

GAS DIPLOMACY IN THE AHMADINEJAD AND ROUHANI GOVERNMENT PERIODS AND ITS IMPACT ON IRAN'S POLITICAL ECONOMY

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Abstract

In the current era, the importance of energy diplomacy and, consequently, the importance of gas as the main political factor in the energy cycle is increasing day by day. By carefully examining the fluctuations in production and exports, as well as the investing companies during the two presidential terms of Ahmadinejad and Rouhani, one can clearly understand the importance and necessity of formulating gas diplomacy for the Islamic Republic of Iran. In this regard, this research seeks to examine energy diplomacy with a focus on gas in these two periods. This research seeks to answer the question of what characteristics the energy diplomacy of the Islamic Republic of Iran had in these two specific periods and whether it can be said to be a specific and codified diplomacy? Considering the characteristics of energy diplomacy during the presidential terms of Ahmadinejad and Rouhani, it must be said that the Islamic Republic of Iran did not have a specific and codified gas diplomacy in these two periods. Among the similarities, the lack of codification and the lack of a specific program in the field of energy in general and gas in particular, **and the differences, the way they look at diplomacy and adopt different policies.**

Keywords: Gas diplomacy, Iran, Ahmadinejad, Rouhani.

INTRODUCTION

Iran has always been considered one of the main producers and exporters of oil and gas and has played a significant role in providing energy to the world. Meanwhile, during the presidency of Mahmoud Ahmadinejad and Hassan Rouhani, Iran's gas policy has undergone an event that the present study seeks to examine. It should be noted that the governments in the Islamic Republic of Iran do not follow a unified policy in the field of energy, and this claim is evidenced by the different approaches of the two governments examined in this study. The Ahmadinejad government, with its approach of confronting the global system, sought to create and establish a system based on justice.

Accordingly, the gas policies of these two governments also have such directions and directions, and the Rouhani government, with its cultural and political approach, sought to de-escalate tensions with other countries in the world. Iran's gas production and export have been damaged by the sanctions policies of other countries in both periods, and its effects on the country's energy structure are tangible. Accordingly, the main question in this study is what characteristics did the gas diplomacy of the Islamic Republic of Iran have in these two specific periods, and can we speak of a prominent and codified diplomacy? In response, it should be

said that, considering the characteristics of gas diplomacy in two specific periods, the Islamic Republic of Iran did not have a codified and specific energy diplomacy in these two periods, including the similarities of not being codified and the lack of a specific program in the field of energy in general and gas in particular, and the differences in the way they look at diplomacy and adopt different policies.

Theoretical framework

There are different opinions regarding political economy, each of which addresses the next, but theorists such as Robert Gilpin have engaged in a kind of hybrid theorizing in this area and have tried to use the positive aspects of other theories to some extent. In terms of theory, Gilpin's views are classified as economic realism. Basically, the realism approach in international political economy carries the message that the development of international economic cooperation is the product of specific political wills that see that cooperation as beneficial to themselves. However, at any time they may recognize that such cooperation is not in their interest and may disrupt or hinder the continuation of cooperation (Qanbarloo, 2009: 181). Political economy is the result of the parallel existence and interaction of the state and the market in today's world (Gilpin, 2009: 143).

Gilpin proposes the theory of hegemonic stability. Hegemonic stability refers to a situation in the international system in which a country with superiority in various fields maintains the stability and balance of the system by creating powerful international rules and regimes and forces other countries to comply with those rules (Gilpin, 1987).⁴³ The use of power requires that the hegemon uses positive measures to create a structure of incentives in terms of benefits to the lowest level of the power hierarchy and thus keep members in the system (Qavam, 2005: 7). In the discussion of energy, according to the theory of hegemonic stability, that country that can exert its dominance over the market and use the market to increase its power, it will find the ability to influence others. Appropriate energy diplomacy can be used to increase this power and increase the country's bargaining position in the international market. Another discussion related to Gilpin's political economy is that in his opinion, the relationship between economics and politics is an interactive relationship. (Theory.htm, 2013.85)

He emphasizes the role of the market in this interaction and states that the capacity and potential of the market can be used to advance goals and make wealth acquisition more efficient. In response to the question of whether the goal in political economy is consumer welfare or the national interests of the country supplying the product; Gilpin believes that both are important and therefore believes in positive interaction between them. As a result, there is a two-way relationship between energy producers and consumers; the more these relationships move towards interaction, the more we can witness the achievement of national interests.

The concept of energy diplomacy

Diplomacy has a history as long as the history of nations. Some also consider the history of diplomacy to be at the same time as the Paleolithic era in the Australian coastal tribes, the Pacific coast dwellers, the blacks of Africa, the Indians of North and South America, and the people of China and India (Aladpoosh and Totunchian, 1932:33). The more we move forward

in the modern era, the more we realize the importance of diplomacy. It is not in vain to say that today everything that is economic is also political. Politics is so closely tied to economics that we see new terms in the economic field, one of which is energy diplomacy. What is important here is the connection between politics in the general sense and diplomacy in the specific sense.

The importance of energy, including oil and gas and other new and fossil energy carriers, is to the extent that it has given meaning to the interconnected global economy alone and made it less prominent than other economic components; In this century, the link between energy and politics has translated into the link between economy and politics (Izadi, 2009: 74) one of the five components of human survival and also the core of the material strategy for the global economy and social development.

The special task of energy is (2. 2007), Qinhua. Energy diplomacy is basically established between energy producing countries and energy consuming countries. As a result, in both producing and possessing energy exploitation equipment and energy consuming countries, the issue of formulating energy diplomacy is of great importance. Oil diplomacy has helped to create opportunities for international interaction in order to maximize the oil and gas value chain and benefit from the country's geopolitical and geoeconomic interests and tries to take steps to increase international opportunities by relying on the gas tool.

This diplomacy is actually carrying out diplomatic missions in line with the macro-development goals and with the aim of improving the country's political and economic position and attracting international and regional investment and cooperation in the gas field. The key distinguishing feature of Iran from the countries of the region is the huge volume of gas reserves and its privileged strategic position. And unique is easier access to energy consumption markets and a century of experience. Fossil energies, especially natural gas, have found a special place in international relations and have overshadowed international politics due to their high share in the world's energy balance (Hafeznia 2006: 109). Due to the fact that today's diplomacy has changed from a purely political security mode to a political economic diplomacy, there is more emphasis on the coordination and purposefulness of the diplomatic and economic apparatus; while this coordination increases the competitiveness of the economy and the credibility and security coefficient of countries (Pour-Ahmadi, 2007: 5).

Perhaps energy diplomacy can be expressed from the macro-gas policies of the Islamic Republic of Iran in different periods, especially in the period under review; of course, with the consideration that this concept is basically a new concept in the country that has not yet received the necessary attention. Given that we have not yet been able to reduce the country's dependence on the economy and energy, it is necessary to focus and study more in the field of gas diplomacy in order to minimize vulnerabilities in this area. In fact, gas diplomacy is considered a response to Iran's geopolitical threats and limitations. In other words, through diplomacy, economic planning, improving technical capabilities, and utilizing economic resources, the necessary grounds can be provided for activating diplomacy. This can be considered the main axis of gas diplomacy in the foreign, economic, and security policies of countries (Mashal, 2011:14).

The position of gas in the field of energy diplomacy

The position, importance, and effectiveness of gas in the field of energy diplomacy are to the extent that this energy carrier has taken it beyond mere economic and commercial dimensions and has created a vital, security, and strategic role due to the need and dependence of industry, economy, production, and development on them. Despite the new scientific approaches to renewable energies in the present century, which have been adopted in the face of environmental disasters caused by the high consumption of fossil energy, as well as due to awareness of the limitations of reserves and the increasing costs of their production and consumption, and which promise a better future for humanity, types of energy such as gas continue to be of strategic importance in international relations. Having large reserves of energy and the ability and diplomacy to exploit it clearly determine the influence of governments in the field of international relations and foreign policy. To better understand the importance and impact of energy in international relations, this issue should be examined and explored at three global, regional and bilateral levels. Accordingly, if we accept that the role of energy, and especially gas, in politics and economics has global, regional and bilateral dimensions, we will find that energy diplomacy also raises complex issues at these same levels of global analysis, the most important of which can be listed as follows: (Pour-Ahmadi, 2007: 5)

1. Estimating the amount of existing oil and gas reserves in the next twenty to fifty years.
2. Estimating the possibility of production and consumption of energy carriers in the world
3. Identifying macro-competitions between players and their vulnerabilities
4. Assessing the status of effective players in the energy supply and demand market and the characteristics of each of them. Energy security mechanisms
5. Determining the amount and priorities of investment for energy production worldwide. Environmental concerns and considerations and the impact of technological advances on energy production and consumption
6. The extent of use of renewable energies

In the era of globalization, it is essential for energy resources to take on a global dimension. That is, it is impossible to formulate one's interests without considering the considerations of the global political economy system, especially the structural changes resulting from changes in global economic trends. In other words, countries cannot maintain and reproduce national power, which is one of the requirements of foreign policy, without understanding how the nature and distribution of power change, that is, national interests, change. This is while, according to Susan Strange, not much attention has been paid to structural change, especially to the change in the structure of production in the global economy.

Therefore, the necessity of energy diplomacy is clearly evident due to the formation of a new type of diplomacy and considering the inclusion of intangible elements of power and affected by changes in the global economy. Also, because today's diplomacy has changed from a purely security-political mode to a political-economic diplomacy, there is more emphasis on the coordination and purposefulness of the diplomatic and economic apparatus; because it

increases the competitiveness of the economy and the credibility and security coefficient of countries. (Saghfi, Ameri, 2010: 123-121)

With this context, it is logical that countries are seeking to find a space to improve their economic position in practice; and in this way, the new energy policy is part of the process of rebuilding, reforming and improving the position of countries with energy capacity at the global level, which base their foreign policy on taking advantage of the achievements of the global economy. The relationship between energy diplomacy and national interests also refers to the fact that achieving energy security in the form of a single country or region is ambiguous and often questionable and is an issue related to interdependence. In this way, the function of interdependence is focused on the fact that energy diplomacy, by playing a mediating role in resolving long-standing conflicts and resolving misunderstandings, and on the positive side by deepening ties, improves relations between countries and global interactions. The asymmetric distribution of energy resources in the global arena and the process of unbalanced depletion of resources in energy geopolitics have placed some countries in the position of exporters and others in the position of major importers; which is considered by security issues related to the strategic energy perspective.

Therefore, the lack of energy security can be changed in such a way that importers, with their fears about the price and access to energy supplies, find themselves dependent on oil for their national security; and exporters, with their concerns about sovereignty and foreign markets, face comparable problems of military intervention and demand disruption. Therefore, there is a common need for all countries to take coordinated action and cooperate internationally on the issue of energy security. The security function of energy interdependence is also reflected in energy diplomacy, especially in terms of preventing conflict or reducing the risk of conflict and conflict, but in the absence of a framework for international energy cooperation, which reflects the emerging conflicts between countries and other global actors arising from competition for access to markets and raw materials, national security faces a constant challenge. (Javadi Arjomand 2017: 70) With such a background in the global political economy system, war over resources and their control seems likely.

Period 1392 - 1384, 2013 - 2005 (AD) Ahmadinejad's presidency

During the presidency of Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, a serious change occurred in the government's policies. During this period, the government sought to change the space and scope of diplomatic activities by redefining relations with regional and trans-regional governments. On the other hand, by adopting active and aggressive diplomacy and moving away from a defensive policy, it sought to be in the position of a claimant and not a defendant in the international system (Izadi 2010:33).

This period, which begins with the presidency of Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, is slightly different from other periods. The beginning of this period is accompanied by an increase in the country's production, which was unprecedented after the revolution, and at the end of it, there was a decrease in production again. During this period, more sanctions were imposed on Iran than in previous years, but despite all these sanctions, Iran was able to achieve some successes in some

areas. The sanctions of this period, which began with the resumption of uranium enrichment in the country, are mostly centered around the nuclear file. Banks, companies, individuals and the Central Bank were sanctioned, which targeted the country's monetary and financial circulation. During this period, production increased from 2005 to 2008 and then decreased again until 2011. During this period, Phases 6, 7 and 8 of the South Pars field were fully exploited. (Authors' Group, 2010: 123) In 2010, readiness was announced for gas exports to Azerbaijan. Armenia also started importing gas from Iran in 2009.

A large part of Iran's exports to Turkey also consists of gas exports. The Peace Pipeline was also proposed in 2010, which is supposed to take Iranian gas to Pakistan. In 2009, the Malaysian oil company Petronas was active in the Iranian gas sector (Saghfi, Ameri, 2010: 121-123).

As can be seen, despite numerous sanctions, Iran was able to conclude gas contracts with various countries, which are very important, but these are not enough, because Iran's gas capacity is very high and among the best in this field. British Petroleum announced in its annual report on Iran's energy sector that despite US and EU sanctions against Iran's energy sector, Iran's gas production increased significantly in 2010. According to the Wall Street Journal, some British and EU officials have succeeded in convincing a number of American lawmakers to exempt the famous British company British Petroleum, known as BP, from sanctions imposed on Iran's gas industries.

The period 1392 - 1400 AH, 2013 - 2021 (AD) The term of Rouhani's presidency

A development-oriented government also requires a development-oriented foreign policy. An interaction-oriented foreign policy, which is the priority of Iran's diplomacy in the twenty-year vision document and is a necessary condition for the country's development and promotion of its national power, requires determining some priorities in foreign policy. It is a type of proactive (opportunistic) or proactive, opportunity-creating, extroverted foreign policy that is not passive and opportunistic. Researchers consider an interactive, extroverted foreign policy to be an optimal option as a tool of a development-oriented government (Mohsin Zadegan; Hosseini Karani, 2019:6-7). Rouhani's speech, while rejecting the aggressive policy of the previous government, focused on principles such as avoiding tension, rationality, and building trust, presenting a positive image of Iran, active diplomacy, trying to improve relations with different countries, especially neighboring countries, negotiations with Europe within the framework of mutual respect, and providing a path for economic development within the framework of upstream documents, especially the 2028 development vision. In addition, in line with economic development, Hassan Rouhani emphasized the lifting of sanctions and international negotiations in order to solve Iran's economic problems, which were mainly caused by international sanctions against the country (Javadi Arjomand 2017:70). In his election campaigns, he insisted on solving the country's problems, especially in the two areas of international sanctions and in the domestic dimension, on solving the problems of the domestic economy. It was in this regard that he emphasized Iran's interaction with other countries and even Iran's integration with the international community, which he called constructive interaction. In other words, he spoke of his new approach, namely dialogue,

reconciliation, and constructive interaction with the world. The development-oriented foreign policy of the 11th government is based on the axes of peaceful coexistence, de-escalation, trust-building, and multilateralism at the global and regional levels. In fact, the understanding of the 11th and 12th governments of the development-oriented foreign policy is that the approach of cooperation and competition replaces confrontation or unconditional cooperation. The positive-sum game, which is also emphasized by neoliberals, will replace the zero-sum game in international relations. In the view of the 11th and 12th governments, energy diplomacy is considered the most important tool for Iran's influence in the region and the world. By strengthening trade relations in the field of gas, especially with major energy-consuming countries, Iran can reach a desirable level of mutual relations with them. The government considers industrialization and economic development as a prerequisite for Iran's entry into circuits of cooperation and greater interaction with the outside world, and has assumed energy diplomacy to be the best tool for capturing opportunities and possibilities in the post-JCPOA space for the growth and development of the domestic economy.

Therefore, it was within the framework of a development-oriented foreign policy and energy diplomacy that the First Vice President, referring to the successes achieved in the gas export sector affected by the post-JCPOA environment, said: In 2016, the Minister of Oil announced an increase in Iran's gas condensate exports, of which 400,000 barrels were gas condensates (Asr Iranian Newspaper, 2016), which is a clear example of energy diplomacy in the 11th and 12th governments. Energy diplomacy is a tool for economic development in the 11th development-oriented government. Today, players in the field of economic development are considered successful and are at the top of the global hierarchy in terms of power rankings, with indicators such as per capita income of citizens, average life expectancy, investment volume, value of the national currency, level of complexity of their products, the presence of companies and financial institutions in this country, and the volume of its international exchanges being higher than others.

Iran's exports of sanctioned items in the region have grown significantly in the second half of 2013.

According to the annual customs report, gas condensate exports have grown twice as much as in the first half of last year. Gas condensates account for about a quarter of Iran's total non-oil exports.

The report shows that exports of petrochemical products have also grown by 140 percent, and exports of liquefied natural gas have more than doubled in the first six months of 2019. (IRNA, 2014)

The Impact of Gas Diplomacy on Iranian Diplomacy

For Iran, as a country with huge gas reserves within and around its national borders, energy diplomacy is a tool for maximizing gains from the global political economy system. However, in Iran's foreign policy, the economic perspective has often been less relevant than political considerations. As a result, the dominance of a commercial perspective on the issue of energy, which indicates the lack of consideration of a long-term and strategic perspective on energy

sector issues in the foreign approach to energy diplomacy, indicates that creating a change in the general conditions of the country's regional and international acting requires considering long-term sectoral strategies, including for foreign policy. The asymmetric distribution of energy resources in the global arena and the process of unbalanced depletion of resources in Iran have placed some countries in the position of exporters and others as major importers in the geopolitical energy pattern. The recent issue, which is related to the competition for global political markets and, in another way, to raw materials, is a change in the institution of governments following the change in the economic system. Now, enterprises in governments reflect more power that are in the closest relationship with the global economy. In this regard, the conditions for the Islamic Republic of Iran have been set in such a way that the resource sector plays a more influential role in economic development; because, according to estimates, Iran has 16% of the world's gas reserves. Therefore, the dominance of economic logic in the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran has created new interests in the region and the world for the country and created new opportunities (Javadi Arjomand 2017: 70).

Energy diplomacy appears as a basis for expanding trade by improving the level of diplomatic relations and complex interdependence as a tool for finding common solutions to global issues. In this regard, energy, as the most important comparative advantage for the Islamic Republic and participation in ensuring energy security at the international level, is at the center of Iran's connection to the world for the realization of the country's outward-looking development program. In addition to this, providing the needs of the energy sector in terms of equipment and technology, identifying active international companies, and being aware of regional and international groupings and connections is considered an aspect of the duties of the diplomatic service in interacting with companies, and is considered government-company diplomacy, so that during the negotiation process it can provide the best proposals for optimizing national interests. In addition to organizing programs that are considered related to foreign policy and the diplomatic service in a proper manner, this method gives the country's diplomacy more influence through the position of political representatives. In line with this, it becomes possible to turn capacities into actions based on a coherent and defined foreign policy. Therefore, it is argued that in any economic field where there is potential opportunity and talent, there is a need to identify, organize, plan, and move in foreign policy aimed at actualizing it, and to conduct targeted diplomacy in order to take advantage of this opportunity and increase national capabilities (Javad, 2016: 242).

The foreign policy of the Islamic Republic has been revealed by looking at the successful experiences of leading countries in the economic field, which are the result of their efforts and attention to developing exports and increasing their share in world trade. The special position of the relevant agencies, including the coordinator and facilitator in the matter of gas exports, in expanding commercial activities and making business competitive in the country and the role they play in economic development are highlighted (Presidential Report 1397 A, p. 4). With such a background and in the position of the country, which on the one hand has made economic development one of its most important goals based on the twenty-year vision document, and on the other hand, as a country that is rich in energy and enjoys a unique position, the Islamic Republic of Iran is encouraged to adopt methods and policies in both

domestic and foreign fields to achieve a desirable level of coordination and cooperation and growth and development. This makes it clear that in developing countries such as the Islamic Republic of Iran, it is only in the light of a well-considered development policy that the desired results of foreign investment and participation can be enjoyed. In addition to being considered a preferred energy and energy model for national development, energy diplomacy also lays the groundwork for the country's partnership with major demand parties for secure energy supply and with major energy exporting countries to establish stable relations and provide energy security on a global scale. Therefore, understanding the issue as a complex interdependence on the global stage, which in expressing the components of energy diplomacy represents its function in determining the agenda and priorities in the form of interaction and cooperation and with an emphasis on influence strategies in foreign policy. In the influence strategy, an attempt is made to demonstrate greater influence in its own region.

This is done by developing the functional environment and paying attention to areas that have not been exposed to foreign policy ideas so far. For example, in the region where Iran is located, the country is faced with the approach of Western countries, especially the United States, or different standards in the form of software and on the issue of energy. A coherent effort is made to focus on the Middle East and Central Asia, to create actors and trends against OPEC member countries, despite their alignment or non-alignment, and thus define countries in a position to confront and compete with OPEC. This is where constructive interaction and cooperation in the form of development, evolution, expansion, and diversification of foreign policy activities perform specific tasks aimed at determining priorities, in other words, in addition to the objective aspects of success in interaction and cooperation that causes others to focus on the country's goals and its national interests (Nay, 2018: 50). In the foreign arena, gas diplomacy requires special measures to be taken to shape appropriate and progressive relations with regional countries that are important in terms of energy geopolitics. Therefore, while the Islamic Republic of Iran's system is incompatible and inconsistent with most current international trends due to its particular nature, it must think about coalitions and ultimately unity to achieve its grand goals and advance them; Because the limited power of the Islamic Republic in the global political economy system without alliances with other political units does not have the ability to implement all the high political, economic, cultural and security goals of Iran's foreign policy (Sari' al-Qalam, 2010: 64).

This area, which is based on coordination and institutionalized connection between foreign policy organization and economic development planning, needs foreign investment and more importantly technology to implement production and consumption optimization plans and due to organizational weakness in managing large projects, for example, it needs to encourage a new approach in implementing and operationalizing energy diplomacy; because by proposing mutual energy security in the global political economy system and in interaction with major regional and international governmental and non-governmental powers, it portrays a promising perspective of interaction in the gas energy sector. During the two presidencies, due to the lack of necessary institutions and administrative and legal structures to guide and advance economic development plans, the most important support for economic plans was the country's gas reserves.

CONCLUSION

With the coming to power of Mahmoud Ahmadinejad in 2005, Iran's policies suddenly underwent a fundamental change. De-escalation gave way to confrontation with the global system, which brought problems to Iran. During this period, many sanctions were imposed on the Islamic Republic of Iran and the country's gas industry. During this period, cooperation with gas companies was also carried out and contracts were signed, but most companies could not continue their cooperation with Iran due to the sanctions. Despite all the sanctions imposed on Iran, the government was able to keep the export process at a reasonable level, of course, compared to the volume of sanctions, although the country's gas power and capacity were far from it. However, as we get closer to the last years of Ahmadinejad's presidency, the country's exports and production are decreasing.

Overall, due to the lack of codified oil policies in the country and the existence of severe energy sanctions that made it difficult for the country to create a deal. During the Rouhani era, which is referred to as the period of de-escalation in the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran, it was in this vein that he emphasized Iran's interaction with other countries and even Iran's integration with the international community, on what he called constructive engagement. In other words, he spoke of his new approach, namely dialogue, reconciliation, and constructive engagement with the world. The development-oriented foreign policy of the 11th government is based on the axes of peaceful coexistence, de-escalation, trust-building, and multilateralism at the global and regional levels. In fact, the understanding of the 11th and 12th governments of the development-oriented foreign policy is that the approach of cooperation and competition replaces confrontation or unconditional cooperation.

The positive-sum game, which is also emphasized by neoliberals, will replace the zero-sum game in international relations. In the view of the 11th and 12th governments, energy diplomacy is considered the most important tool for Iran's influence in the region and the world. By strengthening trade relations in the field of gas, especially with major energy-consuming countries, Iran can reach a desirable level of mutual relations with them. The government considers industrialization and economic development as a prerequisite for Iran's entry into circuits of greater cooperation and interaction with the outside world, and has assumed energy diplomacy to be the best tool for seizing opportunities and possibilities available in the post-JCPOA space for the growth and development of the domestic economy.

Therefore, it was within the framework of development-oriented foreign policy and energy diplomacy. In both periods under study, Iran was unable to utilize its gas capacities and, as one of the largest energy countries in the world, be as influential and decisive as it deserves in gas policies and world energy markets. With a general look at the statistics included in this study, it can be seen that the gas diplomacy of the Islamic Republic of Iran, if not to say that it has not yet been formed, is in its early stages. A look at the state of production and exports of the country in both periods shows that neither sales nor exports are moving forward with specific and formulated policies that move in a single direction, which of course has many reasons, one of which is the various sanctions against Iran and the other is the intense competition that other gas exporting countries have with Iran. Of course, domestic negligence in not preparing a

formulated policy should not be ignored. Overall, Iran was unable to benefit from the diversity of the consumer market in either of these two periods, and the main reason for this is the sanctions and exclusionary policies of Iran's rival countries in the energy field and other fields.

According to Gilpin, in order for a country to be influential and play a decisive role in the field of energy diplomacy, it must become a hegemonic power in that field. Considering this theory, it should be said that Iran has failed to emerge as a hegemonic power for various reasons, including numerous sanctions and the lack of a well-organized and coherent diplomacy. The two governments of Rouhani and Ahmadinejad, each in their own way, according to the explanations given in the text, have failed to utilize the energy tool to the desired extent and to the extent expected of Iran, as one of the world's major gas producing countries, for the benefit of the country's diplomacy and to increase its bargaining power in the international arena.

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