

Cultural Globalization and Foreign Policy Strategies of the Islamic Republic of Iran

(Case Study; the Seventh and the Ninth Governments)

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Abstract

Nowadays, cultural globalization is one of the most important aspects of expansion and deepening of capitalistic relations. This process exerts a great influence on all communities, especially non-Western societies, so that it has prompted them to adopt different approaches towards it. Thus, understanding the phenomenon of globalization for countries such as Iran that insists on their specificity (especially on their indigenous cultural values), to identify threats and crises which this phenomenon will be looking for them is of high importance. So, the main purpose of this research is to analyze how the seventh and the ninth governments of Islamic Republic of Iran dealt with the issue of globalization, particularly, its cultural aspect. Indeed, with realization of the differences between post-revolutionary Iranian state and most of existing ideologies in the world and also its geopolitics and strategic sensitive location in the region; all Iranian post-revolutionary governments adopted logical and rational policies in dealing with this worldwide wave. However, as regards the specific national, regional and international conditions, the seventh and the ninth governments were much more exposed to globalization and taking a clear stance. Research findings, according to the theory of 'James N. Rosenau "Fragmegration" show that the seventh government, based on adopting political culturalism, sought for interaction and 'convergence' in the form of "dialogue between civilizations" as well as pacifism in addition to criticizing world's dominant relations. Whereas, the ninth government adopting justice-oriented approach and political spirituality in the form of public participation and management in managing the world led to "divergence" of the existing global order considering realistic and power-based relations of international order.

Keywords: globalization, culture globalization, dialogue among civilizations, political culturalism, political spirituality, Fragementation

1. Introduction

Many Scholars believe that the concept of cultural globalization refers to the transmission of ideas, meanings and values across world space. This process is marked by the common consumption of cultures that have been diffused by the Internet, popular culture, and international travel. Cultural globalization involves the formation of shared norms and knowledge with which people associate their individual and collective cultural identities, and increasing interconnectedness among different populations and cultures (Inda, Rosaldo, 2002).

From a general perspective, there are two perspectives on culture globalization; the first one, with a project, pessimistic, and fatalistic- oriented view, regards the western culture hegemony, particularly American one (McDonaldization and Hollywood) as the essence and nature of this phenomenon, which are based on self-values and norms following homogenizing other cultures (Ahmadi, 2004, p. 4). Thus, the only way to protect the identity and culture against the guided imperialist invasion is the cultural resistance and revolution. The second one, on the contrary, positively views this phenomenon as the ongoing process and a typical grant and gift rather than a project form having the guided think tank as it causes the opportunities for manifesting various cultures and subcultures in the world arena, which were earlier insignificant. Therefore, they took a general view in which the cultures interact and the premier and superior culture is the one that provides more appealing to individuals, groups, classes and nations (Ahmadi, 2004, p. 4-7). Iran, located in a strategic region and as the communication highway of three continents, owns an unrivaled position in influencing and being

influenced by the world's current developments. All Iranian governments tried hard in interacting with the world. However, it initially faced domestic issues, bad regional-international view, and Shiaphobia, the revisionism of Iran revolution in world media gradually changed at the regional and global level (Dehghanifrouzabadi, 2010, p. 80-95).

So, the main question of research is: what approaches and responses did the seventh and the ninth governments adopt in dealing with culture globalization? And what impacts did these stances have on foreign policy strategies of Iran? Research hypothesis, using "Rosenau Frangmegration theory", replied this question as the seventh government (Seyyed Mohammad Khatami), adopting convergence approach in the form of dialogue between civilizations and détente policy in foreign relations, as well as internally developing civil society and sought for interaction with regional-global relations. After all, the ninth government (Mahmoud Ahmadinejad), taking justice-oriented approach as the true missing of present human, adopted public participation and management throughout the world administrating to participate and influence global relations based on resistant-based approach and divergent from dominated order. In this regard, it initially reviews the literature about the culture globalization as the software dimension of the present world globalization process; then, it analyzes macro policies adopted by the Iranian politics and the elites, living in the country or outside against this trend.

2. Literature Review

Globalization, as the dominant trend of the present world, is the most controversial concept studied from several perspectives and the analysts and policy makers try to differently interpret this process. Globalization is reshaping how we have traditionally gone about studying the social world and human culture and a field of globalization studies is now emerging across the disciplines (Appelbaum and Robinson, 2005). These globalization studies arose around several sets of phenomena that drew researchers' attention from the 1970s onwards. Encyclopedia Britannica defines cultural globalization as 'a phenomenon by which the experience of everyday life, as influenced by the diffusion of commodities and ideas, reflects a standardization of cultural expressions around the world' (Encyclopedia Britannica, 2013). Globalization is understood as a social process in which geographic obstacles to social and cultural arrangements lose importance and where people are becoming increasingly aware of the fact that they lose importance (Waters 1995, p. 3). Another definition of globalization, as intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa, is well known (Giddens, 1990, p. 64). Globalization is also defined as compression of the world and intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole (Robertson, 1992, p. 8).

A number of theories are centrally, if not primarily, concerned with the subjective dimension of globalization and tend to emphasize globalizing cultural forms and flows, belief systems and ideologies over the economics and/or the politics. Such approaches distinctively problematize the existence of a 'global culture' and 'making the world a single place' – whether as a reality, a possibility or a fantasy. Cultural theories of globalization have focused on such phenomena as globalization and religion, nations and ethnicity, global consumerism, global communications, and the globalization of tourism.

In this sense, Robertson provided perhaps the most widely accepted definition of globalization among scholars: 'Globalization as a concept refers both to the compression of the world and to the intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole . . . both concrete global interdependence and consciousness of the global whole in the twentieth century' (Robertson 1992, p. 8). Robertson's particular theory is also centrally concerned with the subjective, cultural and phenomenological dimensions of globalization. Cultural theories of globalization tend to line up along one of three positions (Tomlinson 1999; Nederveen Pieterse 2004). Homogenization theories see a global cultural convergence and would tend to highlight the rise of world beat, world cuisines, world tourism, uniform consumption patterns and cosmopolitanism. Heterogeneity approaches see continued cultural difference and highlight local cultural autonomy, cultural resistance to homogenization, cultural clashes and polarization, and distinct subjective experiences of globalization. Here we were also able to highlight the insights of post-colonial theories. Hybridization stresses new and constantly evolving cultural forms and identities produced by manifold transnational processes and the fusion of distinct cultural processes. These three theses certainly capture different dimensions of cultural globalization but there are very distinct ways of interpreting the process even within each thesis. Another recurrent theme among cultural theories of globalization is universalism and particularism. While some approaches see particularisms as being wiped out others see cultural resistance, fundamentalism and so on, a rejection of uniformity or universalism. A key problematic in these theories becomes identity representation in the new global age.

Arjun appadurai's thesis on the 'global cultural economy' refers to what he sees as the 'central problem of

today's global interactions', the tension between cultural homogenization and cultural heterogenization (1990, p. 296). To illustrate this tension he identifies 'global cultural flows' that 'move in isomorphic paths'. These flows generate distinct images – sets of symbols, meanings, representations and values – in which he refers to as 'scapes', or globalized mental pictures of the social world, perceived from the flows of cultural objects. Ritzer (1993, 2002) coined the currently popularized term 'McDonaldization' to describe the sociocultural processes by which the principles of the fast-food restaurant came to dominate more and more sectors of US and later world society. Ritzer, this particular homogenization approach, suggests that Weber's process of rationalization became epitomized in the late twentieth century in the organization of McDonald's restaurants along seemingly efficient, predictable and standardized lines – an instrumental rationality (the most efficient means to a given end) – yet results in an ever deeper substantive irrationality, such as alienation, waste, low nutritional value and the risk of health problems, and so forth. This commodification and rationalization of social organization spreads throughout the gamut of social and cultural processes, giving us 'McJobs', 'McInformation', 'McUniversities', 'McCitizens' and so forth (Ritzer 2002; Gottdiener 2000).

Quite spread out, but, for the purposes of further consideration, an entirely appropriate classification of globalization theories differentiates three courses of analysis of this multidimensional phenomenon (Held, McGraw, 2007, p 2): 1) hyperglobalists 2) transformationalists 3) skeptics by hyperglobalists, globalization is viewed as a legitimate and irrepressible historical process, which leads to a world order based on the market and supranational institutions. Globalization presents a new era in the development of civilization, without precedent in the course of human history. This process is referred to as progressive and socially desirable. It is also stressed that the intensity and dynamics of current changes in the economy lead to changes in core framework of social action (Held, McGraw, 2007, p. 5) Hyperglobalists conceive globalization as a process, which has the internal logic and predictable outcome, the global society based on a fully integrated market. In other words, all the variety of heterogeneous cultures withdraws in front of the unique social pattern, based on markets and institutions derived from the radically liberal cultural framework. In this sense, a well-known assumption about the "end of history" is generated implying the modern, global capitalism with liberal democracy as the political framework represents the last word of socio-economic evolution (Fukuyama, 1992). Transformationalists (Giddens, Scholte, Castells, Walerstein) are more moderate in terms of emphasis of ubiquity and linearity of the globalization process, as well as assessing of progressivism of its effects. But they fail to accept skeptic thesis about globalization either. For them, the indisputable fundamental changes in the organization of society that globalization brings are the growing overall integration and acceleration of socioeconomic dynamics through "compression" of space and time. However, their approach is multidimensional, taking into account mechanisms of globalization other than economic ones. In this sense, a sociologist of modernism, Anthony Giddens, considers globalization as a phenomenon shaped by forces of "modern" capitalism: politics, military power and industrialism (Giddens, 1990).

Another classification of globalization theories is also possible. It consists of three theoretical orientations (Stefanović, 2008, p. 267). 1) Structural 2) conjunctural 3) Social-constructivist Structural explanations perceive globalization as a lawful process, inherent to socioeconomic dynamics. Globalization presents an understandable result of the development of society, led by the logic of technology and capital accumulation. Determinism present in this kind of approach is evident. Conjunctural explanation of globalization considers consequence of unification of techno-economic tendencies with specific historical conditions and policies, which determine its character. This approach deals with the cyclic character of globalization, the causes of its acceleration or slowdown in certain periods Social Constructivist explanations are more interested in the origin of ideas about globalization, and the ways in which they became part of scientific and everyday discourse. By setting appropriate tendencies in the world of economy and their classification under the concept of globalization, the process became socially and ideologically constructed.

3. Theoretical Framework; Rosenau Frangmentation Theory

To study the relationship between cultural globalization various approaches that Iranian government's take toward this phenomenon, we will use Rosenau theory and model in its book "*Turbulence in World Politics: A Theory of Change and Continuity (1990)*". Like many countries, according to culture globalization and its changes, the governments, parties, and active social-political groups in Iran also took different approaches. Convergence and centralization or divergence and decentralization (multi-centric) are the two particular reactions with their particular proponents. The most all-encompassing of these polarities involves the links between the globalizing and localizing dynamics that are propelling the course of events everywhere. "My label for these interactions, Rosenau says; is "frangmentation" (Note 1) a contrived word designed to capture in a single phrase the fragmentation-integration, localization-globalization, and decentralization-centralization tensions so

pervasive throughout the world that it can fairly be said the present age is not of globalization, but of *framgegration*". (Rosenau, 1983, p. 65-82). As philosophical premises, they amount to forms of either localism or globalism, both of which consist of mind sets, of orientations, of worldviews, with localism pertaining to those mental sets that focus on and value the familiar and close-at hand arrangements located within conventional community and national boundaries, and with globalism involving orientations toward the distant circumstances that lie beyond national boundaries. But localism and globalism can be usefully distinguished from localization and globalization, which I conceive to be empirical processes rather than mind sets, processes that are boundary-spanning in the case of globalization and that either contract within conventional boundaries or do not span them in the case of localization and coined the ungainly and contrived word "*framgegration*" to capture the inextricable links between the individual and societal tendencies to integrate across boundaries that are the hallmark of globalization and the counter tendencies toward fragmentation fomented by localizing resistances to boundary-spanning activities. I dare to suggest that by viewing the world through *framgegrative* lenses, one can discern the underlying dynamics of our epoch with a clarity that is not otherwise available. (Rosenau, 1997) it is not far-fetched to assert that virtually every increment of globalization gives rise to an increment of localization, and vice versa, so thoroughly are the two contrary orientations and processes interconnected.

He thinks that unilateralism of democracy-liberal culture resulted from a series of events and changes throughout the world and region including Soviet collapsing and disappearing of bipolar tensions in the form of cold war. On the other side, rare events such as returning Islam and religion to the political arena and society in the form of political Islam are also seen within these years due to the victory of Islamic republic of Iran. Later, the new period of world (global) relations initiated once the significant thesis of the clashes of civilization by Samuel Huntington (1996). In general, regards main factors of adopting centralist and decentralized policies (or *framgegration* policies) among states as follows:

- 1) The transition from industrial to postindustrial order and the technologies of microelectronics revolution that caused more shortening of behavioral dynamics, social, economic, cultural, and politics distances and finally created interdependence.
- 2) Emergence and restoration of concepts and international and global issues such as air pollution, terrorism, and drug trade, economic crisis, world diseases such as AIDS, and global human-based concepts like human rights, etc.
- 3) Losing social cohesion, popular and revolutionary uprisings, excessive discrimination and strongly increases of poverty around the world, drought crisis as well as other natural, social and political abnormalities existed in the world current status.
- 4) Crisis of the state central authority under the shadow of collapsing the borders and time and space compression
- 5) The previously mentioned led to increasing analytical knowledge, skill, public and world orientation against all issues so that the individuals, groups, and individuals may never trifle them (Rosenau, 2005, p. 35-35).

Rosenau believes that convergent approaches characterized with interaction, peaceful behavior with other communities and prevailing currents, giving importance to macrostructures of international system, focusing on formal and legal procedures, as well as equality and nations' mutual respect. Whereas, in multi-centered world, it initially tried to terminate this global authority and structure through forming multiple groups and alliances, as they view global system relations unfair and discriminatory. Therefore, they are not much committed to dominant norms and procedures since they consider the world condition as anarchy and chaos following lack of central authority and impartiality. Finally, according to this approach, peaceful relations, dialogue and interaction are not as much efficient against force and unjust ruling as the states and actors have different objectives and aspirations; further, culture and traditions vary from one community to the other (Rosenau, 2005, p. 340-342). Thus, according to the purpose of this paper it seems that Rosenau's dualistic approach to globalization have many advantages compared to the other foreign policy theories or globalization theories. So, in the following with enjoying Rosenau's *framgegration* idea (interaction or confrontation) will try to answer the main question of the research.

Table 1. Rosenau's general classification about convergence and divergence approaches towards globalization

Structure of bi-political world	Convergent or centralist approach	Divergent or polycentrism approach
Main crux of statesmen and politicians	Security	Autonomy
Main objectives of states-politicians	Maintaining territorial integrity and physical security	Increasing share of world market, questioning the structures of global system
Main weapon of achieving the goal	Cooperation, interaction and peaceful relations with countries	Refusal to cooperate and even trying to deal with world's overall structures
Normative priority	Sovereignty processes such as legitimacy, democracy-based, civil society, etc.	Regarding concentration on justice main element and current structures as the cause of distributing inequality in the world
Interaction model	Symmetric	Asymmetric
Variability	Relatively small	Relatively large
Decision making basis	Formal procedures and authority such as law, democracy, and other government organizations	Different types of authorities, effectiveness leadership

(Rosenau, 2005; 339)

4. Culture Globalization and the Seventh Government Approach

In a general classification, post-revolutionary governments' foreign policies and strategies in Iran categorized in five vectors: 1. Interim government realistic approach, 2. Idealism discourse after interim government resignation to 1989, 3. Pragmatic economic reformist approach of Hashemi Rafsanjani, 4. Khatami's politic-based cultural oriented approach, and 5. Justice-oriented approach of Ahmadinejad (Azghandi, 2009, p. 9-18). Since the present research studies the policies and approaches of the seventh and ninth governments toward culture globalization; thus, only these two periods investigated in the following.

4.1 Approaches and Strategies of the Seventh Government

After the war and qualitative and quantitative changes in internal and regional structures, many attempts made to eliminate the distrust and Iran phobia atmosphere; these policies went on in the form of economic development based on detente with neighboring countries. However, more determined détente in the area of foreign relations was in the agenda once the reformist state arrived in May 23, 1997. Iran's domestic and foreign policy, in this period, underwent huge functional and behavioral changes in spite of sustaining. Major changes in the form of détente include political development prioritization, internally expanding democracy, pacifism, dialogue between civilizations, trust building as well as global peace interacting with other countries, European and regional travels, etc. (Dehghani Firoozabadi, 2010, p. 447). In relation to the policies adopted by the reform state in terms of culture globalization and the world prevailing trends, the dialogue among civilizations and détente can be mentioned. During this period, like previous periods, the dominant approach of policies taken by the state was reformist lack of obligation that not only tries for independence of international powers, but also makes every effort to reform international order, which is peacefully obtained through dialogue and interaction; thus, they work based on democracy and global peace (Dehghani, 2010, p. 448).

It focuses on the dialogue among civilizations through participation, interaction, cultures and nations' agreement, and pluralism in order to meet the goals and strategies, change the existing status and to cope with unipolar system (Ettela'at newspaper, 1999/8/17, p. 2). In this interaction-oriented and trust building approach, national objectives prioritized to transnational objectives; further, of the national goals, gaining the national prestige and

esteem and efforts to change public opinion on Iran as a rational, fair, responsible, and peaceful state were in the agenda (Dehghani, 2010, p. 450). The reform state (Khatami's period), adopting the following policies and approaches, sought for interaction and convergence with culture globalization. Main dimensions of this approach are:

4.1.1 Political Development

The need for balancing economic and political development, which was neglected by previous state, seems essential regarding the economic development and construction policies the state took after the war; on one hand, following quantitative and qualitative changes in community's social and political structure including population growth, increasing the numbers of educated people, emerging from new middle class, technocrats-experts, and in general increasing youth population, on the other hand. In this regard, during the seventh presidential election, public welcomed slogans of political development and public participation, civil community; therefore, the government concentrated on cultural-political development (Tajik, 1999, p. 30-40). Focusing on political development and internally introducing concepts such as democracy, freedom, and civil community led to providing required fundamentals to adopt cultural-political development-based policy in foreign affairs as, in this period, political development viewed as national security so that participation, satisfaction, and public support would enhance state efficiency, legitimacy, acceptability, as well as national security factor. Moreover, reducing domestic vulnerabilities and external threats; on one side, and religious democracy dependent on public opinion, on the other side, would project a positive image of Iran in the eyes of world public opinion, which finally led to more honor and national and global prestige for Iran (Dehghani, 2010, p. 450-451).

4.1.2 Détente Policy

The term "détente" is originally a French word translated in political literature, which was introduced into international political literature since the early of 1960s. It means reducing and adjusting tension among the states. Its inception and widespread use dated back to the relations of the two east and west blocks after the Cuban crisis in the 60s (Farhikhte, 1998, p. 293). Détente considered as a stage of strategic coordination and mutual deterrence, prioritizing cooperation and convergence, substituting war and ideological struggles by competition and interaction in relations among a group, nation, or national state. Generally, détente is a term used to explain and outlines changing the status of conflicting relations between USA and Soviet Union into normalization and convergence; and to keep the present status for achieving national interest (Azghandi, 2009, p. 55-57). Concentrating on détente in addition to focusing on the existence of opposite political, economic, and ideological systems, enables the control over trend of ideological struggles and personal and political preferences in relations among countries through using requirements of security and regional-global development (Soleimani, 2009, p. 71-72).

Once the seventh government started, this principle presented as the main priority of state approaches. The state believed that these approaches led to reducing minimum administrative cost. The president, in meeting with Iranian ambassadors of countries of Persian Gulf, said that 'the present time, is the time of stabilizing the system and the major principle relative to the stabilization phase is the principle of détente. We must learn from the past and create an innovative phase of understanding and mutual respect based on a prospective perspective'. Détente policy, generally, embraces three key elements of esteem, wisdom, and expediency, meaning that the policy taken by this government was seeking for resolving past accumulated misunderstanding and trying to terminate any international struggle, which pays attention domestic and international realities to provide self-security, progress, and development (Soleimani, 2010, p. 83-84). In this regard, the main motto and objectives of introducing such approach is to meet, enhance, and stabilize the country's security, progress and development under the light of achieving national interest. Détente not only seeks for establishing a democratic system inside its society, but also, is the herald of global calling for peace based upon freedom, equality, and eliminating the force in international relations. Finally, this approach means knowing the enemy borders and trying to enhance interactions, friendships, commonalities, and consciousness against these risks rather than unconsciousness and ignoring fundamental threats (Ettela'at newspaper, 07/24/ 1999 and Fars news agency, 16/08/1999). The détente policy of the seventh state eight years, relying on focused convergence and multilateral cooperation, sought for dialogue, interaction, eliminating violence, eliminating making enemies, tolerating each other, cooperation, political, cultural, and economic pluralism, active participation in regional-international organizations. As Iran located in the prominent and strategic middle east, on one hand; and, due to its long, enriched Iranian-Islamic history, civilization, and culture, it requires not only to respond civilizational-cultural values inside the community, but also, meets national interest in all political, economic, and cultural levels and dimensions based on a realistic approach in the world of conflict (Azghandi, 2009, p. 30-32).

4.1.3 Dialogue among Civilizations

Another main component of the seventh foreign policy was the concept of dialogue among civilizations. Concentrating on the policy of detente and mutual trust building offered key concept of dialogue among civilizations, which indeed overlapped with the policy of détente. The nodal point or in fact, the sublime, which all principles, purposes, and dimensions of internal and external policies were determined and defined as a comprehensive totality around this core. This concept proposed in response to the popular theory of the famous western scholar and analyst, Samuel P. Huntington, based on the clash of civilizations, at the eighth summit of Islamic conference in December 8, 1997; then, provided at UN general assembly in November 4, 1998; and finally, general assembly, with the majority, voted to naming year 2001 as the year of ‘dialogue between civilizations’ (Dehghani, 2010, p. 451). Huntington, arguing the end of history and global innovative order unfounded and meaningless, believed that the future world is the area of action and reaction of cultural-civilizational areas. He referred to around seven or eight great western, Confucian, Japanese, Islamic, Hindu, Slavic, orthodox, Latin America, and probably Africa civilization, which would face cultural clash and conflicts in the near future (Azghandi, 2009, p. 37). According to Huntington, factors of causing these conflicts are as follows: 1. Cultural-civilizational self-awareness, 2. the trend of economic modernization and sociopolitical changes that cause people moving away from traditional and native identity, 3. Cultural diversity is a natural, undeniable issue at the present time, 4. Dominating of western lifestyle, in particular, consumerism, typically caused some conflict and duality among countries, 5. The aforementioned faded religious national-ethnic identities; however, some always introduce themselves based on these identities (Huntington, 1996, p. 256). Since liberal-democracy culture, as the most significant culture and instruction dominating the present world being based on the identity instructions such as rationalism, liberalism, human rights, humanism, secularism, etc. is mostly conflicted with Islamic civilization. Therefore, in Huntington and other western analysts and politicians’ perspective, the conflict between western civilization and political Islam is not only real, but also fundamental (Azghandi, 2009, p. 38-29). Based on the theory of dialogue among civilization, international policy of interactions and relations is a cultural- thought-based approach in which culture and civilization play a crucial and sustaining role in the world. The cultural view focuses on the socio-political changes in the world based on removing the power in world relations, making the policy free from force dominance, dominating culture, human values, and thought in human life, logic and understanding rather than conflict and struggle, rejecting any cultural-civilizational absolutism, as well as concentrating on pluralism in all dimensions, political and cultural interaction, global democracy, the centrality of regional-international organizations, peaceful convergence and cooperation, etc. (Ramezani, 2001, p. 8-10).

The seventh state, describing the idea of dialogue among civilizations, in traveling to Italy, indicated that ‘indeed, the dialogue among civilizations is the dominance of a new model in the field of international affairs and relations comparing other global implemented proposals, which led to great catastrophes, regional-international crisis, and challenges that were due to the dominance of force and irritation in the world. Thus, these relations following learning from past and modern criticizing, looked for reflection, peace, freedom, and love for the future world and human’ (Khatami, 2001, p. 4). The dialogue among civilizations, as a macro approach, argues that since war, conflict, and struggle originate from ethnocentric prejudices, nations get familiar by interacting and dialogue so that the conflicts reduced through peaceful interaction and behaviors; thus, the dialogue of civilization may lead to global peace better than power-based peace (Dehghani, 2000, p. 12-15). Therefore, attaining an international balanced, peaceful community requires two prerequisites: firstly, creating and connected, military enhancing of countries, homogenous and close societies; and secondly, enhancing regional-international organizations and institutes as well as properly and timely responding in dealing with various conflicts (Khatami, 2001, p. 16). The reform state, offering the dialogue among civilizations based on idealistic approach, put emphasis on the issue of recognizing nations’ sovereignty and equality. On the contrary to Huntington’s conflicting theory who believed in the cultural-political conflicts of the nations around the world and regarded cultures’ coexistence an inevitable force, this theory considers human future culture and civilization the manifestation of unitary, diversity in unity and finally concentrating on the dialogue among civilizations optimistically views the end of states’ peaceful coexistence (Soleimani, 2010, p. 50). In this regard, following traveling to European countries including Germany, France, Italy, China, and Japan, actively attending in exhibitions, important international conferences and international regional organizations were in the agenda for the president and council of ministers. He said that ‘if the global democracy was established, states’ relations would be formed based upon dialogue, interaction, mutual respect and etc. Further, discriminatory behaviors and science and technique instrumental application and human rights may be eliminated (Ettela’at newspaper, 1992/4/24: 2).

Table 2. Foreign policy strategy of the seventh and the ninth governments facing culture globalization in one view

Seventh government and convergence components of world relations	Ninth government and divergent components of world relations
Détente	Justice, global management and public participation
Pacifism	Inequality of norms and regulations of regional and international organizations
Developing civil society	Truth, wisdom, and spirituality
The dialogue among civilizations	Failures of ‘isms’ and materialism model in global administration
Understanding and interaction	Messianism
Peaceful settling of disputes	Corresponding diplomacy
Multilateralism	Breaking up with western and European countries and substituting eastern, Islamic and Latin America countries (Third world countries)
Participation and cooperation in regional-international organizations in term of west	Fundamental changes and revisions in UN and its most significant member, i.e. Security Council
Wide political-economic cooperation with European and western countries	People-centered instead of government-centered
	Nature and human-divine values
	Resistance, justice-orientation, protecting the oppressed, fighting with cruelty world of arrogance and colonialism, lack of confidence in west

(Drawn up by the author)

5. Culture Globalization and the Ninth government Approach

When Mahmoud Ahmadinejad won the presidential election in June 2005, another milestone emerged in socio-political filed of contemporary Iran and a new approach offered in the area of national and international changes. Most analysts believed that multiple internal and external factors contributed to the emergence of divergent ideas and thoughts of Ahmadinejad government. In this period, much attention was paid to the important region of Middle East due to September 11, attack to Afghanistan, Iraq, Hezbollah’s 33-day war, 22-, and 8-day war of Hamas against Israeli, changing in Arab world (Arabic spring), nuclear issue, etc. by public. The September 11 probably was the initial of the approach of adopting divergent, reactive policies against world’s dominant tend in Iran, region, and around the world. When Iran strongly condemned this terrorist act and even announced its participation with legal institutes and organizations for arresting, prosecution, and punishment of these terrorists, U.S government put Iran next to Syria, North Korea and Iraq as the center of evil, and the main supporter of terrorist and extremist groups. Therefore, reactive and aggressive strategy was taken instead of interaction against global trends (Soleimani, 2010, p. 165-168).

As culture globalization in the eyes of Ahmadinejad was more imperialistic and project-based mostly founded on spreading capitalism consumerism culture rather than an opportunity for blossom of all cultures’ capabilities and potentials, in traveling to united nations, introduced wisdom, spirituality, and justice as the major missing link of the present human and the cause of problems such as increasingly spreading of the poverty, increased injustice and discriminations, attacks, occupations, central authority, revival of the terrorist phenomenon, plundering human and natural resources of other countries; therefore, it is necessary to revise these relations and justice, internal and external poverty elimination, revising and adjusting internal and external management based on public management and participation, public diplomacy, and intimate relationship with people included in the agenda.

5.1 Divergent Approach in the Form of Justice-Based Fundamentalism: Components and Principles

The head of the ninth and tenth government adopted a set of measurements as its agenda in order to achieve its principles of dominating justice and public management in the world:

5.1.1 Domestic and International Travels

Traveling to other regions was common since Ahmadinejad presidential period; during this period, foreign traveling and face-to-face conversation with world people were founded. During the first four-year, he had over 60 external traveling (Tabnak, 02/22/2009). This procedure was also followed by earlier states; however, in a different form so that the reformist state selected Europe as its destination; whereas, Ahmadinejad traveled to Asian, African, and Latin American countries as he believed that the Europeans are the heads of oppression and creators of the colonization (Firoozabadi et al, 2011; 87).

5.1.2 Media Diplomacy and Corresponding

Nowadays, the policy is much more interwoven with media as the emerging of the third revolution naming political informatics revolution. Thus, Ahmadinejad also recognized the importance of this issue and selected mass media as one of its main axis of public diplomacy in order to inform people of its considered policies so that he had 112 interviews with international media, participated in 31 international news conferences, and 41 times spoke to American media. He was so much interested in this issue so that 16 days after inauguration, he interviewed with a Russian newspaper (Firoozabadi and Firoozi, 2011, p. 89). Another interesting innovation of Ahmadinejad during presidential period, was trying to modify and change the world's norms and regulations through corresponding diplomacy so that in May 2006 he wrote a letter to George. W. Bush and made its attempts to constructively interact with US on the security issue of Iraq in 2007 (Dehshiri, 2011, p. 52). This surprised public opinion so that Al-khalij paper, May 9 2007, referred this letter as "Ahmadinejad bomb" (As cited by Firoozabadi and Firoozi, 2011, p.88).

5.1.3 Lecture

The other issue Ahmadinejad considered for realizing its objectives was giving speech. In addition to giving speech in the UN general assembly, as the most important institute, also lectured in other regional organizations, public-academic associations, as well as academic elite community. One of its most influential speech, which is well known as "Colombia Diplomacy" was in the University of Colombia so that he presented audience direct satisfaction, and direct and indirect influence through spreading Islamic revolution discourse based on fundamentalism (Dehghani firoozabadi and Radfar, 2010, pp. 202-204). The other significant speech was at the UN international conference against racism in Genève, by April 20, 2009, where he criticized Zionist regime by titles such as "leading racism", and "the cruelest regime". However, 22 members of the Europe union left the conference, it positively reflected in public opinion around the world and Islamic-Arabic countries (Dehshiri, 2011, p. 54).

5.1.4 Orientation toward United Nations and Challenging the Norms of Global Relations

Undoubtedly, one of the most prominent features of this state approach distinguishing it from strategies of other states is how it views the structure of global systems. In the view of this state, international system is a money-driven, anarchy system seeking for the power lacking any central authority to control the behaviors of hegemonic governments. Thus, it considers the current norms unfair, illegal, and the evident symbol of discrimination and racism for meeting the benefits of particular parties and countries (Dehghani, 2010, p. 237). Ahmadinejad believes that "the whole structure of UN must sensitively deal with the destructive virus of unilateralism. Today, nations' mental and physiological safety is increasingly threatened. The composition of Security Council requires a logical and democratic balance; and in the case of accepting some countries' permanent membership, an acceptable composition of the representatives of all continents and major civilizations must participate as permanent members. Finally, the United Nations must should be consisted of all states, groups, and NGOs around the world, disregarding the host selective comments" (as cited by Gharibabadi, 2008).

5.1.5 Public Participation in World Management

Public participation of world management was introduced by the head of the ninth and tenth government in most internal and external assemblies, in particular, UN general assembly. Ahmadinejad argued that, as UN general assembly is a center and resort for decision making about world issues, must be free from any dependencies and one-sided domination of a particular group or country (Presidential studies, 2011, pp. 165-176). He indicated that the present problems such as increased economic-political inequalities and false divisions among humanity, poverty, discrimination, using mass destruction weapons, increased hunger, intensified political crisis, ethnic,

tribal and national wars around the world, etc. resulted from unilateral or multilateral dominance and world unjust management. Thus, the only solution is revising the internal, regional, and international structures based on global determination and public participation (Presidential research center, 2011, p. 7-8). The United Nations, as a transnational institute, originally founded to realize the justice, peace and freedom so that progress, poverty elimination and crisis, as well as other socio-economic discriminations realized under its light; however, not only this ideal never realized, but also, according to the statistics of world organizations, the poor people increasingly intensified and rich individuals got richer. Around 3 billion people around the world live on less than 2.5 \$ per day and over one billion people live without even one meal a day, 40% of the poorest ones have 55% of the world income; whereas, 20% of the richest individuals have 75% of the world income. Therefore, it is essential to find the answers to 'why' questions and find the solutions (Presidential research center, 2011, p. 40-41).

5.1.6 Justice and Truth Orientation

This government policy was mainly focused on justice, spirituality, and truth. However, in all macro decision-making, decisions were made around esteem, expedient and wisdom, this state prioritized esteem as the main and prior element. The concepts analyzed based on the justice-based view of the president are:

5.1.7 Holocaust

It literally means complete destruction by fire, and originated from the Greece word "*holos*" meaning complete and "*kalein*" meaning burning. It referred to the mass slaughter of European civilians and especially Jews (over six millions) by the Nazis during World War II, this is recognized as the greatest injustice in the history of a people (Molana and Mohammadi, 2008, p. 158-159). This two-line sentence was one of the most basic challenges of Iran and Western states during Ahmadinejad.

Ahmadinejad, at his speech in the US, in responding to the question of a female student said, "Initially, I consider the World War I and II, which killed more than 90 million people around the world, as the greatest betrayal to humanity and I am very sorry for all those killed whether Christian or Jewish, etc. I must firstly announce that I neither accept nor reject this issue; this is my question as human being that if such event happened, why the democracy cradle's countries never allow any investigation? The second question: if this event happened, where was it? Was the war in Europe or Palestine? What is the guilt of Palestinians? These are the questions raised to me, which need to be cleared" (Question and answering lecture with America university students, New York, 10/24/2008). This event caused special literature and rules to justify building military foundations, threat, war, violence, terror, unsafe area and permanent extortion of the region nations so that the region countries annually spent tens billions of the resources for buying military equipment rather than spending on development, progress, welfare, and construction to protect their safety against war threat (Presidential research center, 2010, pp. 114-116).

5.1.8 Nuclear Energy

Nuclear energy and its technology turned into one of the basic challenges of Iran and western nations in the last two decades. Ahmadinejad government, concentrating on the slogan of unclear energy for all and nuclear weapon for none, adopted its nuclear policies (Presidential research center, 2010, p. 137). Nowadays, nuclear energy, due to its inexpensiveness, cleanness, easily accessed, sever changes in weather, pollution of fossil and nonrenewable fuels, its pharmaceutical application, diagnosis and treatment of incurable diseases, using in industry, agriculture, and etc. made achieving nuclear energy a necessity for all countries around the world. As most developed countries equipped with this technology or building and terminating this project, the Islamic Republic of Iran also makes its attempts to attain this technology based on this concentrating on the perspective (Rasoulisaniabad, 2011, p. 6). Western authorities and in particular Americans disagreed with Iran achieving to the nuclear fuel process as it may threat the region and world security by employing strong sanctions (Rasoulisaniabad, 2010, p. 14-19). International organizations following some exclusivists requested Iran to remove any ambiguities for approving the extended protocol in addition to suspending uranium enrichment activities (Nuclear calendar, 2003). The negotiations of the seventh and eighth governments resulted into Tehran declaration in October 21, 2003 by which all uranium enrichment activities and reprocessing were temporary suspended (Delavarpour, 2009, pp. 42-44); further, Iran signed the extended protocol by December 17, 2004 (Gharibabadi, 2008, pp. 85-87).

The issue was more complicated after Ahmadinejad government started. The government emphasized that although Iran observed all steps of building the trust and clarification, yet obtained no positive feedback; thus, it ordered removal of the suspension (The president nuclear declaration, (2005).

After these measures, permanent members of Security Council in companion with Germany, in the form of 5+1

countries, issued five resolutions against Iran claiming concern for global security threatened by Iran nuclear activities. They asked Iran to postpone all its related enrichment activities and reprocessing including research and development in order to get the agency full trust (Security Council resolution 1696, pp. 2006). Many of analysts regard the leading element of this government's insist on divergent measures in spite of severe pressures, the norms and instructions inspired by religious, Islamic and Shia culture as well as existing concepts and notions in completing political culture of Iran; while, others provide factors such as Iraq and Afghanistan occupation by American troops, 33-day war of Lebanon, Gaza 22- and 8- day war, etc. and international changes such as soft power-based relations, public demand of reviving divine- human values (Rasoulisaniabad, 2011, pp. 155-161).

6. Conclusion

According to research-oriented theoretical model, i.e. Rosenau theory of "Fragmegration" on globalization and reaction of various international actors, particularly the governments, it seems that the attitude and ideology of the seventh state (Khatimi's government), based on political development and the growth of civil community inside the country and the dialogue among civilizations and détente outside are relevant with "convergence" approach and interaction. This state adopting convergence, cooperation, and interaction strategy with states, organizations and international institutes in the form of détente policy and dialogue of civilizations described its demands and objectives. It argued that the world's rules are not much fair; thus, it emphasized that since we are living in the world of dialogue, and pluralism is dominating over the world by its all dimensions, interaction, cooperation and convergence achieved through peaceful cooperating among nations and states; and finally, the peace and freedom would rule over the world.

Considering Ahmadinejad speeches, lectures, and behavioral models in internal and external communities, his attitude classified into "divergent" form of Rosenau theory. Ahmadinejad through using components including resistance, justice, protecting the oppressed, fighting against oppressors, arrogance, and global colonialism, lack of trust in west, concentrating on expediency, independence, rooted in Iranian pre- and post-revolutionary political culture tried to show that world rules and regulations are unfair and discriminatory. Therefore, he introduced the global management and justice policy. However, as these inclinations were against and opposite of the world realistic order and power, it led the government to distance itself from global currents and trends, particularly in cultural field. Standing up against unexpected event of September 11 was probably the starting point of this new approach in the form of divergence and reaction to the region and world status. Iran strongly condemned this terrorist attempt and even announced its readiness for prosecuting; whereas, the US accused Iran of terrorism next to Syria, North Korea as the main supporter of terrorism, and violating the human rights. Further, it approved strong sanctions against Iran. Therefore, according to the new government in Iran, headed by Ahmadinejad and examining its speeches, lectures, and behavioral models in internal and external communities, his attitude was classified into "divergent" form of Rosenau theory. Finally, it concluded that the two seventh and ninth states represented a sample of "Fragmentation" based on the national and international conditions and requirements in facing culture globalization.

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Note

Note 1. This concept was first developed in James N., ‘Fragmegrative’ Challenges to National Security,” in *Understanding U.S. Strategy: A Reader*, ed. Terry L. Heyns (Washington, DC: National Defense University Press, 1983), 65–82. For subsequent and more elaborate formulations, see James N. Rosenau, “New Dimensions of Security: The Interaction of Globalizing and Localizing Dynamics,” *Security Dialogue* 25 (September 1994), 255–282.

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