Independence without Freedom

IRAN'S FOREIGN POLICY

R. K. RAMAZANI

UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA PRESS

Charlottesville and London
# CONTENTS

Acknowledgments  ix

Introduction  1

## PART I. THE SHAH AND KHOMEINI REVOLUTIONS

"Church" and State in Modernizing Society: The Case of Iran  9

Iran's "White Revolution": A Study in Political Development  16

Iran's Revolution: Patterns, Problems, and Prospects  33

Who Lost America? The Case of Iran  50

## PART II. REVOLUTIONARY FOREIGN POLICIES

Khomeini's Islam in Iran's Foreign Policy  71

Iran: Burying the Hatchet  94

Iran's Foreign Policy: Contending Orientations  111

Iran's Export of the Revolution: Its Politics, Ends, and Means  128

The Shifting Premise of Iran's Foreign Policy: Toward a Democratic Peace?  148

Reflections on Iran's Foreign Policy: Defining the "National Interest"  160

Ideology and Pragmatism in Iran's Foreign Policy  184

Reflections on Iran's Foreign Policy: Spiritual Pragmatism  196

## PART III. SECURITY IN THE PERSIAN GULF

Security in the Persian Gulf  215

The Strait of Hormuz: The Global Chokepoint  229

Shiism in the Persian Gulf  240

Sociopolitical Change in the Gulf: A Climate for Terrorism?  263

## PART IV. INTERNATIONAL LAW AND DIPLOMACY

Who Started the Iran-Iraq War? A Commentary  287

Iran's Hostage Crisis: International Legitimacy Matters  307
PART V. THE SHAH AND ISRAEL, KHATAMI AND BUSH

Iran and the Arab-Israeli Conflict 319
Iran, Democracy, and the United States 335

Afterword 353

Appendix: The Role of Iran in the New Millennium—
A View from the Outside 359

Index 365