*. New York: Random House.
- Tindall, James A. (2006) *Applying Network Theory to Develop a Dedicated National Intelligence Network*, Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in Security Studies (Homeland Security and Defense), Naval Postgraduate School, USA, Available at <https://apps.dtic.mil/sti/tr/pdf/ADA457170.pdf> (Accessed 25 November 2022).
- Vráblíková, Katerina. (2014) "How Context Matters? Mobilization, Political Opportunity Structures, and Nonelectoral Political Participation in Old and New Democracies," *Comparative Political Studies* 47, 2: 203-229, <DOI: 10.1177/0010414013488538>.
- Wall, Irwin. (2014) *France Vote: The Election of François Hollande*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Warren, Elizabeth. (2019, February 25) "The Best President Money Can't Buy," *Medium*. Available at: <https://medium.com/@teamwarren/the-best-president-money-cant-buy-1adfb01a344> (Accessed 25 November 2022).
- Xu, Wen; and Weili Wu. (2020) *Optimal Social Influence*. New York: Springer.



This article is an open-access article distributed under the terms and conditions of the Creative Commons Attribution (CC-BY) license.



Research Paper

## Russian Theory of International Relations: A Debate on Identity, Security and Development

Jahangir Karami\*  

Associate Professor, Faculty of World Studies, University of Tehran, Iran.  
Email: [jkarami@ut.ac.ir](mailto:jkarami@ut.ac.ir)

### Abstract

Russia has been a prominent European great power since the 18<sup>th</sup> century, and later a world power. In the context of great power competition, Russian foreign and security policies have been attractive topics for the international relations (IR) theorists who have developed concepts such as the "Great Game", "Heartland", "Class Transnationalism" and "Strategic Parity" mainly in relation to Russia's foreign policy. Over the last decades, significant efforts have been undertaken in Russia in order to understand European and international politics, and these efforts have reached a point that one can now speak of the evolution of the Russian international relations theory. Indeed, the main question of this article is as follows: How have the fundamental issues of the state been reflected in the Russian IR theory? In the research hypothesis, it is claimed that domestic politics play a determining role in the development of IR theories. The Russian approach to IR theory building is different from the western approaches to IR theory. While the current trend in the main debates of IR theories in the western academic and research institutions have been about the nature, method and philosophical foundations of these theories, in Russia there have been major debates around the issues of identity, security and development, which have led to conflicting views of internationalism, statism, civilizational and geopolitical approaches. The author discusses positivist approach to IR which is best described as one which advocates a unified view of science, and calls for the use of methodologies of the natural sciences—most often quantitative data analysis—to study IR. The author also explores the arguments of the critics of the positivist approach from the perspective of critical studies and sociology of science and discusses the likelihood of acceptability of indigenous theory of IR.

The main finding of this article is that we cannot identify a fully

---

\***How to Cite:** Karami, Jahangir. (2023, Summer) "Russian Theory of International Relations: Debate of Identity, Security and Development," *Fas'Ināmeḥ-ye siyāsāt (Politics Quarterly)* 53, 2: 343-367, <DOI:1022059/JPQ.2023.354845.10050358 >.

Manuscript received: 15 March 2023; final revision received: 30 July 2023; accepted: 8 September 2023, published online: 17 September 2023



indigenous Russian theory of IR at present, but the attitudes in the four schools (i.e., internationalist, statist, civilizationist, geostrategist attitudes) are such that they provide important opportunities to build a truly indigenous Russian theory of IR. In fact, the main concern of Russian theorists during the 1991-2022 period had been the issues of identity, security and development, regardless of the schools of thoughts to which they belonged. In fact, there have been general debates about the identity of the Russian state, the expansion of Western institutions and their influence, and the need to overcome economic development problems. Internationalists define Russian identity within the Western world and advocate cooperation with Western institutions, and do not consider any security policies other than in connection with European and global institutions. Russian statist believe the identity of the Russian state is influenced by a combination of local and regional factors, which do not clash necessarily with the Western world except for issues related to survival. They argue that Russian security depends on the maintenance of a regional balance, increased comprehensive interactions with other countries (including the Western countries), and implementation of pragmatic development and modernization policies. Russian civilizationists emphasize the exclusive aspects of identity, security, preservation of local traditions and culture. In contrast, Russian scholars in the geopolitical school with its widespread security concerns and the feeling of being surrounded and threatened by the West, emphasize an anti-Western approach to the policy formulation for countering Western military-security threats. It is not surprising that they supported Moscow's policies in the war against Ukraine. The main problem in all four schools of thought is related to the debate about the best way to deal with foreign academic circles to enrich their concepts and theories. The intellectual space created during the 1985-1999 reform period facilitated Russian academic interactions and collaboration within the transnational space, but the escalation of tensions between Russia and NATO member states over the war in Ukraine gradually created a more restricted and state-oriented environment which have been widening the gap between Russian academic institutions and international teaching and research centers. However, given the globalization of communication and information technologies and capabilities, the intellectual space of IR studies in Russia will continue to grow and the intellectual fences of the Soviet era are unlikely to reappear to prevent Russian academic interactions with the outside world.

**Keywords:** Civilizationism, Eurasianist, International Relations Theory, Russia, Statism

#### **Declaration of conflicting interests**

The author declared no potential conflicts of interest with respect to the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

#### **Funding**

The author received no financial support for the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

## References

- Acharya, Amitav; and Barry Buzan. (2010) *Nazarieh'hā-ye gheir-e gharbi-ye ravābet-e bein'ol mellal (Non-Western International Relations Theories)*, trans. Alireza Tayeb. Tehran: Abrār mo'āser. [in Persian]
- Boldyrev, Vitaly. (2020, December) "ПОЛИПАРТИЦИПАНТНЫЙ И МНОГОМЕРНЫЙ МИР: НА ПУТИ К НОВОЙ ТЕОРИИ МЕЖДУНАРОДНЫХ ОТНОШЕНИЙ (A Multiparticipatory and Multidimensional World: Towards a New Theory of International Relations)," *ЖУРНАЛ Вестник Санкт-Петербургского университета, Политология. Международные отношения (Bulletin of St. Petersburg University. International Relations)* 13, 4: 507-526, <DOI:10.21638/spbu06.2020.406>. [in Russian]
- Carrère d'Encausse, Hélène. (1992) *Shorbakhti-ye rosiyeh: jostāri dar ghatl-e siyāsi (The Russian Syndrome: One Thousand Years of Political Murder)*, trans. Abdol Hossein Nikgozar. Tehran: Alborz. [in Persian]
- Dugin, Aleksandr. (2012) *Nazariyeh-e chāhārom-e siyāsāt: rosiyeh va edeh'hā-ye gharn-e bist-o-yekom (The Fourth Political Theory: Russia and Ideas of the 21st Century)*, trans. Mahnaz Nowrozi. Tehran: International Peace Studies Center. [in Persian]
- . (1997) *Основы геополитики: геополитическое будущее России (Fundamentals of Geopolitics: The Geopolitical Future of Russia)*. Moscow: Arktogeva Center. [in Russian]
- Kolosov, Vladimir A., et al. (2022, June) "Geopolitics and Political Geography in Russia: Global Context and National Characteristics," *Regional Research of Russia* 12, 1: 80–95, <DOI:10.1134/S2079970522020046>.
- Koolai, Elaheh; and Afifeh Abedi. (2018a, Spring) "Moalefeh'hā-ye Jeopolitik-e siyāsāt-e khāreji-ye rosiyeh (Geopolitical Components of Russia's Foreign Policy)," *Fasl-nāmeḥ-ye bein'ol mellali-ye Jeopolitik (International Journal of Geopolitics)* 14, 49: 1-25, <DOI: 20.1001.1.17354331.1397.14.49.1.7>. [in Persian]
- . (2018b) *Jomhuri-'i eslāmī-'i Irān dar edrāk'hā-ye rahbarān-e rosiyeh (The Islamic Republic of Iran in the Perceptions of Russian Leaders)*. Tehran: Jahād dāneshgāhi. [in Persian]
- Lebedeva, Marina; and Maxim Kharkevich. (2016) "ТЕОРИЯ МЕЖДУНАРОДНЫХ ОТНОШЕНИЙ В ЗЕРКАЛЕ СОВРЕМЕННЫХ РОССИЙСКИХ ИССЛЕДОВАНИЙ (Theory of International Relations in the Mirror of Contemporary Russian International Studies)," *Вестник МГИМО-Университета (MGIMO Review of International Relations)* 5, 50: 7-19, <DOI:10.24833/2071-8160-2016-5-50-7-19>. [in Russian]
- Linde, Fabian. (2018) "Charkhesh-e tamadoni dar goftemān-e siyāsāt-e khāreji-ye rosiyeh: az pan'oropā'garāi ta tamāyoz-e tamadoni (Civilizational Turn in the Discourse of Russian Foreign Policy; From Pan-Europeanism to Civilizational Differentiation)," in Saeed Khavarinejad, ed., and trans. *Siyāsāt-e khāreji-ye rosiyeh: hoviyyat-e melli, tamāyoz-e tamadoni va mohāfeze'kāri (Russian Foreign Policy:*

- National Identity, Civilizational Distinction and Conservatism*). Tehran: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 265-299. [in Persian]
- Linklater, Andrew, ed. (2006) *Māhiyat va hadaf-e nazariyeh-e ravābet-e bein'ol mellal (The Nature and Objective of the Theory of International Relations)*, trans. Leila Sazegar. Tehran: Ministry of Foreign Affairs. [in Persian]
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation. (2023, March 31) *The Concept of the Foreign Policy of the Russian Federation*, Approved by Decree of the President of the Russian Federation, No. 229. (*mid.ru/en*). Available at: [https://mid.ru/en/foreign\\_policy/fundamental\\_documents/1860586](https://mid.ru/en/foreign_policy/fundamental_documents/1860586) (Accessed 4 May 2023).
- Moshirzadeh, Hamira. (2016) *Tahavol dar nazariyeh'hā-ye ravābet-e bein'ol mellal (Evolution in International Relations Theories)*. Tehran: Samt. [in Persian]
- Primakov, Yevgeny. (2012) *Donyā bedoon-e rossieh (The World without Russia?)* Tehran: Eras. [in Persian]
- Sergounin, Alexander. (2011) "Rosiyeh: ravābet-e bein'ol mellal bar sar-e du'rāhi (Russia: International Relations at a Crossroad)," in Arlene B. Tickner and Ole Wæver, eds. *Dānesh-e ravābet-e bein'ol mellal dar chāhār gosheh-ye jahān (International Relations Scholarship around the World)*, trans. Alireza Tayeb. Tehran: Abrār mo'āser, 417-454. [in Persian]
- Shakibi, Zhand. (2018) *Rosiyeh va gharb'engāri (Russia and Westernization)*. Tehran: Eras. [in Persian]
- Shakleyina, Tatyana; and Aleksei Bogaturov. (2004, March) "The Russian Realist School of International Relations," *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 37, 1: 37-52, <DOI: 10.1016/j.postcomstud.2003.12.002>.
- Solovyev, Eduard. (2004, March) "Geopolitics in Russia, Science or Vocation?" *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 37, 1: 85-96, <DOI: 10.1016/j.postcomstud.2003.12.009>.
- Tsygankov, Andrei. (2022) *Russian Realism: Defending 'Derzhava' in International Relations*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Tsygankov, Andrey Pavlovich. (2014) "Российская теория международных отношений: какой ей быть (Russian Theory of International Relations: What it should be)," *Сравнительная политика (Comparative Politics)* 2, 15: 65-84, <DOI: 10.18611/2221-3279-2014-5-2>. [in Russian]
- Tsygankov, Andrei; and Povel Tsygankov. (2022, March) "The Global and the Nationally Distinctive in IR Theory," *Vestnik International Relations, RUDN* 22, 1: 7-16, <DOI: 10.22363/2313-0660-2022-22-1-7-16>.
- . (2021, July) "Constructing National Values: The Nationally Distinctive Turn in Russian International Relations Theory and Foreign Policy," *Foreign Policy Analysis* 17, 4: 1-20, <DOI: 10.1093/fpa/orab022>.



———. (2010) "Russian Theory of International Relations," in Robert A. Denmark, ed. *International Studies Encyclopedia*. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley-Blackwell Publishers, 6375-6387, Vol. X.



This article is an open-access article distributed under the terms and conditions of the Creative Commons Attribution (CC-BY) license.



Research Paper

## Analyzing Institutional Factors Influencing the Formation of the State and its Performance in Afghanistan, 2001-2014

Ebrahim Mottaghi<sup>1</sup>, Mohammad Reza Naseri<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Corresponding Author: Professor, Department of Political Science, Faculty of Law & Political Science, University of Tehran, Iran. Email: [emottaghi@ut.ac.ir](mailto:emottaghi@ut.ac.ir)

<sup>2</sup> A PhD Candidate, Department of Political Science, Faculty of Law & Political Science, University of Tehran, Iran. Email: [mrnaseri@ut.ac.ir](mailto:mrnaseri@ut.ac.ir)

### Abstract

Following the 2001 invasion of Afghanistan by the U.S. and its international allies, intense efforts aimed at peacemaking and conflict resolution were made at all levels to put an end to the instability and violence in this war-ravaged country. Accordingly, an attempt was made to create a new consolidated government with a focus on institutionalization in Afghanistan. An international conference was held in Bonn, Germany in 2001, in order to facilitate the consultation between Afghan political leaders and other stakeholders to discuss the establishment of the foundations of the new government in Afghanistan. The consequences of this conference included the establishment of a score of significant national organizations which constituted the foundations of the new government in Afghanistan, and the creation of a dominant coalition of diverse Afghan groups which became the ruling class. The new government received foreign aid from the U.S., its Western allies, regional states, international aid agencies, and other donors. However, the newly-established government did not last more than two decades.

One of the main objectives of this research is to investigate the institutional factors influencing the formation of the government and its performance in Afghanistan in the period of 2001-2014. The research questions are as follows: 1. What institutional factors have influenced the formation of the government in Afghanistan and its performance in 2001-

---

**\*How to Cite:** Motaghi, Ebrahim; and Mohammad Reza Naseri. (2023, Summer) "Analyzing Institutional Factors Influencing the Formation of the State and its Performance in Afghanistan, 2001-2014," *Faslnāmeḥ-ye siyāsāt (Politics Quarterly)* 53, 2: 369-398, <DOI: 10.22059/JPQ.2023.354224.1008034>.

Manuscript received: 13 April 2023; final revision received: 15 August 2023; accepted: 8 September 2023, published online: 17 September 2023



2014 time period? 2. How have these institutional factors affected the formation and performance of the government in Kabul in 2001-2014 when Afghanistan benefited from "relative political stability"? In the research hypothesis, it is argued that the institutional factors led to the formation of a dominant coalition by the stakeholders among the institutions on the basis of the 2001 Bonn Agreement, and in turn the dominant coalition government was able to achieve relative political stability through *rentierism* and "limited access orders" to rent for the individuals and institutions outside the coalition. The method of institutional analysis—which was presented in the works of Douglas North and his associates—are used to collect and analyze data from various reports and statistical sources provided by reliable national and international centers. In addition, the authors gained insights by a careful investigation of the selected findings of the work of other scholars concerning the issue in question.

The theoretical framework was based on North's institutionalist theory and his concept of limited access orders. The theory is useful in describing and explaining the political and economic state of affairs in the post-conflict societies. In most developing countries, individuals and institutions actively use or threaten to use violence for the purpose of having access to resources and accumulate wealth, but development programs would not be successful unless violence is curbed. Reliable stability is the most important precondition for development in all dimensions, particularly in the process of state building. To achieve stability, it is necessary to end violence and eliminate the concealed threat of the use of violence. North's concept of the limited access orders refers to a type of institutional arrangement in which conflict-prone and conflict-ridden countries are able to curb violence by providing economic incentives to powerful groups to cooperate with each other in maintaining peace and stability. The authors compared the government performance of two previous Afghan leaders: 1) Hamid Karzai's government during 2001-2014 which coincided with the emergence of the new government and the period of relative stability in Afghanistan; and 2) Mohammad Ashraf Ghani's government during 2014-2021, which ended in the withdrawal of U.S. forces from the country, and Taliban's return to power. The formation of a dominant coalition based on the logic of rent distribution, and on a kind of profitable interaction of rival individuals and institutions led to a period of stability. In other words, the behavior of the political elites in the government (dominant coalition) of Afghanistan was guided and limited by rent and this situation led to a period of relative political stability. The findings could help to gain a better and more accurate understanding of the reasons for the 2021 collapse of the regime against a background of unravelling western support in Afghanistan, and the return of Taliban to the seat of power in Kabul.

**Keywords:** Afghanistan, Dominant Coalition, Government, Limited Access System, Rent, State

### **Declaration of conflicting interests**

The authors declared no potential conflicts of interest with respect to the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

### **Funding**

The authors received no financial support for the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

### **References**

- Ademmer, Esther; Julia Langbein, and Tanja A. Börzel. (2020, January) "Varieties of Limited Access Orders: The Nexus between Politics and Economics in Hybrid Regimes," *Governance* 33, 1: 191-208, <DOI:10.1111/gove.12414>.
- Ansari, Gholam Farooq. (2008) *Jāme'eh-ye Pashtun, tahavol-e hoviat va monāsebāt (az ahmad khān-e- ebdāli tā eshghāl-e afghānestān tavasot-e roos'hā (Pashtun Society, the Evolution of Identity and Relationships (from Ahmad Khan Abdali to the Occupation of Afghanistan by the Russians)*, PhD Dissertation, Faculty of Literature and Humanities, University of Tehran, Iran. [in Persian]
- Bagheri, Ismail. (2017) "Sakhtar-e siyāsī-ye Afghanistan, raeis-e jomhooar va raeis-e ejrāi-ye (Afghanistan's Political Structure, President and Chief Executive)," *Faslnāmeḥ-ye motāleāt-e rāhbordi-ye jahān-e eslām (Journal of Strategic Studies of the Islamic World)* 69: 149-182. Available at: <http://noo.rs/8EWzC> (Accessed 3 June 2022). [in Persian]
- Bakhtiari, Siddiqa; and Mohammad Mehdi Zaki. (2018) "Goroh'hā-ye ghomi va tozie'-e ghodrat-e siyāsī dar Afghānistān, ta'dil ya taghir-e nezām-e siyāsī dar keshvar (Ethnic Groups and the Distribution of Political Power in Afghanistan; Adjusting or Changing the Political System in the Country)," *Afghanistan Institute of Strategic Studies*, Kabul. [in Persian]
- Beblawi, Hazem. (1987) "The Rentier State in the Arab World." *Arab Studies Quarterly* 9, 4: 383-398. Available at: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41857943> (Accessed 14 July 2023).
- Bizhan, Nematullah. (2022) "Building Legitimacy and State Capacity in Afghanistan," in Nematullah Bizhan, ed. *State Fragility: Case Studies and Comparisons*, 24-63. London: Routledge, <DOI: 10.4324/9781003297697-2>. Available at: [10.4324\\_9781003297697-2\\_chapterpdf-libre.pdf](https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003297697-2_chapterpdf-libre.pdf) (Accessed 14 July 2023).
- Bonn Agreement (Agreement on Provisional Arrangements in Afghanistan Pending the Re-establishment of Permanent Government Institutions). (2001) *peacemaker.un.org (United Nations Peacemaker)*. Available at: <https://peacemaker.un.org/afghanistan-bonnagreement2001> (Accessed 24 July 2023).
- Butler, Eamonn. (2012) "Public Choice– A Prime," *iea.org.uk (The Institute of Economic Affairs)*, 75-81. Available at: <http://www.iea.org.uk/sites/default/files/publications/files/IEA%20Public%20Choice%20web%20complete%202029.1.12.pdf> (Accessed 20 May 2021).

- Chesterman, Simon, Michael Ignatieff, and Ramesh Thakur, eds. (2005) *Making States Work: State Failure and the Crisis of Governance*. Tokyo: United Nations University Press.
- Dobbins, James. (2008) *After the Taliban: Nation Building in Afghanistan*. Washington, DC: Potomac Book.
- Finance Ministry. (2012) *The Report of Finance Ministry*. Kabul, Afghanistan: Finance Ministry. Available at: <https://sao.gov.af/sites/default/files.pdf> (Accessed 6 November 2022). [in Persian]
- Fishstein, Paul; and Aman Farahi. (2023, January) *The World's Humanitarian, Economic, and Political Engagement with Afghanistan*. New York: Center on International Cooperation (CIC), New York University. Available at: <https://cic.nyu.edu/wp-content/uploads/2023/01/The-Worlds-Humanitarian-Economic-and-Political-Engagement-with-Afghanistan-2023.pdf> (Accessed 16 July 2023).
- Ghanavati, Nasrin, et al. (2017) "Bāz'tolid-e sākhtār-e rānti dar irān (Reproduction of Rent Structure in Iran)," *Faslnāmeḥ-ye motāleāt-e rāhbordī siyāsāt'gozarī-'i omomī (Journal of Strategic Public Policy Studies)* 7, 25: 203-221. Available at: [https://sspp.iranjournals.ir/article\\_29733.html](https://sspp.iranjournals.ir/article_29733.html) (Accessed 25 July 2023). [in Persian]
- Global Witness. (2012) "Āyande-ye sector-e estekhrāj-e ma'āden-e Afgānistān dar ma'raz-e khatar gharārdād'hā-ye za'eef gharār dārad (The Future of Afghanistan's Mining Sector is at Risk of Weak Contracts)," *globalwitness.org*. Available at: <https://www.globalwitness.org/en/archive/getting-to-gold-report-dari> (Accessed 5 July 2023). [in Persian]
- HajiYousefi, Amir Mohammad. (1997) "Rānt, dolat, rāntier va rāntierism, barresi-ye mafhomi (Government, Rent, Rentier, and rentierism; A Conceptual Review)," *Ettela'at-e siyāsī va eghtesādī (Political and Economic Bimonthly Journal)* 126-125: 152-155. Available at: <https://sid.ir/paper/419581/fa> (Accessed 12 October 2022). [in Persian]
- Joint Independent Committee for Monitoring and Evaluation Committee of the Fight Against Administrative Corruption. (2016) "Gozāresh-e arzyābi-ye āsib'paziri'hā-ye fesād-e edāri bae sath-e vezārat-e ma'āref (Vulnerability Assessment Report of Administrative Corruption at the Level of the Ministry of Education)," *Kabul (research.amanote.com)*. Available at: <https://research.amanote.com/publication/eZjz2nMBKQvf0BhiCl2v> (Accessed 26 November 2022). [in Persian]
- . (2013) "Chāhāromin gozāresh-e sheshmāh-e (Fourth Six-Month Report, 31 December 2012 to 30 June 2013)," *Kabul (afghandata.org)*. Available at: <http://www.afghandata.org:8080/xmlui/handle/azu/20715> (Accessed 27 June 1401). [in Persian]
- Khalilzad, Zalmay. (2016) *Ferestādeh: safar-e man dar jahāni motelātem az kabul be kakh-e sefid (The Envoy: My Journey in a Turbulent World from Kabul to the White House)*, trans. Mostafa Ahmadi. Tehran: Ketab-e Kole'Poshti Publications, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. [in Persian]

- Khezri, Mohammad; and Mohsen Renani. (2004) "Rānt'joei va hazinehā-ye ejtemā'i-ye ān (Rent-seeking and its Social Costs)," *Roz'nāmeḥ-'i mofid (Mofid Daily)* 10, 45: 80. Available at: <https://sid.ir/paper/3654/fa> (Accessed 5 November 2022). [in Persian]
- Löfström, Amanda. (2022) "A Fatigued State: Exploring the Fragilities of the Afghan State," *The Swedish Institute of International Affairs (UI) Papers* 2. Available at: <https://www.ui.se/globalassets/ui.se-eng/publications/ui-publications/2022/ui-paper-no.-2-2022.pdf> (Accessed 10 July 2023).
- Mirbeigi, Seved Vahid. (2016) "Baresi-ve tatbighi-ve rābeteh-ve rāntierism va olgo-ve hokmrāni-ve khob (A Comparative Study of the Relationship between Rentierism and Good Governance Pattern; Study of Six Countries: Iran, Kuwait, Azerbaijan, Indonesia, Malaysia and Turkey)," *Faslnāmeḥ-ye oloom-e ejtemā'i (Social Sciences)* 23, 73: 117-170, <DOI:10.22054/qjss.2017.7206>. [in Persian]
- Nassiri Aghdami, Ali. (2013) "Ravesh'shenāsi-ye tahlil-e nahdi-ye masāel-e eghtesādi (Methodology of Institutional Analysis of Economics Problems)," *Faslnāmeḥ-ye ravesh'shenāsi-ye oloom-e ensānī (Humanities Methodology Quarterly)* 18, 71: 119-144. Available at: [http://method.rihu.ac.ir/article\\_198.html?lang=en](http://method.rihu.ac.ir/article_198.html?lang=en) (Accessed 12 July 2023). [in Persian]
- North, Douglass C., et al. (2012) "Limited Access Orders: Rethinking the Problems of Development and Violence," *Researchgate.net*. Available at: [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/259552628\\_Limited\\_Access\\_OrdersRethinking\\_the\\_Problems\\_of\\_Development\\_and\\_Violence/citation/download](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/259552628_Limited_Access_OrdersRethinking_the_Problems_of_Development_and_Violence/citation/download) (Accessed 23 April 2021).
- . (2007) *Politics, Economy and Development Issues in the Shadow of Violence*, trans. Mohsen Mirdamadi and Mohammad Hossein Naimipour. Tehran: Rozeneh, 3rd ed. [in Persian]
- North, Douglass C., John Joseph Wallis, and Barry R. Weingast. (2009) *Violence and Social Orders: A Conceptual Framework for Interpreting Recorded Human History*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- North, Douglass C., John Joseph Wallis, Steven B. Webb, and Barry R. Weingast. (2007, November) "Limited Access Orders in the Developing World: A New Approach to the Problems of Development," *World Bank Policy Research Working Papers*, <DOI:10.1596/1813-9450-4359>.
- Pajhwak, Khalil; and Zaki Dariyabi. (2022, October 29) "Hokomat-e khānevādeh'hā; gozāreshi az naghsh-e chehreh'ha-ye bānofoze dar fesād-e edāri va māli (the Rule of Families; A Report on the Role of Influential Figures in Administrative and Financial Corruption)," *Roz'nāmeḥ-'i ettelā'āt-e roz (Information of the Day Daily)*. Available at: <https://www.etilaatroz.com/49967> (Accessed 30 November 2022). [in Persian]
- Pan, Adam; Kaveh Karami, and Urhala Nemat. (2021) *Mavād-e mokhader va tose' dar Afghānistān; tahlil-e polici-ye meli va bāzigarān*

- (*Narcotics and Development in Afghanistan; An Analysis of National Policy and Actors*), tran. Azizollah Esfandiari. Kabul: Afghanistan Research and Evaluation Unit. [in Persian]
- PBS. (2001) "Creating A New Afghanistan- Filling the Vacuum," *Frontline*. Available at: <https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/campaign/withus/cbonn.html> (Accessed 12 July 2023).
- Rodríguez, Enrique Baltar. (2023) "Why Did State-Building Policy Fail in Afghanistan?" *Open Journal of Political Science* 13: 129-154. <DOI:10.4236/ojps.2023.131008>.
- Rogers, Samuel. (2023) "The Emergence of the 'Rentocrat'," *New Political Economy (Online)* 1-14, <DOI: 10.1080/13563467.2023.2172148>. Available at: <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/13563467.2023.2172148?src=recsys> (Accessed 12 July 2023).
- Schwarz, Rolf. (2011) "Does War Make States? Rentierism and the Formation of States in the Middle East," *European Political Science Review* 3, 3: 419-443, <DOI:10.1017/S1755773911000014>.
- Smith, Adam. (1960) *The Wealth of Nations*. London: Every Man's Library.
- Soroush, Ismatullah. (2019, August 7) "The Percentage of Employees of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs are Illegally Employed," *Roz'nāme'h-'i ettelā'āt-e roz (Information of the Day Daily)*. Available at: [etilaatroz.com/81945/40-percent-of-state-department-employees-are-hired-illegally](http://etilaatroz.com/81945/40-percent-of-state-department-employees-are-hired-illegally) (Accessed 25 September 2022). [in Persian]
- Stratford, Beth. (2023) "Rival Definitions of Economic Rent: Historical Origins and Normative Implications," *New Political Economy* 28, 3: 347-362, <DOI: 10.1080/13563467.2022.2109612>.
- World Bank Group. (2021) "Classification of Fragility and Conflict Situations for World Bank Group Engagement," *The World Bank Group*. Last updated: 2021-07-01. Available at: <https://thedocs.worldbank.org/en/doc/8bc2ffd2ca0d2f174fee8315ad4c385b0090082021/original/Classification-of-Fragility-and-Conflict-Situations-web-FY22.pdf> (Accessed 12 July 2023).



This article is an open-access article distributed under the terms and conditions of the Creative Commons Attribution (CC-BY) license.



Research Paper

## Transformation in the US Offshore Balancing and the Regional Rivalry between Iran and the GCC, 2001-2021

Nasser Hadian<sup>1\*</sup>  , Issa Adeli<sup>2</sup> 

<sup>1</sup> Corresponding Author: Assistant Professor, Department of International Relations, Faculty of Law & Political Science, University of Tehran, Iran. Email: [nhadian@ut.ac.ir](mailto:nhadian@ut.ac.ir)

<sup>2</sup> MA in International Relations, Department of Political Science, Faculty of Law & Political Science, University of Tehran, Iran. Email: [isadeli@ut.ac.ir](mailto:isadeli@ut.ac.ir)

### Abstract

In contrast to the strategy of preponderance, the grand strategy of offshore balancing can be pursued to achieve the goals of isolation or hegemony. The U.S. foreign policy in the Middle East has been changing from preponderance to offshore balancing, which has occasionally (and erroneously) been interpreted as the US isolationist tendency to begin the total withdrawal of its forces from the Middle East, followed by the decline of its influence in the region. The authors investigate why and how George W. Bush (2001-2009), Barack Obama (2009-2017), and Donald Trump (2017-2021) followed a similar strategy of offshore balancing, despite all their differences. The study intends to answer the following research questions: 1. To what extent were the US foreign policy strategies and its actions in the Persian Gulf different during the presidencies of Bush, Obama, and Trump? 2. Why did the three presidents follow the same grand strategy, despite the apparent differences, particularly in their worldview, leadership style and personality traits? In the research hypothesis, it is postulated that even though the U.S. pursued the strategy of offshore balancing during the presidencies of Bush, Obama, and Trump, differences in personality, policy-making style, and security threat assessments of these presidents have had an impact on the transformation of the U.S. foreign policy in the region. With a qualitative approach, the method of events and historical data analysis is used to test the hypothesis. The U.S. policies and reactions to the recent events

**\*How to Cite:** Hadian, Nasser; and Issa Adeli. (2023, Summer) "Transformation in the US Offshore Balancing and the Regional Rivalry between Iran and the GCC, 2001-2021," *Faslnāmeḥ-ye siyāsāt (Politics Quarterly)* 53, 2: 399-424, <DOI:1022059/JPQ.2023.364027.1008102>.

Manuscript received: 8 July 2023; final revision received: 19 August 2023; accepted: 13 September 2023, published online: 17 September 2023





such as the rivalries between Iran and the southern Persian Gulf countries, the political instability of Syria, Iraq and Lebanon, the great powers competition in the region are examined.

International relations scholars have different ideas regarding what the strategy of offshore balancing represents, and whether a given U.S. president is an offshore balancer or not. The present study views these differences as an indication of the variations of this strategy. First, one needs to present an inclusive definition of offshore balancing, and for such a definition, one needs to identify the common elements of the various definitions given by different scholars. Different policy goals and means of implementation of offshore balancing have been discussed, but most scholars agree on two points: First, offshore balancing emphasizes the use of naval and air forces, while ground forces should be used only in very special circumstances and on a temporary basis. Second, offshore balancing assigns roles to regional actors, whether allies or competitors which must contribute to the cost of collective defense in the region on the basis of a burden and responsibility sharing formula. Variation in offshore balancing occurs at different levels; for instance, between defensive versus offensive realism, between pursuing a more offshore presence versus a more favorable balance of power.

In conclusion, the authors argue that offshore balancing has been the U.S. grand strategy in the Persian Gulf since 2006, but its goals have changed in response to the need to react to different circumstances. In the last two years of Bush presidency, he was under pressure to find a balance of power arrangement that would end the war in Iraq, while achieving the hegemonic goal of democratization. The cost of upholding the current liberal global order and providing American security guarantees for US allies have adversely affected the prosperity of American people, who expect their politicians to give priority to the economic national interest. Because of the slowdown in the U.S. economy as a consequence of the 2008 financial crisis and military interventions in Afghanistan and Iraq, Obama followed the strategy of offshore balancing with the goal of reducing the costs of the U.S. foreign policy adventures, and finally ended up being more in favor of an 'offshore than balanced' strategy. During the Trump era, offshore balancing was more influenced by the idea of "make America great again," with its touch of realism. Bush had to deal with the security implications of the September 11 attacks, and acted on the basis of offensive realism and the logic of hegemonism. Obama sought isolationism based on defensive realism, while Trump returned to offensive realism.

**Key Words:** Grand Strategy, Hegemony, Offshore Balancing, Persian Gulf, U.S. Foreign Policy

#### **Declaration of conflicting interests**

The authors declared no potential conflicts of interest with respect to the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

### Funding

The authors received no financial support for the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

### References

- Air Forces Central Command Public Affairs. (2019, May 9) "Eagles Move as Part of Dynamic Force Deployment," US Air Force Website (*afcent.af.mil*). Available at: <https://www.afcent.af.mil/News/Article/1843765/eagles-move-as-part-of-dynamic-force-deployment> (Accessed 12 May 2023).
- Balluck, Kyle. (2013, November 3) "Obama, Saudi King to 'Consult Regularly' on Iran," *The Hill*. Available at: <https://thehill.com/policy/international/191634-obama-saudi-king-to-consult-regularly-on-iran> (Accessed 12 May 2023).
- Birnbaum, Michael; and Liz Sly. (2019, May 13) "Pompeo Crashes Brussels Meeting of EU Diplomats but Changes Few Minds on Iran," *Washington Post*. Available at: [https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/europe/pompeo-crashes-brussels-meeting-of-eu-diplomats-for-iran-talks/2019/05/13/7cb68214-7337-11e9-9331-30bc5836f48e\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/europe/pompeo-crashes-brussels-meeting-of-eu-diplomats-for-iran-talks/2019/05/13/7cb68214-7337-11e9-9331-30bc5836f48e_story.html) (Accessed 11 May 2023).
- Blagden, David; and Patrick Porter. (2021) "Desert Shield of the Republic? A Realist Case for Abandoning the Middle East," *Security Studies* 30, 1; 5-48, <DOI: 10.1080/09636412.2021.1885727>.
- Borger, Julian. (2013, September 27) "Breakthrough Hailed as US and Iran Sit Down for Nuclear Deal Discussion," *Guardian*. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/sep/27/us-iran-nuclear-deal-discussion> (Accessed 2 June 2023).
- Brands, Hal. (2018) *American Grand Strategy in the Age of Trump*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press.
- "Britain Warns US-Iran Conflict May Break out 'by Accident'," (2019, May 7) *TRT World*. Available at: <https://www.trtworld.com/europe/britain-warns-us-iran-conflict-may-break-out-by-accident-26599> (Accessed 12 May 2023).
- Brook, Tim Vanden. (2019, May 10) "Pentagon Bolsters Force in Middle East with Marines and Missiles to Confront Iran," *USA Today News*. Available at: <https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/politics/2019/05/10/pentagon-marines-patriot-missiles-added-force-confronting-iran/1169210001> (Accessed 11 May 2023).
- Callahan, Patrick. (2017) *Mantegh-e siyāsāt-e khāreji-ye amricā: nazārieh 'hā-ye naghsh-e Jahāni-ye amricā (Logics of American Foreign Policy: Theories of America's World Role)*, trans. Davood Qarayaq Zandi, et al. Tehran: Research Institute of Strategic Studies. [in Persian]
- Cox, Robert W. (1983) "Gramsci, Hegemony and International Relations: An Essay in Method," *Millennium* 12, 2: 162–175, <DOI: 10.1177/03058298830120020701>.
- DeYoung, Karen; and Missy Ryan. (2009, May 5) "In Message to Iran, White House Announces New Military Assets in Middle East,"

- Washington Post*. Available at: [https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/in-message-to-iran-white-house-announces-new-military-assets-in-middle-east/2019/05/05/7d7381d8-6f9b-11e9-8be0-ca575670e91c\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/in-message-to-iran-white-house-announces-new-military-assets-in-middle-east/2019/05/05/7d7381d8-6f9b-11e9-8be0-ca575670e91c_story.html) (Accessed 11 May 2023).
- Dunne, Timothy, et al., eds. (2013) *International Relations Theories. Discipline and Diversity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed.
- Froomkin, Dan. (2008, June 30) “Cheney’s Fingerprints,” *Washington Post*. Available at: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/blog/2008/06/30/BL2008063000719.html?hpid=opinionsbox1> (Accessed 11 May 2023).
- Gady, Franz-Stefan. (2020, April 24) “How the 1952 Republican Primary Killed Offshore Balancing,” *National Interest*. Available at: <https://nationalinterest.org/feature/how-1952-republican-primary-killed-offshore-balancing-147771> (Accessed 13 June 2022).
- “Gulf Crisis: US Sends more Troops amid Tanker Tension with Iran,” (2019, June 18) BBC News (*bbc.com*). Available at: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-48671319> (Accessed 11 May 2023).
- Hemmer, Christopher. (2015) “Conclusion: Balancing the Pendulum? The Past and the Future of U.S. Grand Strategy,” in *American Pendulum: Recurring Debates in U.S. Grand Strategy*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 173-186.
- Holmes, James; and Toshi Yoshihara. (2012) “An Ocean Too Far: Offshore Balancing in the Indian Ocean,” *Asian Security* 8, 1: 1-26, <DOI: 10.1080/14799855.2011.652025>.
- Houeix, Romain. (2018, April 14) “A History of the Syria Chemical Weapons ‘Red Line,’” *France 24*. Available at: <https://www.france24.com/en/20180414-syria-chemical-weapons-red-line-obama-macron-assad-russia-usa-france-idlib> (Accessed 2 June 2023).
- “Iran Team in Iraq for Security Talks with U.S.: Report,” (2008, March 5) *Reuters*. Available at: <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-iraq-iran-usa-idUSDAH53939220080305> (Accessed 11 May 2023).
- Kegley, Charles W.; and Shannon Lindsey Blanton. (2010) *World Politics: Trend and Transformation*. Boston MA: Wadsworth Cengage Learning.
- Kitchen, Nicholas. (2020) “Why American Grand Strategy Has Changed: International Constraint, Generational Shift, and the Return of Realism,” *Global Affairs* 6, 1: 87-104, <DOI: 10.1080/23340460.2020.1734957>.
- Lacey, Robert. (2009) *Inside the Kingdom. Kings, Clerics, Modernists, Terrorists, and the Struggle for Saudi Arabia*. New York: Viking.
- “Latest Sanctions on Iran will Block ‘Billions’ in Assets: US,” (2019, June 24) *France 24*. Available at: <https://www.france24.com/en/20190624-latest-sanctions-iran-will-block-billions-assets-us> (Accessed 12 May 2023).
- Layne, Christopher. (1997) “From Preponderance to Offshore Balancing: America’s Future Grand Strategy,” *International Security* 22, 1: 86-124, <DOI: 10.2307/2539331>.
- . (2009, January) “America’s Middle East Grand Strategy after Iraq: The Moment for Offshore Balancing has Arrived,” *Review of*

- International Studies* 35, 1: 5-25, <DOI:10.1017/S0260210509008304>.
- Macias, Amanda. (2019, September 26) "Pentagon to Deploy Patriot Missile System to Saudi Arabia after Iran Oil Attacks," CNBC (*cncb.com*). Available at: <https://www.cncb.com/2019/09/26/patriot-missile-system-to-saudi-arabia-after-iran-oil-attacks.html> (Accessed 27 July 2023).
- McKay, James. (2019) "How Transatlantic is the Trump Administration?" *Journal of Transatlantic Studies* 17, 4: 532-553, <DOI: 10.1057/s42738-019-00030-0>.
- Mearsheimer, John; and Stephen M. Walt. (2016) "The Case for Offshore Balancing. A Superior U.S. Grand Strategy," *Foreign Affairs*. Available at: <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2016-06-13/case-offshore-balancing> (Accessed 17 Sep 2020).
- "Mike Pompeo Speech: What are the 12 Demands Given to Iran?" (2018, May 21) Aljazeera (*aljazeera.com*). Available at: <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/5/21/mike-pompeo-speech-what-are-the-12-demands-given-to-iran> (Accessed 3 June 2023).
- Nakashima, Ellen. (2019, June 22) "Trump Approved Cyber-Strikes Against Iranian Computer Database Used to Plan Attacks on Oil Tankers," *Washington Post*. Available at: [https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/with-trumps-approval-pentagon-launched-cyber-strikes-against-iran/2019/06/22/250d3740-950d-11e9-b570-6416efdc0803\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/with-trumps-approval-pentagon-launched-cyber-strikes-against-iran/2019/06/22/250d3740-950d-11e9-b570-6416efdc0803_story.html) (Accessed 11 May 2023).
- Neuman, Scott, et al. (2019, September 16) "Attack on Saudi Oil Facilities Makes Oil Prices Spike," NPR (*npr.org*). Available at: <https://www.npr.org/2019/09/16/761118726/oil-prices-jump-following-drone-attack-on-saudi-oil-facility> (Accessed 27 July 2023).
- Nye, Joseph S. (2006) "Transformational Leadership and U.S. Grand Strategy," *Foreign Affairs* 85, 4: 139-148, <DOI:10.2307/20032047>.
- Pawlyk, Oriana. (2019, June 28) "F-22s Deploy to Qatar for the First Time Amid Iran Tensions," *Military.com*. Available at: <https://www.military.com/daily-news/2019/06/28/f-22s-deploy-qatar-first-time-amid-iran-tensions.html> (Accessed 12 May 2023).
- Porter, Patrick. (2018, Spring) "Why America's Grand Strategy Has Not Changed: Power, Habit, and the U.S. Foreign Policy Establishment," *International Security* 42, 4: 9-46, <DOI:10.1162/ISEC\_a\_00311>.
- Posen, Barry. (2014) *Restraint. A New Foundation for U.S. Grand Strategy*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- "President Donald J. Trump is Ending United States Participation in an Unacceptable Iran Deal," (2018) *Trump White House Archive*. Available at: <https://trumpwhitehouse.archives.gov/briefings-statements/president-donald-j-trump-ending-united-states-participation-unacceptable-iran-deal/>, (Accessed 3 June 2023).
- Priebe, Miranda, et al. (2021) *Implementing Restraint: Changes in U.S. Regional Security Policies to Operationalize a Realist Grand Strategy of Restraint*. Santa Monica, CA: RAND. Available at: [https://www.rand.org/pubs/research\\_reports/RRA739-1.html](https://www.rand.org/pubs/research_reports/RRA739-1.html) (Accessed 29 November 2023).

- Prifti, Bledar. (2017) *US Foreign Policy in the Middle East, The Case for Continuity*. Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Roberts, Dan; and Julian Borger. (2013, September 28) "Obama Holds Historic Phone Call with Rouhani and Hints at End to Sanctions," *Guardian*. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/sep/27/obama-phone-call-iranian-president-rouhani> (Accessed 2 June 2023).
- "Saudi to Reassess Relations with US: Report," (2013, October 23) *aljazeera.com*. Available at: <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2013/10/23/saudi-to-reassess-relations-with-us-report> (Accessed 2 June 2023).
- Starr, Barbara; and Jeremy Diamond. (2017, April 7) "Trump Launches Military Strike against Syria," *CNN (web.archive.org)*. Available at: <https://web.archive.org/web/20170407021906/http://edition.cnn.com/2017/04/06/politics/donald-trump-syria-military/index.html> (Accessed 2 June 2023).
- Stewart, Phil; and Tom Perry. (2014, September 23) "U.S. and Arab Allies Launch First Strikes on Militants in Syria," *Reuters*. Available at: <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-syria-crisis-usa-strikes-idUSKCN0H103A20140923> (Accessed 2 June 2023).
- Taddonio, Patrice. (2015, May 25) "The President Blinked": Why Obama Changed Course on the "Red Line" in Syria," *PBS*. Available at: <https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/frontline/article/the-president-blinked-why-obama-changed-course-on-the-red-line-in-syria> (Accessed 2 August 2023).
- Trevithick, Joseph. (2019, May 14) "U.S. Government Claims Iran Is Behind Attacks on Oil Tankers, But Has Yet to Show Evidence," *The Drive*. Available at: <https://www.thedrive.com/the-war-zone/27992/u-s-government-claims-iran-is-behind-attacks-on-oil-tankers-but-has-yet-to-show-evidence> (Accessed 11 May 2023).
- Walt, Stephen M. (2020, May 5) "The United States Forgot Its Strategy for Winning Cold Wars," *Foreign Policy*. Available at: <https://foreignpolicy.com/2020/05/05/offshore-balancing-cold-war-china-us-grand-strategy> (Accessed 13 June 2022).
- Westcott, Ben. (2017, April 11) "US Missile Strike Took out 20% of Syria's Air Force, Mattis Claims," *CNN*. Available at: <https://edition.cnn.com/2017/04/11/politics/syria-mattis-trump-strike-damage> (Accessed 2 June 2023).
- White House. (2013, August 30) "Government Assessment of the Syrian Government's Use of Chemical Weapons on August 21, 2013," *Obama White House Archives*. Available at: <https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2013/08/30/government-assessment-syrian-government-s-use-chemical-weapons-august-21> (Accessed 8 August 2023).



This article is an open-access article distributed under the terms and conditions of the Creative Commons Attribution (CC-BY) license.