

OPERATIONAL CODE ANALYSIS OF IRAN’S SUPREME LEAD-
ERSHIP—AYATOLLAHS KHOMEINI AND KHAMENEI

The Graduate School of Economics and Social Sciences
of
İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University

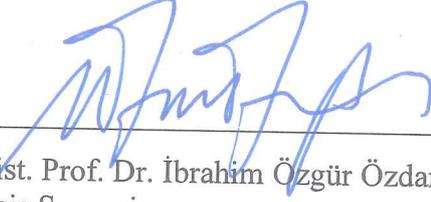
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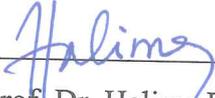
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ABSTRACT

AN OPERATIONAL CODE ANALYSIS OF IRAN'S SUPREME LEADERSHIP— AYATOLLAHS KHOMEINI AND KHAMENEI

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The psychological approach employed in Leadership Studies asserts that understanding a leader's characteristics is of paramount importance in understanding the role of that leader in foreign policy decisions. As the Supreme Leader, Ayatollah Khamenei, and Khomeini before him, has ultimate veto power over Iran's foreign policy, and as such, an analysis of his political beliefs is warranted. Utilizing Operational Code Analysis, this research aims to identify patterns in the political belief systems of Khomeini and Khamenei. Three main hypotheses have been posited in this thesis: (1) The political beliefs of Supreme Leaders Khomeini and Khamenei will reveal significant differences from the average world leader (i.e. norming group). (2) Supreme Leader Khamenei's foreign policy decisions will be more cooperative than his predecessor (Khomeini). (3) The Supreme Leaders' political belief systems have evolved throughout their tenure as Iran's leaders due to the experience gained in office. The results reveal that the supreme leaders of Iran demonstrate several significant differences in their political belief system in contrast with the average leader, that Khamenei is indeed more cooperative than Khomeini, and that both leaders' political belief systems have changed over time. Furthermore, the findings show that Supreme Leader Khamenei is particularly invested in the nuclear program and highly wary of the 'other' in the political universe when it comes to this issue.

Keywords: Ayatollah Khamenei; Ayatollah Khomeini; Foreign Policy Analysis; Operational Code Analysis (opcode); Nuclear Negotiations

ÖZET

İRAN DİNİ LİDERLİĞİ'NİN DIŞ POLİTİKASI: AYETULLAH HUMEYİNİ VE HAMENEYİ'NİN OPERASYONEL KODU

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Liderlik çalışmalarında kullanılan psikolojik yaklaşım; liderin karakter özelliklerini anlamanın, dış politika kararlarını anlamakta azami önemli olduğunu öne sürmektedir. Hamaneyi ve ondan önceki Humeyni, Dili Lider olarak, İran dış politikasında üst düzey veto yetkisine sahiptir, buna bağlı olarak, politik görüşlerinin analiz edilmesi gereklidir. Bu araştırma; Operasyonel Kod Analizinden istifade ederek Humeyni ve Hamaneyi'nin, politik düşünce sistemlerindeki yapıyı belirlemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Bu tezde üç temel hipotez ortaya konmuştur: (1) Dini Liderler Humeyni ve Hamaneyi'nin politik inanç sistemi, ortalama bir dünya liderinden belirgin şekilde farklıdır. (2) Dini Lider Hamaneyi'nin politik kararları selefinden (Humeyni) daha işbirliğine yatkın olacaktır. (3) Dini Liderlerin politik düşünce sistemleri, İran Liderleri olarak görevde kalmaları süresince ofiste edindikleri tecrübe sebebiyle gelişim göstermiştir. Sonuçlar; İran Dini Liderlerinin politik düşünce sisteminin ortalama bir lidere kıyasla belirgin şekilde farklı olduğunu, Hamaneyi'nin kesinlikle Humeyni'den daha işbirlikçi olduğunu ve her iki liderin de politik düşünce sistemi zaman içinde değiştiğini ortaya koymuştur. Buna ek olarak; bulgular Dini Lider Hamaneyi'nin nükleer programa özel olarak önem verdiği ve bu konu ile ilgili görüşmelerde politika alemindeki diğer liderlerden oldukça şüphe duyduğunu göstermektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Ayetullah Humeyni; Ayetullah Hamaneyi; Dış Politika Analizi; Operasyonel Kod Analizi; Nükleer Müzakereler

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

A proper analysis of foreign policy decision making would be woefully deficient without consideration of the impact an individual may have in foreign affairs. Human agency is, of course, a highly debated matter in international relations, but upon close examination of critical events in history, it is evident that the involved parties—especially when it comes to charismatic and powerful individuals—are not merely parts of well-oiled machines that churn out foreign policy. Rather, for better or worse, they play an integral role in the formulation of foreign policy (Allison, 1969; Sadjadpour, 2009; Mazlish, 1976; Hermann, 1989). Therefore, without ignoring the structural limitations of the anarchical international system, it is important to consider the effects of the individual on foreign policy—as many scholars of rational choice, cognition and political psychology have done. This thesis asserts that the human agency and beliefs of national leaders does in fact influence the creation of foreign policies which demands that scholars of International Relations study the political belief systems of individual decision makers.

Heretofore, most research on the Supreme Leaders of Iran has been purely qualitative, but with operational code analysis, a quantitative method is used to study both Supreme Leaders' political beliefs using the Verbs in Context System (VICS). I undertake this project to understand and explain Iranian foreign policy vis-à-vis its

Supreme Leaders—Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini and Ayatollah Ali Khamenei. I have chosen Operational Code Analysis to study Ayatollahs Khomeini and Khamenei in order to explore the impact of the Supreme Leaders' political belief systems on Iran's foreign policy decisions.

Leading scholars in Foreign Policy Analysis (FPA) Snyder, Bruck and Sapin (1963), Rosenau (1966), and the Sprouts (1956) advocated an approach to international relations that considered the actual players of the system, rather than simply the nation-state acting as a unified entity, and greater significance was given to the decision-making process in relation to the actor's perception of the environment in which they are functioning (Hudson, 2007). Some in FPA turned to rational actor models to argue that individuals act within the constraints of rationality (Morgenthau, 1948; Allison and Zelikow, 1971; and Neack, 2008: 31-9). Contemporary rationalists, such as Bueno de Mesquita (1997), admit that rationality is 'bounded' by uncertainty and an actor's subjective beliefs, and that, furthermore, a leader's psychology is an important element of foreign policy decisions.

The rational actor model is still rejected by other scholars as incomplete on the basis that in these models all leaders are viewed through the same lens, while in fact, assumptions of rationality cannot be applied universally (Steinbrunner, 1974). Opponents of the rationality camp, such as Young and Schafer (1998), argue that assumptions of leaders' rationality are misguided because views on power and interest vary

among both states and individuals. “The more fundamental point here is that power and interest...are cognitive in nature. Neither power nor interest is objective; rather each emerges from the beliefs individuals hold about these concepts” (Young and Schafer, 1998: 64). In other words, cognitive approaches—acting as an alternative to rational actor models—employ a psychological approach to analyze world leaders’ individual belief systems by determining how leaders cognize power and perceive power relationships.

1.1 Significance of the Study

This research is significant for a variety of reasons. First, a qualitative study is conducted which (1) identifies who makes the foreign policy decisions of Iran, (2) determines whether Iran’s Supreme Leaders act pragmatically or ideologically, and (3) provides an historical context which allows us to make sense of the Supreme Leaders’ motivations. A discussion of who makes the foreign policy decisions in Iran is relevant because many sources portray the power distribution differently. Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini and Ayatollah Ali Khamenei both played roles in bringing about the 1979 Revolution in Iran which ended thousands of years of Persian monarchy. They, and particularly Ayatollah Khomeini, are proof that individuals, especially when capable of garnering the support of the masses, are able to enact substantial changes. In Iran’s case, the effect on the region and the international community at large has been quite

significant. However, the political stance of both Ayatollah Khomeini, as well as Ayatollah Khamenei, are often oversimplified and maligned by Western media without an in-depth look into the conditions which brought them to power, or into Iran's complicated history with the West. Without a true understanding of the political structure of Iran, its history or its leaders, other countries are unlikely to create meaningful policies that Iran may also find adequate to warrant cooperation.

Second, operational code analysis permits this quantitative study of the individual actors behind foreign policy decisions in Iran. The identification of the Supreme Leaders' operational codes in Chapter 7 reveals the Supreme Leaders' political belief systems, allowing a deeper look into the possible motives and especially the strategy types favored by the leaders. An understanding of Ayatollah Khamenei's political belief system, how he views others and what manner of tactics he favors, is particularly important for a country attempting to develop an Iran strategy. This is of crucial importance both for many countries in the region, as well as Western countries who feel threatened by a nuclear Iran (which has the potential to greatly affect the balance of power in the region). Accordingly, the penultimate chapter of this thesis tackles Ayatollah Khamenei's behavior in the nuclear negotiations, what his overall intention is, and what the international community can expect from him as the implementation of the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA) nuclear deal progresses. To date, most leadership studies in FPA have been conducted on Western subjects (Özdamar,

2011). In light of Iran's growing regional influence/interference, further research into the beliefs of its leadership is necessary.

1.2 Research Questions and Overview

The overarching purpose of this thesis is to answer: To what extent and how has the political belief system (operational code) of the Supreme Leadership of Iran informed the Islamic Republic's foreign policy? In order to answer this, there are three major research questions that I will seek to answer by identifying the leaders' operational codes. First, do the political belief systems of Supreme Leader Khomeini and Supreme Leader Khamenei differ greatly from the average world leader? Second, did the operational code of Ayatollah Khomeini and Ayatollah Khamenei see a change over the course of their leadership as they encountered new scenarios? Third, to what extent has Ayatollah Khamenei's belief system affected policies pertaining to Iran's nuclear program? The first hypothesis is that both leaders will have a significantly different political belief system than the norming group; some significant differences were found. Second, the results only partially confirmed the hypothesis that the leaders' political belief system would be altered over time; just one significant change was observed in Khamenei's belief system over the course of his political career, while Khomeini remained mostly consistent throughout his involvement in politics. Furthermore, Khamenei's operational code revealed some deviations when the focus was limited to the nuclear program.

1.3 Organization of the Chapters

The following thesis chapter provides a review of the Foreign Policy Analysis literature. The 1960s-1980s witnessed a shift in focus toward actor-specific theories, including Group Decisions, Organizational Process and Bureaucratic Policy models, Comparative Foreign Policy (Event Data and Integrated Explanations) and finally the Psychological and Societal Milieu in foreign policy decision making (Smith et al., 2015). In the second period (1980s-present), the field has shifted again to (1) show how foreign policy decisions are ‘framed’ or given meaning in order to be accepted, (2) use cognitive mapping techniques “to detect new knowledge structures within the minds of decision makers” and (3) study how individual human agents interact in groups to achieve decisions (Smith et al., 2015). Operational Code Analysis, as used today, has primarily evolved during the second period, though it and other Foreign Policy Analysis Models rely heavily on the works of scholars from the first.

In Chapter 3, the historical background of the years preceding and following the 1979 Revolution are provided to give context to the political belief systems of the leaders. Considering that it was through this revolution that the Islamic Republic of Iran—and with it the position of Supreme Leader—was created, it is an important era in Iran’s history as Iran broke away from foreign oppression and Khomeini held and Khamenei has held a high position since the formation of the Republic. Understanding what prompted the 1979 Revolution, who the primary actors were, and how the new

regime was established all provide useful insight in understanding the political belief systems of the Supreme Leaders. Without this historical context, the numbers produced by Operational Code Analysis could prove less meaningful.

Chapter 4 provides greater insight into the personal and political biographies of the leaders studied in this thesis. In his younger years, Ayatollah Khomeini led an interesting life at a time only a handful of religious clerics were prepared to approach the political world in the same bold way that he did. He was reprimanded both by religious clergy for his views, as well as the Pahlavi regime he spoke against. It was not until after suffering imprisonments and exile to Iraq, Turkey and France that he was able to return victoriously to Iran as the leader of the revolution. Similarly, Ali Khamenei has faced many hardships, including being tortured in prison under the former regime and suffering an assassination attempt that maimed his hand. A person's religion, culture, personality and psychology all contribute to their political belief system, necessitating at least a cursory look into their past.

Chapter 5 delves into the political structure of Iran with a specific focus on Iran's foreign policy agenda. Additionally, the tenures of both Ayatollah Khomeini and Ayatollah Khamenei in their roles as Supreme Leader are reviewed in order to understand their strategies, motivations and beliefs. Of particular interest is whether the Supreme Leaders are responsible for foreign policy decisions and whether they

have acted pragmatically or if their actions are primarily ideologically motivated. Furthermore, the often mentioned ‘Islamic Awakening’ is examined. It is concluded that the Islamic Awakening has been the political framing used, particularly by Ayatollah Khamenei, to achieve his goal of acquiring greater regional influence.

Chapter 6 provides the methodology, an explanation of the research questions, the research tools utilized (Verbs in Context System and Profiler Plus), temporal and spatial domains of the research, data needs and the hypotheses. Chapter 7 delivers the results of the operational code analyses of Ayatollah Khomeini and Ayatollah Khamenei, providing a comparison with a norming group of 35 other world leaders. The purpose of the norming group is to determine whether the Supreme Leaders demonstrate significant differences in comparison with the average world leader. In addition, speeches from differing time periods have been coded for each of the leaders in order to ascertain how their political belief system may have developed after achieving tenure in the Supreme Leader position.

In Chapter 8, the operational code results from the preceding chapter are utilized to predict how Ayatollah Khamenei may behave in the implementation of the nuclear JCPOA deal reached with P5+1. These predictions are made with the assumption (based on the results of Chapter 5), that the Supreme Leader of Iran plays a pivotal role in Iran’s foreign policy decisions. This chapter will provide a brief history of Iran’s nuclear program to date, the current status of the program, discuss the possibility

of weaponization, review Khamenei's nuclear-specific operational code and make predictions about his future actions regarding the ongoing nuclear negotiations.

In conclusion, by (1) making sense of Iran's recent history, (2) identifying the power structure within Iran, (3) identifying the foreign policy agenda of Iran's current Supreme Leader, (4) identifying other parties within Iran that may influence foreign policy and (5) by providing a comprehensive and systematic study of the Supreme Leaders' political belief systems, this thesis could provide useful information to countries seeking to formulate a foreign policy strategy for Iran. This study is especially relevant to the ongoing implementation of the nuclear agreement as it provides not only the historical background, but insight into the philosophical and instrumental beliefs of Supreme Leader Khamenei (George, 1969). Having an understanding of his motives and his preferred choice of tactics may provide insight into Iran's implementation of the nuclear agreement reached in July 2015, expansion of Iran's regional military presence, and its promotion of the Islamic Awakening ideology.

CHAPTER 2: OPERATIONAL CODE LITERATURE REVIEW

Operational code analysis is the selected method for understanding the political belief system of the two Supreme Leaders since the 1979 creation of the Islamic Republic of Iran (Ayatollahs Khomeini and Khamenei). Operational code analysis was a development of a subfield of International Relations—Foreign Policy Analysis. Operational code analysis is a quantitative approach that analyzes transitive verbs from the leaders’ discourse, providing an understanding of their political belief system. My assumption—based on the biographical information and that both rose to power at approximately the same time—was that Khamenei’s and Khomeini’s operational codes would have many similarities, as the rhetoric used by both has tended to revolve around a political Islamist reaction to colonialism and interferences of Western countries in the East. Also, both have focused particularly on the concept of Islamic unity and the need to export the Iranian Revolution to other Muslim countries.

The majority of options in International Relations for analyzing foreign policy, identify nation-states as the primary actor to be studied, rather than on powerful individuals who may sway foreign policy. Even when the focus expands to include groups or individuals within a state, they are often approximated as “unitary rational actors” which represent the state (Hudson, 2007: 3-4). This proves problematic for scholars

from the Foreign Policy Analysis tradition; because foreign policymaking is the cornerstone of International Relations, it becomes essential to take into account human decision makers' belief systems as a causal mechanism in policymaking (Hudson, 2007: 4; Schafer and Walker, 2006: 3).

Because the intention of this study is to focus on individual leaders—Ayatollah Khomeini and Ayatollah Khamenei—alternate methods for studying an individual's decision making style will be mentioned in this chapter. Discourse analysis, for example can be a very useful way to understand a leader's strategy, including the way in which metanarratives may be linguistically transformed for personal or national interests, as in Limba's (2010) study of Ayatollah Khomeini. Discourse analysis has been used by Gholizadeh and Hooks (2011) to study Khomeini as well, and by Don and May (2013) to study Khamenei. This method may be very useful for studying a specific aspect of a leader's foreign policy, or perhaps his/her policy toward a specific country, however it does not tend to provide a comprehensive understanding of a leader's decision making beliefs and motivations. Apart from discourse analysis, three of the key methods used in studying foreign policy decision making include rational actor models, cognitive studies and leadership studies.

2.1 Overview of Foreign Policy Analysis Literature

While Foreign Policy Analysis (FPA) has existed since mankind first began to question the international political motives of leaders, it did not emerge as a formal subfield

of International Relations until the late 1950s and early 1960s with three seminal works identified by Hudson (2007: 14-5):

- *Decision-Making as an Approach to the Study of International Politics* by Richard C. Snyder, H.W. Bruck, and Burton Sapin (1954; also see Snyder, Bruck, and Sapin, 1963; reprinted in 2002).
- “Pre-Theories and Theories of Foreign Policy” by James N. Rosenau (a book chapter written in 1964 and published in Farrell, 1966).
- *Man-Milieu Relationship Hypotheses in the Context of International Politics* by Harold and Margaret Sprout (1956: expanded and revised in article form in 1957 and their 1965 book *The Ecological Perspective on Human Affairs with Special Reference to International Politics*).

By encouraging researchers to look “*below* the nation-state level of analysis to the players involved,” Snyder, Bruck and Sapin provided a method with which scholars would be able to combine the domestic and international considerations which influenced the foreign policy decisions of individuals (Hudson, 2007: 15). Snyder, Bruck and Sapin’s 1954 work, altered the focus of foreign policy study from the usual emphasis on foreign policy *outcomes*, and instead gave prominence to foreign policy *decision making* (Hudson, 2007: 15). Rosenau argued that identifying the internal and external contributors to foreign policy decisions was insufficient and a middle-range theory could serve to bridge the gap between “grand principles and the complexity of reality” by utilizing several levels of analysis to provide “multilevel and multicausal” explanations of foreign policy decisions (Hudson, 2005: 16). Harold and Margaret Sprout (1956) advocated the study of the ‘psycho-milieu’ of individuals and groups

making foreign policy. In other words, the Sprouts were recommending scholars look at the manner in which policymakers interpret the international and operational environment in which they are making their decisions (Hudson, 2005: 16).

In sum, the effect of these three works on FPA is their belief that foreign policy choice is directly affected by the “particularities of the human beings making national foreign policy;” therefore, it is vital for scholars of international relations to comprehend the foreign policy decision-making process and the factors that contribute (Hudson, 2005: 7). To answer this call, a variety of FPA models and theories exist with which to explore the foreign policy decision-making process. Kinder and Weiss (2008: 707) assert that those models and theories have been “divided into two camps: work premised on rational models of choice and work designed to discredit such models.”

2.2 Rational Actor Models

As the dominating archetype in the study of foreign policy decision making, Rational Actor Models (RAM) carry the assumption that actors in the decision-making process—be they individual leaders, bureaucracies, or regimes—are acting rationally in the “long-term and persistent national interests of the country and since the national interests do not change, changes in leadership have little consequence” (Neack, 2008: 31). A strong proponent of RAM, realist Hans Morgenthau states (1948, as cited in Williams et al., 1993: 193):

...we must approach political reality with a kind of rational outline, a map that suggests to us the possible meanings of foreign policy. In other words, we put ourselves in the position of a statesman who must meet a certain problem of foreign policy under certain circumstances, and we ask ourselves what the rational alternatives are from which a statesman may choose who must meet this problem under these circumstances (*presuming always that he acts in a rational manner*), and which of these rational alternatives this particular statesman, acting under these circumstances, is likely to choose. It is the testing of this rational hypothesis against the actual facts and their *consequences* that gives theoretical meaning to the facts of international politics.¹

These models function as a ‘black box’ with supporters conducting their research under the assumption that decision makers act rationally, and that one model should hold true for all, or at least most, situations (Allison and Zelikow, 1971; Neack, 2008: 31-9).

Recognizing that individuals act within the constraints of rationality that is ‘bounded’ by their environment and their knowledge (or lack thereof) on the subject at hand, Bueno de Mesquita (1997) says the *expected utility model* assumes that individual leaders base their decisions on “expected utility.” This is done through the analysis of all options available to them and subsequently acting upon the choice which best serves their interests, while assuming that other parties are doing likewise (Bueno de Mesquita, 1997: 241-2). Rational choice approaches to International Relations have used utility and game theories to understand international conflict (Morrow, 1997: 11). Though primarily used in the economic realm, scholars such as Graham Allison (1969) and Margaret and Charles Hermann (1989) have utilized rational choice models to

¹ The use of italics is my own.

study foreign policy both to determine *who* makes foreign policy, as well as *how* it is made. These models are based on the supposition that rational actors will consider all the possibilities available to them and all the known factors and will act on the option which comprises the most utility, either for their own or the national interest, depending on the leader (Morrow, 1997: 12).

Rational choice theory is particularly useful for studying a specific incident or interaction, such as the Cuban Missile Crisis (Allison, 1969). According to this theory, the actor (i.e. the state) will set goals and rank them according to need, consider possible plans of action, evaluate the predictable consequences and finally, choose the option which maximizes the benefits to the state (Hermann, 1989). When applied to game theory, the limits to rationality are highlighted (i.e. 'bounded rationality'). Game theory is the primary rational choice tool used in International Relations to study two or more parties attempting to influence each other in an international conflict (Morrow, 1997: 15-30). Although actors must assess the actions of other actors before making a decision, the information the parties are working with is often incomplete, though it is assumed that all parties are acting in pursuit of their own best interests (Morrow, 1997: 17). Where it differs from the purpose of this study, is that rational choice theory studies the state as a single unitary actor, with all the parts making up a whole decision-making unit without considering the influence of the individual. Furthermore, leaders often choose less cooperative measures than those presumed by game theory, whereas

the decision making process is “rather a long process in which situational/contextual, as well as cognitive, emotional-motivational, and relational factors come into play” (Aguilar & Galluccio, 2008, 115).

In Allison’s 1971 *Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis*,² he attempted to “bridge the gap between theory and practice” by building upon the foundations of rational choice through the application of a strict bureaucratic or organizational model to the Cuban Missile Crisis and expect that individuals will act within the limitations of the standard operating procedures and perpetual framework outlined by the political system³ (Cusimano, 2000: 635-6). To demonstrate the difficulty in identifying the reasons behind a decision, Allison references John F. Kennedy’s speech in which he said he did not even understand his own decision. This, proponents of cognitive approaches would contend, is why a deeper look into the culture, religion, moral values and history is necessary in order to explain and predict the biases and emotions that influence a leader’s decision.

In his Bureaucratic Politics Model and the Organizational Process Model, the state purportedly acts as a monolithic unitary actor. The Bureaucratic Politics Model views the state as a conglomeration of different bureaucracies which are all competing to further the interest of their own bureaucracy, generally at the expense of the others

² The second edition was published with Zelikow in 1999.

³ Allison had already broached this subject in his 1969 essay titled “Conceptual Models and the Cuban Missile Crisis.”

(Hudson, 2007: 89-105). Because each of the bureaucracies is explicitly pursuing its own interests, Allison says it is a highly imperfect system, one which could ignore the most beneficial decision for the state in favor of increasing a bureaucracy's influence.

Like the Bureaucratic Politics Model, the Organizational Process Model is also comprised of groupings of governmental organizations (Hudson, 2007: 75-88). Where the two differ, however, is that while simultaneously pursuing their own interests, bureaucracies in the Organizational Process Model also attempt to follow a set of standard operating procedures, each having their own divergent set of measures. Though the procedures are designed to create order and allow each of the agencies to function on a daily basis, some organizations, such as the military, become so entrenched in the procedures that they become inflexible and nearly incapable of altering the status quo in order to properly handle unanticipated or unprecedented circumstances, especially if a necessary action explicitly contradicts the procedures (Hudson, 2007: 81). This can become quite a hazard in foreign policy decision making, which presents nations with a never-ending supply of new scenarios to contend with.

While Rational Actor Models are quite useful in that they identify foreign policy decision making strategies at the macro level, its shortcoming is its tendency to disregard the autonomy of individuals in foreign policy decision making and the inability to provide an exhaustive understanding of external factors existing outside the

system which may influence an individual's decisions. Each individual possesses religious, political, and moral belief systems, as well as historical memories and experiences which create a bias in their decision making. There is value in attempting to apprehend what affects individual policy makers may have that cannot be addressed by the rational choice models, particularly for a nation such as the Islamic Republic of Iran, where one individual—the Supreme Leader—has a disproportionate measure of power in the foreign policy arena (along with virtually every other sector of Iran). As will be seen in the following section, cognitive approaches have attempted to fill this void in Foreign Policy Analysis by focusing on the deeper motivations of individual foreign policy decision makers and the factors which influence those decisions.

2.3 Cognitive Study of Foreign Policy

The Cognitive Studies of Foreign Policy proposed an alternative to the Rational Actor Models by focusing on the way in which individuals process information to formulate decisions. A psychological approach to studying politics was introduced as early as 1930 with Harold Lasswell's *Psychopathology and Politics*, and important contributions were made to the field by others such as Richard Snyder, Henry Bruck and Burton Sapin's seminal *Decision Making as an Approach to the Study of International Politics* in 1954. Later, in the Sprouts' (1956: 4) *Man-milieu Relationship Hypotheses in the Context of International Politics*, they proposed to:

...examine critically and comparatively several general hypotheses regarding the relations between human behavior and other states of human affairs, on the one hand, and the environment, or milieu, in which these occur... from the standpoint of their utilities and limitations as analytical tools for calculating the capabilities of states, and for explaining and predicting the actions and reactions of states, within the frame of reference called international politics.

In other words, the Sprouts sought to answer how individuals and groups interact with “the international and operational environment or context as it is perceived and interpreted by decision-makers” (Smith et al., 2015).

The cognitive models attribute four major shortcomings to human capacity for rational choice: (1) we have a tendency to *over-simplify* information, (2) we (often misguidedly) love the *consistency* of being able to draw parallels with the past, (3) our emotional and attribution biases can cause us to *poorly estimate* a situation, and (4) we are *loss averse* to the point that we irrationally value our losses higher than our gains (Neack, 2003: 55-68). A variety of alternative models and theories have been proposed as a cognitive approach to studying International Relations. Two pioneers in the development of a coherent theoretical framework with which to study foreign policy decisions were John D. Steinbruner (1974) and Robert Jervis (1976) who both made key contributions to the cognitive approach. First, Steinbruner (1974) is credited with originating a “cognitive theory of decision” (Rosati, 1997). Because of the complex and uncertain nature of global politics, Steinbruner argued that the rational actor model cannot be applied universally. Instead, in his theoretical framework, Steinbruner

(1974, 14) posited that human cognition works in conjunction with the governmental structure.

Soon after, Robert Jervis (1976) further developed the cognitive approach by discussing the ways in which misperceptions, miscalculations and inaccurate inferences of possible consequences can affect the decision making process (Neack 2003, 54-7). Potential reactions by the ‘other’ to policies are not always transparent to leaders, so it is quite easy to misjudge a situation and the appropriate response to it. Jervis primarily focused on the inaccurate inferences of *others’* potential reactions, rather than a misreading of the situation in question. Jervis points out, for example, that war is nearly always attributable to misperceptions, especially because states are much more likely to read hostility in the actions of other states, even when they intend cooperation (Jervis, 1976: 206-15; Neack, 2003: 54). In other words, when leaders are acting with imperfect information—which is usually the case—they fall back on the biases created by the mentioned factors (culture, religion, past experiences, etc.). Put succinctly, Jervis (1976, 28) argues that “it is often impossible to explain crucial decisions and policies without reference to the decision-makers’ beliefs about the world and their images of others.”

Yuen Foong Khong contributed another vital work to this field in his (1965; 1992) *Analogies at War* about the ways in which leaders draw historical analogies in order to make sense of an ongoing situation (Kleinbach, 1994). Khong argues that

drawing these analogies is often misguided because the variables in question are inconsistent in such a complex environment as foreign politics. The tendency to draw these analogies exists because memory is stored in the cognitive process and humans tend to recall it when faced with a new situation, as a method of categorizing and making sense of the situation. More specifically, our cognitive process attempts to (1) define the type of situation, (2) calculate the risks and/or rewards, (3) prescribe alternative options, (4) gauge the possibility of success of those options, (5) determine the morality of the action, and (6) understand the vulnerabilities and dangers associated with the action we may take. Khong (1965) gives a number of examples in his explanation including the US' attempt to liken the rise of Communism in Vietnam to the rise of Hitler and Nazi Germany. The US' foreign policy toward Vietnam was reportedly motivated by a refusal to repeat Neville Chamberlain's mistake of appeasement in the 1930s. Because this tendency is an ingrained part of our cognitive process, it is often (mis)used by leaders in the decision making process. Khong (1992) later added to his study and warned of the biases inherent in foreign policy decision-making.

2.4 Leadership Studies in Foreign Policy Analysis

Building on the tenets of the cognitive approach, increasing importance in FPA was given to the study of individuals in leadership after the 1970s. The modern interest in studying leaders is not entirely revolutionary, of course; leadership literature began especially to appear after a series of lectures delivered by Thomas Carlyle in 1840, and

later published under the title *On Heroes, Hero-Worship, and the Heroic in History*. Carlyle (1840) argues that world history and politics has been formulated by the great men (heroes) of history, giving examples such as the Prophet Mohammad, Dante, Shakespeare, Martin Luther (of the Reformation), Rousseau, Napoleon, etc. This interest in studying those we deem significant leaders has not diminished. Often this merely takes the form of biographies or memoirs as a means of catching a glimpse into the minds of these 'great' leaders. In International Relations, the interest was manifested in a variety of leadership study approaches which have typically been utilized in an attempt to understand how the cognitive process influences the foreign policy decisions of leaders.

Rather than exclusively considering the psychobiographies in the analysis of individual decision makers, leadership studies have been broadened to include quantitative 'at a distance approaches' which allow scholars to analyze leaders through their speeches and writings when unable to access the individual in question (Schafer, 2000; 2010). Some examples of studies employing quantitative approaches from a distance include: leadership trait analysis (LTA) with the works of Hermann (1980; 1984; 1987; 1997) and operational code analysis (George, 1968; Holsti, 1977; Walker et al., 1998; 1999; 2003).⁴

⁴ This is not meant to be an exhaustive sample of quantitative leadership studies. For information on other leadership study approaches see: cognitive mapping (Axelrod, 1976; Bonham et al., 1978) and image theory (Boulding, 1956; Cottam, 1985; 1992).

2.4.1 Leadership Trait Analysis

Leadership Trait Analysis, which was developed by Margaret Hermann (1989; 2003), is useful for looking at patterns in leaders' decision making styles 'at a distance,' in contrast with earlier leadership studies, which tended to focus on biographical information about leaders (Hermann, 2003). Leadership Trait Analysis (LTA) puts forth the notion that researchers could potentially understand a leaders' personality traits, motives and even their foreign policy decision making style from a distance.

Hermann's LTA approach measures seven psychological traits of a leader: "the need for power, the need for affiliation, the level of cognitive complexity, the degree of trust in others, nationalism, and the belief that one has some control over events" (Hermann as cited in Neack, 2008: 62). These traits are then coded to receive a rating from zero to one in comparison with a norming group which then allows them to be categorized according to eight identified leadership types: "evangelistic, expansionistic, directive, actively independent, influential, incremental, collegial and opportunistic" (Hermann, 2003: 185).

In some respects, this approach is similar to operational code analysis, which it has influenced. Like operational code, LTA has a program available on the Profiler Plus software which manually codes and quantifies the words of leaders in order to understand their level of involvement in the political process, how willing they are to accept conflict, etc. (Hermann & Preston, 1994: 75-96). A major point of departure

between LTA and operational code analysis in leadership studies is that the operational code method is more generalizable through the development of differing coding schemes and grammatical rules when the Verbs in Context System is employed (LTA codes all words while operational code focuses on transitive verbs requiring a direct object) (Walker et al., 1998; see Chapter 6).

2.4.2 Operational Code Analysis

For the purpose of researching Ayatollah Khomeini and Ayatollah Khamenei, I determined that using the quantitative operational code analysis approach would be most suited to my research demands when compared with other available methods. Operational code is an approach used to study political leaders by focusing on their political beliefs, whether specific to that leader, or in a broader sense that may extend to the cultural milieu of a society as identified by Sprout and Sprout (1956). The range of what operational code analysis allows us to determine about leaders is evident in the questions that it is able to answer (listed in 2.4.2.1), such as what level of control a leader believes s/he has over history and political outcomes, if her/his strategy is friendly, what the nature of the political universe is, etc. In seeking to understand how the foreign policy decisions of Ayatollahs Khomeini and Khamenei have been informed, the questions answered by operational code analysis provide insight into the psyche of the leaders, helping us to understand the reasons and motivations behind their decisions.

Operational code analysis allows a quantitative study of world leaders through the analysis of their speech and written acts. Through operational code analysis, scholars are able to obtain an understanding of the political belief system of leaders and their decision making style, which allows both explanations of past decisions, as well as predictions of what methods and factors a leader is likely to consult and use in future scenarios. This can be immensely useful when analyzing situations such as the nuclear negotiations with Iran (see Chapter 9). Comprehending a leader's belief system is possible by analyzing the leader's use of transitive verbs and evaluating whether that use is hostile or friendly, conflictual or cooperative, risk averse or risk acceptant, optimistic or pessimistic, whether the leader views the political universe as harmonious or conflictual and predictable or unpredictable and lastly, whether the leader attributes a small or large role to chance. This is all achieved through a quantitative analysis of the leaders' discourse (both written and spoken).

In his recent work, Walker (et al., 2011) draws a metaphorical parallel between the study of international relations and quantum physics. He likens the individual leaders to small-scale objects (particles of energy) and nation-states to large-scale objects (planet-size particles of matter). In explaining the comparison, Walker (et al., 2011: 70) says that the study of international relations has experienced "a crisis in observation" matching that of quantum physics "in which the laws of classical mechanics governing the observation of large-scale aggregations of behavior were found to be

approximations that needed to be qualified radically by the laws of (quantum) mechanics that explained the behavior of small energy particles such as electrons and photons.”

Put differently, just as Einstein’s famous $E=mc^2$ equation dealt with small-scale energy particles (i.e. neutrons and electrons) and Newton’s physical laws dealt with such large-scale particles as planets, so too the typical FPA mode of analysis for large-scale nation-states (both Ego and Alter) differs from operational code analysis which is used to study the “micro-level behavior of small-scale leaders (Self and Other) within each state” (Walker et al., 2011: 79). Furthermore, scholars of Quantum Physics and International Relations must realize that the “exact prediction of behavior at the micro level of analysis is impossible;” unlike states—humans have the capacity to observe and learn, so they may change their thought and behavior in a moment (Walker et al., 2011: 71). The importance given to human agency and individuals’ ability to learn distinguishes operational code analysis from other FPA approaches.

2.4.2.1 Evolution of Operational Code Analysis

Nathan Leites (1951) first introduced operational code as a new method of Foreign Policy Analysis that would give scholars insight into the politburo of the Soviet Union. Due to the tensions between the Soviet Union and Western countries who were trying to determine future Soviet actions in order to develop their own corresponding strate-

gies, this was a key concern for many nations at the time. Leites endorsed an interdisciplinary approach which included socio-psychological factors, history, culture, cognition, character and behavior study, etc. Leites' approach was promising in its potential, but ultimately its sheer complexity proved quite daunting for many. Later scholars sought to refine his system by adding a variety of indices and methods which would simplify and streamline the process making it more accessible and therefore more relevant to Foreign Policy Analysis in International Relations. Since Leites, the application of operational code analysis have progressed significantly and meaningfully for scholars of International Relations. Operational code analysis has perhaps most notably evolved through the writings of Alexander George (1969), Ole Holsti (1977) and Stephen G. Walker (1983).

George (1969) significantly improved upon Leites' approach when he provided a simplification of operational code analysis by narrowing the focus to the philosophical and instrumental beliefs of leaders by answering these ten questions (George, 1969: 200-216):

The Philosophical Content of an Operational Code:

P-1. What is the 'essential' nature of political life? Is the political universe essentially one of harmony or conflict? What is the fundamental character of one's political opponent?

P-2. What are the prospects for the eventual realization of one's fundamental political values and aspirations? Can one be optimistic, or must one be pessimistic on this score; and in what respects the one and/or the other?

P-3. Is the future predictable? In what sense and to what extent?

P-4. How much 'control' or 'mastery' can one have over historical development? What is one's role in 'moving' and 'shaping' history in the desired direction?

P-5. What is the role of 'chance' in human affairs and in historical development?

The Instrumental Beliefs in an Operational Code:

I-1. What is the best approach for selecting goals or objectives for political action?

I-2. How are the goals of action pursued most effectively?

I-3. How are the risks of political action calculated, controlled and accepted?

I-4. What is the best 'timing' of action to advance one's interest?

I-5. What is the utility and role of different means for advancing one's interests?

Answers to the philosophical questions provide some context for the leaders' actions by assessing their speech acts which are influenced by their cultural, political, and even religious beliefs, together with how much control they believe they have over history and how much is actually left up to chance. The instrumental beliefs indicate what the leaders believe constitutes effective tactics for achieving their goals. Perhaps the key three questions which truly make it possible to grasp the decision making style of leaders would be P-1 (nature of political universe), P-4 (control over history) and I-1 (direction of strategy); these can be labeled the "master beliefs," as the remaining

questions are fundamentally determined based on the way these three questions are answered by the leaders' discourse (Özdamar, 2011).

The ten questions posed by George served as a starting point for Holsti's (1977) additions to operational code, whereby he identified six operational code (opcode) types: A, B, C, D, E, and F. First, he identifies how the leader being studied would label the fundamental nature of the political universe—either as harmonious (where conflict is merely temporary) or conflictual (conflict is permanent). Holsti (1977: 156-157) has also ascertained what leaders perceive to be the source of conflict. In other words, does conflict arise because of human nature, or should it be attributed to nations or perhaps the international system? Walker (1983: 187) later combined types D, E and F into one ideal type after determining that these three types tend to answer all of George's ten questions without substantial variation, particularly in areas that the remaining three opcode types (A, B and C) are in conflict. Even though there are major points of agreement among the operational code types, such as “unanimity on conditional optimism for short-term goals,” there are still clear patterns, which help us to differentiate the four major ideal types: A, B, C, and DEF (Walker, 1983: 183).

Identification of these four leadership types is useful in that they allow us to draw comparisons between a leader and how he perceives his counterparts, to determine how he is likely to act. That operational code analysis is further able to assess how the leader views the 'other', is essential in understanding how he may act. In other

words, in which of the four types he places others in the political universe, allowing additional predictions of that leaders' future actions. For example, when Khamenei makes constant reference to the untrustworthy nature of the United States, does it mean, as it implies, that he is unlikely to cooperate with the United States? Or, does it simply suggest that he is repeating this rhetoric merely as a tool for uniting others who mistrust the United States? This is where operational code can be useful in providing a deeper analysis and policy predictions through a combination of qualitative and quantitative (opcode) analysis.

In essence, the operational code of a leader consists of a complicated blend of beliefs, needs and behavior which develop "the motivational imagery in an individual's belief system," and generally beliefs and motives are in fact "mutually reinforcing" each other, rather than "constraining" (Walker, 1983: 189). In addition to the improvements to Leites' original operational code analysis, it became clear that a method was required for obtaining information with which to answer the questions posited by George; the solution to this was Walker, Schafer and Young's (1998) Verbs in Context System (VICS). In order to answer George's ten questions, VICS codes verbs from speeches, interviews, writings, etc. of the leaders being studied (George, 1969: 201-216).

2.4.2.2 Operational Code's Analytic Techniques

The answers to George's questions are obtained by extracting the verbs of speeches, statements, writings, interviews, etc. and codifying them with VICS (Walker et al., 1998: 177). VICS identifies the way power relationships between the leader and others in the political universe play out from the perspective of the leader, and how the leader perceives those power relationships by the (hostile or friendly) nature of the verbs s/he uses. The verbs detect whether the leader has positive sanction understanding (reward, appeal/support and promise) or negative sanction (punish, threaten and oppose/resist).

Additionally, VICS identifies how a leader guides "management of conflict" with other states, which is then determined by the way the leader cognizes the use of power at various decision making levels. The self-other power relationship focus allows the instrumental and philosophical belief questions to be quantified—most importantly the master beliefs, I-1 (strategic approach to goals), P-1 (nature of political universe) and P-4 (control over history) (Walker et al., 1998: 179). The quantification allowed by the VICS system has given us a better understanding of the four ideal types of operational codes (A, B, C and DEF) identified by Walker in 1983 (Schafer and Walker, 2006: 13):

Figure 1. “Contents of the Revised Holsti Operational Code Typology. *Note:* Instrumental beliefs are in bold, and philosophical beliefs are not.” (Schafer & Walker, 2006: 13).

<u>TYPE A</u>	<u>TYPE C</u>
<p>Conflict is temporary, caused by human misunderstanding and miscommunication. A “conflict spiral,” based upon misperception and impulsive responses, is the major danger of war. Opponents are often influenced in kind to conciliation and firmness. Optimism is warranted, based upon a leader’s ability and willingness to shape historical development. The future is relatively predictable, and control over it is possible. Establish goals within a framework that emphasizes shared interests. Pursue broadly international goals incrementally with flexible strategies that control risks by avoiding escalation and acting quickly when conciliation opportunities arise. Emphasize resources that establish a climate for negotiation and compromise and avoid the early use of force.</p> <p>Settle>Deadlock>Dominate>Submit</p>	<p>Conflict is temporary; it is possible to restructure the state system to reflect the latent harmony of interests. The source of conflict is the anarchical state system, which permits a variety of causes to produce war. Opponents vary in nature, goals and responses to conciliation and firmness. One should be pessimistic about goals unless the state system is changed, because predictability and control over historical development is low under anarchy. Establish optimal goals vigorously within a comprehensive framework. Pursue shared goals, but control risks by limiting means rather than ends. Act quickly when conciliation opportunities arise and delay escalatory actions whenever possible, other resources than military capabilities are useful.</p> <p>Settle>Dominate>Deadlock>Submit</p>
<p>Dominate>Settle>Deadlock>Submit</p> <p>Conflict is permanent, caused by human nature (D), nationalism (E), or international anarchy (F). Power disequilibria are major dangers of war. Opponents may vary, and responses to conciliation or firmness are uncertain. Optimism declines over the long run and in the short run depends upon the quality of leadership and a power equilibrium. Predictability is limited, as is control over historical development. Seek limited goals flexibly with moderate means. Use military force if the opponent and circumstances require it, but only as a final resource.</p> <p><u>TYPE DEF</u></p>	<p>Dominate>Deadlock>Settle>Submit</p> <p>Conflict is temporary, caused by warlike states; miscalculation and appeasement are the major causes of war. Opponents are rational and deterrable. Optimism is warranted regarding realization of goals. The political future is relatively predictable, and control over historical development is possible. One should seek optimal goals vigorously within a comprehensive framework. Control risks by limiting means rather than ends. Any tactic and resource may be appropriate, including the use of force when it offers prospects for large gains with limited risks.</p> <p><u>TYPE B</u></p>

2.4.2.3 Interpreting Operational Code Results

Walker, Schafer and Young (1998) explain in further detail the practical application of operational code analysis by determining the opcode of Jimmy Carter. The major steps which must be followed while using the Verbs in Context System (VICS) are as follows (Walker et al., 1998):

1. The subject of a sentence must be identified as “self” or “other”.
2. The verb tense used should be identified as past, present or future, as well as the verb’s category: positive or negative. Additionally, the verb should be placed in one of these categories:
 - a. “Word: Appeal/Support (+1), Oppose/Resist (-1), Promise Benefits (+2), or Threaten Costs (-2)”
 - b. “Deeds: Rewards (+3) or Punishments (-3)”
3. The domain must be identified as either foreign or domestic.
4. The target must be identified and placed in context of the situation.

Walker (et al., 1998: 183) has clarified how this process works, and I have created my own example analyzing a quote from Khamenei to foreign representatives (Khamenei, 2011: *Ceremony Commemorating Imam Khomeini’s Death*):

“...bullying governments which were opposed to Islam, humiliated Muslims and kept them backward for centuries.”

1. **Subject:** The subject is “bullying governments” which should be coded as other, as he is not speaking about his conception of self.
2. **Tense and Category:** The verb “humiliated” is in the past tense and should be coded as a negative deed (i.e. punish = -3).
3. **Domain:** The actor “bullying governments” refers (based on the surrounding speech) to colonialist and western governments, so the domain is foreign.
4. **Target and Context:** The action is directed at “Muslims,” and the context here is western aggression toward Muslim countries.

“The complete **data line** for this statement” is: other -3 foreign past muslims western-aggression-muslims-past for centuries.

As one might imagine, given the above example, hand coding dozens of pages of speeches would be quite laborious and time consuming, so it is fortunate indeed that a coding software has been created—Profiler Plus—with which one is able to identify subject, tense, category, domain, target and context, without necessitating manual coding. I am very grateful to Social Science Automation, Inc. which has developed Profiler Plus and continues to upgrade it as it is used for government projects, as well as a variety of academic disciplines and fields. Profiler Plus is now available in five languages: English, Arabic, Russian, Spanish and Chinese (Social Sciences Automation, 2009). Because the Supreme Leaders’ speeches are given in Persian (Farsi), it is necessary for the purpose of this research to use English translations (full lists in Tables 3, 4 and 5). Finally, Walker, Schafer and Young (2008: 227-231) provide the tools to understand the numbers produced by VICS in Profiler Plus:

Table 1. Interpreting VICS Indices (Walker et al., 2008: 227-231).

P-1. NATURE OF THE POLITICAL UNIVERSE (Hostile/Friendly)						
Hostile						Friendly
Very	Definitely	Somewhat	Mixed	Somewhat	Definitely	Very
-0.75	-0.5	-0.25	0	0.25	0.5	0.75
P-2. REALIZATION OF POLITICAL VALUES (Pessimism/Optimism)						
Pessimistic						Optimistic
Very	Definitely	Somewhat	Mixed	Somewhat	Definitely	Very
-0.75	-0.5	-0.25	0	0.25	0.5	0.75
P-3. PREDICTABILITY OF POLITICAL FUTURE (Very Low/Very High)						
Predictability						Predictability
Very Low	Low	Medium	High	Very High		
0	0.25	0.5	0.75	1		
P-4. CONTROL OVER HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT (Very Low/Very High)						
Control						Control
Very Low	Low	Medium	High	Very High		
0	0.25	0.5	0.75	1		
P-5. ROLE OF CHANCE (Very Low/Very High)						
Chance						Chance
Very Low	Low	Medium	High	Very High		
0	0.25	0.5	0.75	1		
I-1. DIRECTION OF STRATEGY (Conflict/Cooperation)						
Conflict						Cooperation
Very	Definitely	Somewhat	Mixed	Somewhat	Definitely	Very
-0.75	-0.5	-0.25	0	0.25	0.5	0.75
I-2. INTENSITY OF TACTICS (Conflict/Cooperation)						
Conflict						Cooperation
Very	Definitely	Somewhat	Mixed	Somewhat	Definitely	Very
-0.75	-0.5	-0.25	0	0.25	0.5	0.75
I-3. RISK ORIENTATION (Very Low/Very High)						
Risk Averse						Risk Acceptant
Very Low	Low	Medium	High	Very High		
0	0.25	0.5	0.75	1		
I-4. FLEXIBILITY OF TACTICS (Very Low/Very High)						
A. BETWEEN COOPERATION AND CONFLICT						
Flexibility						Flexibility
Very Low	Low	Medium	High	Very High		
0	0.25	0.5	0.75	1		
B. BETWEEN WORDS AND DEEDS						
Flexibility						Flexibility
Very Low	Low	Medium	High	Very High		
0	0.25	0.5	0.75	1		
I-5. UTILITY OF MEANS (Very Low/Very High)						
A. COOPERATIVE MEANS: APPEAL/SUPPORT, PROMISE, REWARD						
Utility						Utility
Very Low	Low	Medium	High	Very High		
0	0.08	0.16	0.24	0.32		
B. CONFLICT MEANS: OPPOSE/RESIST, THREATEN, PUNISH						
Utility						Utility
Very Low	Low	Medium	High	Very High		
0	0.08	0.16	0.24	0.32		

2.4.2.4 Recent Contributions to Operational Code Analysis

After crucial developments to operational code analysis by Leites (1951), George (1969), Holsti (1977) and Walker (1983) and with the development of the Profiler Plus software, others have made important contributions in the ways that they have utilized operational code analysis to study leaders. For example, scholars such as Walker (et al., 1998: 185) coded speeches for Jimmy Carter spanning different temporal domains (i.e. time periods). The spatial domain, on the other hand, was left relatively consistent, as the focus was on the overall foreign policy decision making style of Jimmy Carter. By looking at various temporal domains, Walker (et al.) was able to draw conclusions as to events that may have impacted Carter's operational code. This is useful for understanding if a leader is capable of 'learning' new belief systems, based on his/her political experiences. Another contribution involves comparing a leader with a norming group based on collection of world leaders in order to gauge points of divergence between the leader being studied and the 'average' world leader (Malici and Malici, 2005; Feng, 2005; Malici and Buckner, 2008). Both of these methods will be employed in the study of Ayatollahs Khomeini and Khamenei.

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter has provided an overview of the major theories of Foreign Policy Analysis—an approach to International Relations that is often understudied. Foreign Policy

Analysis has witnessed two major divergent trends: Rational Actor Model and Cognitive/Psychological Approaches. In attempts to bridge the gap between the two, leadership studies have become increasingly prevalent, and one of those is operational code analysis. This approach has evolved significantly since Leites' (1951) attempts to understand the Soviet politburo. Scholars such as George, Holsti and Walker have transformed operational code analysis into an easily accessible method for studying leaders and identifying the belief systems they use to formulate their decisions.

CHAPTER 3: RISE OF THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC

Before discussing Ayatollah Khomeini's and Ayatollah Khamenei's operational code, the historical context in which they came to power must be considered. Of particular consequence to the formulation of former Khomeini's revolutionary rhetoric and his subsequent rise to power, are the interactions between Iran and the West—chiefly the United Kingdom and the United States. A combination of factors encouraged the emergence of revolutionary ideology in Iran: forced Westernization, despotic rulers in Iran (perceived by many Iranians as lackeys of the West), and foreign interference in Iran's natural resources (esp. oil). Khomeini and Khamenei were both actors in the 1977-1979 Revolution, though Khomeini is considered the *de facto* leader of the revolution (Abrahamian, 1993: 35). The 1979 Revolution is frequently referenced in the speeches and writings of both leaders, and much emphasis has been given to the retention of revolutionary ideology, which advocated a move away from Western influence and a return to Islamic principles to regain Iranian pride and dignity.

3.1 Modernization / Westernization of Iran

Katouzian (2009: 253-81) discusses the controversial modernization efforts of various individuals during the Qajar and Pahlavi dynasties, and how those efforts impacted future events, such as the 1979 Revolution. Two of the primary pioneers of this modernization process were Chancellor Amir Kabir and Reza Shah. Although the Iranian

people did not generally oppose modernization, many resented the contemporaneous Westernization, which many felt was causing Iranians to lose their unique identity and national pride (Wright, 1989: 54).

3.1.1 Amir Kabir

Amir Kabir was chancellor under Nasser al-Din Shah (r. 1848-1896) and effected immense reforms in a very short period. Some of these reforms included (1) military reforms, (2) greater equality for Iran's religious minorities (excluding the Baha'is), (3) the creation of a secular judicial system, though in this case he was accused of abusing his power, (4) education reforms, such as the creation of Iran's first university, *Dar al-Fonun*, (5) significant foreign policy 'negative equilibrium' reforms, which pitted Russia and Great Britain against each other in order to stifle their excessive meddling in Iran's affairs, (6) modern industry reforms in textiles, mining, construction, etc. and perhaps most significantly (7) minimizing the power of the *Ulama* (Muslim legal scholars) based on the example of the Ottomans (Katouzian, 2009: 253-69 and 355). The latter was naturally controversial and contributed to the later idea that modernization meant suppression of religion. These reforms took place in just four short years from 1848-1852 before the Shah became suspicious of Amir Kabir's rising power.

Two of Amir Kabir's reforms in the 1850s had a significant impact on Iran's 1979 Revolution. First, the revolution was highly motivated by anti-Western sentiment and a desire to remove foreign influence from Iranian politics. A second key instigator

of the revolution was the issue of modernization, and related to that, the removal of the *Ulama* from positions of power and influence. Suppressing foreign influence had become increasingly necessary for Iran as Western culture began to have a growing impact on certain circles of the Iranian populace. In this regard, by the time the 1979 Revolution took place, both Marxist and conservative elements were highly resentful of the modernization and Westernization that was occurring (often by force) in Iran. This negative perception of modernization deepened considerably with the reign of Reza Shah Pahlavi, formerly known as Reza Khan.

3.1.2 Reza Shah Pahlavi

Like Amir Kabir, Reza Khan's (r. 1925-1941) goal was to transform Iranian society through modernization. The last shah of the Qajar dynasty (1785-1925) had effectively been removed during a 1921 coup, and for a brief time it became unclear whether a new dynasty would replace the Qajars, or a more democratic form of government would fill the void (Hiro, 1987: 22-4). In 1925, Reza Khan formally claimed the throne, becoming Reza Shah Pahlavi (Katouzian, 2009: 416-8). Reza Khan had risen through the ranks of the military and was greatly admired for his strength as a general, giving him the impetus needed to claim the throne. His rise in power was occurring during the same period as the creation of the Turkish Republic from the ashes of the Ottoman Empire (1299-1923). Reza Shah was a great admirer of the reforms Turkey's founding father, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, had brought to the Republic of Turkey. Reza

Shah attempted to style his own reforms in Iran on the model given by the Turkish leader, but the end result was quite different. Indeed, Katouzian (2009: 138-140 & 343) writes that from 1924 to 1925, Reza Khan is purported to have attempted to abolish the monarchy completely and create a republic in Iran. A number of the *ulama* were strongly opposed, however, as many of them believed that the Shah acts as God's representative on earth and felt that a republic would lead to a secular system, such as that being proposed by Atatürk in Turkey. Recognizing that he needed the support of the *ulama* while his claim to power was still so tenuous, Reza Khan formed a mutually beneficial alliance with a number of the clergy, particularly Sheikh Abdolkarim Ha'eri Yazdi, who soon became the sole source of religious emulation (*marja'*) in Iran. Many clergy remained opposed, however, and it was in protest against Reza Shah's Western and anti-religious reforms that Khomeini began his political career with a 1943 political tract (*Kashf al-Asrar / Secrets Exposed*) (Abrahamian, 1993: 20).

Soon after ascending to the throne and effectively establishing the Pahlavi dynasty, Reza Shah began his modernization agenda. One particularly controversial reform was the creation of a non-clerical judiciary, which was based on the French model and stipulated the complete abolition of sharia law in the 1930s, effectively usurping a significant mode of power wielded by the *ulama* who had enjoyed almost absolute authority in the judicial arena (Katouzian, 2009: 254). In addition to judicial reforms, at the time the shah came into power—very shortly after WWI—influence over Iran

was being contested by the British and Russians. As Russia became increasingly pre-occupied with its 1905 and later 1917 revolutions, Britain was left as the chief influence over Iranian policy, though Reza Shah quickly sought to rectify that situation. In an effort to remove British influence, Reza Khan acted to abrogate the 1919 treaty between Great Britain and Russia, which had divided up areas of influence in Iran between them (Abrahamian, 2008: 64). Although Reza Shah believed that the British had played a crucial role in his rise to power and the removal of the Qajars, he always harbored a deep distrust of British motives (Katouzian 2009: 342 and 373-374).

Regrettably, Reza Shah used his power to implement 'modernization' at such a rapid rate that it may ultimately have been his downfall. One of his more controversial acts was the drastic reform in dress code policies (Chehabi, 1993: 212-214). For example, in 1927 it became mandatory for men to wear Pahlavi hats, and western-style suits (Hiro, 2007: 26). There was some pushback, but what really infuriated the public was his unveiling policy forbidding women from appearing in public with *hijab* (head scarves) (Nasr, 2007: 123). The veil had traditional, cultural and religious significance for Iranian women and many were unprepared to discard them so nonchalantly. Reza Shah implemented this controversial new policy through a top-down approach starting with his daughters and wives, along with the wives of high-ranking officials. Chehabi (1993: 221) states that in an effort to desegregate society, Reza Shah ordered that the

wives of all officials must attend government parties without covering. To avoid embarrassing their wives, many officials would bring ‘temporary’ wives (as allowed by the Shi’a Islam *Nikah mu’tah* practice). Writer Reza Baraheni recalled that during the ban on veils, since most people at that time did not yet have private baths, his father would carry his wife and mother to the public baths in a large sack to avoid the embarrassment of being in public without the *hijab* (Chehabi, 1993: 220-221).

Police and military were ordered to carry out this law without inflicting violence, but often ripped the veils off in a humiliating way, causing some women to never leave home until the Shah’s abdication in 1941 (Chehabi, 1993: 220). We can see the same pattern as with Amir Kabir—reduction of the power of the *ulama* and rapid modernization, or as many interpreted it, Westernization (Hiro, 2007: 26-7). However, just as religion may only be enforced for a time before people begin to act against it, so it is with attempting to force someone to discard religious decrees and traditions. These and other methods of forced modernization partially contributed to the anti-Western, conservative and religious sentiments that became so prevalent in the coming 1979 Revolution which brought Khomeini and Khamenei into power.

3.2 Oil: The 1953 Coup & Prime Minister Mossadegh

Mohammad Mossadegh—Prime Minister between 1951 and 1953 under Reza Shah’s son Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi—is famous for his efforts to nationalize Iranian oil (Abrahamian, 1993: 104-7). Although his National Front was a democratic party,

it found support from a variety of other groups and parties, such as portions of the *ulama*, the *bazaaris* (merchants) and even some communists (Katouzian, 2009: 338 & 395-6). The National Front was able to find common ground with other groups through its goals of nationalizing Iranian oil and reducing foreign influence. As will be shown, the outset of the 1979 Revolution saw a similar collaboration among groups who were diametrically opposed to each other in many ways, but united on the anti-Western principle of achieving the overthrow of the shah's regime. In spite of massive support for Mossadegh, the shah sought to suppress his power and be rid of him altogether.

By closing off the Persian Gulf with their superior navy in reaction to the nationalization efforts of Mossadegh, the British put quite a strain on Iran's economy (Katouzian, 2009: 405-412). To have a fighting chance of effecting any legitimate change, Mossadegh temporarily joined forces with Ayatollah Sayyid Abol-Ghasem Kashani (Twelver Shi'a cleric and Chairman of Iran's Parliament). Together, the unlikely bedfellows—Mossadegh and Kashani—were challenging the disregard shown to the constitution established in 1906 with the Constitutional Revolution (Moslem, 2002: 55). Wright (1989: 41) even calls the 1979 Revolution an “extension” of the earlier revolution, which was also a protest against foreign meddling and presence in Iran. The union between Mossadegh and Kashani was bound to fail over ideological differences, however. When it did, Mossadegh turned to the communist Tudeh party for support and had the leader of the *Fedayan-e Islam* (Devotees of Islam), Navab

Safavi, arrested due to assassinations of Iranian officials whom the group felt were corrupt. Later, in efforts to enhance the role of clergy in politics, the Islamic Republic attempted to rewrite history by crediting Kashani as the primary leader of the nationalization efforts (Abrahamian, 1993: 104-10).

Safavi had formed the *Fedayan-e Islam* society in 1946 as a young man, taking the Sunni Muslim Brotherhood as his source of inspiration. The *Fedayan* demonstrated a much higher tendency toward violence, however (Kazemzadeh, 2013: 445). Notably, Iran's current Supreme Leader, Ayatollah Khamenei, claimed that his revolutionary frame of mind and motivation to fight against the shah were prompted at the tender age of 13 while listening to Safavi speak at his school in 1952 (Kazemzadeh, 2013: 445). Although short-lived, this collaboration between the religious and secular dissidents of Iran served as an example of the initial cooperation of the 1979 Revolution, which ultimately brought Khomeini to power.

3.2.1 The United States Falls from Favor in Iran

Initially, the United States supported Mossadegh who wanted to bring increased democracy to Iran, which was in line with the United States' foreign policy platform. In 1951, TIME magazine even named Prime Minister Mossadegh *Man of the Year* (Mossadegh Project, 2015). Meanwhile, since he was threatening British control over Iranian oil, the British—under the guidance of Winston Churchill—tirelessly sought to change the US' attitude toward Mossadegh (Balaghi, 2013: 72). England had been the

de facto proprietor of Iranian oil since the Anglo-Persian Oil Company gained rights in 1912 (Louis, 2004: 167). In order to defame Mossadegh in a time when the Cold War was just kicking off and fear of the spread of Communism was high, Winston Churchill and the British Secret Intelligence Service (MI6) accentuated Mossadegh's above-mentioned connections with Communist parties.

The British smear campaign included telegraphs to US President Truman calling Mossadegh a “gangster-like,” “demagogic,” “fanatical,” “unscrupulous” “wily Oriental” with a “slight reek of opium” (Kinzer, 2003: 128). It was this superior colonial attitude and intrusion into Iran's affairs that caused the anti-Western sentiment that prevailed during the 1979 Revolution (Katouzian 2009: 36). Iranian people were offended by Western interference and though their ire and mistrust was initially reserved for the British and Russians, the US quickly became a target of contempt after its collusion in the 1953 coup that removed Mossadegh from power.

Though Truman firmly rejected the idea of a coup—he believed it violated the democratic rights of the Iranian people—MI6 was able to convince the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and Dwight D. Eisenhower (nearly as soon as he came to office) that a coup was necessary to stop Communism from spreading to Iran and to regain control of Iranian oil (Kinzer, 2003: 159-160). Accordingly, domestic elements in Iran, the CIA of the United States and MI6 of Great Britain staged the coup in 1953, effectively removing Mossadegh from power (Katouzian, 2009: 414). This was partially

achieved by paying people to demonstrate against him, but also by enlisting the support of Iranian Army General Fazlollah Zahedi, who was promised and later received a military government under the shah (De Bellaigue, 2012: 237-8; Louis, 2004: 174).

3.2.2 Increased Political Participation of the Clergy

It is important to note that there were some among the clergy who did not oppose the coup to remove Mossadegh. Many religious leaders were concerned about Mossadegh's new involvement with the communist Tudeh Party, while others worried about his break with religious clerics. Meanwhile, the United States took this opportunity to seize a great deal of influence in Iran including access to Iran's oil fields by obtaining a massive 40% of Iran's oil shares (Katouzian, 2009: 418). Britain also retained 40%, but it was quite a decrease from the monopoly it had previously enjoyed.

As the New York Times (1954, August 6) wrote:

Costly as the dispute over Iranian oil has been to all concerned, the affair may yet be proved worthwhile if lessons are learned from it: Underdeveloped countries with rich resources now have an object lesson in the heavy cost that must be paid by one of their number which goes berserk with fanatical nationalism. It is perhaps too much to hope that Iran's experience will prevent the rise of Mossadeghs in other countries, but that experience may at least strengthen the hands of more reasonable and more far-seeing leaders. In some circles in Great Britain the charge will be pushed that American 'imperialism'—in the shape of the American oil firms in the consortium!—has once again elbowed Britain from a historic stronghold.

This sort of mentality that Iran and nations like it were fodder for the most powerful nations to use as they saw fit, inspired Khomeini's and Khamenei's revolutionary rhetoric and later speeches calling for Islamic unity against Western and Soviet imperialism. The rhetoric of Islamic unity became solidified in the notion of a revival, labeled the "Islamic Awakening" by Ayatollah Khamenei (see Chapter 5).

Not until sixty years later (2013), did the CIA declassify the documents pertaining to the coup, thereby admitting US involvement (Deghan and Norton-Taylor, 2013). The shah—ever more dependent on the United States to stay in power—had lost legitimacy in the eyes of his people. Meanwhile, Mossadegh was put on trial and sentenced to live the rest of his life in exile on his estate (Kinzer, 2003: 220). Following the coup, corruption ran rampant and the shah became suspicious of those around him, leading to poor decisions and the alienation of some powerful allies within the government (Katouzian, 2009, 410-414). New far left, religious, student, and democratic groups began to form a strong opposition to Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi, and his efforts to crack down on protests, sometimes producing casualties in the process, only increased animosity. In 1970, Khomeini openly denounced apolitical clergy, galvanizing many to join in his revolutionary efforts (Abrahamian, 1993: 11 and 101-4).

3.3 1979 Revolution

It should be noted that Khamenei and many others refer to the 1979 Revolution as the *Islamic Revolution of Iran*, although there were many groups involved in overthrowing the shah. Almost immediately after the Revolution, many Iranians (including some Islamists) became disenchanted with the new Islamic regime (Katouzian, 2009: 241-2). Initially, many in the West were calling it an anti-imperialist movement, which is partially how both Khomeini and later Khamenei characterized it.

3.3.1 Ayatollah Khomeini's Role

When Mohammad Reza Shah introduced his set of reforms/modernization with his 1963 White Revolution, it was the perfect opportunity for Ayatollah Khomeini to step into the political forefront and oppose the Shah (Moslem, 2002: 53; Abrahamian, 1993: 10). The White Revolution consisted of land reforms which favored the peasants, women's right to vote and run for office, privatization of industry, a literacy campaign, nationalization of water and forests and a profit-sharing scheme for industrial workers (Wright, 1989: 50). Though some of the reforms proved useful for the country, many were superficial and ultimately meant greater American influence and power for the Shah; it was on these grounds that Khomeini boldly took a stand against the Shah, though most remained silent for fear of reprisals (Wright, 1989: 50).

Many of the revolutionaries, Khomeini excepted, hadn't given sufficient thought to what would come, in case of revolutionary success. During his more than

fourteen years of exile (1964-1979), Khomeini (1970) had begun to outline his ideas for an Islamic government in his book titled *Guardianship of Jurisprudence (Velayat-e Faqih)*, paving the way for an Islamic system of government in which the Supreme Leader would have immense control. There was a brief mad dash for power by the Marxist-Leninists and the Islamic groups following the revolution. A reported 98.2% of Iranians voted in favor of an Islamic republic and the religious clerics rapidly began to consolidate power in virtually every arena of government, social and cultural life (Katouzian, 2009: 536).

3.3.2 A New Islamic Republic

The revolution had officially ended in February of 1979 and by December, Khomeini had assumed the role of Supreme Leader of the Islamic Republic of Iran. Ayatollah Khomeini appointed Ali Khamenei (currently Iran's Supreme Leader) to the important position of the Imam responsible for leading Friday morning prayers in Tehran; Khamenei also served as Deputy Minister for Defense and supervisor to the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC) in those early years. By 1981, Khamenei had been elected president of the new Islamic Republic, receiving a reported 95% of the votes with 75% voter turnout (Arjomand, 2009: 16 & 32). While many political groups began to appear, they were mostly suppressed and it was during these early months that Khomeini approved the ban of many newspapers and declared the press now subject

to laws forbidding anti-revolutionary speech, Islam or the Republic (Katouzian, 2009: 544-545 & 580):

After every revolution several thousand of these corrupt elements are executed in public and burnt, and the story is over. They are not allowed to publish newspapers. After so long, the [Bolshevik] October Revolution, still had no newspapers [except those approved by the state] ... We all made mistakes. We thought we were dealing with human beings. Evidently we are not. We are dealing with wild animals. We will not tolerate them anymore.

Soon, wearing *hijab* (head covering) became mandatory for women, in direct contrast with the previous position of Reza Shah's modernization campaign prohibiting the use of *hijab* (Hiro, 1987: 258).

Almost immediately after the revolution, brief trials and summary executions of top military and civilian officials from the shah's regime were conducted, though Mohammad Reza Pahlavi had escaped. Both Islamists (Revolutionary Guard Corps) and Marxist-Leninist (Feda'i guerillas and Mojahedin-e Khalq) groups began to arm themselves. The Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC) ultimately became the most dominant and is still active and powerful in the Islamic Republic today (Arjomand, 2009: 150-156). The strongest Islamic party was the Islamic Republic Party (IRP) which was primarily led by devout followers of Khomeini—including Khomeini—many of which went on to become prominent figures in the new Republic. The Mojahedin-e Khalq were unique in that their ideology combined elements of both Marxism as well as staunch Islamic beliefs. A militant organization which became the

primary opposition to the Islamic Republic, the Mojahedin were not opposed to using violence as a way of expressing displeasure both prior to as well as after the Revolution. Among the violent post-Revolution acts attributed to the Mojahedin, was the bombing of the IRP headquarters in June of 1981, killing over 70 of the IRP's top leaders (Katouzian, 2009: 542-570). Furthermore, in 1988 during the Iran-Iraq War, Mojahedin members attacked Iran from Iraq while they were in exile and under the protection of Saddam Hussein. The Republic responded mercilessly to this violence through the mass executions of Mojahedin supporters within Iran, along with anyone else who opposed the new regime.

In 1980, after the success of the revolution, top clerics began to criticize the Mojahedin as hypocrites and infidels. Meanwhile, by late 1980, the Mojahedin had become very open in their criticism of Khomeini's administration and focused more strongly than ever on the importance of democracy (Abrahamian, 1989: 190-192). By 1981, the judicial system had begun to crack down on Mojahedin prisoners (1,186 new prisoners in 1981), their *Mojahed* publication was banned, and Islamist Hezbollah attacks against the Mojahedin greatly increased with 71 Mojahedin killed in 1981. By June of 1981, the Mojahedin and then Iranian President Bani-Sadr had called together a massive protest, which they hoped to use to begin a series of protests similar to those leading to the 1979 Revolution, but the hezbollahis (working for the IRP) killed 50, injured 200 and arrested 1000; furthermore, Evin Prison—now infamous for torture,

rape and secret executions—announced that 23 demonstrators had been executed, including teenagers. Initially the regime made the executions very public, even announcing executions of entire families and leaving corpses on the gallows for the public to see. By December ‘the reign of terror’ had begun; 2,500 leftists had been killed, and the Mojahedin responded with suicide attacks to assassinate officials. Over the next four years, the regime took the lives of “12,250 political dissidents, three quarters of whom were Mojahedin members or sympathizers” (Abrahamian, 1989: 218-223).

3.3.3 Complete Severing of U.S.-Iranian Relations

Just two short days after the former regime collapsed, there was a failed attack on the American Embassy by a Feda’i group (Katouzian, 2009: 551-5). By November, they were successful in their embassy takeover attempts, claiming it as their own and holding the diplomats hostage. Many were released, such as the women and African-American hostages (to demonstrate the anti-colonial attitude of the revolution and Khomeini’s projected image of defenders of the oppressed), but 53 white men were detained for 444 days with Khomeini’s authorization. The embassy takeover was widely popular in Iran at the time, as those involved were demanding an apology for the 1953 coup mentioned above, though many Iranians later perceived these actions as a blunder. A leader of the students who took the embassy, Abbas Abdi, later revealed that many conservatives on the Revolutionary Council opposed the takeover, but that Ayatollah Khomeini was “staunchly supportive” (Moslem, 2002: 67).

The hostage crisis completely severed ties with the United States and tensions were exacerbated when the United States supported Iraq provided arms to Saddam Hussein in the above-mentioned Iran-Iraq war of 1980-1988. The war also allowed considerable expansion of the IRGC (Abrahamian, 2008: 175) and likely created exactly the spirit of a united front that was so needed in the initial stages of the Islamic Republic. The takeover of the embassy came on the fifteenth anniversary of Khomeini's November 4, 1964 forced exile from Iran. Most average Americans believed the embassy takeover was essentially unprovoked; they were unaware of Khomeini's complaints fifteen years before regarding the 1964 bill granting immunity to the US military and dependents in Iran (Wright, 1989: 52-3):

Even if the shah himself were to run over a dog belonging to an American, he would be prosecuted. But if an American cook runs over the shah, the head of state, no one will have the right to interfere with him... Are we to be trampled underfoot by the boots of America simply because we are a weak nation and have no dollars? ...Let the American president know that in the eyes of the Iranian people, he is the most repulsive member of the human race today because of the injustice he has imposed on our Muslim nation. Today the Quran has become his enemy. The Iranian nation has become his enemy. Let the American government know that its name has been ruined and disgraced in Iran.

3.3.4 The Public is Introduced to Khomeini's "Guardianship of Jurisprudence"

As Supreme Leader, Khomeini set the strong precedent that the Islamic Republic was answerable to the Supreme Leader and even *sharia* law could be altered if it was not beneficial to the country or Islam, as determined by the Supreme Leader. In fact, what

Khomeini put into practice was so far removed from his speeches before the revolution that President Khamenei felt the need to defend Khomeini's more extreme statements. During his delivery of Friday prayers, Khamenei stated that claims that Khomeini had declared the state above *sharia* law were just rumors and not Khomeini's true intention. Khomeini swiftly negated Khamenei's defense of his actions with words indicative of a shockingly excessive grab for power (Katouzian, 2009: 565-8):

It appears from your address at the Friday prayers that you do not regard government as legitimate in the sense of the Absolute Guardianship given to the most noble Prophet ... Your interpretation of what I have said, in the sense that it simply means that the government has power only within the commandments of God, is entirely contrary to what I had intended... The [Islamic] government can ultimately break [even] those contracts which it had made with the people on the basis of *shari'a* rules, whenever the contract may be contrary to the expediency (*maslahat*) of the country and Islam. It can also stop any activity – be it spiritual or temporal – whose continuation would be contrary to the expediency of Islam.

Following accusations of arbitrary rule from both the clergy and secular leadership—which based on Khomeini's letter were clearly well-founded—Khomeini allowed the creation of an Expediency Council to settle disputes arising between the Guardian Council and the *Majlis* (parliament) (Wright, 1989: 173).

Six out of twelve members of the Guardian Council are selected directly by the Supreme Leader and the remaining six by *Majlis* jurists, who are appointed by the Head of the Judicial Power, who is also appointed by the Supreme Leader. So, at least indirectly, the Guardian Council is an absolute tool to be used by the Supreme Leader

as he wishes. His power is far-reaching indeed and touches virtually every level of the governmental decision-making process. The Council itself has quite extensive powers including interpretation of the constitution, approving the candidates which may run for the *Majlis*, Assembly of Experts and Presidency, as well as ensuring that any legislation passed by the *Majlis* is compatible with Islam and the Constitution (Constitution, 1996: Articles 94, 96 & 99). By having a hand in the selection of the Council which has such tremendous control, the Supreme Leader becomes virtually untouchable.

In the summer of 1988, shortly before the death of Khomeini in June 1989, he discredited his presumed successor, Ayatollah Montazeri, because of Montazeri's letters attacking Khomeini's arbitrary decision to execute more than 3,000 Mojahedin political prisoners after the involvement of their counterparts in the Iran-Iraq War. These prisoners had already been tried and sentenced by the Revolutionary Court, causing Montazeri to accuse Khomeini of having a "disregard for all judicial principles" (Arjomand, 2009: 24). Khomeini's close advisor and the Islamic Republic's first Prime Minister, Mehdi Bazargan, also called for appropriate judicial measures to be followed. To this, Khomeini replied that, "Those in detention are not charged, but guilty. They must be killed. Nevertheless, we provide them with a trial" (Moslem,

2002: 25-6). Khomeini labeled dissenters against the revolutionary structure, like Bazargan, anti-revolutionary conservatives and executed these former regime loyalists, anyone opposing the new Republic, but especially communists (Wright, 1989: 106).

3.4 Conclusion

Khomeini's ultimate mission was the creation of an Islamic world order (Katouzian, 2009: 559 and 573). Although this mission failed, some have argued that the influence of the Islamic Revolution can be seen in the events of the Arab Spring of Egypt, Libya, Yemen and Syria. Certainly Khamenei does argue in his speeches that the Islamic Revolution has been instrumental in what he dubs the 'Islamic Awakening' occurring worldwide, as seen in Chapter 5. The discrediting of Montazeri made Khamenei the somewhat unanticipated choice to succeed Khomeini. After his appointment by the Assembly of Experts, Ayatollah Khamenei assumed the role of Supreme Leader on June 4, 1989.

Though much is made of the anti-Westernization and anti-modernization elements of the 1979 Revolution, it is important not to neglect that these reforms came along with pervasive domestic corruption and oppression of the Iranian people. The success of the revolution came at a time when Iranians had reached a breaking point regarding the monarchy and particularly with the invasive methods used by the SAVAK intelligence organizations. Combined with the resentment against over a century of ubiquitous foreign interference and the loss of Iran's natural resources to the

British and Americans, the time was ripe for someone charismatic and persistent to lead the people in a revolt and Ayatollah Khomeini seized the opportunity to create his own personal brand of Islamic government (*Velayat-e Faqih*).



CHAPTER 4: BIOGRAPHIES OF IRAN'S SUPREME LEADERS

A brief study of the lives of Ayatollah Khomeini and Ayatollah Khamenei is essential to understanding the Supreme Leaders' political belief system. Although operational code analysis does not always extensively analyze biographical details, this information is instrumental in providing deeper insight into the development of leaders' political belief system. Therefore, this chapter delves deeper than usual into what made the Ayatollahs the men that they became, by looking at how their early years were formed, their religious beliefs, their education and the political events occurring at the time they entered into the political arena themselves.

4.1 Ayatollah Khomeini: A Biography

Khomeini biographer Baqer Moin (1999: vii) openly admits to the difficulties in finding records of the life of Iran's first Supreme Leader, Ayatollah Ruhollah Mousavi Khomeini. Where possible, however, Moin (1999) provides alternate explanations where his sources conflicted and cites reasons supporting or discrediting the legitimacy of the varying testimonies and he will be the primary source used to provide insight into the details that make up the man.

4.1.1 Ayatollah Khomeini's Early Years

Ruhollah Mousavi (Khomeini) was born in the town of Khomein, from which his later moniker originated. The precise date of his birth is indeterminate and is alternately

listed either as May 17, 1900 or September 24, 1902 (Islamic Thought Foundation, 2015). His maternal grandfather, Mirza Ahmad Mojtahed-e Khonsari, was himself a high-ranking cleric—notable for being one of many clergymen in Iran’s history to become politically involved (Abrahamian, 1993: 5). The Islamic Thought’s (2015) biography credits Khonsari with issuing a fatwa during the Tobacco Protest. Nasir al-Din Shah had granted a full monopoly for the production, sale and export of Iran’s to the British Imperial Tobacco Company (Moin, 1999: 3-4). The fatwa was widely obeyed—even in the Shah’s harem—and Nasir al-Din faced such intense pressure that he was forced to repeal his agreement with the British company (Moin, 1999: 4). Being one of the first examples of the people uniting against foreign influence in their country, the Tobacco Protest created considerable momentum for later revolutionaries, such as Khomeini. Furthermore, Nikki Keddie (1980: 54-63) argues that the Tobacco Protest of 1891-2 was a turning point in the *ulama*’s (Muslim clerics) general involvement in Iranian politics, and helped to pave the way for religious involvement in the 1979 Revolution led by Ayatollah Khomeini.

In addition to having religious family on his mother’s side, Khomeini’s paternal grandfather, Ahmad Mousavi, was a *seyyed*, meaning that his family could trace their ancestry to the Prophet Muhammad (Wright, 1989: 40-1). In the Mousavis’ case, they could trace back to the seventh Shi’a Imam, Musa al-Kazem, which would have held some measure of significance for establishing his legitimate right to act in the

stead of the Hidden Imam until his return. Shi'a Muslims believe that the Twelfth Shi'a Imam, Muhammad ibn Hassan al-Mahdi, will not be in contact with the believers for a period of time. This period is referred to as the Major Occultation. At an unspecified date the Hidden Imam (*Mahdi*, lit. Savior) will return to earth with Jesus (*Isa*) to bring peace to earth. In the interim, Moin (1999: 153-154) points out that Shi'a Islam has long held the tradition that a perfect Islamic state may not exist on earth until the return of the *Mahdi* and that earthly states would possess legal and political authority. In contrast, Khomeini's (1970) *Velayat-e Faqih* (Guardianship of the Jurisconsult) doctrine developed a system of government attempting to do precisely that.

Khomeini's book (1970) was a re-interpretation of the traditional Shi'a position of a relatively secular government; in his book Khomeini argued that God's laws were clearly laid out in the shari'a and that God would not have provided such a system of governance if a just Islamic state were unattainable. Furthermore, the only people on earth capable of interpreting and enforcing shari'a law were Islamic scholars (*fuqaha*, s. *faqih*). Ayatollah Khomeini argued that the appropriate *faqih* (jurist) should act in the Hidden Imam's stead until his return (Moin, 1999: 153-154). In support of a government combining religious and secular elements, Khomeini quoted a *hadith* (sayings attributed to the prophet) during a sermon, in which the Prophet Mohammad stated, "My brother Moses was blind in the right eye [he was so worldly], and my brother Jesus was blind in the left eye [he was other-worldly], but I [Mohammad] have

two eyes [I combine both the spiritual and the material world]” (Moin, 1999: 184). Khomeini’s religious ancestry played an important role in ensuring his success, but even more important was his charismatic character, persistence and rhetorical abilities. Khomeini’s paternal ancestors are believed to originate from the historic city of Nishapur in northeastern Iran, but migrated to India in the eighteenth century (Abrahamian, 1993: 5). It was in Kintur, India that Khomeini’s grandfather, Seyyed Ahmad Mousavi Hindi, was born. Around 1830, Khomeini’s grandfather left India to make a pilgrimage to Najaf, an important Shi’a shrine city in Iraq, after which he settled in the city of Khomein in the Markazi province of Iran (Moin, 1999: 3).

Khomeini was a very compelling and handsome boy, whose carriage marked him as a member of one of the more affluent families in the city (Abrahamian, 1993: 56-8). This was clear when Khomeini was playing ‘the thief and the vizier’ (*dozd-o-vazir*) in the streets. Khomeini always played either the vizier or even the Shah who would decide the punishment of the “thief” (Moin, 1999: 2). At age 47, Khomeini’s father, Mostafa Mousavi, was killed—either by bandits or by townsmen holding a grudge—while on the road to Arak when Khomeini was less than six months old (Islamic Thought Foundation, 2015; Moin, 1999: 6). Khomeini’s mother, Hajar, passed away when Khomeini was just fifteen years old. As a child, Khomeini lived through the 1905-11 Constitutional Revolution, which limited the role of the clergy. In his teenage years during WWI, the British and Russians were pursuing their interests in

the neutral Iran, while the Qajar dynasty (1789-1924) was beginning to crumble. As Khomeini achieved his status as a mullah, he saw Reza Khan named the first Pahlavi Shah in the 1921 coup which removed the Qajars (Wright, 1989: 42-3).

4.1.2 Khomeini's Education

As was customary in his family, Ruhollah Mousavi Khomeini began his religious education under his brother's tutelage (Ayatollah Seyyed Morteza Pasandideh). Though later, on advice from his brother, Khomeini attended seminary in Isfahan where the seventeen-year-old Khomeini learned of a prestigious scholar named Sheikh Abdolkarim Haeri Yazdi, who was opening a theological college in nearby Arak (home of the controversial IR-40 heavy water/nuclear reactor today) (Abrahamian, 1993: 6-11). Unlike Khomeini as an adult, Haeri was completely opposed to clerical involvement in politics. Khomeini is thought, however, to have been strongly influenced by Haeri's ascetic and pious lifestyle, which was quite different from the materialistic attitudes of many clergy (Abrahamian, 1993: 49-50; Moin, 1999: 21-2). It has also been noted that Khomeini spoke and wrote in everyday language; though this brought some ridicule, it likely endeared him to the masses (Abrahamian, 1993: 12).

While a *talabeh* (lit. seeker) at seminary, he was allowed the honor of wearing the black turban and *aba* (cloak), which identified him as a *seyyed* (descendent of the prophet). Furthermore, from this point on, he became known as Seyyed Ruhollah Mousavi Khomeini, even though he was later legally listed as Ruhollah Mostafavi. As

head of the family after his father's death, Khomeini's brother chose Mostafavi when Iranians adopted Western-style surnames in 1925 as one of Reza Shah's reforms (Moin, 1999: 24-5). It was in 1921 that Haeri agreed to move to the Shi'a holy city of Qom to revive the seminary there, and Khomeini followed him there. Notably, this was the same year that Reza Khan had staged the coup. As mentioned, in 1924 there was a plan to create a republic in Iran, but when the same had been done in Turkey, the religious leaders had quickly lost their influence and the caliphate had been abolished. Though he would later seek to actively suppress the *ulama*, Reza Khan sensed their fear of a republic and developed support for himself among the clergy, without which he would have been unlikely to be appointed monarch (Moin, 1999: 25-6).

Shortly after his coronation, Reza Khan began his modernization policies, and this included suppression of clerical power. During Ramadan (the month of religious fasting for Muslims), the Queen went to Qom to the Fatemeh shrine; while there, she removed her veil during the ceremony, shocking and infuriating those present. Cleric Ayatollah Bafqi sent a message to the Queen saying, "If you are not Muslims, why are you coming to the Shrine? If you are, then why have you not covered your hair and face?" (Moin, 1999: 28). When Bafqi delivered a sermon criticizing the Shah, Reza Shah marched to Qom with troops, entered the shrine without removing his boots, horse-whipped Bafqi and then had his troops arrest him. Khomeini later visited Bafqi in exile where Bafqi shamed Khomeini for not taking a strong enough stance against

the reforms of the Shah, which were leading to a decreased role for the clergy (Moin, 1999: 56). This and later events greatly contributed to Khomeini's disgust with and later fight against the Pahlavi Shahs and the trend toward the secularization of Iran.

4.1.3 Fourteen Years of Exile

The government controlled *Ettela'at* newspaper, issued an article in January of 1978 which denounced Khomeini for his role in the revolution and went so far as to claim that Khomeini was not a true Iranian, as his grandfather was born in India and used Hindi (lit. Indian) as his surname (Abrahamian, 2008: 158). The article, besides belittling the clergy, calling them "black reactionaries," further accused Khomeini of having a rowdy youth partaking of wine, reading mystical (Sufi) poetry, etc. Far from the intended result, the article incited Qom's seminary students to take to the streets in protest, during which the regime reported two killed, while the protestors claimed 70 had been killed by police (Abrahamian, 2008: 158).

Of far more concern to most Iranians was Mohammad Reza Shah's Iranian secret service—*Sazaman-e Ettela'at va Amniyat-e Keshvar* (SAVAK)—which the Shah had based on the Israeli Mossad secret service. The SAVAK was established in 1957 and eventually boasted approximately 5,000 full time operatives and an unknown number of informants. These informants and operatives could be found virtually anywhere, which created a pervasive feeling of fear among Iranians who could not even be sure who among their friends were trustworthy. With complete sanction from the

Shah and by not providing an accounting of its actions, the SAVAK was able to act with impunity (Abrahamian, 2008: 126). Although the official figures reported 2,500 in prison, this only took into account those who had been charged and tried openly; Amnesty International estimated that the truth was in excess of 70,000 prisoners who had not been accorded due process (Katouzian, 2009: 453-4).

Concurrent with the rise of the SAVAK, Khomeini was beginning his exile and leaving his family behind (Khomeini marriage had been arranged at the age of thirty to thirteen year old Batoul, daughter of a noted ayatollah) (Wright, 1989: 45). In November of 1964, much to his initial consternation, he was first sent to Ankara in Turkey whose secularization by Kemal Atatürk was the very thing he most feared would happen in Iran (Wright, 1989: 53). Shortly after his arrival in Ankara, he was moved to Bursa, which he was informed was a more religious city (Moin, 1999: 131). To the chagrin of his SAVAK minders, Khomeini took a liking to his Persian-speaking Turkish host, Colonel Ali Cetiner of the Turkish Military Intelligence and his wife Melahat. Ali Bey remembered Khomeini later (Moin, 1999: 131):

I went to greet him at the airport. He was rather tall. He was sixty-three with a white beard and thick, dark eyebrows. He was a quiet, gentle and good-tempered old man. As I had been unable to find a safe place for him and was unprepared, I took him to our home. He could live with us if need be. Later, if it was appropriate, I was to rent a separate place for him.

Melahat recalls that she had been told a ‘great leader’ was coming, and though she knew he was religious, she prepared her appearance and home anxiously to please the man she thought would be “modern.” She recalled his arrival (Moin, 1999: 131-2):

I dressed myself up. I was young at the time. I put on my best dress and waited for our guests...In all the confusion Khomeini and I were not introduced...He wore a long dress, rather like a nightdress, and over that a robe. He constantly looked straight ahead and he appeared sad. He was a gentle-looking, calm old man.

While preparing dinner, she heard shouting and found her husband being scolded for not having a ewer. It was at this moment that Khomeini noticed Melahat and began screaming that she should leave the house as she was not covered properly. She ran to put on appropriate clothes and covered her head, a practice she continued throughout his stay. Ali added that when the family sat down to dinner with Khomeini he began yelling angrily again and (Moin, 1999: 132-3):

...he made a fist and pointed his finger like a spear at my daughter. His eyes were wide with rage. ‘Giz’ [girl] he said in Turkish...he could not pronounce ‘kız’ properly...My daughter was terrified. We were shocked...Khomeini was angry because my daughter had sat at the table without covering her head. She sat frozen in her seat for a time, her eyes wide open. Then she ran crying to her mother in the kitchen.

Though initially shaken by the incident, Ali later observed that it seemed to be somewhat of a show to preserve his conservative image in the presence of the Iranian officer who was accompanying him. Indeed, the couple talk of how they settled into a routine

and as Melahat kept herself covered in Khomeini's presence from that time on, her relationship with him improved (Moin, 1999: 133-5).

He had come to Turkey penniless, but left as a millionaire via funds he received from his followers while in Bursa. Within a few months of Khomeini's arrival in Turkey, his son Mostafa was arrested and sent to join him in Bursa, where he also stayed with the Cetiner family, who were much less fond of the son than they eventually became of the father. Although it meant removing his religious robes, he eventually began to venture outside. Ali had received orders from Ankara to attempt to convince Khomeini to leave the house in trousers and a jacket and to take photos of him, which it was thought would cause him to lose credibility among his followers (Moin, 1999: 135-6). Ali recalls that Khomeini quickly adjusted to life in Turkey and refrained from criticizing the Turkish way of life or engaging in political discussions.

While in Turkey, Khomeini also wrote *Tahrir al-Wasilah*, in which he defended the right of the Imam to fix prices and engage in economics and politics as he sees fit, especially in order to prevent foreign influence (Moin, 1999: 137-9). He additionally took up other topics in his writing—artificial insemination, sex changes and prayer on airplanes—which were not traditionally dealt with by Islamic clergy. After some time, SAVAK began to fear Khomeini's growing fondness of Turkey and the Turkish people. Meanwhile, Iranians continued to call for an end to his exile, which along with pressure from the human rights organizations prompted the shah to allow

Khomeini to continue his exile in Najaf, Iraq. It was believed that Khomeini's influence might be eclipsed by more prominent clergy in the Shi'a holy city. Upon his arrival in Najaf on October 6, 1965, Khomeini did not experience a warm welcome, though this did mean that he had more freedom to explore his surroundings in peace. After two short days, he was quickly surrounded by supporters and received visits from clergy and a senior Iraqi visitor. Aware that he would not be openly welcomed by many of the Ayatollahs of Najaf, Khomeini ordered his followers not to cause much of a commotion or do anything which might be politically interpreted although this policy did not prevent animosity from the local clergy (Moin, 1999: 139-141).

Khomeini's frustration at being exiled in Najaf is visible in comments such as, "I do not know what sin I have committed to be confined to Najaf in the few remaining days of my life" (Moin, 1999: 147). Khomeini was a man whose political career essentially began when he was already in his 60s (Wright, 1989: 39). He began to appeal to leaders of all Muslim countries to bear in mind that there was a distinct difference between Muslims and Christians, namely that Christianity "only deals with relations between Man and God," whereas (Moin, 1999: 148):

Islam has a plan for government, for life. Islam has ruled for five centuries, and it is the duty of Muslim rulers to return to it, and practise it once again. They will not let Egypt, Iran, Iraq and Turkey become united... Had they been united, who would have dreamt it possible for a bunch of Jewish thieves to take Palestine while the Islamic countries slept? How could the [British] have reached India to take our beloved Kashmir?

Furthermore, Khomeini began to actively engage with the Iranian student diaspora. These included religious groups in the United States (of which present day Foreign Minister Zarif was a part), Canada, France, Germany and Britain who spread his message abroad. Many of the students were leftists rather than religious, but not understanding the extent of Khomeini's intentions for a religious government, he was able to win many over to his cause (Moin, 1999: 149-150).

In 1971, by notoriously holding a ceremony commemorating 2,500 years of monarchy in Iran and providing lavish accommodations for foreign dignitaries, the Shah continued to alienate himself from his subjects (Moin, 1999: 163-4). Khamenei fanned the flame by asking, "Are the people of Iran to have a festival for those whose behavior has been a scandal throughout history and who are a cause of crime, oppression, of abomination and corruption in the present age?" (Wright, 1989: 55). Meanwhile, from 1971 to the beginning of the Revolution in 1978, the Fedayi'an and Mojahedin (see Chapter 3) were carrying out guerilla attacks. These attacks further inspired the young people of Iran, who were increasingly dissatisfied with the Shah and influenced by Marxism. In 1977, the Shah had begun to soften his harsh policies, allowing greater freedom of press and even releasing some prisoners (Moin, 1999: 164-184). It is believed that the Shah's actions were in response to pressure from Jimmy Carter (the United States' new president) to end human rights violations or he was succumbing to internal pressures and seeking to restore calm to his nation, but his

efforts backfired as Iranians seized the opportunity to more vocally express their contempt for him.

Protests against the Shah resulted in the deaths of at least six demonstrators and the flames were fanned yet again. In keeping with the traditional Muslim mourning cycle (the 7th and 40th day after a death), subsequent protests were held in various cities on the fortieth day following the first Qom protest, each involving a measure of violent repression (Moin, 1999: 186-7). The Shah was likened to the enemy of Shi'as, Yazid, who had killed one of their beloved patriarchs, Hussein, in the 680 AD Battle of Karbala (Wright, 1989: 47-8). Unbeknownst to Iranians, Mohammad Reza Shah was battling cancer, and he “began to rely heavily on the advice of the American and British ambassadors,” while the Soviets “delighted by Khomeini’s anti-American rhetoric, switched its support to the opposition” (Moin, 1999: 188). Thousands demonstrated on September 6, 1978 and for the first time Islamic activists began to add ‘Islamic rule’ (*hokumat-e Islami*) to the chanted slogans. The next day, the protests continued with an estimated half million protestors (Katouzian, 2009: 518). On the 8th, the increasingly panicky Shah chose to make examples of a crowd gathering in Tehran. After declaring martial law with insufficient warning to the protestors, the Shah ordered his men to make a number of arrests and to open fire on those protesting in Jaleh Square. This day came to be known as ‘Black Friday’ and seemed to be the final nail in the monarchy’s coffin (Moin, 1999: 188).

Meanwhile, Iran began to pressure Iraq to suppress Khomeini's activities, prompting Khomeini to seek asylum in Kuwait; he was turned away at the border (Moin, 1999: 188-9). Upon choosing France as his next option, Khomeini found himself in a place where he could openly disseminate his message, which he did via the media that inundated his new home at Neuphle-le-Chateau (Abrahamian, 1993: 49). Keeping himself very busy during his time in France, sometimes hundreds of journalists would come to the chateau in a day. He was very particular that the precise questions to be asked must be delivered the day before. Though struck by his surly manner and unusual style, the Western media were nevertheless quite taken with the cleric. As the protests continued to heat up in Iran, an increasing number of people were listening to cassettes with Khomeini's speeches and he began to speak of a "progressive Islam"; it was a much softened message, and he was careful not to mention his 1970 book (*Guardianship of the Jurisprudent*) or delve too deeply into what an Islamic system of government might actually entail (Moin, 1999: 180-195). Even those intellectuals who foresaw Khomeini's true intentions were frightened of speaking against Khomeini, for fear that they may be seen as supporters of the Shah, so generally kept silent. Some, however, began to express concern in January 1979, though it was a bit late. One of these was Dr. Mostafa Rahimi, a moderate and critic of the Shah, but his open letter to Khomeini disagreeing with an Islamic government, went virtually unnoticed (Moin, 1999: 195-6).

4.1.4 The Legacy of Ayatollah Khomeini

The Shah was receiving conflicting advice internally and from the Americans and events were aligning perfectly for Khomeini's return. On January 10, 1979 he made his plans for an Islamic Revolutionary Council available to the public, without fully specifying the extent of his intentions for Iran. This Council's duties were to (1) form a constituent assembly, (2) create a constitutional assembly for the development of a new constitution and (3) finally to transfer all power to the people's elected representatives (Moin, 1999: 196-201). When the Shah fled the country on January 16th, the way was now clear for Khomeini to return, which he did to an enormously supportive response on February 1, 1979. Upon arriving in Iran, Khomeini swiftly began to implement his desired changes and suppress the opposition. Pointing out the difference in the people's expectations of a bright new future and Khomeini's actual intentions, Moin (1999: 200) calls Khomeini a "skilled practitioner of clerical politics, a master tactician who succeeded in bringing disparate opposition groups together, and a supreme strategist of revolution" whose only goal "was the recreation of an idealised past." Coming to be known simply as 'The Imam,' the level of respect accorded to Khomeini was on par with that shown to the twelve infallible Imams of Shi'a Islam, for whom the title was generally reserved.

Khomeini, confident in his position as Supreme Leader, began more openly exploring mysticism and even discussed his views during television interviews and

published some of his early mystical writings. This was highly frowned upon by Orthodox Shi'a clergy, who have traditionally condemned the mystic poets of the past as heretical, often executing them for their heresy. Responding to the clergy's criticism in 1989 (the year of his death) Khomeini said he had "suffered more from stupid reactionary *mollahs* than anyone else" (Moin, 1999: 271-301). A combination of rising opposition among the clergy, persistent opposition from the Mojahedin in the Iran-Iraq war and the accusations of excessively arbitrary rule, meant a considerable amount of conflict in his ten years as Supreme Leader. News of Khomeini's death in 1989 was postponed for nine hours as politicians scrambled to determine the proper way of announcing his death to the public. Some were worried that the leader had been losing popularity in his later years, and that the turnout at the funeral may be undesirable; they greatly underestimated the popularity of the leader. The morning after his death, a sobbing President Khamenei spent three hours publicly reading the will of Supreme Leader Khamenei in which he attacked his usual targets, the King of Saudi Arabia, the United States "terrorists," etc. (Moin, 1999: 299-306). The Assembly of Experts gathered in the afternoon and chose the new Leader, Ali Khamenei.

Those who showed up to mourn the Imam's death were in the thousands and the frantic nature of the mourning (*ta'zieh*) was so intense that at least eight people were killed the first day and several hundred injured as the crowd struggled to see the body of the leader. When the Revolutionary Guard attempted to move the body to the

graveyard, the crowd (in excess of several million) surrounded the hearse, preventing it from moving. The Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC) were ultimately compelled to take Khomeini's body to the graveyard by helicopter where the crowd ascended upon his body, tearing the shroud into pieces for holy relics. Finally, the IRGC were able to recover the Imam's exposed body, where he underwent the shrouding process again, this time bringing him back in a metal coffin until they were able to place his body in the grave according to Muslim custom. In the end, dozens lost their lives in the frantic atmosphere (Moin, 1999: 310-13). Whatever complaints have been lodged against the leader, he retains an incredible influence over many Iranians who continue to revere his legacy. This man had forever changed the face of Iran and paved the way for Khamenei to take his place.

4.2 Ayatollah Khamenei: A Biography

In the frenzied atmosphere following the death of Iran's first Supreme Leader, then President Khamenei expressed his reluctance to accept the position of Supreme Leader offered him by the Assembly of Experts (Moin, 1999: 309-310). He eventually accepted the position, becoming the second Supreme Leader of the Islamic Republic of Iran. As he ages and his health deteriorates before the public's eye, experts have begun to speculate about possible replacements for the aging leader. Khamenei seems an unlikely leader; he is generally reserved and very private. Because of his reticence to speak openly about his himself or his personal life, it is difficult to get a true sense of

the motives, personality and character of this man which makes the possibility of analyzing his speech more valuable (Chapter 7).

4.2.1 Ayatollah Khamenei's Early Years and Education

Ali Khamenei comes from a family of religious scholars, and he himself studied in the important Shi'a holy city of Qom from 1958 to 1964 (Ganji, 2013). He was born on July 16, 1939 in the religious shrine town of Mashhad of the Khorasan province of Iran (Sadjadpour, 2009: 4). Khamenei came from an Azeri family in Mashhad, which did not have a very large Azeri population. Khamenei's father, Seyyed Javad Khamenei, mainly spoke Azeri (a Turkic language) and not much Persian (Farsi), which is speculated to have contributed to the family's poverty and Seyyed Javad's lack of success as a cleric (Kazemzadeh, 2013: 443). A biography of Iran's current leader is provided on Ayatollah Khamenei's official webpage, containing anecdotes from the Leader himself. It is on this official webpage that Khamenei recalls his youth (Khamenei, 2015: *Biography*):

My father, though a well-known religious figure, was a bit of an ascetic. We had a hard life. Sometimes for supper we had nothing but bread with some raisins, which our mother had somehow improvised.... our house, some sixty-five square meters, consisted of a single room and a gloomy basement. When visitors came to see my father as the local cleric to consult about their problems, the family had to move into the basement while the visit went on.... Years later some charitable persons bought the small, empty lot adjacent to our house, so we were able to build two more rooms.

The Supreme Leader paints a humble image of his modest beginnings and the biographer has added that it was from his father that Ali Khamenei and the rest of the family learned to lead a “simple, humble way of life” (Khamenei, 2015). The Leader’s father, Seyyed Javad Khamenei, had three daughters with his first wife and upon her death, married Khadijeh, the daughter of a cleric from Esfehan, Ayatollah Hashem Mirdamadi. Javad had four sons and one daughter with Khadijeh—the second son was Ali Khamenei (Kazemzadeh, 2013: 444). Ayatollah Khamenei’s four brothers have all held top positions in the Islamic Republic and all except the youngest became clerics.

Ayatollah Khamenei’s education began at the age of four when he began lessons at a local theologically-based primary school (*maktab khaneh*). Here he learned the alphabet and studied the Qur’an (Khamenei, 2015: *Biography*). At twelve, he began attending Soleyman Khan School, which was a sort of seminary school for minors who were identified as seminary students (Kazemzadeh, 2013: 444). After Soleyman Khan, Ali Khamenei went on to the Nawwab religious school. His studies centered on philosophy, logic, and Islamic Jurisprudence. After five years, he began his advanced (*dars-e kharej*) courses at the age of eighteen (Khamenei, 2015: *Biography*). Though he did not attend university, he became intrigued by the teachings of scholars in Najaf, such as Ayatollah Hakim and Ayatollah Shahrudi. Though he preferred to remain in Iraq under the tutelage of these men, his father requested that he return to Iran and continue his studies in Iran’s holy city of Qom. Returning to Iran in 1958 he had the

fortune to study under such prominent scholars and ayatollahs as Haeri-Yazdi, Ayat, Borujerdi, Tabatabai, and notably under Ayatollah Khomeini (Khamenei, 2015). Ayatollah Khamenei's (2015) biography reports that he left his studies because his father had partially lost his sight and was no longer able to read. Khamenei returned to Mashhad and continued to learn from his father and other scholars in Mashhad, such as Ayatollah Milani. Sadjadpour (2009: 4) suggests that this is added to Khamenei's webpage as "a disclaimer for the fact that he never attained the religious credentials of his predecessor, Ayatollah Khomeini." Soon after returning to Mashhad, Khamenei became a *mujtahed* (Islamic jurist) and began teaching religious subjects to young seminarians.

4.2.2 Khamenei's Political Beginnings and Revolutionary Role

As mentioned briefly in Chapter 3, Khamenei had two major political influences which he sought to emulate—Ayatollah Khomeini and Navab Safavi of the *Fedayan-e Islam* (inspired by the Muslim Brotherhood of Egypt); he says (2015: *Biography*):

In the areas of political and revolutionary ideas and Islamic jurisprudence, I am certainly a disciple of Imam Khomeini. Yet the very first sparks of consciousness concerning Islamic, revolutionary ideas and the duty to fight the Shah's despotism and his British supporters, was kindled in my soul at the age of 13 when the brave cleric, Nawwab Safavi, later martyred by the Shah's regime, came to our school in Mashhad in 1952 and delivered a fiery speech against the Shah's anti-Islamic and devious policies.

It was 1962 in Qom, however, that Khamenei became a follower of Khomeini, shortly before Khomeini was sent into exile for his revolutionary speech (Khamenei, 2015). Although Khomeini was not widely known by Iranians, he had become a figurehead for young seminarians who agreed with him; Khamenei was one of many who distributed the teachings from the exiled Khomeini (Sadjadpour, 2009: 4).

It was also about this time that Khamenei was married to Khojaste Bagherzadeh in 1964. Together, Khojaste and Khamenei had four sons before the revolution, and two daughters. Kazemzadeh (2013: 444) quotes Khojaste Khamenei from a rare 1992 interview with a religious magazine for women, in which she recalls:

I married him in 1964. Of course this marriage took place before we became acquainted with each other, since as was the practice of religious families of those days, his mother came to our house to propose and after the usual discussions the marriage ceremonies were performed.

Khamenei's first three sons became clerics (Mostafa, Mojtaba, and Mohsen Masoud) and are all married to daughters of conservative ayatollahs. One of Khamenei's two daughters, Bashri, is married to Khamenei's current chief of staff Ayatollah Mohammad Mohammadi Golpaygani (Kazemzadeh, 2013: 444).

Surrounding himself by intellectuals in the 1950s and 60s, Khamenei became familiar with the secular dialogue concerning the West and the rhetoric of the shah being the puppet of the United States. However, he was also influenced by religious scholars such as Sayyid Qutb of the Muslim Brotherhood (Ganji, 2013). From his

youth, Khamenei has seen a tension between the West and East and after the creation of the Islamic Republic his anti-Western views were solidified as he believed the United States wanted to overthrow the new regime (Ganji, 2013). Furthermore, Khamenei is critical of liberal democracy and of capitalism, which he sees as tools of aggression. In his own words (Khamenei, 2015: *2001 Hajj Message*):

Today the western world, which has strengthened the weakness and backwardness of Islamic countries, has to deal with great and irremediable afflictions. Materialistic corruption and capitalism are gradually revealing their effect on the materialistic civilization of the west. The chronic maladies which were hiding under the dazzling brilliance of wealth and industrial progress are gradually revealing themselves and tell them that a crisis is around the corner. After many years of suffering, the world of Islam feels the soothing wind of Islamic Awakening.

The powers of Ayatollah Khamenei are quite extensive as he enjoys both formal and informal control over “the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of the government [which] all operate under his absolute sovereignty; Khamenei is Iran’s head of state, commander in chief, and top ideologue,” and since coming into power in 1989, he has steadily sought to increase those powers (Ganji, 2013). Interestingly, though Ayatollah Khamenei initially rejected the idea of becoming Iran’s next Supreme Leader, the Assembly of Experts elected him with sixty out of the seventy present members voting for him to fill the position of Supreme Leader (Moin, 1999: 310).

Khamenei was arrested in May of 1963 for propagating Khomeini’s revolutionary ideas in the city of Birjand (Khamenei, 2015: *Biography*). Spending one night

in jail, he was forbidden from preaching again. He was arrested again in June of 1963 for his role in the violent 15th of Khordad uprising that occurred in protest of Khomeini's arrest for criticizing the shah publicly in his *Kashf al-Asrar (Secrets Exposed)* booklet (Wright, 1989: 46 and Moin, 1999: 111). Khamenei's official webpage (2015: *Biography*) goes on to identify a third arrest in January of 1964 saying he was arrested with friends for exposing the "satanic American policies of the Pahlavi regime" in reference to the White Revolution reforms put forth by Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi. He was arrested by SAVAK and put in solitary confinement for two months, where he was said to have been tortured (Khamenei, 2015: *Biography*). Though ordered to discontinue his preaching, Khamenei began holding lessons in Qom and Mashhad on exegesis of the Qur'an and Hadith. The final arrest took place in the winter of 1975 (Hiro, 1987: 64). His sixth and final arrest is said to have been the longest and most difficult. Shortly before Khomeini returned to Iran from his three year exile, he called for the establishment of an Islamic Revolutionary Council and for Khamenei to be appointed a member alongside Ayatollahs Motahhari and Beheshti.

Khamenei's webpage provides a list of positions held by Ayatollah Khamenei since the success of the 1979 Revolution; he has held a variety of high-ranking positions in the Islamic Republic of Iran including, but not limited to: Deputy Minister of Defense, Supervisor of the IRGC, Tehran's Friday prayer leader, elected parliamen-

tarian, elected President of the Islamic Republic (two terms), President of the Expediency Council, Chairman of the Committee for Revision of the Constitution, and of course, Supreme Leader. In general, Khamenei was seen as a trusted and devoted follower by Khomeini and they seemed to have a close relationship (Khamenei, 2015: Biography; Hiro, 1987: 198 & 212). Khamenei was targeted in an assassination attempt by the leftist opposition Mojahedin-e Khalq (see Chapter 3) in 1981. A bomb had been placed in a tape recorder and exploded next to him during a press conference, permanently injuring his right hand, after which he was often referred to as the living martyr (Sadjadpour, 2009: 4-5).

While he still possessed only the religious title of Hojjat al-Islam (lit. authority on Islam), Ali Khamenei became the third president of the fledgling new Islamic Republic in October of 1981. Prior to that time, Khomeini had suppressed political ambitions among the clergy, to avoid appearances of a complete theocracy. This signaled a major turning point for the Islamic Republic, with Khomeini going so far as to specifically call on mullahs to become involved in politics. This surprised more liberal Muslims of Iran, who had trusted Khomeini's promises to bring a more democratic system of government. In a 1983 speech, Khomeini stated (Moin, 1999: 245-7):

[The fact that] I have said something does not mean that I should be bound by my word. I am saying that for as long as we have not implemented all Islamic rules and have no competent people to do the job, the clergy should stay in their positions. It is below the dignity of a clergyman to be a president or to occupy other posts. He does it because it is a duty. We have to implement Islam

and should not fear anyone... I have brought them up [the clergy]... I know they don't want to monopolise power. They are not monopolistic. Of course they want the monopoly of Islam. The Prophet of Islam says there is only one God. Is this monopoly? If it is, then all prophets were monopolistic and God is monopolistic.

In spite of serving as president of the Islamic Republic from 1981 to 1989 before he succeeded Khomeini as Leader, it still came as a surprise to many when Ali Khamenei was appointed as Ayatollah Khomeini's successor. Immediately following the Supreme Leader's death, the Assembly of Experts was unsure who to nominate as his replacement, but they knew they had to act quickly if the transition was to be a smooth one. Then Speaker of the Assembly of Experts Rafsanjani put forth Ali Khamenei's name and Rafsanjani recalled that (Moin, 1999: 310):

While Khamenei was in North Korea, the Imam saw him on television—his approach, his speeches and his discussions. It was very interesting for the Imam, who said that he [Khamenei] was truly worthy of the leadership... The Assembly of Experts ... on 4 June and with a majority of more than four-fifths of the members present and with sixty votes out of the seventy members present in favour, selected Ayatollah Seyyed Ali Khamenei as the leader of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

At the age of fifty, this somewhat unlikely candidate came to be the new Supreme Leader, at which time he was immediately promoted from Hojjat al-Islam to Ayatollah, though he lacked the proper qualifications for the rank (Moslem, 2002: 82-3). Because he did not achieve his ranking through the normal clerical process, Khamenei's legitimacy has been questioned by some senior ayatollahs (Moslem, 2002: 41).

4.2.3 Khamenei's Legacy

Much speculation has circulated since the 2009 elections (which launched the anti-regime Green Movement) concerning the future of Iran and more specifically who might fulfill the Supreme Leader position. Sadjadpour (2009) presents an image of a leader who experienced neither the favor nor the animosity of the people until 2009. Sadjadpour (2009: vi) argues that Khamenei has “never borne proper responsibility for Iran’s economic malaise, political repression, and social restrictions.” Rather, until the infamous 2009 election scandal, he has been able to present Iran’s presidents and other officials for the people’s judgement, acting behind the scenes and keeping out of the public eye for the most part.

Reports of Khamenei’s ill health have not relented and have led to much speculation as to who will be capable of replacing the Supreme Leader (Sadjadpour, 2009: 2). Given the power held by the Supreme Leader, the answer to this question could be essential to the development of a new foreign policy strategy by other countries, namely Western countries. It seems highly unlikely that officials whose interests are tied to the success of the Islamic Republic would allow such a change dramatic as removing the office of Supreme Leader. What is still being questioned, however, is who could be chosen as a replacement for the leader. It would need to be someone who held to the principles of the revolution, had attained a sufficient level of religious education and one whom the people would be unlikely to rebel against.

Some scholars have portrayed Khamenei as weak and lacking in true initiative, allowing others, like Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani, to virtually run the country (Moslem, 2002: 88-91 and 151). Conversely, Khalaji (2012) has given careful thought to this question and has drawn four very different key conclusions: (1) Khamenei has, over time, successfully divested notable revolutionary figures, including Rafsanjani, of any influence while simultaneously elevating loyal, albeit weak, politicians in their stead, (2) Khamenei has wrested any considerable power from the clergy in favor of his personal network, which has tended to advance military interests over clergy, (3) Khamenei has hinted at plans of a new presidential system in which the president would be elected by the parliament that he virtually controls, rather than the people, and finally (4) he claims the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC)—which controls the military, a third of Iran’s economy, and Iran’s nuclear program—is expected to play the most important role in choosing Khamenei’s successor. Khamenei has chosen to work behind the scenes, which may have lost him popular support, but has likely contributed to his overall success as Supreme Leader (BBC, 2009).

An increased IRGC role would mean that Iran would essentially have a militarized government, which could make the July 2015 nuclear agreement all the more significant. If the IRGC does choose the next leader, he is expected to have limited power in the beginning—more of a ceremonial role—until he is able to accumulate power (Khalaji, 2012: 15). Khalaji (2012: 14-16) posits that the manner in which the

IRGC will formulate its foreign policy vis-à-vis the West will be determined by the status of the nuclear program at the time of Ayatollah Khamenei's death. The nuclear question will be thoroughly dealt with in Chapter 9. What is important to note, is that not many seem to predict any significant sorrow or sense of loss upon the death of the current leader, though he may surprise them. Ayatollah Khamenei is alternately portrayed (at least in Western sources) as tedious and lackluster or as a man who—behind the scenes—has cunningly accumulated extreme power for the position of Supreme Leader, at the cost of creating a powerful military, which will be able to amass even more supremacy upon his death.

4.3 Conclusion

Being born in a time of political upheaval and witnessing the rise of the Pahlavi regime and watching it descend into corruption and coerced into foreign interference created a man with enough passion and charisma to ultimately abolish the ancient Iranian monarchy. Many Iranians who find the current system of government in Iran less than desirable would still hesitate before recalling their allegiance to the man they call Imam Khomeini. What he set in motion paved the way for his successor Ali Khamenei to accumulate power and create a network of loyal followers, who are likely to bring at least some changes upon his death.

The personalities of these men, and consequently their decision-making strategies, ideological motivations and indeed, what constitutes their foreign policy operational codes have been greatly influenced by the events and factors recounted in this chapter. The place of their births, their religious upbringing, social and political injustice, a corrupt monarchy and a passion to stimulate religious and political change influenced the actions of both Ayatollah Khomeini and Ayatollah Khamenei. Looking at the operational codes, the biographies of these men and the historical context surrounding their rise to power as revolutionaries is akin to fitting together pieces of a puzzle. In formulating any policy toward Iran, other countries would do well to take the full history into account, rather than focusing purely on policies or even speeches. Without understanding the causes behind the actions, Western countries, particularly the United States, may find it difficult to negotiate with a country who has a long memory of the events which precipitated the 1979 Revolution.

CHAPTER 5: IRAN'S FOREIGN POLICY

The primary goals of this chapter are to identify (1) the individuals and institutions involved in creating the foreign policy agenda of Iran, (2) whether that agenda has been purely ideological or may be characterized as pragmatic as well and (3) the significant foreign policies of Iran's Supreme Leader today. This chapter firstly concludes that the Supreme Leader has final jurisdiction over foreign policy, which is an important distinction to make; confusion concerning who formulates Iran's foreign policy is prevalent in the literature and Western media. While Supreme Leader Khamenei has a system of advisors, boards and individuals that help to formulate and implement Iran's foreign policy, he also has the power to sanction or veto any policy he chooses (Hovsepian-Bearce, 2016: 109).

Furthermore, the authority of Iran's Supreme Leader actually extends to every branch of government, although Khamenei does allow the rhetoric of presidents and foreign ministers to influence foreign and domestic perceptions of Iran's foreign policy at times. For instance, Iran's current President Rouhani has the unique ability to placate Iran's conservatives while also being tolerated by the international community, as well as domestically by reformists who vigorously protested the 2009 elections with their Green Movement. Likewise, the current Foreign Minister Zarif is an individual who projects a very pragmatic and cooperative image to the international community.

These shifting projections are important in the pragmatism vs. ideology debate concerning the nature of Iran's foreign policy. This study posits that although the ideological motivations in Iran's foreign policy are clearly visible, a pragmatic approach is also practiced. Additionally, though some—such as former President Ahmadinejad (and some argue the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps)—have opposed the Supreme Leaders' wishes (Section 5.1.1), the Supreme Leader still appears to firmly maintain the vast powers of his station. At present, however, efforts to argue that the Supreme Leader is content to occupy an inferior position in Iranian foreign policy seem to ignore the vast influence he really does possess, and his willingness to use it when one disregards his master plan. Finally, this chapter concludes that the primary foreign policy strategy of both Ayatollahs Khomeini and Khamenei has been to export the Islamic Revolution, and simultaneously increase Iran's regional influence.

5.1 The Foreign Policy of Iran's Supreme Leader

Common themes in literature pertaining to the foreign policy of Iran center on two principal debates: (1) how supreme the authority of the Supreme Leader actually is and (2) whether foreign policy decisions from Iran are pragmatically or ideologically motivated. For this study, foreign policy may be broadly defined as encompassing the plans, actions and policies of Iran's government vis-à-vis foreign nations. This includes a variety of considerations, such as economic factors, Iran's nuclear program, education, humanitarian aid, military aid or conflicts, treaties, negotiations, etc.

5.1.1 Supremacy of the Leader

The Supreme Leader of Iran is referred to in numerous ways: *Vali-e Faqih-e Iran* (Guardian Jurist of Iran), *Rahbar-e Inghalab* (Leader of the Revolution), *Maghaam-e Moazam-e Rahbari* (Supreme Leadership Authority), or simply *Rahbar* (Leader). Supreme Leadership Authority is the most official form used, but the most widely accepted title in English sources is ‘Supreme Leader.’ This is the highest political and religious position in the Islamic Republic. By reviewing literature pertinent to the mentioned debates, this section attempts to answer: Who has influence—legitimate or otherwise—over the Islamic Republic of Iran’s foreign policy? To answer, it is important to examine Iran’s internal balance of power. After a review of the literature germane to this topic, this research concludes that in spite of provisions to check the Supreme Leader’s power, those checks have not been meaningfully exploited. Therefore, it is still the Supreme Leader who most greatly influences Iran’s foreign policy.

Indeed, the constitution of Iran grants significant power to the Supreme Leader as is partially evidenced by the positions he has the authority to fill. For instance, the onus is on the Supreme Leader to appoint the commander of the IRGC and regular military, the heads of media institutions, all members of the Expediency Council, and half of the twelve theologians on the Guardian Council; the other half are appointed by the head of the Judiciary, who is himself appointed by the Supreme Leader (Constitution, 1996: Article 110 & Figure 2). The appointment process of the Guardian

Council is notable because this council vets the candidates for elected offices, including the Parliament, Assembly of Experts and President (Article 62 & 110).

Importantly, however, it is the President who possesses the authority to appoint ministers of the Cabinet, including the Foreign Minister (Articles 133 and 134). This potentially constitutes a noteworthy check to the Leader’s supremacy in local and foreign policy, though in practice that does not seem to be the case. Another major check to his power, though never attempted, is the ability of the Assembly of Experts to remove him from office (Articles 107-111). Indeed, Khalaji (2012: 10) questions whether the Assembly of Experts, whom he titles a “politically lightweight group,” even has the political clout to play a significant role on Khamenei’s death. Khalaji argues that political powerhouses in Iran, such as the IRGC, are more influential.

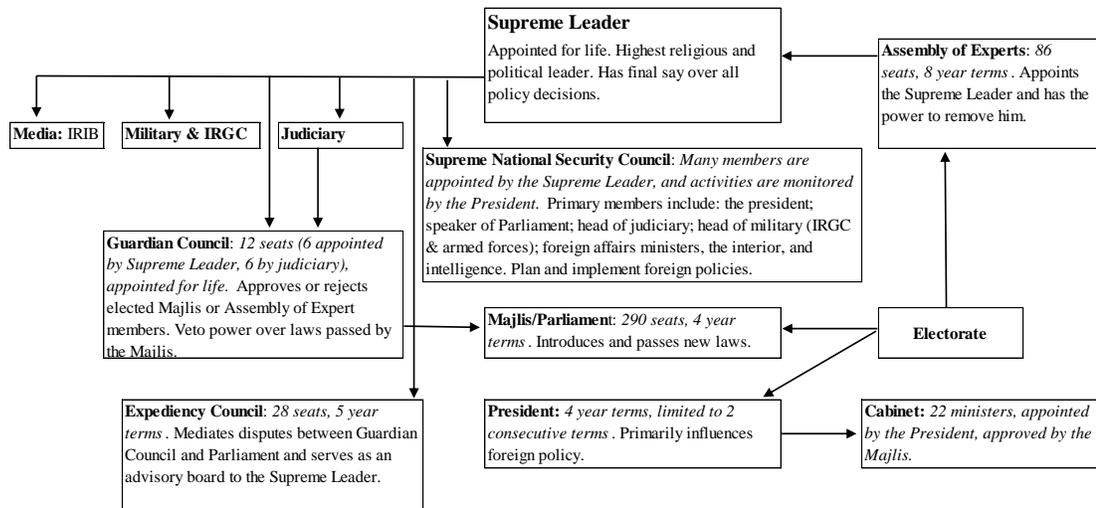


Figure 2. Iran's Power Structure

Inspired by table in Washington Post article (2013).

Arjomand (2009: 202) posits that constitutional checks to the Supreme Leader's power were most obviously utilized during Ahmadinejad's presidency (2005-2009). In 2007, Ahmadinejad removed Ali Larijani, the Leader's 2005 choice for Secretary of the Supreme National Security Council, amidst nuclear negotiations. In accordance with his constitutional rights (Article 133 & 134), Ahmadinejad exchanged Larijani for "one of his own new men," Sa'id Jalili (Arjomand, 2009: 202). Arjomand considers this move unexpected and suggests that acting against the wishes of the Leader is uncommon. He adds that the Leader immediately undercut Ahmadinejad's action by placing Larijani on the Supreme National Security Council and generally worked to "rein" Ahmadinejad in further (Arjomand, 2009: 202-203). Akbar Ganji (2008: 45) also warns against assumptions that Ahmadinejad held significant influence by reminding that Supreme Leader Khamenei is easily the most powerful man in the country, or in Ganji's terms the "latter-day Sultan." Bearing this in mind, it is very difficult for any other official to obtain much authority.

Though Arjomand (2009) acknowledges the immense foreign policy influence that Khamenei has attained over the course of his leadership, conversely he argues that in addition to Ahmadinejad, "foreign policy cartels" in Iran have been able to usurp a measure of that power and derail some of Khamenei's plans. Arjomand (2009: 192) claims similar cartels often emerge following a major revolution (i.e. the 1979 Revolution), naming two major reasons. First, Arjomand states that residual revolutionary

fervor assumes that the revolution's ideology is universal, giving rise to 'fifth columns' in foreign countries with the purpose of exporting the revolution. Arjomand argues that these fifth columns then begin to amass foreign policy muscle over time, which might not be aligned with the Supreme Leader's wishes. Second, when a revolution ends, there is a push to have power distributed to prevent an authoritarian regime from emerging; this generates permanent "semi-autonomous military-intelligence and economic-industrial baronies," which brandish significant influence until power can be centralized—in this case by the Supreme Leader (192). Arjomand (1990: 195-204) contends that at times the IRGC has ultimately acted without consulting the Leader. In reality, however, there is a high likelihood of the Supreme Leader secretly sanctioning all actions of the IRGC, both to maintain domestic control, as well as gain regional influence such as the IRGC's success in derailing former President Khatami's rapprochement efforts with the United States after the latter invaded Afghanistan.

The stated constitutional duties of the IRGC (Article 150) are simply framed—"guarding the Revolution and its achievements"—albeit sufficiently ambiguous to allow for many interpretations. Still, it is worth mentioning again that the Supreme Leader is the Chief Commander of the IRGC and personally appoints the commander of the IRGC. In support of the findings of this research, his present ability to control the IRGC's leadership almost certainly acts to constrain any attempts at acting according to an agenda which differs from the Supreme Leader. Though Mottale (2010) does

not claim that the IRGC may be acting against the wishes of the Supreme Leader, he likens the IRGC's rise in power and influence to that of the janissaries in the Ottoman Empire. Arjomand (2009: 60) gives further detail about the economic activities of the IRGC, declaring that Rafsanjani's reconstruction efforts after the 1980-1989 Iran-Iraq War led to the IRGC's economic rise, with stakes in military, transportation, construction, gas and oil sectors. Mottale (2010) states that the IRGC is believed to control one-third of Iran's economy and is known to have influence in foreign affairs, such as the funding of Hezbollah in Lebanon, where it has become a "state within a state officered by Iranians." He further argues that the IRGC's economic and political patronage has begun to rival the benefaction and patronage of the religious clerics, which had been so important since the 1979 Revolution. The New York Times' *Our Man in Tehran* video series (2015) supports claims that the IRGC has become a driving economic force in Iran, and even avers that a nuclear agreement is not in the interest of the IRGC because an easing of economic sanctions would disrupt the black market economy, which is primarily controlled by the IRGC. Consequently, this suggests that the IRGC could act to negate the nuclear deal.

Khalaji (2012) also makes a strong case supporting the rise of the IRGC, though at the hands of Ayatollah Khamenei, rather than in opposition to him. He supports this assertion by pointing out that it is the Supreme Leader who has created the IRGC and is responsible for bringing its commanders to power and he remains in full

control over the IRGC at present. This creates a dependence on and loyalty to Ayatollah Khamenei. Khalaji (2012: 2-16) argues that the one possible way to change the status quo is for the US and other Western countries to establish relationships with key IRGC leaders if there is a desire to alter Iran's hostile foreign policy toward the West. At the very least, Khalaji argues that it would position Western powers favorably in the case of Khamenei's death, as the IRGC is likely to play a significant role in the appointment of his successor. It "could even afford the Guards enough confidence to challenge Khamenei's uncompromising policies while he is still alive" (Khalaji, 2012: 16). The latter seems unlikely, but Khalaji is likely accurate in his assessment of the strength of the IRGC.

In sum, the Supreme Leader currently retains an overwhelming amount of control and, in effect, has supreme authority over all institutions and individuals. Ayatollah Khomeini initiated this prodigiously disproportionate amount of power with his introduction of *velayat-e faqih* (guardianship of jurisprudence) and *maslahat* (expediency) (Khalaji, 2012: 5). By stating that needs of the Islamic Republic come even before Sharia law and that the responsibility for deciding what is beneficial for the Republic should rest in the hands of the Leader, he had already laid the foundations for an extremely powerful position. Khamenei has capitalized on this by becoming the highest political decision-maker and "the figure who defines Islam itself [in Iran]" (Khalaji, 2012: 4-5). Khamenei has successfully created a network of loyal followers

in every branch of government and chooses the leaders of the IRGC, army, police, state media, the clerical institution and more. Furthermore, “by micromanaging politics and suppressing the country’s reformist faction, Khamenei has made the circles of power in Iran much tighter” (Khalaji, 2012: 12). In this way, Khamenei effectively has control over every issue he chooses to involve himself in.

5.1.2 Pragmatism vs. Ideology

Another common discussion in the literature pertaining to Iran’s foreign policy is whether ideology or pragmatism more prevalently informs the leaders’ decisions. After a review of the literature on this topic and perusing the speeches and writings of Khomeini and Khamenei, it becomes undeniable that ideology is a large and prevalent part of the discourse and strategies used by these leaders. However, the presence of ideology in their discourse does not support arguments that the Supreme Leaders have not acted pragmatically. Quite the opposite seems to be true, as will be demonstrated here. This research finds that the Supreme Leaders very pragmatically use ideological discourse as a method for gaining influence domestically and in the region.

Of particular interest in the literature on the ideology/pragmatism debate is the foreign policy approach outlined in Iran’s constitution, but especially Article 154, which seems to support the frequently mentioned exporting of the Islamic Revolution by stating (Constitution, 1996):

The Islamic Republic of Iran has as its ideal human felicity throughout human society, and considers the attainment of independence, freedom, and rule of justice and truth to be the right of all people of the world. Accordingly, while scrupulously refraining from all forms of interference in the internal affairs of other nations, it supports the just struggles of the *mustad'afun* [oppressed] against the *mustakbirun* [oppressors] in every corner of the globe.

Although the wording of the constitution claims Iran will not interfere, it can easily be argued that Iran has intervened in the internal affairs of other countries in many instances as apparent in (1) military support of Shi'a Hezbollah in Lebanon and Sunni Hamas in Gaza, (2) the deployment of troops to fight against the Sunni Islamic State in Iraq, (3) the supply of weapons and training of the Shi'a Houthi rebels in Yemen, (4) increased investments in neighboring Afghanistan, (5) regional popularity for condemning the actions of Israel and denying Israel's legitimacy as a state, as well as (6) long and continued support of the Alevite Bashar al-Assad of Syria (Alevism is a branch of Twelver Shi'a Islam) (Kates, 2015). Aside from Khamenei's regional military support, he has used funds from the Imam Reza Shrine and the Foundation for the Oppressed and Disabled to advance his domestic as well as his foreign agenda by creating Islamic banks and political, social, economic and cultural centers domestically and in the region (Khalaji, 2012: 13-4). These are all efforts to strengthen sympathetic groups in the region; a very pragmatic attempt to increase Iran's regional influence.

Likewise, frequent references by Khamenei to an Islamic Awakening—a common theme in his discourse—seem to suggest a foreign policy approach which is ideologically motivated. Khamenei has built on Khomeini's previous discourse calling

for unity in the world of Islam, by coining the term ‘Islamic Awakening,’ which is described as an Islamic revival sweeping the world, pitting Islamic-majority nations against the ‘oppressive’ and ‘arrogant’ regimes of the West. Khamenei asserts that this movement began with the 1979 Revolution in Iran and spread to other nations; he advocates fostering this revival by means of a stronger Islamic unity (Khamenei, 2015: *Islamic Awakening*). Some, such as Gholizadeh’s and Hook (2011: 174) argue that Khomeini used the Shi’a Karbala narrative to evoke an emotional response igniting revolutionary fervor and reinforcing the idea of a “dangerous foreign other.” Mirbaghari (2004: 562) agrees with the pervasiveness of ideology, stating that political Shi’ism in Iran recognizes God as the source of law and government, jurisprudence as the means of government, and ideology determines its foreign policy agenda.

Limba (2010: 185-192) takes a different approach, claiming that Ayatollah Khomeini used ‘thin’ and ‘thick’ Islamic terminology with which he “castigates the West’s claim to meta-narrative and pretension to universality.” Though Limba does not explicitly address the pragmatism/ideology debate, his analysis of Khomeini’s methods suggests a pragmatic approach in making what he perceives a necessary break from Western interference and discourse. A clear example of Limba’s argument can be found in Khomeini’s final will and testament (Khomeini, 1989):

Foreign customs and ways, no matter how trite, hackneyed or redundant, were promoted and propagated and imposed on nations through actions, words and eulogies. For example, if books contain a number of foreign words and terms

they are accepted right away with wonder and awe regardless of their meaning. The writer of such a book is deemed erudite and broad-minded. Whatever is tinted with Western or Eastern [Soviet Union] terminology is good, noteworthy and a mark of progress and civilization. If elaborated in native terms, it is regarded as decadent. ...Our children whose names smack of foreign Western roots are honored as progressive. If they carry traditional names, then they are looked upon as retarded. Streets, alleys, firms, drugstores, libraries, textile materials, and other commodities, if manufactured locally, should have foreign names so that people may be pleased with them and receive them well.

Hossainzadeh (2014: 143) more explicitly promotes the idea of Khomeini as a pragmatic leader who is not purely ideologically motivated, even though according to Khomeini's book *Islamic Government* he believed that instructions for conducting foreign relations and war (as well as internal affairs) are specifically outlined in Islamic ideology. She cites, for example, his recognition of the "malleability" of Islamic law, pragmatically leaving open the option to shape laws as needed (Hossainzadeh, 2014: 139). Khalaji (2012: 5-6) similarly refers to the very controversial decision of Khomeini—and continued to be practiced by Khamenei—to bypass sharia law when it was not 'expedient' or did not fit what he believed to be best for the preservation of the revolution or the Islamic Republic. Before his fall from favor, Ayatollah Montazeri was especially adept at exercising *ijtihad* (interpretation of Islamic law) to fit the goals of the state, adding legitimacy in instances when sharia law seemed to be broken.

Ramazani (2004: 7) claims pragmatism has always been present alongside ideology in Iran, and increasingly so in the years leading up to his article. As in the mentioned cases of Iran's regional interference, a common example of ideology in Iran's

foreign policy is the notion of exporting the Islamic revolution, as Khomeini claimed Islam is “not peculiar to a country...or even the Muslims... [but rather] wishes to bring all of humanity under the umbrella of its justice” (Ramazani, 2004: 7-8). This universalist ideal was evident in his appeal to the Soviet Union’s Mikhail Gorbachev to replace Communist ideology with Islam, and in the call for Arab Gulf countries to follow the example of Iran and “cut their ‘subservient ties’ with the superpowers.” Ramazani (2004: 7-8) further asserts that, in spite of these apparent ideological motivations, Iran’s policymakers do not typically reject pragmatic approaches in their foreign policies, as evidenced by the secret weapons deal Iran made in the infamous Iran-Contra affair/Irangate of 1985 with the ‘Great Satan’ and ‘Lesser Satan,’ the United States and Israel respectively. A covert trip was made by U.S. national security advisor Robert McFarlane to arrange the deal, and was soon exposed by Mehdi Hashemi—a loyal supporter of Ayatollah Montazeri, who criticized any attempt to negotiate with the United States (Khalaji, 2012: 7). In spite of futile attempts by both the United States and Iran to conceal the weapons agreement, it serves as an example of Khomeini’s government putting pragmatism before ideology to survive the Iran-Iraq war.

Milani (2013: 42) argues that Khomeini’s platform before the revolution was also highly astute in its pre-1979 revolutionary promises of freedom and independence. Milani cites Khomeini’s promises not to force women to wear veils as an exam-

ple—a promise which was rapidly rescinded after the formation of the Islamic Republic. Furthermore, Milani (2013: 42) contends that pre-1979 Khomeini promised a government that would be “something very close to liberal democracy.” This willingness to appeal to his ‘constituency’ and not follow through with his promises further supports the conclusions of the study, which is that the Supreme Leaders utilize a pragmatic decision-making style. Khalaji (2012: 2-15) also claims that from the beginning, both Khamenei and Rafsanjani had attempted to “end Iran’s isolation” from the rest of the world. Khalaji argues that Khamenei came to power as a weak Supreme Leader and it was only for this reason that he became so anti-American as a way to gain support among the leftists. This anti-American rhetoric has, for pragmatic reasons, become an enduring trend among all of Iran’s most successful politicians.

Undeniably, ideology has been used domestically and regionally by both leaders as a tool to gain support for their leadership. It is expected that this pragmatism and willingness to alternate between strategies will be evident in the operational code of both Ayatollah Khomeini and Ayatollah Khamenei. In sum, though the presence of ideology in Iran’s foreign policy may be readily observed, this does not preclude pragmatism. Indeed, in the case of Supreme Leaders Khomeini and Khamenei, these two approaches to decision making are used to mutually reinforce each other.

5.2 Iran's Foreign Policy Agenda

This study finds that one of the most significant elements of Iran's foreign policy is increased regional influence. This is partially promoted by the leadership as a need to spread the Islamic Revolution of Iran in 1979. This is achieved through terminology relating to the mentioned 'Islamic Awakening.' There is an enduring tradition in the Islamic Republic of various leaders providing contradictory statements in response to international issues and generally in the statements made by various officials regarding Iran's foreign policy agenda. It is unclear if this is a tactic to baffle the international community, or if it is simply a way of gauging foreign reactions to the various statements before taking an official stance. If the former, Iran's strategy is quite effective indeed. An example of different representations of Iran's foreign policy goals is apparent in the stern and strident way both of the Supreme Leaders have discussed foreign policy and the way various presidents and foreign ministers have strived to soften the message for international consumption. To demonstrate this, a brief summary is provided here of Iran's foreign policy, as couched in amiable terms by Foreign Minister Zarif.

5.2.1 Iran's Foreign Policy as Presented by Foreign Minister Zarif

In an article submitted to the *Foreign Affairs* journal in the United States, Iran's foreign minister, Mohammad Javad Zarif (2014), summarizes Iran's foreign policy agenda under President Rouhani. After he was elected in 2013, Rouhani appointed

Zarif as Iran's Foreign Minister. The prominent agenda of Zarif's article is to convince the world of Iran's importance as a regional power in the Middle East, which he argues necessitates cooperation with Iran to combat the instability and lack of peace in the region. Zarif posits that the volatility in the region has been created primarily by Zionists and extremists acting on the basis of 'Iranophobia' and 'Shi'ite-phobia,' as promoted along with 'Islamophobia' by interfering outsiders in a "well-orchestrated" effort to reduce Iran's influence in the region (Zarif, 2014).

Zarif (2014) sets the stage for his conciliatory approach to international relations by mentioning that the global system has changed significantly concerning the way nations conduct foreign policy, which he says has been made necessary by globalization. In stark contrast to discussions of foreign policy by Ayatollah Khamenei, Zarif avoids any mention of religion or an ideological approach to foreign policy. The current foreign policy of Iran according to Zarif (2014) is to:

Enhance its regional and global stature; to promote its ideals, including Islamic democracy; to expand its bilateral and multilateral relations, particularly with neighboring Muslim-majority countries and nonaligned states; to reduce tensions and manage disagreements with other states; to foster peace and security at both the regional and the international levels through positive engagement; and to promote international understanding through dialogue and cultural interaction.

Foreign Minister Zarif further claims that despite post-Cold War efforts by some in the West to vilify the Islamic world, the new global order has meant a shift toward 'mutual interdependence,' 'multilateralism,' and generally 'willful cooperation,'

which he argues has mostly replaced efforts to dominate and has made zero-sum games disadvantageous. He qualifies this argument by adding that “some actors still cling to their old habits and habitually pursue their own interests at the expense of others,” giving the United States’ “preponderance of military power” as an example.

A glaring omission in Zarif’s (2014) article is any mention of the Supreme Leader or his role in initiating or preventing any of these foreign policy goals. Zarif knows the West generally believes the Supreme Leader to be fundamentally hostile to the West, especially the UK, the US and Israel. President Carter formally severed diplomatic ties with Iran in April of 1980 after the taking of US hostages, which Khomeini had called a “good omen” (Hiro, 1987: 159). Since one of Zarif’s purported goals is to restore relations with the West, using the Leader’s name did not serve his article’s purpose, which clearly targeted a foreign audience. Zarif concludes his 2014 article by extending a conciliatory hand to the West, on condition that Iran is treated with mutual respect and consideration, stating:

Iran will prudently manage its relations with the United States by containing existing disagreements and preventing further tensions from emerging unnecessarily, thereby gradually easing tensions. Iran will also engage with European countries and other Western states with the goal of reinvigorating and further expanding relations.

As mentioned, this is in sharp contrast to the often hostile discourse of the Supreme Leaders who have openly and often named the United States, the United Kingdom and Israel as enemies that cannot be trusted (Khamenei, 2015; Algar, 1981).

Alfoneh and Gerecht (2014) provide further support for the argument of this research by claiming that Iran presents a variety of messages, greatly confusing leaders of other nations. In order to debunk portrayals of Foreign Minister Zarif as a moderate politician, the authors quote Zarif in a revealing interview, taken from his 2013 biography *Mr. Ambassador: A Conversation with Mohammad-Javad Zarif, Iran's Former Ambassador to the United Nations*. In this interview, Zarif declares a very different foreign policy than that of his 2014 article written for Western consumption, stating (Alfoneh and Gerecht, 2014: 42):

We have a fundamental problem with the West and especially with America. This is because we are claimants of a mission, which has a global dimension. It has nothing to do with the level of our strength, and is related to the source of our *raison d'être*. How come Malaysia [an overwhelmingly Muslim country] doesn't have similar problems? Because Malaysia is not trying to change the international order...I believe we do not exist without our revolutionary goals.

This sort of inconsistency results in the United States and other Western powers being truly baffled by the conflicting messages emerging from Iran and consequently have difficulty choosing a strategy.

5.2.2 Exporting the Revolution and Iran as a Regional Power

Exporting the 1979 Revolution has been one of Iran's most enduring foreign policy strategies since the formation of the Islamic Republic. Furthermore, presenting Iran as a regional power or a potential regional power, as Zarif (2014) did, is not new. Some

scholars, such as Kayhan Barzegar (2009: 174), have even claimed that it is in the interest of the West to allow Iran to flourish as a regional power, “seek cooperation with Iran and eventually help to integrate Iran into the regional political-security architecture,” as he claims Iran’s regional goals are often aligned with the United States.

Barzegar (2009: 174) specifically claims that the United States and Iran have a mutual interest in a peaceful Middle East, but claims that the United States will be unable to achieve this without Iran’s cooperation. Meanwhile, many in the United States have made no secret of being highly wary of Iran as a regional power, especially if Iran seeks a nuclear weapon (McKelvey, 2015), making it unlikely that the United States will act deliberately to position Iran as a regional power anytime in the near future. Regardless of US wishes, both Ayatollah Khomeini and Khamenei have made efforts to expand Iran’s regional influence. Both leaders have repeatedly called for Islamic unity and a joint effort to repel the ‘Zionist’ forces, as mentioned previously. With this goal in mind, Iran arranges conferences with religious and political leaders of Muslim-majority countries each year (Hiro, 1987: 249). Much of this regional foreign policy goal is tied to the notion of ‘Islamic Awakening.’

As mentioned, one of the most prominent methods used by Iran to export the revolution is the Quds Force of the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC), which has a presence in Iraq, Yemen, Syria, Lebanon and Gaza. Supporting the findings of this research that Iran is seeking to expand its regional influence, Arjomand (2009:

204) argues that the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC) is a *de facto* exporter of the Iranian Revolutionary ideology, with the mentioned fifth columns created in other countries, shortly after the 1979 success of the Revolution, serving as bases for the spread of revolutionary ideology. Fifth column is defined as, “a group of secret sympathizers or supporters of an enemy that engage in espionage or sabotage within defense lines or national borders” (Merriam Webster, 2015). An example of these fifth columns are those created in June 1982 by sending IRGC troops to Lebanon to fight with Israel. In 1980, the Islamic Republic had also opened training camps for Shi’a and Sunni young men from Arab Gulf states, North Africa and non-Middle Eastern countries, such as the Philippines. These troops were given military training and were indoctrinated with the teaching of Khomeini. Wright (1989: 108-11) argues, that the purpose of the training camps and the deployment of troops was not so much to reclaim the Palestinian homeland as it was to provide the pretext to “penetrate the Arab world.”

The Quds Force mostly interacts with predominantly Shi’a populations, such as those in Iraq, Lebanon, Syria and Yemen. It has been rumored as early as 1982 that the IRGC has been involved in Hezbollah activity in Lebanon, with some estimating that Iran’s financing of Lebanon’s Hezbollah forces is as high as \$100 million annually (Frontline, 2002; Arjomand, 2009: 193). In recent years, much of the focus of the IRGC and Iran’s foreign policy, has been on the Syrian Civil War, in which it has sided with Bashar al Assad in his fight against the rebels (Manfreda, 2015). In response

to the Islamic State, Iran has now openly increased its presence in Iraq, Syria and Yemen as well by deploying troops called the “Liberation Army” and is purportedly recruiting Afghan Shi’as to fight in Syria (Al Jazeera, 2015 & 2016b). Another recent example of support to Shi’a fifth column elements is to the Houthi rebels in Yemen, where Iran has been accused of supplying weapons and generally assisting the Houthis in their rebellion. Foreign Minister Zarif dismisses these accusations as efforts to derail nuclear negotiations, but the media continues to mention Iranian collusion in the rebellion (Pande and Seldin, 2015). In addition to its support of Shi’a leaders and organizations, it has long been rumored that Iran’s elite Quds Force of the IRGC is actively involved in assisting the Sunni Palestinian Hamas in training forces and supplying weapons (Mazzetti, 2008). Notably, *Niru-ye Ghods* (usually labeled Quds Force in English) literally translates to ‘Jerusalem Force.’ Ayatollah Khamenei and Ayatollah Khomeini have often iterated their openly hostile feelings toward Israel over the last few decades. These feelings are briefly summarized in this excerpt of a 2009 speech by Khamenei (2015: *2009 Supreme Leader’s Inaugural Address to the Fourth International Conference for Support of Palestine*):

By now, those who advocated a "pragmatic" approach under the illusion of the invincibility of the Zionist regime, those who succumbed to surrender and compromise with the usurpers, should have realized their mistake, as well as those who entertained hopes of peaceful coexistence with the Zionists, wrongly believing the second and third generation of Zionist politicians to be free from the criminal impulses of the first.

Combining Ayatollah Khamenei's praise of Palestinian successes in fighting Israel in the same speech, his string of tweets in November of 2014 calling Israel "barbaric, wolflike and infanticidal," and outlining nine reasons and methods for the "elimination of Israel," it is not difficult to imagine that the Supreme Leader would put his stamp of approval on efforts to destroy Israel if it were feasible (Politi, 2014). This rhetoric has remained consistent with speeches by Ayatollah Khomeini and is partially an attempt to find a cause that all Muslims of the world can unite around.

Khamenei continues to reference the Zionists as a chief problem in the region, saying on July 18, 2015 (two days before the nuclear agreement between Iran and P5+1), that Zionism has been used as a tool of the "arrogant" powers, namely the United States to wreak havoc on the Middle East (Khamenei, 2015: *Meeting with Government Officials and Ambassadors of Islamic Countries*):

They have planted the Zionist regime in the region so that they can create discord and busy regional countries with themselves... During the 10 years when the Zionist regime increased its materialistic power on a daily basis with the assistance and support of England and later on America, some weak governments and vicious individuals in Muslim governments were drawn to the Zionists. Many Muslim governments and some politicians in the world of Islam—including the former sinister regime in our country and some others—established close relations with the Zionists. This was while the Zionists were usurpers, transgressors and murderers... These criminal organizations—including al-Qaida, DAESH [ISIS] and the like—were created with the purpose of pitting us against one another and making nations confront each other. This is the transgressing and treacherous hand of the enemy... What is better than this for the Zionist regime? We should awaken and understand what is happening in the region.

In the same speech, Khamenei goes on to blame the “arrogant powers” for Iran’s need to be involved in Iraq. He makes the same claim regarding Syria, which he says is being torn apart because of resistance to the “child-killing, oppressive and criminal Zionist regime.” Khamenei further praises the Lebanese Resistance and the Hezbollah of Lebanon for its unwavering resistance against Zionist occupation and the “arrogance—headed by America” (Khamenei, 2015). Khamenei claims, “We have no personal interest in Syria or Iraq, rather we are thinking about the world of Islam and the Islamic Ummah.” He says that it is in fact the United States who trains and funds terrorism through support of the Zionists and the above terror organizations (Khamenei, 2015).

5.2.3 Islamic Awakening

As is common in the rhetoric and operational codes of many Islamist leaders Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini and Ayatollah Ali Hosseini Khamenei are known for focusing on the domination and oppression of the East at the hands of the West. Comparing Khomeini and Khamenei with Özdamar’s (2011) operational code analysis of other Islamist leaders (Libya’s former leader Muammar Gaddafi and Turkey’s former Prime Minister Necmettin Erbakan), Khomeini and Khamenei have also viewed the Middle East and Muslim countries as victims of Western domination and in many cases colonialism, particularly at the hands of the United States and other Western powers. Ayatollah Khomeini has a long history of mentioning Western transgressions, interference and

oppressive policies, and from the beginning made statements, such as “Establishing the Islamic state world-wide belong to the great goals of the revolution” (Schirazi, 1998: 69) and in Hiro (1991: 32-3):

We will export our revolution to the four corners of the world, because our revolution is Islamic; and the struggle will continue until the cry of “There’s no god but Allah, and Muhammad is the messenger of Allah” prevails throughout the world.

Following the ideology of Khomeini, it seems to be Khamenei who has coined the phrase ‘Islamic Awakening.’ Furthermore, through constant repetition he has crystallized this concept into a dominant portion of Iran’s foreign policy. That is to say, over the years Khamenei has begun to use it synonymously with exporting the revolution and expanding regional influence. Though Khamenei often calls for a united Islamic front, Shi’a and Sunni communities should not be mistaken as monolithic; the Islamic Republic explicitly favors Shi’a Islam over Sunni (Nasr, 2007: 24). Khamenei’s feelings on the subject may readily be observed in a speech to the Assembly of Experts on September 10, 2003; the translation is provided by *The Center for Preserving and Publishing the Works of Grand Ayatollah Sayyid Ali Khamenei* (Khamenei, 2015):

Ever since its establishment, the Islamic Republic has faced big global challenges. The reason was that wealthy and powerful people – who have always pursued their own interests... cannot tolerate the establishment and development of a new power which acts against their illegitimate interests. This power was created in Iran after the victory of the Islamic Revolution and the establishment of the Islamic Republic. It was not the Islamic Republic that was most dangerous to the arrogant powers, rather *it was the spread of Islamic Awaken-*

*ing in the world of Islam which was more important and dangerous to the arrogant powers. This is the kind of danger that still threatens the arrogant powers and provokes their hostility towards the world of Islam – especially the Islamic Republic, which is the pivot of the world of Islam...But the Islamic perspective on the Islamic Ummah [Community of Believers] – as a great entity which had the potential to wake up and start a movement – emerged in Islamic Iran and spread to the entire world.*⁵

Though Khamenei often speaks of a need for unity among Islamic nations, speeches such as this are more likely to rankle other Muslim-majority nations, or at least Sunni nations. By identifying the Islamic Awakening as beginning in Iran, and even more controversially naming the Islamic Republic of Iran as the “pivot of the world of Islam,” Khamenei is likely to alienate Sunni-majority countries. On the other hand, as mentioned in Chapter 5, Khamenei’s foreign policy approach in Shi’a-majority countries has arguably been quite successful. Furthermore, he does find sympathy with a majority of Muslims (and likely many non-Muslims) on certain issues, such as his general enmity toward Israel and American interference.

It is precisely because of his views (that the Muslim countries have been taken advantage of by the West) that he so proactively endorses an Islamic Awakening and at times, unification between Muslim states. It is necessary for him to make clear to the Iranian people and other Muslim-majority countries that he will not cower under Western pressure, no matter how intense (i.e. economic sanctions) (Molavi and

⁵ The use of italics is my own.

Ehteshami, 2012). Part of the image of strength which he wants to project is accomplished through his frequent denunciation of the Israeli regime. Khamenei further levels condemning accusations against Muslim-majority leaders who have not acted harshly enough against what he believes to be an imposter regime—Israel (Khamenei, 2015: *The Supreme Leader's View of Palestine*). He is not different from his predecessor in this regard (Khomeini, 1964). However, Khamenei developed these ideas into the ideology of an Islamic Awakening that he says will continue spreading throughout the Muslim world; his speeches on this topic span decades and continue today. What Khamenei has termed an Awakening has been recognized globally as an Islamic Revival beginning in the early 20th century (Yazbeck Haddad, 1991: 24), and the Iranian Revolution of 1979 did indeed play a large role in furthering this revival, along with other events, such as the Arab Oil Embargoes.

There has long been bitterness in Iran about Western interference, which became even more prevalent in the 19th, but especially in the 20th century after the British discovery, and subsequent monopolization, of oil in Iran (Kinzer, 2003: 47-48). The battle to nationalize the oil came to a head with the coup mentioned in Chapter 3 that overthrew Mossadegh and ultimately contributed to the 1979 Revolution. Ayatollah Khamenei's feelings on the foreign colonization of Muslim peoples—whom he says received the heaviest brunt of expansionism—can be seen in this excerpt from his *Hajj Speech* in 2003 (Khamenei, 2015):

Islamic countries have suffered irreparable loss during the past one hundred years. The wave of expansionism and colonialism by foreigners imposed the worst loss on Muslim nations. Muslim nations' sources of wealth have made them a target for an all-out attack by colonial governments. After the passage of many years, Muslim nations awakened. The wave of awakening among Muslims and the flags of liberation throughout the world of Islam created promising prospects for Muslim people. Finally the victory of Islam in Iran and the establishment of the Islamic Republic introduced the beginning of a new era for the world of Islam.

According to the official webpage preserving the speeches and writings of Khamenei (Khamenei, 2015), the concept of Islamic Awakening, which is clearly quite dear to the leader's heart may be separated into four major portions.

The Islamic System: Guidance for Humanity

Khamenei believes the Islamic Awakening is a great asset for all Muslims through creation of a pious Islamic world, which he says will exist in contrast and opposition to the corrupted West. He blames any Muslim nation or "Arab traitors" that do not support the "freedom fighters of Gaza" in the spread of the Islamic Awakening. Finding them culpable for not standing against the Zionists, he adds that the destiny of those Muslims "will not be better than that of the Jews of the Battle of the Trench [627AD battle in which the prophet Muhammad and his followers defeated allied opposition, including Medinian Jews]" (Khamenei, 2015: *2009 Message to Ismail Haniya*). Much of what Khamenei is promoting here is the unity of Muslim nations, and he particularly goes back to the issue of Gaza over and over again. By focusing on the issue of Palestine and siding with fighters in Gaza and the West Bank, Khamenei

is likely to garner a measure of acceptance among Muslims worldwide who tend to sympathize with the plight of Palestinian Arabs. By zeroing in on an issue that most Muslims tend to agree on, he attempts to gain influence in the region, though the practice of sending weapons and the IRGC troops (Chapter 3) to support Muslim (esp. Shi'a fighters), likely proves more effective in certain situations. Iran's regional support of Shi'a Muslims, particularly in Lebanon, could have the potential to alter the regional power structure (Nasr, 2007: 268-72).

Dialogue on the "Meaning and Importance of Islamic Awakening"

In order for the movement to gain further ground, it is necessary for Khamenei to clearly identify the need for the Awakening, as well as the meaning behind it. Khamenei identifies the significance of the Islamic Awakening for Muslim nations in this way (Khamenei, 2015: *2004 Meeting with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs*):

Today, after centuries of decline, stagnation and humiliation, Muslim nations from the four corners of the world of Islam have developed a tendency towards awakening and a divine uprising. And the aroma of freedom, independence and return to Islam and the Holy Quran has filled the general atmosphere in many Islamic countries. Therefore, today Muslims need to strengthen their bond with their brilliant past, with the era of divine uprisings and the Islamic battle of the early years of Islam. Islamic memories are like a cure for any wise Muslim living in Islamic territories, a cure which saves Muslims from weakness, humiliation, despair and pessimism. Islamic memories show the way to achieving the goals of Islam, the kind of goals which wise people have always strived for in their lifetime.

Prevalent in the literature pertaining to Iran is the idea that Iranians have a penchant for perceiving themselves as victims and for glorifying the victim status ever since the 680 AD battle of Karbala where the grandson of Mohammad was slain (Utgoff, 2000: 91-94; Gholizadeh and Hook, 2012: 179; Szanto, 2012: 290). Of course, the extent to which Iranians glorify victimization is highly debatable, but it is clearly visible in the speeches of Khomeini and Khamenei when referencing the West and Western oppression, and this is particularly true when Khamenei is promoting the Islamic Awakening.

Threats to the Islamic Awakening

Khamenei lists at least three major threats to the Islamic Awakening. First, he says that the western world is strongly opposed to the Awakening and has used propaganda to turn people against Islam, both in Islamic and non-Islamic countries. He talks of a grand-scale plan on the part of the West, and especially America, to achieve that goal, and claims both military and economic measures have been employed to do so (Khamenei, 2015: *2005 Meeting with Gov't Officials*). In the same 2005 meeting, Khamenei goes on to say that unity among Muslim nations is the only way to protect the Islamic Awakening from the “greed of America and other powers.” Second, he says that the heritage of colonialism and the humiliating efforts of “bullying governments” to keep Islamic countries backward is being overcome with the renewed dignity which comes with the Islamic Awakening and warned that the enemies of the

Awakening will seek to create discord among Muslims, both for ethnic and denominational reasons, and that Muslims must resist (Khamenei, 2015: *1991 Meeting with Foreign Participants at a Ceremony Commemorating Ayatollah Khomeini*). Third, in 1990 on the Iranian National Day of Fighting Global Arrogance, which celebrates the taking of the US embassy in 1979, Khamenei accuses most politicians of Islamic countries of lacking the self-confidence to follow the example of the Islamic Republic and instead taking a stance against the Islamic Republic acting in direct contradiction to the Qur'an by siding with nonbelievers [4: 139] (Khamenei, 2015).

Duties of Muslim Nations toward the Islamic Awakening

Lastly, Khamenei appeals to Muslims saying they, "...should become unified and overcome their geographic, local, linguistic and racial differences, and...move towards the great Islamic goals" (Khamenei, 2015: *1989 Commemoration of Imam Khomeini*). To emphasize, he again calls attention to the aggressions of the Western world, which he says was made possible through the rise of corrupt and autocratic governments in Islamic countries (Khamenei, 2015: *1991 Hajj Message*):

And the aggressive norms of western culture and the promotion of all the concepts that were deemed necessary for political and economic domination of colonial powers started flowing like a flood. As a result, within 200 years all Islamic countries became an easy target for western plunderers. They did everything ranging from direct government to appropriating Muslim nations' natural resources, changing their orthography or language, insulting what is held sacred by Muslims and even complete occupation of an Islamic country like Palestine. And they deprived Muslims of the blessings of political, economic and cultural independence – including scientific and cultural growth.

As seen in the previous chapter, Khamenei regularly addresses ambassadors from Muslim-majority countries and appeals to them, on the basis of Islamic brotherhood, to unite against the Zionists, Zionist regime and the regional interference of the United States and the ‘arrogant’ powers. In sum, Khamenei’s conception of the Islamic Awakening, is that it has been, and continues to be, a necessary response to the excesses and aggression of western countries. Khamenei argues that this has necessitated a spiritual revival which would be capable of bringing a renewed sense of dignity to Muslims and Muslim-majority nations. Khamenei further claims that the uniting of Islamic countries would allow them to reclaim their place as a united force to be reckoned with, rather than a continuation of the status quo—Western hegemony and ‘arrogance.’ This concept of Islamic Awakening has become an important element for Khamenei as he justifies his foreign policy approach in the region and especially concerning Palestine, Lebanon and other countries with large Shi’a populations.

5.3 Conclusion

In sum, though Iran’s Constitution contains checks on the Leader’s power, and although the IRGC could threaten the position of a future Leader, Khamenei currently holds more power over foreign policy than any other individual, organization or position in Iran. Second, although ideology is readily apparent in the speech and actions of both Khomeini and Khamenei, both leaders have demonstrated their pre and post-

revolutionary readiness to utilize pragmatic methods to achieve their goals. Finally, the primary foreign policy agenda of Ayatollahs Khomeini and Khamenei has been centred on exporting the Islamic Revolution and ridding the Middle East of what it calls the usurper regime—Israel. Both of these goals are related to Iran’s broader and immediate plan of expanding its regional power and influence. Naturally, the foreign policy of a country could never be summarized so succinctly; these aspects of Iran’s foreign policy were focused on with the intention of identifying the most critical foreign policy goals today and to demonstrate the pragmatic foreign policy decision making style of the two leaders.

CHAPTER 6: METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH DESIGN

This thesis was designed with the intention of determining the political belief system of Iran's Supreme Leaders in Iran's foreign policy decision making. The thesis is grounded on the assumption that a leader has paramount import in foreign policy decisions and further that these beliefs often perform as causal mechanisms for a leader's actions in foreign policy making (Walker, 1983 as cited in Walker, 2000):

...the operational code beliefs of political leaders are not merely diagnostic aids for processing information from the social environment. They also include internalized prescriptions that act as causal mechanisms of political action by virtue of their normative power to express such motivations as the needs for power, affiliation, and achievement.

Operational code analysis will be utilized to quantitatively test the validity of those assumptions by answering three key research questions.

This chapter will expound on the research design by clarifying the methodological approach to studying Iran's leaders. The first section will present the research puzzle and questions. Second, Profiler Plus and VICS—the research tools of the study—will be explained in greater detail. Third, the hypotheses to be tested will be outlined. Then, the criteria and reasoning for the selected data will be discussed. The next section will indicate the author's rationale in choosing this particular case study. In addition to identifying the Supreme Leaders' operational codes, comparisons will

be drawn with the operational code of the average world leader as well as different time periods (Malici and Malici, 2005).

6.1 Research Questions

Operational code analysis has been chosen for this study of Ayatollahs Khomeini and Khamenei in order to explore the impact of the Supreme Leaders' political belief system on Iran's foreign policy decisions. As mentioned, the overarching research question of this thesis is: To what extent and how has the belief system (operational code) of the Supreme Leadership of Iran informed the Islamic Republic's foreign policy? Another point of contention is whether there is an explicit causal linkage between the religion of the two Supreme Leaders and the nation's foreign policy—as one might assume of a theocracy. In order to answer this, there are three major research questions that I will seek to answer by identifying the leaders' operational codes:

1. Do the political belief systems of Supreme Leader Khomeini and Supreme Leader Khamenei differ greatly from the average world leader?
2. Did the operational code of Ayatollah Khomeini and Ayatollah Khamenei see a change over the course of their leadership as they encountered new scenarios?
3. To what extent has Ayatollah Khamenei's belief system affected policies pertaining to Iran's nuclear program?

6.2 Methodology and Research Design

The first method employed in this study is the use of psychobiographies for Khomeini and Khamenei which focus on the leaders' personal and political backgrounds as these enable an empathetic and qualitative assessment of the leaders with which to draw comparisons with their operational code results (Malici and Buckner, 2008). The second method utilized for this research is the quantitative operational code analysis. This study makes no claim that individual leaders' belief systems—in this case the Supreme Leaders—serve as a causal linkage for all foreign policy decisions. Furthermore, leaders are limited by other actors in the political environment and systemic factors acting to constrain human agency. Nevertheless, Iran's political system and constitution, combined with the careful accumulation of power accrued over the last few decades (especially by Khamenei, as outlined in Chapter 5) support the notion that Iran's Supreme Leader has an immense capacity to influence Iran's foreign policy. Through operational code analysis, by identifying how much control the leaders believe they have and whether they tend to prefer conflictual or cooperative strategies to achieve their goals, I will be able to make predictions about the future of Iran's nuclear program (Chapter 9).

As discussed in Chapter 2, although the nation-state is the general level of analysis in International Relations and the focus is on outcomes, FPA approaches—such as operational code analysis—give greater significance to the agency of individual

leaders and the foreign policy decision making process (Hudson, 2005: 6). As stated in the seminal *Decision Making as an Approach to the Study of International Politics* (Snyder et al., 1954 as cited in Hudson, 2005: 6):

We adhere to the nation-state as the fundamental level of analysis, yet we have discarded the state as a metaphysical abstraction. By emphasizing decision-making as a central focus we have provided a way of organizing the determinants of action round those officials who act for the political society.

It is especially important to focus on individual decision makers when they have access to immense power and virtually no true checks to their decisions, as is enjoyed by Iran's current leader Ayatollah Ali Khamenei.

6.2.1 Research Tools: VICS and Profiler Plus

A more comprehensive review of the Verbs in Context System (VICS) and Profiler Plus is provided in the Literature Review. Still, it is useful to provide a reminder of how these tools are utilized to identify the political belief systems of Ayatollah Khomeini and Ayatollah Khamenei, and understanding their foreign policy decision making style. Put simply, "the Verbs in Context System of content analysis was developed as part of a bottom up strategy to identify a leader's operational code beliefs and make contingent forecasts of his/her likely strategies, tactics, and moves" (Walker, 2000: 9). VICS allows researchers to codify the transitive verbs used by leaders in order to answer the ten questions created by Alexander George (1969, 201-216) through which we are able to piece together the leader's political belief system or operational code.

Two of the more important questions answered with VICS are (P-1) how leaders perceive the nature of the political universe (hostile or friendly) and (I-1) what the leader believes is the best direction of strategy for achieving his/her goals (cooperation or conflict) (Social Sciences Automation, 2005).

In order to streamline the VICS process created by Walker, Schafer and Young (1998), a software called Profiler Plus was developed by Michael Young (Social Sciences Automation 2009). The four types of coding which this software is capable of conducting include: “tag and retrieve, frequency analysis, concept coding and information extraction” (Hudson, 2007: 62-3). Tag and retrieve coding involves identifying key words in their context. Frequency analysis ascertains the number of times a word is used to weigh its significance in the text (Hudson, 2007: 63). VICS hones in on ‘feeling’ words for frequency analysis. For example, the system is able to detect insincerity, self-preoccupation, aloofness, words of aggression, etc. (Social Sciences Automation, 2005).

In order to predict patterns of leadership, Profiler Plus identifies the leader’s core beliefs by assigning “positive and negative valences to verbs relating to their level of threat or promise” (Social Sciences Automation, 2005):

- 3: “abduct”
- 2: “will not apologize”
- 1: “should intercept”
- 0: “not affirm”

- 1: “favor”
- 2: “will not exclude”
- 3: “advance peace”

The use of image theory created by Martha Cottam (1985; 1992) enables VICS to identify larger themes in a speaker’s references to other nations, such as Supreme Leader Khamenei’s belief that the United States is ultimately “degenerate” (Hudson, 2007: 63). In other words, image theory allows the software to gauge the level of stereotyping a leader does about the capabilities of others and tells us whether the leader believes other nations to be stronger, equal to or weaker than his/her own (Social Sciences Automation, 2005). Although hand coding is a viable option for operational code analysis, automated coding is more reliable because its rule set is more rigorous and allows for a higher level of complexity and accuracy than human coding (Social Sciences Automation, 2005).

The VICS dictionary exclusively identifies key transitive verbs that represent conflict and cooperation according to the WEIS taxonomy⁶ developed by Charles McClelland (Feng, 2005: 650). VICS puts the event data into cooperation (+) or conflict (-) categories. Next, the transitive verbs are placed into one of six categories with positive or negative sanctions: positive→ appeal/support (+1), promise (+2), reward

⁶ Used to code events during political crises.

(+3), or into negative sanctions → oppose/resist (-1), threaten (-2) and punish (-3) (Feng, 2005: 650). See Chapter 2 for more on the functions of VICS and Profiler Plus.⁷

6.2.2 Temporal and Spatial Domains

The spatial domain of this thesis is the Islamic Republic of Iran, and the temporal domain represents two separate time frames for Ayatollah Khomeini and Ayatollah Khamenei. This is mainly due to Khomeini passing away in 1989 and Khamenei not publishing any readily available material or giving any published speeches prior to becoming Iran's president. In contrast, Ayatollah Khomeini began writing and speaking politically as early as the 1940s. For this reason, the primary temporal domain to be coded using Profiler Plus is as follows: (1) Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini: 1944-1989 and (2) Ayatollah Ali Khamenei: 1987-2015.

While the selected dates for Khomeini reflect some of his earliest political writings and continue until his death, Khamenei's coded speeches extend from his time as president until present day. Obviously, this exhibits a very broad range of speeches for the two leaders, and it is probable that the operational code (i.e. political belief systems) of the two have undergone at least a minor transformation within this period. To test this theory, I have coded not only the speeches together in their entirety, but I have

⁷ I am very grateful to Moynihan Institute fellow Hanneke Derksen who personally provided invaluable assistance in accessing Profiler Plus.

also separated the speeches into crucial time frames, based on pivotal historical events.

The points of separation for the two are as follows:

1. Ayatollah Khomeini: 1944-1979 and 1979-1989

2. Ayatollah Khamenei: 1987-2000 and 2003-2015

The reason for the division of Khomeini's speeches is perhaps obvious. 1979 was a momentous year for Khomeini, in which he altered the course of Iran's history by effectively abolishing the monarchy and creating a new system of governance based on his *velayat-e faqih* or guardianship of jurisprudence (see Chapter 4). It seems improbable that such a monumental success would not alter his beliefs regarding operational code questions such as (P-4) the "control or mastery" he can have over history (George, 1969: 201-216). However, it is not a foregone conclusion that his political belief system would change as his revolutionary success was domestic in nature, while the coded speeches deal exclusively with international politics. Future researchers may also find it interesting to take the end of the Iran-Iraq War as a key turning point for Khomeini, namely when he accepted the ceasefire "though it is more bitter than poison" (Katouzian, 2009: 570). Unfortunately, however, anyone attempting to undertake this task will face the frustration of trying to find pertinent speeches on international politics, as he passed away less than a year later in June of 1989.

For Khamenei, deciding the point of divergence was a little more complicated as there could be a number of turning points that would warrant separate consideration,

such as becoming Supreme Leader, but the paucity of available speeches before 1989 renders this a nearly impossible endeavor. 2003 was chosen as the most logical point of departure because of the events of 9/11/2001 which led to the United States-led invasion of Afghanistan (2001) and Iraq (2003). This became a pivotal moment in global and Middle Eastern history and Khamenei likely had mixed feelings about the invasions.

On the one hand, Iran considered both the Taliban and Saddam's regime to be enemies of Iran, and it is even reported that Iran discreetly worked with the United States to remove the Taliban (Abrahamian, 2008: 192). On the other hand, the United States was purportedly Iran's most reprehensible and unforgivable enemy if speeches (Figures 3 and 4 below) from both Khomeini and Khamenei are any indication. Having a United States' presence to both the East and West (Afghanistan and Iraq respectively) was likely a source of great consternation for Ayatollah Khamenei, who was certainly quite vocal about it in his speeches. I thought it would be interesting to see if there is any adjustment to Khamenei's political beliefs (operational code) in the aftermath of the invasion, in spite of occasional secret cooperation with the United States. A dramatic change in his operational code was not expected.

6.2.3 Variables and Hypotheses

The 'foreign policy decisions' of the Islamic Republic of Iran are taken as the dependent variable of this research (Walker et al., 1998: 177). The independent variables are

the operational codes of Iran's two Supreme Leaders. In other words, the operational codes of both Ayatollah Khomeini and Ayatollah Khamenei may be used to analyze foreign policy decisions made by the Islamic Republic. This is done with the assumption—and for the reasons outlined in Chapter 5—that the Supreme Leaders have an immense amount of influence in Iran's foreign policy decisions. Additionally, Ayatollah Khamenei's operational code will be operationalized to make predictions in Chapter 9 concerning Iran's nuclear program.

Sercan Canbolat's (2014: 82) study had the scholarly aim to shift the "focus of North American operational code analysis towards the study of MENA and political Islam." While Canbolat focused on leaders from Egypt, Tunisia and the Gaza Strip who were all affiliated with the Muslim Brotherhood, my aim is to shed light on the leadership of a Shi'a theocracy—Iran. Though in the same region as Canbolat's study, Iran's regional policies are increasingly alienating it from many MENA nations, while simultaneously ingratiating it with the Shi'a communities in the region. This thesis draws on the three research questions outlined above in order to formulate the following hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1: *The political beliefs of Supreme Leaders Khomeini and Khamenei will reveal some significant differences from the average world leader (i.e. norming group).*

Hypothesis 2: *Supreme Leader Khamenei's foreign policy decisions will be more cooperative than his predecessor (Supreme Leader Khomeini).⁸*

⁸ This question is worded similarly to Schafer and Walker (2006: 576, hypothesis 7).

***Hypothesis 3:** The Supreme Leaders' political belief systems have evolved throughout their tenure as Iran's leaders due to the experience gained in office.*

These hypotheses have been drawn with the knowledge that the circumstances of the two leaders were remarkably different in some respects. The first hypothesis will be tested by drawing comparisons with a norming group as performed by Malici and Buckner (2008). If the second hypothesis holds true, it will indicate that national and systemic factors are not the only considerations in foreign policy decision making. Indeed, if substantiated, even nearly identical cultural or religious factors are not guarantors of a consistent foreign policy strategy and the personality and political beliefs of individual actors must play a significant role.

6.2.4 Data Needs

For this study, a total of fifteen speech acts/writings each have been chosen for Ayatollah Khomeini and Ayatollah Khamenei. Many of the speeches available for Khomeini are pre-revolutionary and therefore are usually focused more on domestic or exclusively religious concerns than international, though often with minor overlap; therefore, a few of the data for Khomeini come from his writings and an interview dealing with foreign policy issues. Because this study is focused on the foreign policy of the two leaders, it is necessary that the selected speeches should be principally fo-

cused on that topic, as the chosen speeches are. Additionally, where the leaders' dialogue veers off the foreign policy route, those portions have been removed, so as not to affect a reading of their operational code relating to foreign policy.

The speeches were given at a variety of venues, such as an address to the UN General Assembly, but the majority of them are public speeches given domestically, and speeches addressing Iranian government officials and leaders of other Muslim majority nations and spanning as large a period as possible to give a true reflection of the leaders. The coded speeches for Khamenei were taken from *The Center for Preserving and Publishing the Works of Grand Ayatollah Sayyid Ali Khamenei*, which has generated a database of Khamenei's speeches, translated them to English and even has the option to view the speeches by subject. The speeches for Ayatollah Khomeini come from (1) Hamid Algar's (1981) translation and compilation of the works of the leader, (2) translations provided on Khomeini's official website, (3) his 1989 final Will and Testament (in which he outlined his wishes for the country's future, and is also found on the previous website) and (4) a portion relating to international politics is coded from Hamid Algar's translation of his 1970 book *Islamic Government*. The speeches all fit the recommended criteria for coding in that they are international in nature, the focus of the speech or writing is political and the words and deeds can be coded as cooperative or conflictual (Walker, 1998: 182). Provided here are the complete list of speeches and writings which were coded for this study:

Figure 3. Speeches and Writings of Ayatollah Khomeini

Source Type / Subject	Date	Title
Speech: Western Influence via the Shah	5-May-44	"Letters to the Clergy of Qom" (Khomeini, 1944)
Speech: Warning about Shah & Western Ways	Jan-63	"Speech to High-ranking Ayatullahs and <i>Ulama</i> of Qum" (Khomeini, 1963)
Speech: Warning against American Troops in Iran	26-Oct-64	"Meetings with the <i>Marjas</i> [sources of spiritual emulation] and Clergy of Qom" (Khomeini, 1964)
Book: Outlining <i>Velayat-e Faqih</i>	1970	<i>Islamic Government: Governance of the Jurist</i> (Khomeini, 1970)
Speech: to Students & Diaspora	Nov-78	"The Imam's Speech to a Group of Students and Iranians Residing Abroad" (Khomeini, 1978)
Interview: with Dr. Algar on the Uprising in Iran	29-Dec-78	"Thirty Million People Have Stood Up" (Algar, 1981)
Speech: The Shah was the U.S.' Lackey	1-Feb-79	"Speech on First Day in Iran after Exile" (Khomeini, 1979a)
Speech: Muslim Nations must Unite (esp. Iran, Lebanon & Palestine)	26-Jul-79	"Adhere to the Power of Unity" (Khomeini, 1979b)
Speech: We Defeated the Shah (owned by the U.S.)	1-Apr-79	"The First Day of God's Government" (Algar, 1981: 265-267)
Speech: Regarding the U.S. Embassy (to university students)	5-Nov-79	"The United States Cannot do a Damn Thing" (Khomeini, 1979c)
Letter: Reply to Message from Pope John Paul II	12-Nov-79	"We Fear neither Military Action nor Economic Sanctions" (Khomeini, 1979d)
Speech: to Christians on Christmas (join against U.S. oppression)	23-Dec-79	"Let the Church Bells Ring for the Deprived and Abased People of the World" (1979e)
Speech: Call for Muslim Unity	12-Sep-80	"Message to the Pilgrims" (Algar, 1981: 300-306)
Letter: to Gorbachev (Consider Islam as a Replacement for Communism)	1-Jan-89	"A Call to Divine Unity: a Letter to President Mikhail Gorbachev, Leader of the Soviet Union." (Khomeini, 1989)
Will: Read by Khamenei	4-Jun-89	"Final Will and Testament" (Khomeini, 1989)

Figure 4. Speeches of Ayatollah Khamenei (all speeches taken from Khamenei, 2015)

Source Type / Subject	Date	Title
Speech: Defense of 1979 Revolution	22-Sep-87	"Speech at UN General Assembly"
Speech: On Imam Mehdi's Birthday Anniversary	13-Mar-90	"Supreme Leader's Address to Government Officials"
Speech: Celebrating the Victory of the Revolution	6-Feb-91	"Supreme Leader's Speech in a Meeting with Foreign Participants of Ten-Day Fajr Ceremonies"
Speech: Relating to Islamic Awakening	23-Apr-96	"Supreme Leader's Hajj Message"
Speech: Islamic Unity & Dangers from the West	9-Dec-97	"Leader's Speech at the 8th Summit of the Organization of Islamic Countries"
Speech: Encouraging Unity Between Islamic Nations	25-Oct-00	"Supreme Leader's Speech in a Meeting with Officials and Ambassadors of Islamic Countries"
Speech: The Arrogant Powers are the Enemy of the Oppressed	14-Oct-03	"Supreme Leader's Speech in Meeting with Students from Zanjan Province"
Speech: To Seminary Students on Abu Qhraib & Western Failures	11-Jun-04	"Supreme Leader's Speech in Meeting with the Clergy of Ayatollah Mujtahidi Seminary"
Speech: History of Colonialism in Muslim Nations	2-May-05	"Supreme Leader's Speech to Families of Martyrs and War Veterans of Kerman Province"
Speech: Western Interference in Iran's Elections / Israeli Failure in Lebanon	13-Aug-06	"Supreme Leader's Speech in Meeting with Members of Assembly of Experts"
Speech: Role of the Islamic <i>Ummah</i> in the World	5-Dec-07	"Supreme Leader's Speech to Judiciary Officials of Islamic Countries"
Speech: Support for and Successes of Lebanon & Palestine	17-Feb-08	"Supreme Leader's Speech to Thousands of People from East Azerbaijan"
Speech: Enemies of the Islamic Republic	11-Sep-09	"Supreme Leader's Friday Prayer Address Ramadhan"
Speech: Islamic Unity & Dangers from the West	27-May-14	"Supreme Leader's Meeting with Government Officials and Ambassadors of Islamic Countries"
Speech: Response to Calls for a Regime or Behavior Change	16-Mar-15	"Meeting with the members of the Assembly of Experts"

The speeches have been coded with VICS through the Profiler Plus software (version 5.8.4). One complication was that both leaders alternate between their definitions of self from speech to speech. At times, the leaders vociferously blame other Muslim nations for the problems in the region, particularly Saudi Arabia. At other times, they very deliberately broaden the definition of self to include the entire Islamic *Ummah*, rather than just the Shi'a Muslims of the Islamic Republic, especially in uniting against the oppression of the 'aggressive powers.' Therefore, though 'self' in these speeches is identified primarily as the Islamic Republic of Iran, in portions of the speeches—such as in those addressed to leaders of other Islamic nations—this definition is extended to include the global Islamic community of believers (both Shi'a and Sunni), which incidentally seems to be a signifier of the pragmatism used by both leaders as discussed previously.

6.3 Overview of Case Selection: The Ayatollahs' Nuclear Program

I have chosen to research the political belief systems of Ayatollah Khomeini and Ayatollah Khamenei for a number of reasons. Since the 1979 Revolution, the Islamic Republic of Iran has had a precarious international position. Especially Western states have continually portrayed Iran as a threat to the region and beyond. The most commonly cited 'proof' that Iran is a threat is Iran's nuclear program. The United States has responded to this perceived threat with extensive sanctions, while Iran has vociferously defended its right to nuclear capabilities and denied intentions to create nuclear

weapons (Abrahamian, 2008: 195). Meanwhile, when it comes to creating a strategy for Iran, or even determining who to negotiate with in Iran, the United States policy makers have been baffled for decades (Sadjadpour, 2009: 30).

Although the Supreme Leader is the obvious choice, he does not openly present an image of a leader who is receptive to negotiations or compromise. In a 2007 speech he says, “How is it possible to negotiate with the arrogant, bullying, expansionist and colonialist government of the U.S.?” (Sadjadpour, 2009: 17). Sadjadpour (2009: 16-7) points out that in spite of antagonistic statements such as, “cutting ties with America is among our basic policies,” in the same 2008 speech he makes contradictory comments such as “...the day relations with America prove beneficial for the Iranian nation I will be the first to approve of [relations].” Sadjadpour (2009: 16-7), portraying Khamenei as more cooperative, argues that this indicates Khamenei’s willingness to negotiate if concessions are made. This is consistent with the qualitative conclusions reached in Chapter 5 and his political belief system. Conversely, Sadjadpour (2009: 30) also warns against expecting large-scale changes in policies toward the West, because Khamenei must stay true to the revolutionary principles that brought him to power. Recent strides in the negotiations with Iran seem to prove the Leader’s willingness to cooperate when it suits his strategy. Chapter 9 will explore the possible outcomes of the current nuclear negotiations between Iran and the West.

6.4 Conclusion

This thesis aims to identify the political belief system (operational code) of Ayatollah Khomeini and Ayatollah Khamenei with the intention of determining how consistent Iran's leadership is with the average world leader. Furthermore, Ayatollah Khamenei's operational code will be used to predict the Islamic Republic's decision on negotiations pertaining to its nuclear program, an issue that has dominated Iranian-Western foreign relations for years. The use of operational code analysis as a method for analyzing the Islamic Republic's foreign policy allows a clearer understanding of the men who have held the most powerful position within the relatively new Islamic Republic—that of Supreme Leader, which could be quite useful for other nations attempting to formulate their own Iranian foreign policy.

CHAPTER 7: DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

Adding to Chapter 5, which provides a qualitative analysis of the structure and focus of Iran's foreign policies, this Chapter utilizes quantitative methods to identify the political belief system (operational code) of the Islamic Republic of Iran's Supreme Leaders. The following research questions will be the focus of this chapter, through the identification of the Supreme Leaders' operational codes: (1) Do the political belief systems of Supreme Leader Khomeini and Supreme Leader Khamenei differ greatly from the average world leader? and (2) Did the operational code of Ayatollah Khomeini and Ayatollah Khamenei see a change over the course of their leadership as they encountered new scenarios? The final research question pertaining to Ayatollah Khamenei's strategies regarding the nuclear negotiations will be dealt with exclusively in the following chapter.

In order to answer the two research questions, this chapter will also identify the leaders' views of themselves and how they place others in the political universe. From this, Khomeini's and Khamenei's Leadership Type (A, B, C or DEF) will be ascertained (Holsti, 1977: 156-157; Walker, 1983: 187). Furthermore, comparisons will be drawn of the two leaders' operational codes, particularly through an assessment of how closely they match up with average world leaders (the norming group). Finally, by identifying the order of the leaders' preferred strategies, conclusions may be drawn

as to their approach to foreign policy, and predictions may be made about Ayatollah Khamenei's future foreign policy agenda.

7.1 Analysis Results: The Leaders' Political Belief System vs. Norming Group

The following questions are answered in this chapter through the analysis of speeches by Ayatollah Khomeini and Ayatollah Khamenei, as coded through Profiler Plus using the Verbs in Context System (George, 1969: 201-216):

The Philosophical Content of an Operational Code:

P-1. What is the 'essential' nature of political life? Is the political universe essentially one of harmony or conflict? What is the fundamental character of one's political opponent?

P-2. What are the prospects for the eventual realization of one's fundamental political values and aspirations? Can one be optimistic, or must one be pessimistic on this score; and in what respects the one and/or the other?

P-3. Is the future predictable? In what sense and to what extent?

P-4. How much 'control' or 'mastery' can one have over historical development? What is one's role in 'moving' and 'shaping' history in the desired direction?

P-5. What is the role of 'chance' in human affairs and in historical development?

The Instrumental Beliefs in an Operational Code:

I-1. What is the best approach for selecting goals or objectives for political action?

I-2. How are the goals of action pursued most effectively?

I-3. How are the risks of political action calculated, controlled and accepted?

I-4. What is the best ‘timing’ of action to advance one’s interest?

I-5. What is the utility and role of different means for advancing one’s interests?

It is difficult to gauge the significance of the leaders’ operational codes without some context. Utilizing Akan and Johnna Malici’s study, a comparison with a norming group of 35 leaders, with 164 speech acts is provided in Table 2 (Malici and Malici, 2005: 398-401; Malici and Buckner, 2008; Walker et al., 2011). To accurately code the “average leader,” these 35 leaders are from a diverse range of countries and socio-economic conditions (Malici and Malici, 2005: 398). Viewing the leaders’ operational codes alongside the norming group gives some perspective by showing where Khomeini’s and Khamenei’s opcodes deviate from that of the ‘average leader.’ The results indicate some significant differences, but Khomeini’s philosophical beliefs (P) see the most difference, while Khamenei’s operational code sees significant differences in both his philosophical and his instrumental beliefs (P& I). The data produced by Profiler Plus for Ayatollah Khomeini and Ayatollah Khamenei are listed below along with the norming group in Table 2.⁹

⁹The norming group data was obtained by Malici and Buckner “from Mark Schafer, Department of Political Science, Louisiana State University” (Malici and Buckner, 2008: 790-793) and Akan Malici very kindly supplied me with the necessary data to determine the statistical significance of the results.

Table 2. The Opcode of Ayatollahs Khomeini & Khamenei with Norming GroupNotes: *significant at $P \leq .10$ level (two-tailed) from the norming group and **significant at $P \leq .05$ level (two tailed) from the norming group.

Philosophical & Instrumental Beliefs	Khomeini	Norming Group	Khamenei	Std. Dev.
	(n = 15)	(n = 164)	(n = 15)	
P-1. Nature of Political Universe (Conflict/Cooperation)	0.07** (Mixed)	0.301 (Somewhat Cooperative)	0.176** (Mixed)	0.286
P-2. Realization of Political Values (Pessimism/Optimism)	-0.023** (Somewhat Pessimistic)	0.147 (Somewhat Optimistic)	0.072* (Mixed)	0.215
P-3. Predictability of Political Future (Unpredictable/Predictable)	0.104* (Very Low Predictability)	0.134 (Very Low Predictability)	0.1** (Very Low Predictability)	0.072
P-4. Control over History (Low Control/High Control)	0.138** (Very Low Control)	0.224 (Low Control)	0.161 (Very Low Control)	0.127
P-5. Role of Chance (Small Role/Large Role)	0.985** (Very High)	0.968 (Very High)	0.984** (Very High)	0.037
I-1. Direction of Strategy (Conflict/Cooperation)	0.198 (Somewhat Cooperative)	0.401 (Definitely Cooperative)	0.612** (Definitely Cooperative)	0.43
I-2. Tactical Pursuit of Goals (Conflict/Cooperation)	0.052 (Mixed)	0.178 (Somewhat Cooperative)	0.302* (Somewhat Cooperative)	0.28
I-3. Risk Orientation (Averse/Acceptant)	0.356 (Risk Averse)	0.332 (Risk Averse)	0.379 (Risk Averse)	0.244
I-4. Flexibility of Tactics				
a. Conflict/Cooperation	0.546 (Medium Flexibility)	0.503 (Medium Flexibility)	0.362* (Low Flexibility)	0.314
b. Words/Deeds	0.412 (Medium Flexibility)	0.464 (Medium Flexibility)	0.398 (Low-Med Flexibility)	0.311
I-5. Utility of Means: 0=Very Low, 1=Very High				
a. Reward	0.108	0.157	0.163	0.179
b. Promise	0.045	0.075	0.062	0.117
c. Appeal/Support	0.445	0.468	0.581	0.229
d. Oppose/Resist	0.228	0.154	0.133	0.183
e. Threaten	0.042	0.034	0.025	0.064
f. Punish	0.132	0.112	0.035	0.146

This section analyzes Khomeini's and Khamenei's political belief systems (Table 2) and draws conclusions about the possible reasons behind their beliefs and strategies. The data produced by Profiler Plus (interpreted with Table 1 from Chapter 2) yielded quite different Philosophical (P) and Instrumental (I) results for the two leaders. Both Khomeini and Khamenei have mixed feelings about the nature of the political universe (P-1), with Khamenei showing a tendency to view it as more friendly, though both significantly less than the average world leader. This was not surprising because what plays so prominently in the media are the comments about Western oppression, the evils of capitalists, the crafty plans of the Zionists and the United States, etc. Therefore, my expectation that they would view the political universe as more hostile than the norming group proved accurate.

Furthermore, when looking at a broader range of speeches with a variety of audiences, as those chosen for this research (Figures 3 and 4), we will see that both leaders typically reserve their feelings about the animus nature of the political universe to refer to certain powers (such as the U.S. and Israel). Conversely, they often speak of the friendship of other Muslim nations, and the possibility of uniting under the Islamic Awakening movement (Chapter 6). This blend of speeches that exhibit both overt animosity, as well as reminders of shared bonds and unity leads to the results shown here—mixed.

Additionally, Khomeini was pessimistic about the possibility of realizing his political values (P-2), while Khamenei is only marginally optimistic. This could be due to a failure to export the revolution as widely as the leaders may have hoped. It could also be speculated that Khomeini's results reflect his greatest foreign policy failure—the Iran-Iraq War—which he was bitterly forced to accept (Katouzian, 2009: 570). Meanwhile, Khamenei's slightly more optimistic results are likely a reflection of his increasing power in the region, and indeed his effective increase of the powers of the Supreme Leader position (Khalaji, 2012). Predictably, however, both show themselves to be significantly more pessimistic than the average world leader, which is in line with their rhetoric condemning western powers for their interference in and strong-arming of less powerful nations.

The results show that both Khomeini and Khamenei have felt there was a very low chance of predicting the future (P-3) and likewise believe they have a very low level of control over history (P-4). However, both Khomeini and Khamenei attribute a higher than average level of control to others in the political universe (P-4b: Khomeini 0.862, Khamenei 0.839 and NG 0.776). Moreover, both leaders view the role of chance (P-5) as significantly higher than the average leader. These three—P-3, P-4 and P-5—answer similar questions about Khomeini and Khamenei and could be read two ways. Either the pragmatism of the two leaders had won over their idealistic dreams of controlling the outcome of foreign policy goals, or the idealistic aspects of

their beliefs have been the determining factor in these results. In other words, it could be argued that they don't feel like they have control, because they believe it is God who controls the future, whereas history and chance is actually determined by divine fate.

Of course, this sort of ideological explanation can only be speculated; it is more likely indicative of a pragmatic realization of Iran's limitations in the international political arena. It bears mentioning that both leaders have intimate knowledge of the fragility of leadership; both were active participants in the overthrow of the Iranian monarchy—an institution dating back to 2700 BC with the Elamite Empire. Of course, the monarchy itself saw many upheavals as well, as Persian dynasties rose and fell. Furthermore, from a foreign policy perspective, both Khomeini and Khamenei are likely to have reevaluated their global political belief systems after the less than favorable conclusion of the Iran-Iraq War. Additionally, Ayatollah Khamenei has also born witness to the collapse of the Soviet Union, the changes in leadership brought about by the Arab Spring and the rise of the Islamic State as it has crept ever closer to his backyard, killing Shi'a Muslims along the way. Is it any surprise then that they may have doubted the level of control they truly possess in international affairs? Generally, the average leader attributes low control to themselves, but both Khomeini and Khamenei show themselves to be even significantly lower.

One of the most glaring disparities in the two leaders' opcodes can be seen in their I-1 scores, which show a very large difference between the two. These results seem surprising as both leaders have often been portrayed as uncompromising in the extreme, as mentioned in Chapter 5, and the I-1 results show both Khomeini (mixed, though much lower than the average leader) and Khamenei (definitely) on the side of cooperation in their direction of strategy. The I-1 results, however, only reflect willingness to cooperate with their in-group (i.e. political allies and those they sympathize with). They have even demonstrated a willingness to cooperate with the out-group as the situation demands (i.e. the Iran-Contra Affair or in the fight against the Taliban) (Ramazani, 2004: 7-8). The disparity between the two is also reflected in the intensity of their tactics; Khamenei finds cooperation a more effective strategy (1-2), while Khomeini showed a tendency toward conflict. In line with these results, Khamenei has shown himself to be capable of standing his ground, without necessarily engaging in conflict when it comes to the question of Iran's nuclear program and his I-2 results (.301) showed a significant difference with the norming group (.178).

Moreover, as mentioned, when addressing Muslim nations, both Khomeini and Khamenei are emphasizing a need for Muslim nations to unite, so the definition of 'in-group' fluctuates when it comes to the supreme leaders. It was necessary to code such speeches with content other than the often repeated vitriol aimed at the West and Israel to gain a balanced understanding of the Leaders' true operational codes. Khomeini's

tendency toward conflict is likely related to his short tenure as Supreme Leader and the volatile process surrounding the creation of the Islamic Republic, over a year of conflict with the United States after the 1979 taking of American hostages, as well as an eight year war with Iraq. Therefore, it is not very surprising that he is quite a bit more conflictual than Khamenei, who has had over 26 years of relative peace, aside from the involvement of the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps in regional conflicts.

Like the norming group, Khomeini's and Khamenei's I-3 (Khomeini 0.356, Khamenei 0.379 and Norming Group 0.332) scores show that they are averse to risk in their orientation and demonstrate at least a low to moderate flexibility in choice of tactics (I-4). These results seem to support the above argument that the leaders are pragmatic in the instrumentation of their beliefs. Though their speech is highly ideological, they are able to be flexible and even cooperative when the situation calls for it. However, Khomeini showed a preference for flexibility in terms of conflict/cooperation rather than with words/deeds, whereas Khamenei's I-4a score is significantly different from the norming group. Like the norming group, both Khomeini and Khamenei tend to believe positive means are more effective for achieving their goals than negative (I-5). The one exception is that Khomeini is much more likely to use Oppose/Resist tactics than either Khamenei or the average leader. In line with his I-1 and I-2 scores, Khamenei generally shows a much higher tendency to use Cooperative

Means (Appeal/Support, Promise, Reward) than the Conflictual Means of Oppose/Resist, Threaten and Punish, in spite of his very negative view of the political universe (P-1).

To conclude, the findings have supported the first hypothesis set forth in Chapter 6: The political beliefs of Supreme Leaders Khomeini and Khamenei will reveal significant differences from the average world leader (i.e. norming group). While some aspects of their operational code indicate some similarities with the norming group, there are several significant differences in the Supreme Leaders' political belief systems when compared with other world leaders. In addition, the second hypothesis—"Supreme Leader Khamenei's foreign policy decisions will be more cooperative than his predecessor"—is substantiated by the overall significant differences between the leaders' I-1, I-2, I-4 and I-5 scores (Table 3).

7.2 'Learned' Operational Codes

In addition to providing a summary of the leaders' political belief system on the basis of speeches spanning their political careers, in this section the third hypothesis will be tested: The Supreme Leaders' political belief systems have evolved throughout their tenure as Iran's leaders due to the experience gained in office. This portion of the chapter was inspired by Crichlow's (1998) operational code analysis of Shimon Peres and Yitzhak Rabin. Crichlow divided his periods into the 1970s and the 1990s and used the results to draw conclusions about the level of pragmatism involved in the

foreign policy decisions of the two, versus ideology. Similarly, Walker (et al., 2011: 72) took a “snapshot” of then Senator Obama’s operational code by analyzing a single speech, but reminds his readers that since this speech, Obama may have “‘changed his mind,’ i.e. *learned* new beliefs and discarded his old ones...”

To test the third hypothesis, the same coded speeches have been used, but for the point of departure I have chosen two significant historical events during the lives of the leaders, which may have influenced their political belief system. First, for Khomeini, I have separated his speeches into two time periods (1944-1979 and 1979-1989). The two periods reflect the time before the success of the 1979 Revolution and his tenure as Supreme Leader. I took the U.S.-led invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq as the point of departure for Khamenei. Therefore, Khamenei’s first set of speeches include a portion of time from his presidency (1981-1989), until 2000, shortly after which the U.S.-led invasion of Afghanistan occurred. The second set of speeches spans from 2003 (the year of the U.S.-led invasion of Iraq) until the present. Of further significance for using 2003 as the divergent point is that it is very close to being the halfway point of his more than 26 years as Supreme Leader of Iran.

Table 3. The Learned Opcode of Supreme Leaders Khomeini and Khamenei.¹⁰

*Significant at $P \leq .10$ level (two-tailed) from the norming group and **significant at $P \leq .05$ level from the norming group.

Philosophical & Instrumental Beliefs	Ruhollah Khomeini		Ali Khamenei	
	1944-1979	1979-1989	1987-2000	2003-2015
	(n = 8)	(n = 7)	(n = 6)	(n = 9)
P-1. Nature of Political Universe (Conflict/Cooperation)	0.102	0.116	0.143	0.203
P-2. Realization of Political Values (Pessimism/Optimism)	-0.02	-0.008	0.07	0.69
P-3. Political Future Predictability (Unpredictable/Predictable)	0.12	0.121	0.08	0.111
P-4. Control over History (Low Control / High Control)	0.13	0.14	0.115	0.183
P-5. Role of Chance (Small Role/Large Role)	0.989	0.989	0.994	0.984*
I-1. Direction of Strategy (Conflict/Cooperation)	0.116	0.429	0.75	0.579
I-2. Tactical Pursuit of Goals (Conflict/Cooperation)	0.078	0.147	0.345	0.304
I-3. Risk Orientation (Averse/Acceptant)	0.38	0.354	0.553	0.214
I-4. Flexibility of Tactics				
a. Conflict/Cooperation	0.62	0.571	0.25	0.379
b. Words/Deeds	0.306	0.404	0.223	0.536
I-5. Utility of Means				
a. Reward	0.096	0.131	0.11	0.21
b. Promise	0.048	0.05	0.098	0.051
c. Appeal/Support	0.412	0.531	0.665	0.528
d. Oppose/Resist	0.38	0.117	0.098	0.126
e. Threaten	0.008	0.035	0.028	0.026
f. Punish	0.056	0.133	0	0.058

As can be seen in the above table, when it comes to the Philosophical questions, Khomeini remains remarkably consistent over the years. On the contrary, his instrumental preferences do see a shift after he becomes Supreme Leader, however. For

¹⁰ Ruhollah Khomeini: 1944-1979 = RK1, 1979-1989 = RK2
Ali Khamenei: 1987-2000 = AK1, 2003-2015 = AK2

example, once he was burdened with an actual position of power, he showed a notable transition toward a view that sees cooperation as a more viable option (I-1, I-2 and I-4). This was the most obvious shift in his political belief system, but it is also worth noting that with his foreign policy experience—obtained in the office of Supreme Leader—he began to believe that Reward, Promise, Appeal and conversely, Threaten and Punish could be favorable tactics. Only his tendency to view Oppose as a viable option diminished after the passage of time. It is very interesting to note, that with only one exception (P-5 Role of Chance), the changes to Ayatollah Khomeini’s political belief system brought him closer to the belief system of the average world leader. Although there are still significant differences between Khomeini and the average leader (see results from Table 2), this is indicative of Khomeini’s overall shift toward pragmatism in foreign policy. In regards to the master beliefs (P1, P4 and I1), only Khomeini’s perception of his control over history has been significantly altered.

Unlike Khomeini, the ‘learned’ changes to Ayatollah Khamenei’s political belief system are reflected both in the Instrumental as well as in the Philosophical considerations. Also, unlike Khomeini, Khamenei became less cooperative overall (I-1, I-2 and I-4) as the years passed. However, it is important to note that Khamenei’s early results (AK1, Table 3) showed him to be highly cooperative, even more so than the norming group (Table 2). In fact, his ‘learned’ Instrumental results also brought him closer in line with the norming group. The one instrumental belief that he deviates

quite significantly from both the Norming Group (.332) and Khomeini's learned op-code (.35) is in how risk averse he is (I-3). Ayatollah Khamenei is presently very Risk Averse according to the results (I-3 = .214). This may be interesting in how he will deal with the nuclear negotiations.

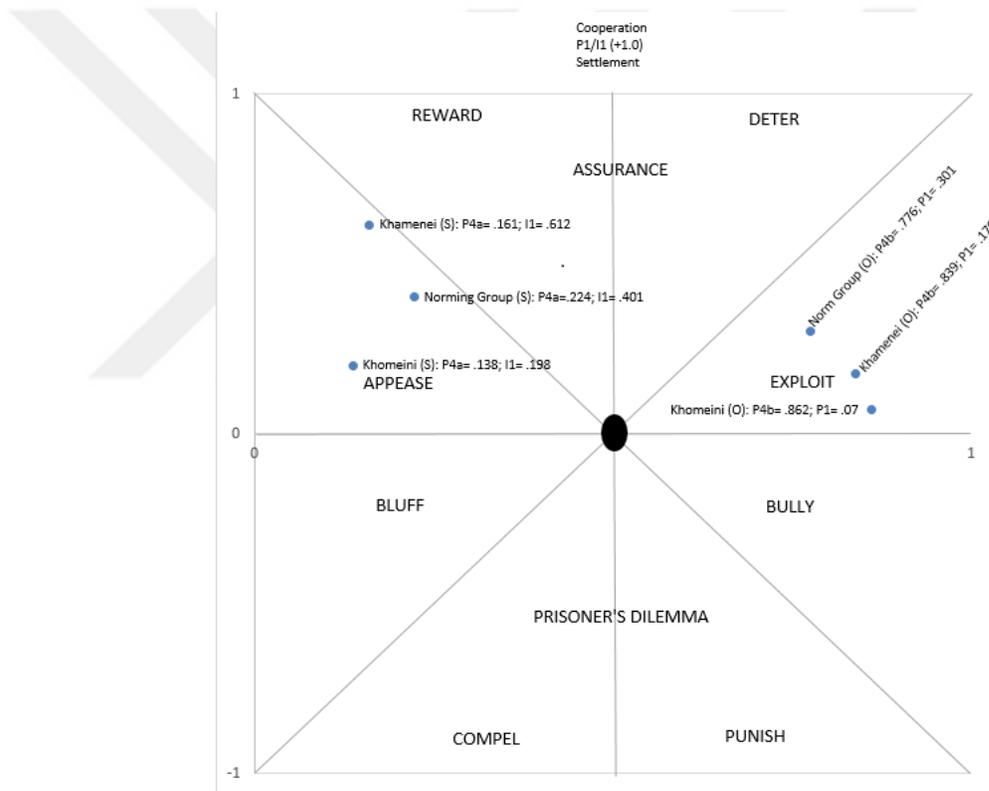
7.3 The Supreme Leaders' Foreign Strategy Preferences

As mentioned in the Literature Review of this thesis, a key method used by scholars while conducting Operational Code Analysis is the categorization of studied leaders by ideal types. Holsti (1977) used George's (1969) ten questions to identify six ideal leadership types: A, B, C, D, E and F. Walker (1983: 183-187) later perfected Holsti's model by combining Types D, E and F into one Type (DEF). By identifying which type a leader is most aligned with, along with identifying the leader's instrumental beliefs, scholars are able to make predictions on strategic interaction, including "negotiation style... foreign policy orientations... conflict management and crisis bargaining... [and] strategic interactions in world politics" (Walker, 2000: 16). Predictions about Khamenei's strategy concerning Iran's nuclear program will be discussed in detail in the following chapter using negotiation style, foreign policy orientations and his strategic international interactions. For this section, the focus will be on identifying the leadership types of Ayatollah Khomeini and Ayatollah Khamenei and what those types actually mean for foreign policy decisions.

7.3.1 Leadership Types

Table 4 shows which Leader Type Khamenei and Khomeini most closely identify with, alongside the Norming Group from Table 2, as well as how they perceive others in the political universe:

Table 4. Two Supreme Leaders' Operational Code Beliefs and Types of Leadership Styles¹¹¹²



¹¹ Adopted from Walker's (2000: 20) model using P1, I1 and P4.

¹² **Khomeini:** RK1 = Self (I-1 0.198; P-4a 0.138), RK2 = Other (P-1 0.07; P-4b 0.862);
Khamenei: AK1 = Self (I-1 0.612; P-4a 0.161), AK2 = Other (P-1 0.176; P-4b 0.839);
Norming Group: NG1 = Self (I-1 0.401; P-4a 0.224), NG2 = Other (P-1 0.301; P-4b 0.776).

The results in Table 4 are identified by the I-1 and P-4a results to show a leaders' view of himself/herself, while their P-1 and P4-b results ($P-4b = 1 - P-4a$) illustrate how they view others in the political universe.

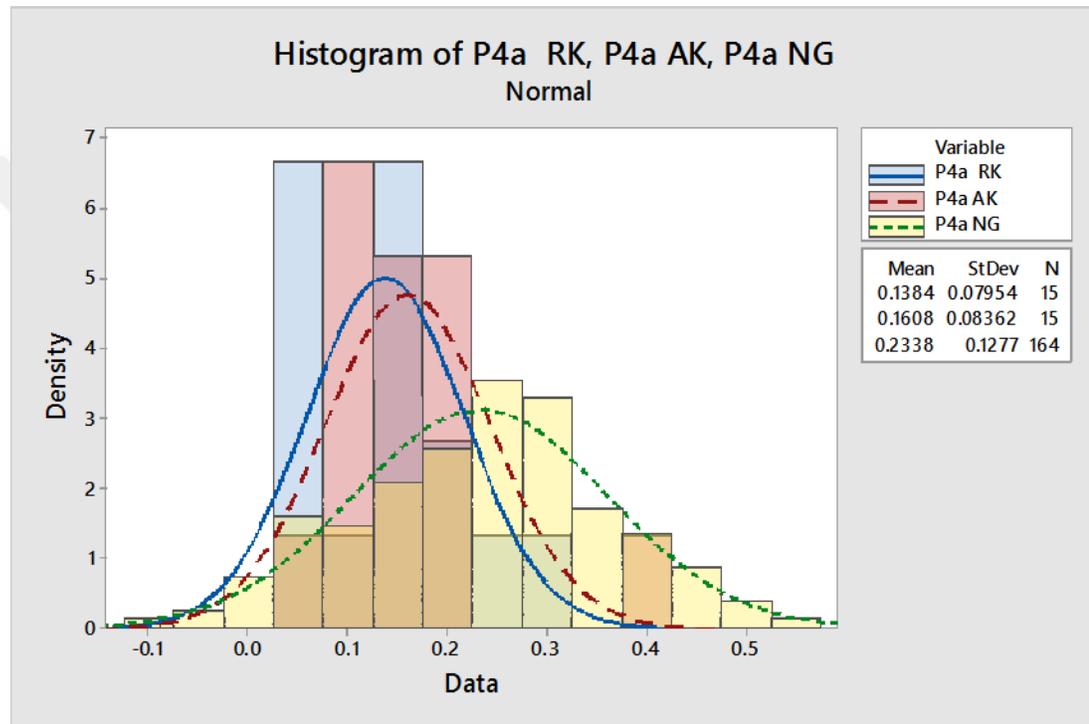
7.3.2 The Supreme Leaders' View of Self

In spite of differences between the operational codes of Khomeini and Khamenei, they both fit comfortably (with the Norming Group) into the Type A quadrant in Figure 1 as they attribute a very low possibility to historical control and demonstrate a propensity toward cooperation; both of these are indicators of Type A leaders (Walker, 1983). This means that for Ayatollahs Khomeini and Khamenei “conflict is temporary” and there is room for optimism as long as the leader is able and willing to shape history. Further, risks are controlled by readiness for conciliation when possible, and they are slow to escalate problems. They prefer compromise and negotiation to the use of premature force. The Leaders' order of preference for action are “Settle>Deadlock>Dominate>Submit.” Figure 1 provides a more complete description of the Leader Types. Additionally, they both prefer Appeasement strategies, with Khamenei leaning toward Reward and Khomeini closer to Bluff strategies (Table 4; Walker et al., 2011).

Assessment of Khomeini's and Khamenei's mean scores for the leaders' beliefs of their self-control over historical development (P-4a) are presented in Figure 5, which reveals that both Khomeini's (0.138) and Khamenei's (0.161) P-4a beliefs of

self-control over history are lower than the average world leader (0.224). Both Ayatollah Khomeini's and Ayatollah Khamenei's P-4a scores are between one and two standard deviations (0.12) and (0.24) of the mean for the norming group.

Figure 5. P-4a Scores for Khomeini and Khamenei Compared to the Norming Group's Mean Score¹³



7.3.3 The Supreme Leaders' View of Others

What is of note here, is that like the Norming Group, Khomeini and Khamenei both perceive others in the political universe to match Type C most closely (see Figure 1), in spite of the average leader actually being Type A. This likely contributes greatly to

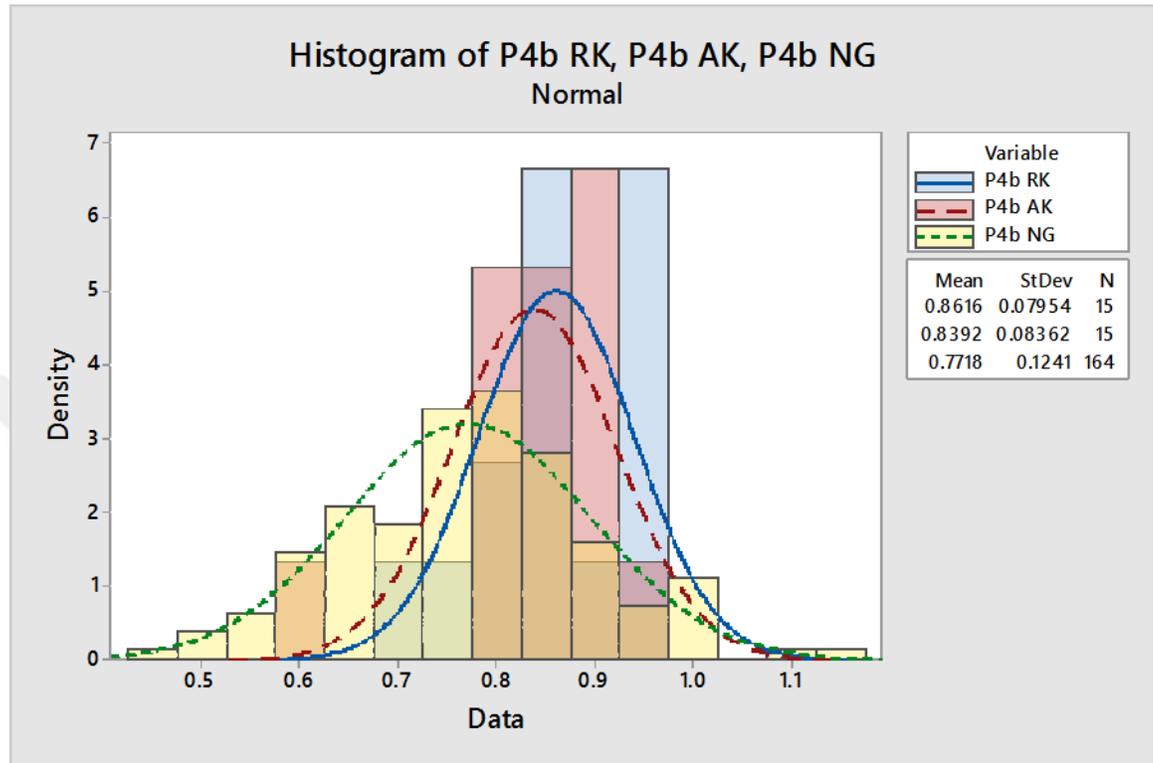
¹³ The abbreviations used in Figures 5 and 6 are as follows: RK=Ruhollah Khomeini; AK=Ali Khamenei and NG= Norming Group.

misperceptions and incorrect assumptions during decision making processes (Jervis, 1976).

Type C leaders tend to view the anarchical structure of the international system as the cause of war, and that through a restructuring of the state system, a “harmony of interests” may be possible (Walker, 2000: 5). Type C leaders believe that without changing the state system, goals are unlikely to be met, because it is difficult to predict or control the political future. Based on this perception of the political universe, Type A leaders are likely to favor conciliation when possible, while quickly delaying escalation to the extent possible (i.e. they are open to non-military strategies). While not being opposed to pursuing shared goals, Type C leaders believe that in the prevailing political climate risks are better controlled by “limiting means rather than ends” (Walker, 2000: 5).

Assessment of Khomeini's and Khamenei's mean scores for the leaders' perceptions of others control over historical development (P-4b) are presented in Figure 6, which reveals that both Khomeini's (0.862) and Khamenei's (0.839) P-4b beliefs are higher than the average world leader (0.776) meaning they attribute a higher level of control over historical development to *others* in the political universe. As with their P-4a results, both Khomeini's and Khamenei's P-4b scores are within one standard deviation (0.12) of the mean for the norming group (0.78).

Figure 6. P-4b Scores for Khomeini and Khamenei Compared to the Norming Group's Mean Score



7.3.4 Predicting the Supreme Leader's Foreign Policy

It seems logical that Khomeini's sense of historic control would be rooted in the circumstances in which he became the Supreme Leader of Iran. The revolution of 1979, which completely changed the regime type of Iran and placed him in power, was orchestrated in no small part by himself. However, much of the foreign policy during Khomeini's time was centered on preventing Saddam Hussein from taking Iranian territory, and with it the oil fields of Iran, which was no small feat for a new regime, though it came at a heavy human price. Though the war unified Iranians internally,

many were already starting to become disillusioned with the new republic and this has intensified in many ways over the years. Additionally, Khomeini blamed the Iran-Iraq War on the United States and in his Final Testament (1989) made clear his belief that the majority of the region's leaders were American puppets:

The USA is the foremost enemy of Islam. It is a terrorist state by nature that has set fire to everything everywhere and its ally, the international Zionism does not stop short of any crime to achieve its base and greedy desires, crimes that the tongue and pen are ashamed to utter or write... The Islamic nations and the *mustazafeen* (the meek, the oppressed) peoples of the world are pleased to have Hussein of Jordan a professional, itinerant criminal, Hasan of Morocco and Hosni Mubarak of Egypt, fellow-managers of Israel, as enemies. These are fellow-criminals with Israel and commit any act of treason against their own nations to serve the USA.

Conversely, Khamenei has had over twenty-six years as Supreme Leader, during which time Iran has seen many periods of intense economic lows due to sanctions by the United States and others. Meanwhile he has seen that uniting the Islamic people has proven much more difficult than perhaps he originally thought. In short, it's no small wonder if he has cause to feel pessimistic about his political goals and his control of history.

One would assume that a leader with such immense and far-reaching domestic power as Khamenei has, would feel more confident about the achievement of his political goals and the predictability of the political future, as he enjoys the privilege to

virtually write it himself. Furthermore, Khamenei has proven himself to be a noteworthy regional actor. The fact that he demonstrates skepticism in this regard seems to suggest two things. One, he is greatly concerned about interference from foreign powers, and indeed he makes no secret of this concern in his speeches, as he repeatedly warns about the foreign aggressors and what will happen if Islamic unity is not achieved (Khamenei, 2011). A second possibility, though not implicit in the speeches selected for this study, is that he is concerned about domestic problems, which may serve as a hindrance to his international schemes. Protests may be suppressed for a time, and people may be placated by concessions, such as the Guardian Council allowing a more 'reformist' president (Rouhani) to win the election, but if their dissatisfaction runs deep enough, the people may rise up and effectively replace the Islamic Republic. No one knows this better than Khamenei, as he witnessed and participated in making this very thing happen in 1979 and he is fully cognizant of foreign powers who would be willing to lend their support to the creation of a new regime if he were to be toppled.

7.4 Conclusion

To summarize, as anticipated with hypothesis 1, the operational code findings for both Khomeini and Khamenei show that their political belief systems differ from the Norming Group (Khamenei slightly less so), and in many ways their political belief system is significantly different from that of the average world leader. In conjunction

with the qualitative findings of Chapter 5, it may be concluded that neither leader demonstrates a particularly unconventional international political belief system, when compared with the average leader. Additionally, Khamenei's results reveal him to be a much more cooperative leader overall than his predecessor, Khomeini. This reinforces the claim that leaders do not act purely based on the national or global factors that restrict them, nor even religion in a theocracy, and that in fact, a leader's personality and political belief system play a large role in his/her foreign policy actions.

Furthermore, as projected in the third hypothesis, there was a shift in the operational codes of both Ayatollah Khomeini and Ayatollah Khamenei over the course of their political careers. In both cases, the experience gained over time brought them closer to the political belief system of the Norming Group (though they started from opposite ends of the spectrum in some regards). Finally, both Khamenei and Khomeini have been identified as Type A leaders (Schafer and Walker, 2006). With these results, predictions about Ayatollah Khamenei's actions in the nuclear negotiations with P5+1 will be made in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 8: THE NUCLEAR NEGOTIATIONS

The question on the minds of Iran watchers at the moment is how smoothly the July 14, 2015 nuclear deal between Iran and P5+1 will be implemented, or if the deal will crumble amidst posturing and hostile statements on both sides. Several countries have an active interest in the debate surrounding Iran's nuclear program as it could position Iran as an ever more powerful regional player. The United States, Israel and their allies have long accused Iran of attempting to acquire a nuclear weapon. If Iran became a nuclear power, it could catapult Iran into a more prominent position of power and some believe could result in a regional nuclear arms race, though Iran vehemently denies having any such intentions.

This chapter predicts that while initially indicating his tacit support of the nuclear deal which stands to benefit Iran and himself personally, Khamenei, based on his speeches and political belief system, has pragmatically left the option open to change his stance at any point. If the deal is derailed at any stage or is not implemented in a favorable way, Khamenei is poised to say events unfolded just as he predicted—i.e. that the United States is deceitful and treacherous and has not upheld its word. On the other hand, if the deal is implemented, he will still be able to save face as, while not openly taking a stance against the deal himself, he has been allowing his foreign minister to extoll the virtues of the deal by claiming that it signals a victory for the Islamic

Republic. Khamenei has no problem giving credit to others and remaining in the background. In this particular situation, he is more than happy to let Zarif, Rouhani and others take all the praise in case of success and all the condemnation should the deal go awry. This is evidenced by Khamenei's October 21, 2015 letter to President Rouhani (translated on Khamenei's official website) in which he thanked him and others for their endeavors implementing the JCPOA deal. The letter contained a strongly worded warning to not trust the United States—"the oppressive and arrogant hegemon"—to fulfill its side of the bargain (Khamenei, 2015: *Leader's Letter to President Rouhani Regarding the JCPOA*). As will be demonstrated, one thing remains clear from his operational code—Khamenei takes a special interest in this particular foreign policy and his operational code becomes significantly less cooperative and more pessimistic regarding this particular issue.

8.1 History of Iran's Nuclear Program

A fact that neither the Islamic Republic of Iran nor the United States generally likes to draw attention to, is that Iran's nuclear program began with the blessing and support of the United States, albeit before the 1979 creation of the Islamic Republic. The first nuclear facility in Iran, the Tehran Research Reactor (TRR), was built by the US in 1967 while the country was still under the rule of Mohammed Reza Shah Pahlavi (Mousavian, 2014: 531). This program was part of the Shah's far-reaching efforts to expand Iran's military, and Iran's earliest intentions for the program are said by some

to have had “obvious military implications” (Abrahamian, 2008: 125). Not much was accomplished with the program over the next decade, in spite of technical assistance from the United States and agreements with France and West Germany to build power plants (Aghazadeh, 2013: 143).

The new revolutionary regime of the Islamic Republic of Iran, chose to initially relinquish the nuclear program due to high costs. In his (2014: 531) article, Seyed Hossein Mousavian (formerly a nuclear negotiator for Iran) claims that by withdrawing support for the program, the West had “violated the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT)” and cost Iran billions of dollars, in addition to preventing Iran from accessing nuclear power from outside. As mentioned in Chapter 3, the formerly (pre-1979) friendly diplomatic relationship between Iran and the United States, came to an abrupt end after the 1979 Revolution, and especially after the taking of American hostages at the US Embassy in Tehran (Aghazadeh, 2013: 138-143). The loss of US stakes in Iran’s oil (which had been obtained with the 1953 coup overthrowing Prime Minister Mosaddegh), the taking of hostages, US support for Saddam Hussein in the Iran-Iraq War, and the new regime’s explicit refusal to tolerate continued foreign interference in Iran’s affairs all contributed to the souring of relations that has produced the current hostile nature of the dispute between Iran and the United States—traditionally one of the most vocal opponents (along with Israel and Saudi Arabia) against Iran’s nuclear program.

8.1.1 Sanctions

Unilateral sanctions have been levied against Iran by the United States since 1980 following the November 4, 1979 taking of US hostages in Tehran. In April 1980, President Carter enacted trade embargoes, froze Iranian government assets (over \$12 billion), banned the import of Iranian goods, etc. (Aghazadeh, 2013: 140). In 1992, the Iran-Iraq Arms Nonproliferation Act was implemented, which banned the transfer of “goods or technologies that led Iranians and or Iraqis to obtain chemical, biological, nuclear or destabilizing numbers and types of advanced conventional weapons” (Aghazadeh, 2013: 140-2). Because France, the United Kingdom and Germany were not willingly engaging in multilateral sanctions against Iran, the US created the Iran and Libya Sanctions Act (ILSA) in 1996, which placed an embargo on individuals and foreign companies who exported petroleum from Iran or participated in oil and gas development projects. This Act was extended by George W. Bush in 2001 and later modified to the Iran Sanctions Act (ISA) in 2006.

After the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) reported Iran to the UN Security Council for not giving full access to nuclear facilities, the UNSC adopted Resolution 1696 in July 2006, marking the beginning of broad multilateral sanctions against Iran (Aghazadeh, 2013: 148). The resolution called for Iran to suspend enrichment and development of the nuclear program until the IAEA was able to conduct investigations about the intent of Iran’s program. Iran responded by announcing that

it had no plans to desist, but insisted that Iran's program was for peaceful purposes. The UNSC in turn responded with Resolution 1737 banning countries from any manner of technical or financial assistance, or the sale of any equipment or materials which could conceivably be used for Iran's enrichment program. These sanctions tightened further with Resolutions 1747 (2007), 1803 and 1835 (2008) and 1929 (2010), in addition to strict sanctions imposed by the European Union (Aghazadeh, 2013: 149-55). Mousavian (2014: 535), while acknowledging the devastating effects of the sanctions (40% inflation in 2013), still argues that this strategy has backfired on Western countries by simply causing Iran to redouble its efforts to expand the nuclear program.

8.2 International Responses to the Program

Karthikeya (2009) argues that there are four main camps who all use different narratives to influence the nuclear debate: the US and its allies, Russia and China, the Iranian people and Iran's regime. The involved parties all look at the nuclear negotiations from different angles and use different strategies to attempt to sway others to their side. A brief summary of the main themes of concern for the involved countries will be discussed in this section.

Iran insists that its nuclear motives are purely peaceful, and as a method of garnering the support of the Iranian public, the government has framed the nuclear program as a point of national pride and technological advancement within Iran (Karthikeya, 2009: 86). A prime example is Iran's 2007 response to UN Resolution

1747, by declaring April 8, 2007 as the National Day of Nuclear Technology (Aghazadeh, 2013: 150). Other examples have included the much repeated historical narratives of British and American interference (1953 coup), and a new 50,000 rial note in 2007, showing a map of Iran with the atom symbol atop, reading a hadith (quote attributed to the Prophet Mohammed), “Men from the land of Persia will attain scientific knowledge even if it is as far as the Pleiades” (Karthikeya, 2009: 87-9). Many Iranians do indeed view the nuclear program as a source of pride and a fundamental right, especially given the existence of other nuclear powers in the region. Iranians are deeply resentful of sanctions which have crippled their economy.

The position of the United States will be fully articulated in section 8.3.1, so will only be briefly mentioned here. The primary objections cited by the United States are that if Iran obtains nuclear weapons: (1) it may use them to support terrorist groups such as Hamas and Hezbollah, (2) to overthrow loyal Arab regimes, (3) to export the revolution, and (4) it may cause a regional arms race (Aghazadeh, 2013: 138-9; Karthikeya, 2009: 82; Hobbs and Moran, 2012: 127).

Since, the fall of the Soviet Union, Iran’s relations with both Russia and China have been improving. Russia has tended to provide moral support to Iran, rather than extensive material support. Karthikeya (2009: 83-4) argues that in spite of a seemingly favorable attitude toward the program, a nuclear Iran is not in Russia’s best interest because material support could create a diplomatic crisis for Russia, and it would mean

another nuclear neighbor, which would likely bring instability to the region. Yet, in a historic decision, Iran has allowed Russian bombers to launch attacks on the Islamic State in Syria, leading to speculation that Iran is receiving hefty compensation for the privilege (MacFarquhar and Sanger, 2016). Although the Iranian nuclear program is not seen as a primary foreign policy concern for the Chinese public, China stands to profit from the turmoil surrounding Iran's program (Chunshan, 2013). While the West squabbles with Iran over the nuclear program, China has pursued its national interest by developing large oil fields in Iran. Officially, China has said that Iran "is entitled to peaceful use of nuclear energy" and has expressed opposition to sanctions against Iran, but this has not prevented China from voting against Iran on UNSC resolutions (Chunshan, 2013; Karthikeya, 2009: 85).

Regionally, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia has been one of the most ardent protesters against a nuclear Iran. Saudi Arabia has long been an enemy of Iran because of (1) Sunni-Shi'a religious disagreements, (2) "violent and frightening" competing interests in Lebanon (Iran supporting Hezbollah while the Saudi government supports Sunnis and Christians), and (3) conflicting regional views—Saudi Arabia fears an increased Shi'a influence (Ismail, 2015: 249). Ismail (2015: 248) believes that if Iran becomes a nuclear power, the likelihood of Saudi Arabia following suit is quite high, noting that King Abdullah has requested that the US conduct preemptive strikes on Iran's nuclear facilities. Since the passing of the JCPOA, Saudi Arabia has formally

severed ties with Iran after the Saudi embassy was attacked in Tehran in the aftermath of the execution of Shi'a cleric Nimr al-Nimr ordered by the Saudi Supreme Court (Al Jazeera, 2016a). Bahrain, Sudan, Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates have all downgraded diplomatic relations with Iran after the embassy attack in Tehran. Likewise, the United Arab Emirates perceives a nuclear Iran as a threat and has already started a civilian nuclear program as a result of tensions “with Iran over three islands in the Persian Gulf forced them to follow the nuclear path” (Ismail, 2015: 252).

Israel—the most vocal country concerning Iran’s nuclear program—views Iran as a “mortal enemy bent on Israel’s destruction and regional hegemony” (Mousavian, 2014: 534). Indeed, for obvious reasons, Khamenei’s statements about Israel meets with trepidation on the Israeli side. Ismael (2015: 254-6) points out that although Israel has not officially admitted to having nuclear weapons, it has reportedly held a monopoly on nuclear weapons in West Asia and has a keen interest in preventing others in the region from developing their own, which would alter the balance of power in the region. He adds that if Israel perceives the threat to be serious enough, it may act without the United States to guarantee Israel’s security.

Turkey was among the first in the region to formally recognize the new Islamic Republic of Iran, and refused to participate in sanctions against Iran in the 1980s (Ismail, 2015: 256). Tensions between the two countries escalated in the 1990s due to Iran’s alleged support of Kurdish uprisings in Turkey, though this was later resolved.

Since the Justice and Development Party (AKP) came to power in Turkey (2002), the need for Iran's natural gas has resulted in a dramatic spike in Turkey-Iran imports and exports (Ismail, 2015: 256). Citing Özcan and Özdamar's 2010 study, Ismail (2015: 257-8) claims it is unlikely that Turkey would jeopardize its EU prospects or relationship with NATO countries by seeking a nuclear weapon itself, though it may begin a peaceful nuclear program. However, he says this may change if (1) NATO influence declines, (2) EU accession becomes improbable, (3) there is an increase in states with nuclear weapons, or (4) because of challenges caused by regional instability, such as the Syrian civil war (Ismail, 2015: 258).

8.3 Current Status of the Program and Ongoing Negotiations

Mousavian (2014: 531 and 533) decries the double standard the West has applied to Iran's nuclear program saying that in spite of the program's peaceful nature, the West has used "sanctions, sabotage, and assassination of Iranian nuclear scientists" in its endeavors to end the program. Lauding Foreign Minister Zarif's recognition of the Holocaust and his congratulations to the Jews on Rosh Hoshanah as proof of Iran's friendly overtures, what is lacking from Mousavian's (2014) account is the Supreme Leader's continuing antagonistic statements against the United States and his frequent diatribes against Zionists and Israel, not to mention his tweeted plan outlining the "elimination of Israel" (Politi, 2014).

In contrast, the Western media has been very quick to hone in on negative propaganda coming out of Iran and Mousavian is attempting to counteract some of that; certainly Western politicians would benefit from a more comprehensive understanding of the issue from the Iranian perspective. Still, often lacking in debates on the progress of the negotiations—especially in sources supporting the nuclear agreement—is the role the Supreme Leader may play in them. One exception, analyst Davoud Hermidas Bavand, claims that Khamenei’s negative comments against the United States, for example, are “primarily for domestic consumption as ‘detente in Iran-U.S. relations is an inevitable consequence of the nuclear deal’” (Dareini, 2015). Meanwhile, in an interview with state run media, Iranian nuclear negotiator Hamid Baedinejad makes nearly identical claims about the remarks of US officials in response to the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action, which he says are “merely uttered for domestic use” to calm the Congress and Zionist lobbies (Fars News, 2015). It would a mistake for the United States and other powers to look exclusively to Iran’s presidents or foreign ministers to gauge Iran’s foreign policy decisions. As outlined in Chapter 5, the Iranian president essentially has only as much power as the Supreme Leader is willing to grant, and foreign policy should be conducted with the understanding that the Supreme Leader has ultimate veto power over Iran’s religious, domestic and international affairs, and this includes Iran’s nuclear program.

8.3.1 The Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action

The nuclear agreement being implemented by Iran and P5+1, was announced on July 14, 2015. Those in Iran and the United States who are invested in the implementation of the deal are continuously attempting to gain domestic support for it, with each side claiming they were not forced to capitulate too many of their own demands to the opposing side. The *Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs*, produced a non-partisan report of the details of the April 2, 2015 EU-Iran Joint Statement or framework agreement with a panel of experts, including Foreign Policy Analysis scholar Graham Allison (Samore, 2015a). This report noted that Iran currently has the capability to enrich uranium through its own centrifuges at Iranian nuclear facilities, such as Natanz and Fordow and has “produced enough low enriched uranium for 6 to 7 bombs (after further enrichment)” (Samore, 2015a: 51).

In addition, Iran has been building a heavy-water moderated reactor at Arak since 2004, which has been on hold due to conditions under the 2013 Joint Plan of Action (JPOA). If completed, this reactor would be capable of producing enough plutonium for one or two nuclear weapons per year, although the plutonium would need to first be separated from spent fuel, which would require a reprocessing plant that Iran does not have. The initial report further claimed that Iran had received plans for nuclear weapons from Pakistan by the early 1990s and had a program dedicated to the production of a nuclear weapon (including the designs for the Shahab warhead) by the

late 90s. The report says that Ayatollah Khamenei cancelled this program in 2003 (Samore, 2015a: 53), which was shortly after the extent of Iran's nuclear program was reported by Mojahedin-e Khalq spokesman, Alireza Jafarzadeh, in 2002 (Aghazadeh, 2013: 143).

Much of the focus of negotiations has been on possible 'breakout' time. Former IAEA nuclear inspector, David Albright (2014: 177), explains breakout as the amount of time it would take to obtain a nuclear weapon, which is dependent on a variety of factors (centrifuges, LEU hexafluoride, etc.). Albright claims that in 2009 Iran had an expected breakout time of more than six months, 2.5-4.1 months in 2012, and 1-1.6 months by 2013. Albright (2014: 177) further claims that the IAEA has "considerable evidence" that Iran was working on nuclear weapons before 2004, and some indication that they had resumed that work. The Islamic Republic of Iran adamantly denies the allegations, of course, but it is essentially on these premises that the United States has based its approach to the nuclear negotiations.

Albright believes that the goal of the negotiations must include "meaningful limits" to Iran's program that would provide sufficient advance warning if Iran made any attempt to seek a nuclear weapon. This may be achieved by (1) extending breakout times to 6-12 months, (2) removal of over 14,000 of Iran's 19,000 centrifuges, (3) reducing enriched and natural uranium stockpiles, (4) converting Arak from a heavy water to light water reactor and (5) the agreement should be at least twenty years in

duration and (6) include extensive verification provisions. Only if all these conditions are met does Albright believe sanctions should be lifted comprehensively by the US and UNSC (Albright, 2014: 177-8).

The official Iranian stance contradicts the Belfer report (Samore, 2015a) and Albright's (2014) article, as it has continuously maintained that Iran's program is entirely peaceful. Foreign Minister Zarif (2014) summed up the ongoing nuclear crisis as a manufactured strategy that is part of an "anti-Iranian campaign," saying:

The top priority [of Iran's foreign policy] is to diffuse and ultimately defeat the international anti-Iranian campaign, spearheaded by Israel and its American benefactors, who seek to "securitize" Iran—that is, to delegitimize the Islamic Republic by portraying it as a threat to the global order. The main vehicle for this campaign is the "crisis" over Iran's peaceful nuclear program—a crisis that, in Iran's view, is wholly manufactured and therefore reversible.

Furthermore, those arguing in favor of Iran make frequent reference to a reported *fatwa* from Ayatollah Khamenei declaring that the pursuit of nuclear weapons is forbidden (Mousavian, 2014: 539). Others, however, have pointed out that the details of the *fatwa* have never been revealed, such as how or even when this supposed *fatwa* was issued (Porter, 2014). In Ayatollah Khamenei's own words in a 2013 meeting with IRGC commanders (Mousavian, 2014: 537):

We are against nuclear weapons not because of the U.S. or other countries, but because of our beliefs. And when we say no one should have nuclear weapons, we definitely do not pursue it ourselves either.

Not quite a *fatwa*, but a reiterated claim that Iran does not plan to weaponize its nuclear program.

So, what are the actual terms of the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA) reached on July 14, 2015? The *Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs* issued a report in August, which details the fine points of the deal for US policy makers. First, the JCPOA will require Iran to “dismantle two-thirds of its installed centrifuges and eliminate 98% of its current enriched uranium stock,” but also allows much of the uranium enrichment infrastructure to remain, and Iran may renew expansion after ten years (Samore, 2015b: 5). Iran must also continue to report uranium enrichment for twenty-five years under the agreement (Samore, 2015b: 34). Second, this elimination of enriched uranium stock should extend the anticipated breakout time for a nuclear weapon to at least one year, whereas the current projected breakout time is two to three months (Samore, 2015b: 6). Third, the production of plutonium at the Arak reactor will be reduced to 1 kilogram per year, meaning it would take several years at the agreed rate to produce enough plutonium for even one bomb. Of course this would change if Iran violates the agreement, but such a violation should be detectable quite early under the current conditions of the agreement (Samore, 2015b: 20).

In order to verify compliance with the JCPOA, the “verification regime” will verify and observe Iran’s activities at “declared” nuclear facilities, and will attempt to identify and deter any undeclared facilities or activities (Samore, 2015b: 31-41). Under

the JCPOA, Iran must declare all facilities and nuclear materials to the IAEA, and is required to allow IAEA inspectors daily access to declared sites for at least fifteen years. The inspectors must come from countries which have diplomatic relations with Iran. Furthermore, access to undeclared locations (including military sites) must be requested, and Iran has at least fourteen days before they must allow access (Samore, 2015b: 34-6).

The IAEA has been investigating Iran for possible military dimensions (PMD) or weaponization of the nuclear program since 2002, and the IAEA still believes Iran may have undisclosed locations and may be attempting to develop a “nuclear payload for a missile” (Samore, 2015b: 42). Iran is required to provide a full accounting of its present and past nuclear activities and allow the IAEA to set up meetings with technical experts by August 15. The details of this account should be verified completely by the IAEA before “Implementation Day,” at which time the sanctions will be lifted (Samore, 2015b: 43). The details are outlined in two documents that are not publicly available and must be worked out between Iran and the IAEA. Iran is expected to continue to deny possible military dimensions, and the IAEA will likely move forward anyway for the sake of expediency and to begin monitoring what Iran is willing to disclose (Samore, 2015b: 44-6). The Belfer report recommends continued intelligence gathering in addition to the agreed upon terms of the JCPOA to detect any existence

of weapons research, which “could provide a basis for a range of actions, such as restoring sanctions, conducting covert operations, and considering military options” (Samore, 2015b: 7, 8 and 46-7).

Additionally, the terms of the JCPOA provide for a Procurement Channel which will oversee the purchase of materials from other countries, which may be used for the nuclear program (Samore, 2015b: 48-51). Iran is expected to continue purchasing multi-purpose items, which are not on control lists, but if Iran attempts to procure materials outside of authorized channels, it will be in violation of the JCPOA. Now that Iran has begun implementing the key nuclear commitments outlined in the JCPOA (Morello and DeYoung, 2016), the US and the EU have begun to lift the remaining sanctions, “which primarily target designated individuals and entities associated with Iran’s ballistic missile and nuclear proliferation activities, on Transition Day, which occurs after 8 years, or once the IAEA issues a “broader conclusion” verifying the peaceful nature of Iran’s nuclear program” (Samore, 2015b: 58). The JCPOA terms for lifting US sanctions are somewhat vaguely worded and it is unclear how the United States will proceed and how Iran will react if the US fails to lift all sanctions (Samore, 2015b: 59-60).

As for the long-term implications of the JCPOA, the Belfer report (Samore, 2015b: 8-9) acknowledges, that while the terms of the agreement should deter Iran from obtaining a nuclear weapon in the immediate future, the deterrent effectively

ends after the agreed upon fifteen years, at which point, Iran is free to pursue that course if it chooses. The report also admits that Iran could potentially “cheat” on the deal by covertly pursuing a nuclear weapon. The United States could formally accuse Iran of “cheating,” but once the nuclear sanctions have been lifted, the US will have a very difficult time convincing the international community to reimpose sanctions (Samore, 2015b: 7-9). While acknowledging the weaknesses in the JCPOA (from the US’ perspective), the Belfer report seems to suggest that it is likely the best chance at deterring Iran from a nuclear weapon.

8.4 The Nuclear Program: An Altered Operational Code

This chapter has provided the background of Iran’s nuclear program, but absent from nearly every source was consideration of what the Supreme Leader of Iran may be planning regarding the nuclear negotiations. It is important to consider his role, because, as mentioned above, the Iranian president and others on the negotiation team do not have the authority to act against his wishes. I suspected that speeches on Iran’s nuclear program may see a shift in Ayatollah Khamenei’s operational code. To test that theory, I followed Walker’s (et al., 1998) model in which he focused specifically on US President Carter’s changing attitude toward the Soviet Union. Similarly, I have compared the results of the Ayatollah’s current political belief system (2003-2015) with his speeches dealing exclusively with the topic of Iran’s nuclear program. Five speeches were selected from 2015 (March-June):

Figure 7. Speeches from Ayatollah Khamenei on Iran's Nuclear Program

Source Type	Date	Title
Speech: Nuclear Program	12-Mar-15	"Meeting with Members of Assembly of Experts"
Speech: Nuclear Program	19-Apr-15	"Meeting with Army Commanders and Personnel"
Speech: Nuclear Program	20-May-15	"Speech at Imam Hussein (a.s.) University"
Speech: Nuclear Program	27-May-15	"Meeting with Members of 9th Islamic Consultative Majlis"
Speech: Nuclear Negotiations	23-Jun-15	"Ramadan Speech to Government Officials"

In Table 5 below, we see some very significant changes in Ayatollah Khamenei's political belief system when it comes to this topic.

Table 5. Ayatollah Khamenei's Nuclear Operational Code.¹⁴

Philosophical & Instrumental Beliefs	Ali Khamenei	
	2003-2015	Nuclear Speeches
	(n = 9)	(n = 5)
P-1. Nature of Political Universe (Conflict/Cooperation)	0.203	0.07
P-2. Realization of Political Values (Pessimism/Optimism)	0.69	-0.03**
P-3. Political Future Predictability (Unpredictable/Predictable)	0.111	0.09
P-4. Control over History (Low Control/High Control)	0.183	0.24
P-5. Role of Chance (Small Role/Large Role)	0.98	0.978
I-1. Direction of Strategy (Conflict/Cooperation)	0.579	0.35*
I-2. Tactical Pursuit of Goals (Conflict/Cooperation)	0.304	0.13*
I-3. Risk Orientation (Averse/Acceptant)	0.214	0.14
I-4. Low-High Flexibility of Tactics		
a. Conflict/Cooperation	0.379	0.65**
b. Words/Deeds	0.536	0.58
I-5. Utility of Means		
a. Reward	0.21	0.15
b. Promise	0.051	0.06
c. Appeal/Support	0.528	0.46
d. Oppose/Resist	0.126	0.15
e. Threaten	0.026	0.04
f. Punish	0.058	0.13

The results indicate significant changes in Khamenei's approach to the nuclear issue.

When plotted on Figure 1, Khamenei's Leadership Type remains Type A, but aspects

¹⁴*Significant at $P \leq .10$ level (two-tailed) from the norming group and **significant at $P \leq .05$ level from the norming group.

of his operational code for self becomes nearly identical to the norming group in Table 2 (I-1 and P-4a). When dealing with the nuclear issue, Ayatollah Khamenei views the nature of the political universe (P-1) in more hostile terms than he normally does, and he becomes significantly more pessimistic about his ability to reach his nuclear goals (P-2), which could be related to his often expressed mistrust of the US. Interestingly, there is an increase in his sense of control over historical development (P-4). When it comes to his Instrumental (strategic) beliefs, there is a sharp decrease in his preference for cooperation, both in direction (I-1) and especially intensity (I-2). Additionally, his already strong aversion to risk (I-3) becomes even more pronounced when it comes to the nuclear issue. Interestingly, Khamenei demonstrates a much higher willingness to be flexible in his strategy (I-4) for Iran's nuclear program. In contrast, there is an overall increase in his preference for (I-5) conflictual tactics (especially Punish=I-5f), and a corresponding decrease in cooperative means (I-5a).

8.4.1 Khamenei's Reaction to the JCPOA

On July 18—four days after the announcement of the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA)—Ayatollah Khamenei addressed his nation in Tehran, calling an end to Ramadan fasting (Khamenei, 2015: *Eid ul-Fitr prayers*). This sermon provided Khamenei the occasion to express his views on the JCPOA. In a subtle and reserved way, Khamenei portrayed the deal as a success, and praised Iran's negotiators and scientists. He begins by reminiscing about the magnificent Quds Day rallies and how

this year the Iranian people continued to chant the slogans of “Death to America” and “Death to Israel.” In contrast to his praise, Ayatollah Khamenei also called into question whether the JCPOA document “will be ratified or not,” no less than three times in the sermon. Khamenei went on to say that “by Allah’s favor and grace, no one will be allowed to take advantage of this document in any way” and that the countries defense will remain intact. He further took the opportunity to reassure the oppressed people of Palestine, Yemen and Bahrain, the people and governments of Iraq and Syria, and the “sincere *mujahids* of the Resistance in Lebanon and Palestine” that Iran will not abandon them because of the JCPOA. Importantly, Khamenei cited a list of US’ transgressions, reassuring his followers that Iran maintains its anti-American stance (Khamenei, 2015: *Eid ul-Fitr Prayers*):

Our policy towards the arrogant government of America will not change in any way despite these negotiations and the document that has been prepared. As we have said many times, we have no negotiations with America on different global and regional issues. We have no bilateral negotiations with America. Sometimes, we have negotiated with them in exceptional cases such as the nuclear issue and we have done so because of our interests. The nuclear issue was not the only case. There were other cases as well which I have referred to in my previous public speeches. The American policies in the region are 180 degrees the opposite of the policies of the Islamic Republic. The Americans accuse Hezbollah and the Lebanese Resistance - who are the most self-sacrificing forces in their country in the area of national defense - of terrorism. There is no injustice worse than this. This is while they support the terrorist child-killing government of Zionism. How can one do business, negotiate and reach an agreement with such a policy... [Obama] admitted to two, three mistakes, but he did not mention tens of others. He did not speak about the 25-year oppressive and treacherous rule of the second Pahlavi monarch. He did not speak about the many instances of torture, looting, massacre, disaster and calamity that were caused by America. He did not speak about the destruction of the

Iranian peoples' dignity and America's efforts to trample upon their domestic and foreign interests. He did not speak about the Zionists' domination, the killing of Iranian passengers on a passenger plane and many other things.

Khamenei further dismisses any claims that the US has coerced Iran into a deal or gained the upper hand, saying that domestic problems in the United States have forced US officials to “bluster” about American success in the deal (Khamenei, 2015).

While openly hostile toward the United States, overall this sermon suggests that Khamenei supports the deal. He claims that Iran is becoming stronger by the day and says it has been over a decade now that “six great global powers...have been sitting in front of Iran, trying to prevent it from pursuing its nuclear industry...[and] they have been forced to tolerate the continuation of this industry in our country.” He ends the sermon with a threat (Khamenei, 2015: *Eid ul-Fitr Prayers*):

An individual has said that he can destroy Iran's army. Our predecessors used to call such statements, "boasting among strangers" [audience laughs]. ...they should know that should any war break out—of course we do not welcome or begin any war—he who will emerge humiliated [literally: "head-cracked"] out of it, will be transgressing and criminal America.

With speeches like this and a similar speech in a Meeting with Government Officials and Ambassadors of Islamic Countries (Khamenei, 2015) on the same day, Khamenei has hailed the deal as a triumph of Iran over the powerful nations of the world whom Iran forced to come to the negotiating table. Furthermore, he has reassured his follow-

ers that Iran fully plans to maintain a hostile foreign policy toward its long-time enemies—the United States and Israel. Additionally, he has questioned the trustworthiness of the United States in executing the JCPOA and claimed that Iran will not give in to any pressure to alter the document in a way that is unfavorable to Iran. Ultimately, Khamenei is poised to condemn the deal if need be (accusing the United States of underhanded dealings), but it seems that he is content with the JCPOA reached on July 14. After tireless efforts by the Obama administration, the deal was not quashed by the US Congress and many aspects of the deal have already been implemented. Interested parties are watching warily as the JCPOA implementation unfolds.

8.4.2 How Will Ayatollah Khamenei Handle Negotiations?

Based on the above (Table 5) alterations in Ayatollah Khamenei’s operational code, it appears that he is very invested in the nuclear negotiations and his speeches indicate that he has tentatively been hoping for the deal to be implemented. What is clear is that Khamenei does not show an interest in excessive compromise or even cooperating much on this issue, which hardly comes as a surprise given the length of the negotiations to date. Khamenei successfully held out on any previous deal until he reached one that served his interests. In the above coded speeches, Ayatollah Khamenei has often spoken of the need for an agreement, but also of his many red lines. For example, Khamenei states, “I do not agree with extraordinary investigations either, nor do I agree with questioning political personalities in any way nor with inspecting military

centers” (Khamenei, 2015). If Khamenei takes it further and in the future refuses to allow the inspections of declared facilities according to the terms of the JCPOA, it will inevitably lead to a stalemate, though this would not necessarily hurt Iran any more than the sanctions already are. Meanwhile, Iran stands to benefit tremendously as it gains access to more than \$50 billion, but especially as Iran opens up to international trade (Northam, 2015; Morello and DeYoung, 2016).

Concerning the fears of countries in the region (i.e. Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates and Israel), a more powerful Iran may be able to pursue the ‘exportation’ of the Revolution/Islamic Awakening. In the words of Ayatollah Khamenei’s chief advisor, Ali Akbar Velayati (Khamenei, 2015: *Interview with Supreme Leader’s Advisor on Foreign Affairs about the Nuclear Negotiations*):

All [the Supreme Leader] is doing is preventing the rights of the people from being violated. After all, the people and *all Muslims in the world* have pinned their hopes on the Islamic Republic of Iran and on him. During the time I was in charge of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, I travelled to many countries. Certain individuals in some of these countries used to say to me, "You are not only Iran's Minister of Foreign Affairs. *You are the Minister of Foreign Affairs for the entire world of Islam*. You are our Minister of Foreign Affairs as well". The position that the Supreme Leader of the Islamic Republic of Iran enjoys is, in fact, the manifestation of the dignity that Muslims have throughout the world.¹⁵

In addition to his own comments outlined in Chapter 6 hailing Iran as the “pivot” of the Muslim world, Khamenei’s advisor makes his regional intentions clear by claiming

¹⁵ The use of italics is my own.

a general Islamic acceptance of Khamenei and the Islamic Republic as a regional leader or protector. There is no question, however, that many in the “world of Islam” would disagree completely with such bold claims.

8.5 Conclusion

In sum, the outcome of the JCPOA nuclear deal with Iran could potentially change Iran’s stature in the region. As discussed in Chapter 5, the Islamic Republic has already managed to gain regional influence in a number of ways, primarily through their support of Hezbollah in Lebanon, Hamas in Gaza, Iraqi Shi’as in the fight against ISIS, the Houthis of Yemen, and al Assad in Syria. Ayatollah Khamenei appears to be very invested and uncompromising on this issue, so while it seems that Khamenei is not opposed the JCPOA, he is also poised to call foul if the negotiations do not proceed as he expects.

CHAPTER 9: CONCLUSION

In this final chapter, I will briefly summarize my main objective in choosing to research this particular topic. Second, I will summarize the reflections on the operational codes of Khomeini and Khamenei, based on the results of the Verbs in Context System and Profiler Plus. In addition, I will outline the implications of these results, especially as they pertain to the ongoing nuclear negotiations, as well as the impact on Foreign Policy Analysis and International Relations literature. Finally, I will discuss the potential for future research on this topic.

9.1 Motivations for the Research

Embroiled in international debate over its regional aspirations and supposed intention of creating a nuclear weapon, Iran is a country that demands scholarly attention. Often neglected in that endeavor is proper consideration of the men who have effectively controlled Iran's domestic and international policies since 1979. Even rarer is a marriage of the leaders' historical and biographical characteristics with the empirical results obtained with operational code analysis. As much as leaders of other countries would like to see an Iranian president, like Rouhani, taking a moderate stance as a sign of coming change, it should not be forgotten who actually controls Iran's foreign policy—Supreme Leader Ayatollah Khamenei. The significance of his position makes it necessary to understand what this powerful man intends.

I undertook this research with two major goals in mind. First, I intended to identify the foreign policy agenda of Ayatollah Khomeini and Ayatollah Khamenei through a qualitative study of the pertinent literature. My second goal was to identify the political belief system of Ayatollah Khomeini to determine what motivated his actions, and that of Ayatollah Khamenei to predict his future foreign policy strategies, particularly regarding Iran's nuclear program. Part of the research was qualitative in order to provide a more comprehensive understanding of what constitutes and motivates the decision making styles of these two men. Consequently, attention is given to the historical context behind their simultaneous rise to power, their biographies and Iran's foreign policy agenda—including export of the Revolution (i.e. the Islamic Awakening). The primary goal of the research—a quantitative study of the operational code of the Ayatollahs Khomeini and Khamenei—was conducted with VICS and Profiler Plus, which provided further insight into the Philosophical motivations and Instrumental strategies behind the decisions of the two.

The three research questions of this thesis are:

1. Do the political belief systems of Supreme Leader Khomeini and Supreme Leader Khamenei differ greatly from the average world leader?
2. Did the operational code of Ayatollah Khomeini and Ayatollah Khamenei see a change over the course of their leadership as they encountered new scenarios?
3. To what extent has Ayatollah Khamenei's belief system affected policies pertaining to Iran's nuclear program?

The simple answer to the first and second question is that the leaders were significantly different from the average leader in some regards, and that their political belief systems have seen some change during their political careers. The answer to the third question will be reviewed in section 9.3 of this chapter, but simply put, this research has found that Khamenei's belief system becomes more hostile and conflictual when it comes to the nuclear issue.

9.2 Implications of the Results

Operational code analyses of Iran's Supreme Leaders yield results that defy conventional wisdom that they have been overtly hostile and irrational in their foreign policy decisions. One aspect of their speeches has remained consistent throughout both leaders' tenure—they abhor Western interference and have remained strongly anti-Western in their policies and rhetoric. This contributes to their significantly low P-1 and P-4a scores (indicating a strong lack of trust for the 'other' in the political universe). The anti-Western sentiment was also noted in Muslim Brotherhood leaders: Egypt's Morsi, Hamas' Meshaal, and Tunisia's Ghannouchi (Canbolat, 2014: 131). Iran's long history of encounters with Western interference and appropriation of resources began with Russia and England, and continued with the United States until the 1979 Revolution.

A preliminary analysis of Ayatollah Khomeini's and Ayatollah Khamenei's philosophical and instrumental beliefs shows a certain level of consistency between

the two. Ayatollah Khomeini and Ayatollah Khamenei may both be classified as Type A leaders, and while both lean more toward cooperation than conflict, Khamenei demonstrates a much higher overall tendency for cooperation. Some similarities between the two are hardly surprising given Khamenei's devotion to the teachings of Khomeini from their college days, their shared role in the 1979 Revolution and their participation in the government which immediately followed it. Add to all this the historical context in which their belief systems came into being and it is possible to see many similarities in their speeches on international politics, most particularly in their reminders of the Muslim world being abused by the West, and the calls for a return to spirituality and Islamic unity to cleanse the region from foreign influences.

Both leaders tend to be cooperative with their in-group, though their definition of 'in-group' seems to fluctuate from speech to speech—at times expanding to include all Muslims of the world, all Muslim countries, or even all oppressed nations of the world, while at other times it is limited to Shi'a Muslims. In the case of both Khomeini and Khamenei, changes in their political belief system occurred over time and as a result of years of experience leading a nation and brought them somewhat closer in line with the political belief system of the norming group (see Tables 2 and 3). In general, as anticipated, there were some significant differences between the political belief systems (operational codes) of Khomeini and Khamenei when compared with the norming group.

In terms of the Philosophical motivations behind their decision making habits, both Ayatollah Khomeini and Ayatollah Khamenei have been disposed to view the political universe as more hostile than the average world leader, especially Khomeini. They also have both demonstrated pessimism regarding the realization of their foreign policy goals. Additionally, they have a lower than average belief in their level of control over global historical developments and attribute a very large role to chance in foreign policy. As Type A leaders, they tend to blame conflict on misperceptions and the consequent impulsive responses from states.

Although their aversion to risk is in line with the average leader and both demonstrate moderate flexibility of tactics, where Khomeini and Khamenei drastically differ, however, is in their Instrumental beliefs, i.e. choice of strategy. Khamenei's direction of strategy, tactical pursuit of goals and utility of means show a tendency to be cooperative, while Khomeini is much more conflictual than the average leader. Until recently, Iran has preferred a foreign policy of relative isolation both under Khomeini and Khamenei. Allowing Russian bombers to stage attacks against the Islamic State from within Iran's borders marks a major change in the status quo and indicates Khamenei's higher propensity for cooperation when the conditions suit (though it is yet unclear what exactly Iran has gained by allowing this).

9.2.1 Theoretical and Policy Implications

This thesis is not the first in literature on Iran to disagree with contemporary wisdom that portrays the Supreme Leaders as irrational or lacking pragmatism, the primary value added in this research is the quantitative research backing it up, making this thesis a significant addition to the Leadership Studies in Foreign Policy Analysis. Indeed, by conducting a comparative analysis of the two leaders, alongside the 35 leaders comprising the norming group, the empirical findings of this research, far from conforming to the portrayal of Iran's leaders by the West, provide an image of leaders who are not so drastically different from the average world leader. Consequently, the application of this comparative analysis served to dispel some misconceptions about the leaders. The use of operational code analysis is slowly gaining traction in Foreign Policy Analysis, which itself is an exciting way to view leaders as important actors in foreign policy decision making.

Leadership Studies, such as operational code analysis, provide a new way of understanding leaders by analyzing their beliefs. Identifying the political beliefs of non-Western leaders (such as Khomeini and Khamenei) will help Western leaders to develop a more nuanced understanding of these leaders, which in turn, will aid in the creation of more effective policies. The ability to predict how these leaders may act in foreign policy will help to avoid misunderstandings and unnecessary escalations of issues that may be resolved more cooperatively. Within leadership studies, this thesis

supports claims in FPA literature that individual leaders are at the center of foreign policy decisions.

Before delving into the policy implications of the Supreme Leaders' operational codes, it is important to recognize the limitations of operational code analysis; even when the leader in questions has as much power as Khamenei does in the Islamic Republic, there are still systemic factors acting to constrain his actions. Kaarbo (1997: 572) contends that personalities "affect process the most, outcomes the second, and outputs the least." Furthermore, Young and Schafer (1998: 64) draw attention to other potential shortcomings of cognitive studies in IR: (1) cognitive studies of leaders are based on speeches and written acts of leaders, and a further psychological analysis is not usually possible, (2) obtaining results may be laborious and once done hard to analyze (though this has been made *much* simpler with the development of software such as Profiler Plus), and (3) the data produced is not always "timely *and* useful." That said, the insight provided in this thesis on Khomeini serves as a comparison for Khamenei, and Khamenei's operational code adds valuable insight into his beliefs and makes it possible to predict his future actions.

At first glance, Ayatollah Khamenei's overall operational code, based on speeches regarding a variety of countries, give the impression that he is prepared to cooperate during nuclear negotiations with P5+1. His learned operational code shows an overall decrease in his propensity for cooperation, however (Table 3). Furthermore,

a coding of Khamenei's speech acts dealing exclusively with the subject of Iran's nuclear program and the negotiations (Table 7) reveals a very different side of the leader. As one might expect, it is clear that this issue holds a special significance for Ayatollah Khamenei, and he becomes much less cooperative than he is in general. This is also openly evident in the wording of his speeches on the subject in which he often expresses his distrust of the US.

Therefore, the findings of this research suggests that though he has supported the deal, Ayatollah Khamenei is unlikely to compromise too deeply on his often mentioned "red lines" in the nuclear negotiations, which the United States and P5+1 will presumably demand according to the terms of the JCPOA. It is still possible that Iran, with the support of the Supreme Leader will attempt to draw out the implementation of the more controversial features of the deal until it has reached its nuclear aspirations, which most likely involve a nuclear weapon.

In recent speeches, Khamenei has openly threatened to disregard the JCPOA if P5+1 does not cooperate, and that in that event, Iran could be the next nuclear power within a year and a half. The US and other Western countries must remember that, as a type A leader who tends to alternate between Appeasement and Assurance strategies, Khamenei is neither as hostile as he is often portrayed, nor is his willingness to cooperate unconditional, a point he has warned of time and again in his speeches.

9.3 Avenues for Future Research

There are some ways to develop this study even further in future research. First, as mentioned in Chapter 5, the Supreme Leader has an advising council—the Expediency Council—which is comprised of 28 members who are chosen exclusively by the Supreme Leader for terms of five years. Among the many notable members of the council, the list includes current President Rouhani, Ali Larijani, Saeed Jalili, former president Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, and the 1979 revolutionary giant Akbar Hashem Rafsanjani. Although it may prove incredibly difficult to find the primary sources that are ideal for this sort of research, identifying the operational code of individuals on this Council could provide great insight into the inner workings of Iran’s foreign policy apparatus. However, it would be a mistake to attribute excessive power to this council, as the members may easily fall from the Supreme Leader’s grace and find themselves rapidly losing their political influence, as in the cases of Mousavi and the historically powerful Rafsanjani. Still, because these members represent individuals who may influence the decisions of the most powerful man in Iran, a study of their speeches, statements and writings could provide further insight into the foreign policy of Iran.

Another vein of research that may prove useful is to draw comparisons of Ayatollah Khomeini’s and Khamenei’s operational codes with other Islamist leaders of the region, such as those in the Master’s thesis conducted by Sercan Canbolat (2014) on leaders with ties to the Muslim Brotherhood. It would be particularly interesting to see

if there are significant discrepancies on the basis of varying Islamist regime types or even religious sects. A more comprehensive understanding of the non-Western leaders will help to fill in the gaps of FPA research. Many different forms of political Islam have emerged in recent decades (including the rise of various terrorist organizations not recognized as legitimate by most countries, yet wielding significant power over millions). It is imperative that leadership studies be extended beyond the typical research into the political beliefs of Western politicians.

Lastly, in June, 2016 Khamenei threatened to disregard the JCPOA if the US does not honor its end of the bargain (Khamenei, 2016):

The agenda of the enemy today is to stop or eliminate the capabilities of the Islamic Republic or at least to prevent their growth. We will not violate the JCPOA, but if the opposite side violates it—US presidential candidates are currently threatening to rip up the JCPOA—if they tear it, we will burn it... Under the JCPOA, the other side was duty-bound to lift the sanctions, which it has not done. The banking issues have not been solved. The issue of the insurance on oil tankers is implemented but at a limited level. Oil payments owed and our assets, which we have in other countries, have not been returned to us... It is a misconception that we [the Islamic Republic] can come to terms with the US: we cannot rely on illusions. US animosity towards Iran stems from its opposition to the very existence of the Islamic Republic and that won't be settled through negotiations.

To avoid further escalation in the conflictual nuclear dealings, it would be useful to draw comparisons between Khamenei's operational code (political belief system) and that of other P5+1 leaders involved in the negotiations. This would allow an in-depth look at various strategies employed and potentially aid in a peaceful resolution. The

Islamic Republic of Iran is becoming a dominant regional player in the Middle East and in some ways is garnering the respect of many Muslims in other countries for so effectively holding out against Western interference since the 1979 Revolution and the creation of the Republic. Therefore, as leader of Iran, Khamenei deserves continued research.



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APPENDICES

Ayatollah Khomeini's Coded Speeches:

Source Type / Subject	Date	Title
Speech: Western Influence via the Shah	5-May-44	"Letters to the Clergy of Qom" (Khomeini 1944)
Speech: Warning about Shah & Western Ways	Jan-63	"Speech to High-ranking Ayatullahs and <i>Ulama</i> of Qum" (Khomeini 1963)
Speech: Warning against American Troops in Iran	26-Oct-64	"Meetings with the <i>Marjas</i> [sources of spiritual emulation] and Clergy of Qom" (Khomeini 1964)
Book: Outlining <i>Velayat-e Faqih</i>	1970	<i>Islamic Government: Governance of the Jurist</i> (Khomeini 1970)
Speech: to Students & Diaspora	Nov-78	"The Imam's Speech to a Group of Students and Iranians Residing Abroad" (Khomeini 1978)
Interview: with Dr. Algar on the Uprising in Iran	29-Dec-78	"Thirty Million People Have Stood Up" (Algar 1981)
Speech: The Shah was the U.S.' Lackey	1-Feb-79	"Speech on First Day in Iran after Exile" (Khomeini 1979a)
Speech: Muslim Nations must Unite (esp. Iran, Lebanon & Palestine)	26-Jul-79	"Adhere to the Power of Unity" (Khomeini 1979b)
Speech: We Defeated the Shah (owned by the U.S.)	1-Apr-79	"The First Day of God's Government" (Algar 1981, 265-267)
Speech: Regarding the U.S. Embassy (to university students)	5-Nov-79	"The United States Cannot do a Damn Thing" (Khomeini 1979c)
Letter: Reply to Message from Pope John Paul II	12-Nov-79	"We Fear neither Military Action nor Economic Sanctions" (Khomeini 1979d)
Speech: to Christians on Christmas (join against U.S. oppression)	23-Dec-79	"Let the Church Bells Ring for the Deprived and Abased People of the World" (1979e)
Speech: Call for Muslim Unity	12-Sep-80	"Message to the Pilgrims" (Algar 1981, 300-306)
Letter: to Gorbachev (Consider Islam as a Replacement for Communism)	1-Jan-89	"A Call to Divine Unity: a Letter to President Mikhail Gorbachev, Leader of the Soviet Union." (Khomeini 1989)
Will: Read by Khamenei	4-Jun-89	"Final Will and Testament" (Khomeini 1989)

Ayatollah Khamenei's Coded Speeches:

Source Type / Subject	Date	Title
Speech: Defense of 1979 Revolution	22-Sep-87	"Speech at UN General Assembly"
Speech: On Imam Mehdi's Birthday Anniversary	13-Mar-90	"Supreme Leader's Address to Government Officials"
Speech: Celebrating the Victory of the Revolution	6-Feb-91	"Supreme Leader's Speech in a Meeting with Foreign Participants of Ten-Day Fajr Ceremonies"
Speech: Relating to Islamic Awakening	23-Apr-96	"Supreme Leader's Hajj Message"
Speech: Islamic Unity & Dangers from the West	9-Dec-97	"Leader's Speech at the 8th Summit of the Organization of Islamic Countries"
Speech: Encouraging Unity Between Islamic Nations	25-Oct-00	"Supreme Leader's Speech in a Meeting with Officials and Ambassadors of Islamic Countries"
Speech: The Arrogant Powers are the Enemy of the Oppressed	14-Oct-03	"Supreme Leader's Speech in Meeting with Students from Zanzan Province"
Speech: To Seminary Students on Abu Qhraib & Western Failures	11-Jun-04	"Supreme Leader's Speech in Meeting with the Clergy of Ayatollah Mujtahidi Seminary"
Speech: History of Colonialism in Muslim Nations	2-May-05	"Supreme Leader's Speech to Families of Martyrs and War Veterans of Kerman Province"
Speech: Western Interference in Iran's Elections / Israeli Failure in Lebanon	13-Aug-06	"Supreme Leader's Speech in Meeting with Members of Assembly of Experts"
Speech: Role of the Islamic <i>Ummah</i> in the World	5-Dec-07	"Supreme Leader's Speech to Judiciary Officials of Islamic Countries"
Speech: Support for and Successes of Lebanon & Palestine	17-Feb-08	"Supreme Leader's Speech to Thousands of People from East Azerbaijan"
Speech: Enemies of the Islamic Republic	11-Sep-09	"Supreme Leader's Friday Prayer Address Ramadhan"
Speech: Islamic Unity & Dangers from the West	27-May-14	"Supreme Leader's Meeting with Government Officials and Ambassadors of Islamic Countries"
Speech: Response to Calls for a Regime or Behavior Change	16-Mar-15	"Meeting with the members of the Assembly of Experts"

Ayatollah Khamenei's Speeches on Iran's Nuclear Program:

Source Type	Date	Title
Speech: Nuclear Program	12-Mar-15	"Meeting with Members of Assembly of Experts"
Speech: Nuclear Program	19-Apr-15	"Meeting with Army Commanders and Personnel"
Speech: Nuclear Program	20-May-15	"Speech at Imam Hussein (a.s.) University"
Speech: Nuclear Program	27-May-15	"Meeting with Members of 9th Islamic Consultative Majlis"
Speech: Nuclear Negotiations	23-Jun-15	"Ramadan Speech to Government Officials"