

## Planning the strategic scenario of Iranian foreign policy to Iraqi revolution (Based on non-critical certainty method)

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**Abstract:** The future of modern Iraq needs revolutions having changed its power structure and identity to cause revolutions in geopolitics and Middle East actors. The presence of Shiites and Kurdish in power structure of Baghdad, the elimination of vengeful regime of Baath, the change of “Arabic- Sunny “to “Arabic-Shiite –Kurdish” in political environment of Iraq, the presence of trans-regional of US and other regional actors in the preparation and revolution trend of modern Iraq have forced Iran to make special political strategies of security to these realities. There are concerns including presence of Shiites in the top of political pyramid of Iraq, Kurdish agent, border issues, and the interests of regional actors, explaining and compiling the strategic approaches of Iran in Iraq. Now, according to above issues, what scenarios can be design for the future of foreign policy of Iran against Iraqi revolutions? Effective trends have been investigated by writing scenario method. After knowing trends and strategic progressives, progressives’ position without above certainty which now are most important ones, has been determined by using experts’ view (professors of universities, and researchers who are activate in this field), and non-certainties of “ religious challenges and challenges resulting from ethnic identities “ and “ political- strategic effects “ and “ the interests of international and regional competitors of Iran in new Iraq “ have been considered as “ most important non certainties “. According to the significant relation of three non-certainties, three-dimension environment has been formed. Strategic scenario environment of foreign policy of Iran will be compiled and explained in future with regarding appropriate combination for designed environment.

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**Key words:** writing scenario, non-certainty, foreign policy, Iraq revolutions

### 1. Introduction

Mainly, the deepest researches on foreign policy must be carried out on neighbors' field, because of direct relation to national security issues and preparation chances. From this viewpoint, Iraq has special position among Iran’s neighbors. Geographical, political, security, cultural and religious characters of Iraq are in such way that difficult power identity and policy in this country, and its relation to its neighbors have been difficult (Barzegar, 1989, 13). Iraq- the western neighbor of Iran- has the most common geographical border, about 1332km, and the highest cultural commons with Iran among other neighbors (Bahmani, 1999, 193). The relation between Iran and Iraq has constantly been a challenging relation. The history of Iranian interactions with a region now named Iraq is the reflection of different difficulties. (Sajjadpoor, 2001, 2). The logic of importance of modern Iraq in foreign policy is to form a set of new variables and reinforce Shiite agent in power structure and Iraq in rule, as a result balance Iranian policy with region and Arab world, and position of Iraq in international relation of Iran regulate foreign policy with great powers like US, and effects on national security and interests of Iran. On the other hand, the presence of a set of differences which have not still solved, has

eclipsed their current relations and interactions, according to foreign relation history of them. Iraq-attacking America in 2003, downfall of Baath regime of Iraq as the insecurity and instability agent of region, reinforcement of Shiite agent in political structure of Baghdad, the decrease of current tensions between Iran and Iraq, the presence of aliens, specially strategic enemy of Iran(America) in current geography of Iraq, the competition of Iran and other region’s countries in this country, the changes of objective geopolitics in new environment of the region, the increase of sensitivity of ethnic issues in the region including Kurdish, economic, cultural and security opportunities which are in front of Iran in Iraq, other issues eclipse the foreign policy of Iran simultaneously. Modern Iraq is the inheritor of deep historical revolutions of its previous rulers; it is the result from asset of political-security issues for Iran in new condition. This research attempts to explain the strategic scenarios for foreign policy of Iran, according to main pioneers in relation of Iran to these events and current environment of Iraq. Iraq constantly has had a special position in foreign policy of Iran.

### Conceptual-theoretical definitions Strategies

In policy, mobilization of all facilities and changing condition in appropriate direction to reach a main purpose and mobilizing and attracting all political, social and economic forces to reach a long term national purpose (for example industrialization of the country or increasing the welfare level and national power of institutionalized borders) can be named as strategy. A strategy accompanies with mobilizing sources and human in the direction of the purposes of government against opposed (Ashori 1994, 26). "Chandler " has defined the strategy as " the determination of long run purpose of organization and the selection of set of actions and the allocation of necessary sources to reach these purposes", in other description: it is the strategy of missions, policies, pervasive and revolution (Mirsepasi, 1992, 66). The strategy is "the plan and progress of idea, program or comprehensive design, so individual or group follows determined purposes in interaction with other".

### Foreign policy approach

From the viewpoint of realistic school, Bilateral realistic and idealistic approaches are the main agents governing all international relation of power, thus, intellectual and effective use of power is considered as the main polar of a successive policy to perform the national interests. On the other hand, the idealistic school believes that policies based on ethical principles are more effective, because such policy increases the relation and cooperation among countries, and decreases the competitions and struggles. According to idealistic belief, ethical power and economic cooperation are more effective than physical power, for it is more resistant and permanent (Pelion 2001, 18). In fact, the foreign policy is related to compilation, execution, evaluation of making decisions, owning a board aspect from the viewpoint of authorities of a country (Kazemi, 1993, 45).

### Foreign policy

From the past, governments have had different relations with each other including political, cultural and economic, and the international net now has become more complex and wider. But, foreign policy must be distinguished from other relations, while international relation involves among different governments, groups and people. It only includes such relations having been made by governments and charged by them. In this sense, the policy is the formal issue governed by governments and differed from the relation of informal groups and people. (Tisheh Yar, 2005, 1). In a country, the concept of "foreign policy" is related to the compilation,

perform, execution and evaluation of decision-makings which have a board aspect from the viewpoint of the country. Foreign policy is formed by two components: national purposes that countries seek to reach them and tools and means of reaching them. The skill of governing the country, in fact, is to make a balance and uniform between national purposes and sources to reach them (Kazemi, 2001, 42). Henry Kissinger says "from the traditional viewpoint, the foreign policy is started where the domestic policy has ended. This conflict only is possible in international system, because the actors have a same perspective about the game principles and have uniform perception about truth and false events in their relations (Kissinger, 1974, 11).

### The history of relations

The relationship trend of two countries can be studied in three different periods:

- 1) From 1920-1958: this period can be called the relative cooperation and entente. In this period, monarchy regime dominated these two countries. Disharmony and special conflict did not seen between them and their governments cooperated with each other in many bilateral, regional and international issues.
- 2) From 1958-1988: it can be named "conflict and hostility. In this period, the relations of these two countries gradually became afflicted with tensions after toppling the monarchy regime of Iraq and taking power the radical government of Qasim. This trend increased by winning Islamic revolution, and led to Iran-Iraq war. Of course, there were some cooperation and entente between them during 1975-1979, but they were not deep and permanents, because of foreign agents.
- 3) From 1988 to now: it must be named "ambiguity period". Although Iraqi forces have withdrawn from Iranian land and accepted Aljazeera protocol, formal peace treaty has not been signed between them, yet. In fact, there was neither peace nor war between them in this period, and bilateral interactions have been combination of cooperation and hostility and distrust and suspicion environment has been governed their relations (Miler, 1991, 139).

### Methodology

#### Scenario method

1960s, well-known decade, was the decade of appearing foresight organizations. At the beginning of 21<sup>th</sup> century, authors such as Yonji Masada (Japan professor of information science), Pavel Kandy

(history professor and the author of the book named preparation for 21<sup>th</sup> century) can be named. In fact, it must be noticed that many authors in recent century have been able to extend a new way toward forward-looking researches by explaining principles and topics of this science. In 1999, unprecedented plan was executed by the global federation of foresight, and a group of active intellectuals in this field were invited to determine who is forward looking person in addition to define the professional standards of foresight. Famous futurists like: “Wendell Bell “and “Richard Slater “participated in this effort (Slater, 2007, 12). Future study is the process of defining a set of views and possible ways for future. Appropriate understanding of these views facilitates what decision can be made for having a better future. It can be said in the definition of future study: “knowing incompatible positions, compilation of policies, the formation of strategies and study and investigation of markets, products and new services” (Eivazi, 2009, 3). Scenario-making was first introduced by Rand institution in 1950s. The most brief and eloquent has been stated by Wendell bell who know the scenario as the product of future study methods. He believes that all methods of future study are the introduction of scripting and they can lead to new scenario (Bell, 2003, 317). Some define it as the description of future condition and a set of events which create that condition (Schwartz, 1991, 203). Scenario –making is set of actions that an individual or an organization can pass to investigate the possible future in the direction of strategic decision –making of present time. Today, scenario is used in wide range of positions and conditions; namely evaluating global environment (Van Notten 2003, 22), great policy-making and policy decision-making (KUHN, 1998, 221).

### Types of scenario

There can be different types of scenario and they are divided on the basis of different standards:

- Static scenario: presenting a instantaneous image of future
- Bottom-up scenario: (inductive) moving from propellant forces, evaluating possible trends and determining possible futures.
- Top-down scenario (analogical): determining possible futures, returning from future and determining the performance way of that future.
- Specialized scenario: it has more limited view and range.
- Global scenario: it includes holistic and more universal approach.

- Conclusive scenario: suggesting to different futures having been considered knowingly and differently for covering unlimited points.
- The scenario of base trend: it predicts most possible futures on the basis of analyzing trends and propellants and different point of decision-making.
- Process scenario: presenting a set of cause and effects factors which lead to special event (Gadget, 1997, 53).

This research attempts to state the most possible of them through using the methods of the scenario of base trend and investigating present trends and propellants.

Steps of writing scenario with using the method of crisis non-certainty

Mainly, this method was developed by Pear Wok in 1970s, and was proposed in the book of “foresight art” by Pitter Schwartz (1991), and the book “scenarios: strategic conversation art” by Kites Wenderhiden (1996)(Bell, 2003, 112).

### Recognition of trends and propellants

After recognizing and explaining the research issue, trends and propellants must be recognized. Trends are formed on the basis of this premise that changes in world have historical solidarity. Propellants are the initial forces of change or movement in trends and patterns. Understanding the relation between these forces develops the insight about the structure of an issue that we follow its answer.

These forces are out of our direct control. They can be political, economic, social, ecosystem, informative, military, ... (...Pest, Steep).

Trends are used in some future study methods and approaches, and they form the first part of future study activity in most researches related to future. Trend is the regular, continuous, or periodic changes in phenomenon during an interval. Mentioned changes may be in quality of quantity form. For example, the trend of changing population (quantity), or the trend of changing values (quality) can be pointed out. Propellants are either a branch of one or more component or related trend. In fact, they imply the factors causing the change in an issue that they are sometimes named great trend. “Propellant is a set or branch of one or more related component or trend forming the future together. That is, components or main factors consisting of some trends causing change in a case study “(Wali, 2007, 61).

### Ranking propellant forces on the basis of the degree of importance and uncertainty

In the method of critical uncertainty, it is attempted that issues became the keystone which are

very important and have uncertainty, simultaneously. For this reason, it is necessary that the list of issues first is provided. Then, “critical uncertainties “are recognized; and they are used as discussion polar. Ranking propellants is performed on the basis of their importance for succeeding issue or main decision and their uncertainty. The main point is to recognize two or three factors or trend which are more important than other or have uncertainty. Scenarios cannot be distinguished by using definite elements, because these elements are similar in all scenarios. To recognize the environment of scenario, main propellants are needed which have the highest priority from the viewpoint of impressiveness and uncertainty. According to investigation of relation and dependency between mentioned important propellants, this is can be done by using the viewpoint of elites. In this direction, the effect and importance of each of propellants toward other propellants of elites are recognized by comparing them in form of two by two and receiving the viewpoint of elites. This method named “Delphi survey method” was developed in 1960s. Its name is

the name of a temple (in which Jewish priests predicted the future). The main purpose of Delphi survey is to obtain the quantity evaluation of future that experts were allowed to state different views. This method has been used in technological prediction (Lindgern, 1390, 150). In this method, the relation of each propellant to itself is considered zero, and if a propellant does not have relation with other propellant, its degree will be zero. If the relation only is potential, the letter P will be allocated. Degrees given by expert group (expert means professors of university, and researchers who are activated in this field, according to their research record) are shown in the following matrix. In each case, the given average degrees are considered. In this part, according to information obtained by experts group, the amount of scoring each of presented variables is analyzed by using MICMAC software. First, impressive amount of each variable on itself are considered zero in this matrix. Then the relative score of each cases has been presented in the table according to score other cases that the highest score is 3 and the lowest is 0.

Table 1. The scores matrix of relation of each propellants toward other propellant

	Internal revolution of Iraq and national security of Iran	Religious challenges	Geopolitics role of Iraq in national security of Iran	Challenges resulting from ethnic identities	Strategic-political effects	Strategic-political effects
Internal revolution of Iraq and national security of Iran	0	3	2	2	1	2
Religious challenges	2	0	2	3	2	3
Geopolitics role of Iraq in national security of Iran	2	2	0	1	2	3
Challenges resulting from ethnic identities	1	3	2	0	2	3
Strategic-political effects	1	3	1	3	0	3
The interests of regional and international competitors of Iran in modern Iraq	2	3	3	3	3	0

As it is observed, the highest score is related to “ the interests of regional and international competitors of Iran in modern Iraq”, “ religious

challenges and challenges resulting from ethnic identities”, “ political- strategic effects” considered as most important uncertainties.

Table 2. Scores of propulsion

Propellants	Sum of score of lines	Sum of score of column
Internal revolution of Iraq and national security of Iran	10	9
Religious challenges	12	14
Geopolitics role of Iraq in national security of Iran	10	11
Challenges resulting from ethnic identities	12	12
Strategic-political effects	10	10
interests of regional and international competitors of Iran in modern Iraq	14	14

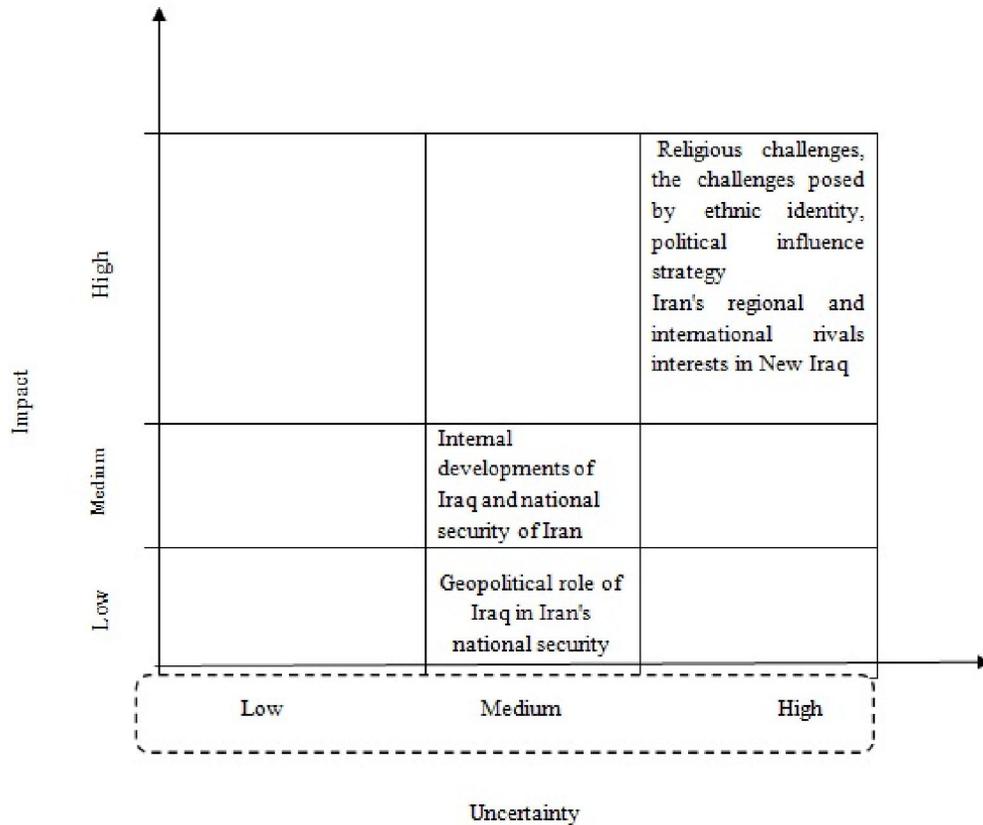


Figure 1. Grouping important factors and known propellants

**Selecting the logic governing scenarios**

The result and outcome of the third step is pillages which the final scenarios are distinguished by them. In fact, recognizing these pillages is one of most important steps of scenario-making process. The final purpose is to reach scenarios that present differences among them are significant for people. After determining keystones of critical uncertainties, they can be shown in form of domain (on pillage) or matrix (with two pillages) or space (with three pillages) in such way that different scenarios have been recognizable and their details have been explainable.

**Critical uncertainty**

Three main uncertainties were recognized

among different issues including:

Uncertainty 1) the interests of regional and international competitors of Iran

a) Regional competitors:

Modern Iraq has created different threatens and interests for regional powers and neighbors, because of power vacuum of government, that some of most important regional competitors of Iran and their concerns in modern Iraq are as follows:

**Saudi Arabia**

Iraq, internal revolution and its regional acts have constantly been foreign policy issues of Saudi. Democratic state-building and the participation of Shiite and Kurdish groups in the power arena are

important changes in Iraq after Saddam. This revolution led to change the political system and regional order not supported and accepted by Saudi Arabia (Asadi, 2008, 80). After Saddam, non acceptance of new realities of Iraq, especially new structure of power, has been the keystone of the approach of Saudi toward Iraq revolutions. Changing the power structure in Iraq and decreasing power level of Sunni Arabs and governing Shiites and Kurdish is the appearance of this new structure. Saudi Arabia has not been able to accept the new realities of this country and Saudi leaders have denied the realities by silence and negations, after the collapse of Baath regime and the formation new power structure. Statements of Arab leaders and their concern, and new condition of Iraq known unsuitable, and opposition to political trend only showed the peaceful figure of Saudis who were opposed, while the hinge of main activity has been to support the terrorism activities and Sunny insurgents to defeat political trend. Saudis have been the center of foreign insurgents in Iraq and they aid to reinforce the uprising in Iraq by financial support (Asadi, 199, 11). Despite of moving away Sunny groups from power and instigating several years of Saudis in Iraq, it seems that Saudis have renewed the definition of their security interests in modern Iraq from 2007. In internal level, they follow the stabilization of government of Iraq and their continuous and impressiveness presence in the arena of Iraq; because their absence leads to weaken of sunny groups. In regional level, they want the participation and interaction as new approach to balance against Iran.

### **Turkey**

Turkey is other regional power defining its interests and security issues by Kurdish issue and protection of its territorial integrity in modern Iraq. Among neighbors of Iraq, Turkey is country which has territorial claim to Iraq. This issue has caused Iraqi leaders to adopt more conservative policy toward Turkey than its other neighbors, contrary to its usual policy. On the one hand, geographical superiority of Turkey and dependency of Iraq to water sources and transitional lines of this country, the superiority of strategic position of Turkey in mountainous part of north of Iraq, on the other hand, cause to adopt such siege policy by Turkish (Tisheh yar, 1388, 99). The presence of America and Iraq revolutions has caused the growth of fundamentalism and promotion of terrorist groups of Turkey. The issue of Kurdish and proposed issue of federalism, activity of separationists of P.P.k, the presence of Israel in the north of Iraq and lack of internal security are the main concerns of turkey in modern Iraq. It was hopeful that a centralized and powerful government in Iraq causes

to increase the border and traffic control of insurgents of P.P.K, after Saddam. However, formal policy of turkey was to oppose the federalism and the establishment of autonomous government of Kurdish. But, on the other hand, Turkey wants to observe the right of Turkmen minority in Iraq simultaneously (Bulent, 2004, 110). Turkey prepares the way for its influence in the north of Iraq for using the force on Kurdish by internationalizing the Turkmen minority right in Iraq and supporting their needs (Asadi, 1388, 600). Supporting the Turkmen group of Iraq, opposing the hold of referendum of Karkook, disarming Kurdish devotees, stopping the trend of Kurdish immigration to Karkook and Irbil, establishing two Turkmen provinces in north of Iraq are the demands of Turkey and Turkmen (Ketens, 2007, 211). Cooperation of Turkey with new authorities of Iraq and effort to hold the conversation about different issues with parties not only are in the direction of preventing the disruption of present security system and relative order presented in Iraq, but also are in the direction of preventing excessive influence of Iran and Syria in Iraq, and it will tend to bring close Turkmen, Sunny Arabs and Kurdish to each other in Iraq (Tisheh yar, 2009, 100). Thus, the most important concern of Turkey in Iraq is the political stability of this country and centralized government so that being federalism of Iraq and such concerns of Kurdish of turkey are prevented, because each revolution in Kurdistan of Iraq effects on national security and territorial integrity of Turkish, seriously.

### **Israel**

Modern Iraq differs from the Iraq governed by Baath from the view point of political structure, economic, social and military conditions. Accordingly, serious threatens and opportunities are find out for each of regional actors including Israel. Modern Iraq has provided new opportunities for Israel. The collapse of one of supporters of intifada, effort to normalize the relation, enforcement of the idea of settling Palestinian evacuees in north of Iraq, being relieved of military threats of Iraq, the possibility of using Iraq environment for attacking Iran, establishment of security bases in north of Iraq inside Syria and Iran, and the use of oil and market of Iraq are opportunities that Israel seeks in modern Iraq. Israel knows the north of Iraq as the suitable place to threaten Iran and Pakistan (which have nuclear energy), because, it can conflict with possible danger of attack by them along with considering military activity of these two countries, especially Israel concerns about increasing the influence of extreme Islamists in the military of Pakistan (Asadi, 2009, 60), and Israelis at least succeeded in converting the hostile government of Iraq to neutral government toward itself

in its sequence trend based on normalizing relation with Iraq. Among other countries of Middle East, Israel seeks more interests in modern Iraq. Since attacking Iraq is considered as a first step of plan of great Middle east of America for making fundamental changes in the region, and one of main purpose of this plan is to reinforce the security of Israel, paying attention to Iraq war outcomes and revolutions of modern Iraq is important from this viewpoint. However, the long run strategies of Israel in security environment of Iraq includes: separating Iraq and converting it to political units and threatening territorial integrity, growing nationalistic activities among Kurdish tribes for pressuring Iran, Syria, Iraq and Turkey, and establishing unity government of Kurdish against Arabs.

#### **b) America: international competitor**

In 2003, the attack of America to Iraq and revolutions of modern Iraq lead to other definition of strategy and security strategy of Iran in front of modern Iraq and America. US has caused to enforce Iran's power in Iraq arena by the military cost of 500 billion and indirect cost of 2500 billion dollars, and this is not accepted by America. The cause of continuing struggle between Iran and America is the result of enforcing "relation based on counter threat" and "conflict for rule". Accordingly, the arena of modern Iraq is a turning point that both of them (American and Iran) consider the increase of playing a role, and making opportunity in regional level as a threat against the interests of each other and they attempt to prevent it (Barezegar, 1999, 132). America defines Iran as a threat against itself and international system for nuclear program, the presence and influence on regional countries and terrorism issue. Thus, modern Iraq is the main environment of the contrast of roles and tug of war of these policies. The main concern of America is about the continuous and expansion of Iran's influence in modern Iraq, the formation of kind of regional coalition among Islamic republic of Iran and the future government of Iraq consisting of majority of Shiites which have inevitable effects on political, economic and cultural geography of the region. Some of these cooperation include: accessing all key part of the region of Middle East, effecting on regional crisis including the peace trend of Palestine- Israel, the issues of Syria and Lebanon, accessing 30% of oil sources of world and benefiting from a dynamic culture of Shiite in form of reinforcing new type of democracy and its effects on conservative governments of the region.

#### **Uncertainty 2: regional challenges and challenges resulting from ethnic identities**

Iraq is the place where different religions

and ethnics are present in social area. The variety of religions, especially Shiite and sunny and power text and social revolutions has distinguished this country. The presence of the minority of Sunny in the head of power in Iraq's history and relentless pressure on Shiite of this country has caused many gaps with Iran. On the other hand, Iran which has not any ethnic relation with other countries of Persian and Arab Gulf has been considered as the only Shiite region and an opposed power by Arabs. In past, this issue has caused the maturity of Arabic Pan Thought and idea of the region and religious unity of Arabs toward Iran. This issue has caused to increase the pressure on Shiite in Iraq. Although modern Iraq has decreased the religious concern of Iran according to majority of Shiite in democratic system of this country, these religious differences and gaps, especially wide publicity of Wahhabis in the social area of modern Iraq is considered as important concerns of Iran in modern Iraq, because of being fragile power structure of this country. The ethnic geopolitics issue of Iraq and its effects on national interests and security of Iran is stable principle in relation of these two countries. (Shiite, Sunny, Kurdish). The presence of citizens in independent and separate parts, the geopolitics issue of Iraq and the quality of confronting it has been and will be a main challenge and problem in the thought field of Iranian policy makers. After the autonomy of Iraq, the presence of completely independent identity of Kurdish, Shiite and sunny in north, middle and south of Iraq and the quality of maintaining the balance among them constantly lead to tension in internal and regional level. According to this quality, the concern about dividing Iraq into different groups of identities and its negative effect on national security of Iran has been the keystone of analyzing issues of Iraq in foreign policy of Iran (Barzegar, 2008, 66).

#### **Uncertainty 3: strategic policy effects**

From the viewpoint of strategic policy of modern Iraq has bilateral performance in its capabilities and potential.

- 1) Iraq can leave the balancer form of Iran's power in region, and it places Iran in planning political strategies. With separating from traditional definition of balancing powers, the new opportunity is provided for Iran to define its regional role as a regional actor and power. This new definition needs to reinforce the elites and personalities who are in step with Iran (Barzegar, 2008, 87).
- 2) Iraq has constantly been a most important regional competitor of Iran and current condition is weakness not a long run and extensive strategy. Border differences,

geopolitics position, and leadership of Arab world, divergent identities of Arab and Persian, economic-military strength and many other factors are capabilities which can bring modern Iraq in strategic-political interactions as a most important national security challenge of Iran in regional level.

critical uncertainties. So, 4 scenarios can be pointed out as has been mentioned in following figure.

- Using the role of maker opportunity of Shiite agent
- Establishing strategic coalition by the government of modern Iraq
- Supporting territorial integrity of Iraq
- Promoting regional cooperative strategies

**Strategic scenarios of foreign policy of Iran**

Scenarios have been formed amongst

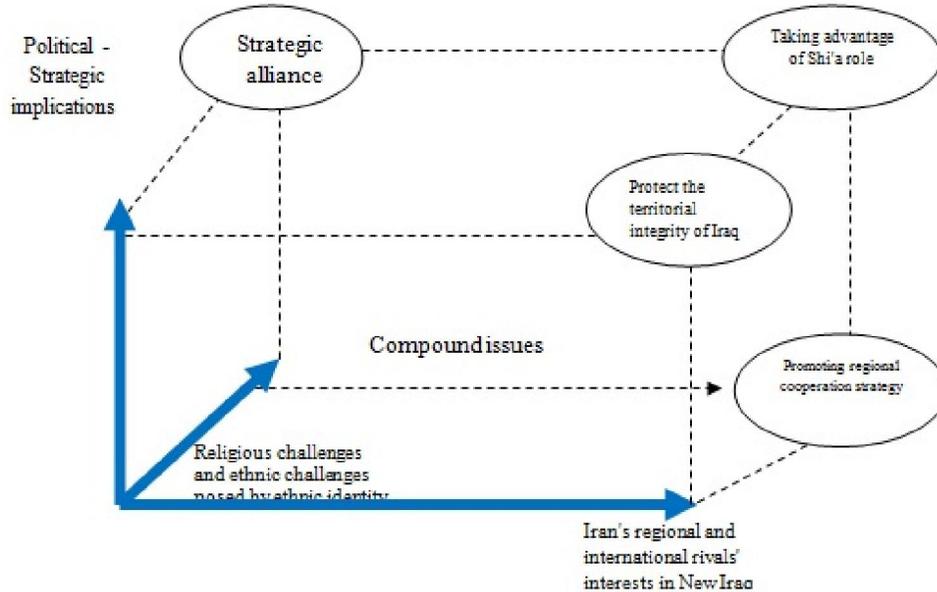


Figure 3: Cultural planning scenarios

Each scenario has been explained as follows. Each scenario is made by interaction different effective agents and factors.

**Data**

**Analyzing data resulted from macro scenarios of future environment**

Strategic macro scenarios of foreign policy of Iran can be summarized into 4 scenarios. Each of macro scenario has been mentioned in continue, and main factors have been explained along with their interplay on the basis of recognizing effective factors and trends.

**Scenario 1: efficiency of the role of maker opportunity of Shiite agent**

Efficiency of the role of maker opportunity of Shiite agent in foreign policy of Iran has not been used in past for two reasons: 1) the ignorance of prime regime of Iran to ideology role and religion in the area of capacity building of foreign policy 2) repressive policies of Baath and predominant

minority of Sunny in Baghdad and the ignorance of the presence and role of Shiites in power and policy structure of Iraq.

In new condition, new making opportunity area has been provided for foreign policy of Iran in national, regional and international levels by changing political and power structure and settling the majority of Shiite at the head of government of Iraq; in national level and bilateral relation, the presence of Shiite at the head of power prepares the way for establishing strategic relation based on cultural, economic, security-political cooperation. In regional level, strengthening the Shiite in modern Iraq will play an important role in balancing relation of Iran with Arab world. In international level, strengthening the role of Shiite in modern Iraq and its effects on international relation of Iraq can prepare many opportunities in the framework of establishing international relation of Iran and solving its strategic problems with great global powers like America in the region.

### **Scenario 2) establishing strategic coalition with government of modern Iraq**

The logic of strategic coalition through Shiite refers to this fact that future exercises in Middle East not only are performed on the basis of ideology but also stabilize the influence and roles. Supporting Iran for uniform groups such as the supreme parliament, invitation party (Dawa Party), even Kurdish group not only is considered on the basis of ideological issues, but also it is considered on the basis of realistic, explanation of national interests. On the other hand, power and political structure in Middle East is such that there will be degree of competitions, such as effective or non-effective, between regional and trans-regional actors. In such condition, the importance and role of the presence of main actors and powers of the region, such as Iran which has independence power specially from the viewpoint of political, cultural and social aspects, are increased as a balancer in the regional level. Thus, strategic unity of Iran and Iraq inside each other is better than Iran considers modern Iraq as Arabic protection toward itself by spending high costs and unreasonable tensions. Strategic unity and affinity of them in the region can be the beginning of kind of positive regionalism and foresight for reducing many regional challenges.

### **Scenario 3) supporting the territorial integrity of Iraq**

Conflicts among countries from the nationalistic trends and the internal conflict in the third world, because of lacking experience about state-building and their ancient colonialism is the reason of nationality threatening national security of third world countries which need regional resolutions (Eftekhari, 2002, 261). Because of the presence of Kurdish minorities in Iraq and the sensitivity of Arabic countries about reducing the power of Arab sunny, accepting federalism by Iraq's constitution, economic condition of Kurdistan, political parties of Kurdish and the issue of referendum of Kirkuk, have specialized the conditions of Kurdish of Iraq in national security of countries having Kurdish minorities, especially Iran. In such appropriate terms and worthwhile opportunity in front of them, Iraq's Kurdish do not tend to risk their interests in Iraq and international and regional environment by repeating traditional slogans: "Kurdish unity". But the neighbors of Iraq also have been concern and supporting America for demands of Kurdish, tends of European countries to communicate with their leaders, the activity of Israel in Kurdistan, Iraq have been made new conditions opposite neighbor countries. There are different approaches about Kurdistan. But, on the basis of prominent approach which will be the

attitude of the writer- the autonomy of Kurdistan will effect on the territorial integrity of Iran by the presence of minorities of Turkish, Azeri, Arab, Baluch, ... according to the presence of Kurdish minorities in Iran and centripetal. The cooperation with other countries such as Turkish is necessary to prevent from autonomous of Kurdish in Iraq. If Iraq is divided, the west superpowers will follow the balance of power in the region. And they do not allow Iran to remain strong and allied (Asadi, 2008, 251). Thus, security-political strategy of Iran toward Kurdish in modern Iraq has known Kurdistan as the focal point of unity of Iran and it knows that every revolution in north of Iraq will effect on Kurdish approach of Iran.

### **Scenario 4) promoting the strategy of regional cooperation**

Also, regional competitors have had interests in Iraq that the security strategies of Iran must be explained how conflict with them. Saudi Arabia, Turkey, and Israel are most important countries following their interests and strategies in Iraq. The strategy of Islamic republic needs very precious and delicacy toward each of them, for that national security establishes very well in modern Iraq. For any reason, Iran must limit the increase of Israel's activities by concluding security pacts with autonomous state of Kurdistan. Iran must attempt to limit Zionism in Iraq by supporting Iraq unity, preventing from autonomy of Kurdistan, increasing flows which are against Israel in Iraq, embargoing the import of goods of this regime and fomenting in developmental, economic and cultural activities of Israel in Iraq. The main purpose of foreign policy of Iran toward regional competitors including Saudi Arabia includes: establishing moderate political system by the presence of all ethnic-sectional groups, lack of appearing threatening political regime of Iran by the leadership of anti-Iranian agents, protecting territorial integrity and unity of Iraq, lack of being threatened by actors and forces who are present in Iraq, communicating based on cooperation and effective competition with Iraq in all area and attempting to promote the strategic relation, strengthening relation with Iraqi nation, making positive changes in people's attitude to Iran and changing the political identity of Iraq from "Arab-Sunny- Baath" to "Arab-Shiite -Kurdish". The encounter with America (international competitor): although America wants to create strategic and equilibrium competitor toward Iran in its initial plan, the result was to be forced to accept the role of Iran in this country. So, current trend and instability of Iraq need active cooperation of Iran in returning the calmness to this country. Spiritual

influence of Iran among Shiites for providing security, clout among Kurdish groups for preventing the separation of Iraq and further violence, good knowledge of Iran from political, cultural and social complexity of Iraq can play main role in pacification in Iraq. Like other regional actor and power, Islamic republic of Iran is a country which: a) has lawful security concerns resulting from increasing instability around its borders, b) has the range of naturally cultural, political and economic clout in the regional level, c) has independently national security for its protection and conflict with foreign threats, d) has special philosophy and worldview for playing role,

increasing validity, growth and development.(rathemell, 2003, 18). American analysts say: America cannot aid to remove the tension of the region and leave the swamp of Iraq without considering the text of this region or unwilling to serious talks with Tehran and holding talks which can lead to counter entente (Ahadi, 2008, 51). So, it seems illogical that Iran is expected to help America in Iraq, while this country threatens Iran with military attack clearly. According to the threats of America from neighbors' border, it is natural that if it attacks, the front line of many wars and instabilities will move to the place of attack.

Table 3. Sum of macro scenarios

	Reasons and propellants
Using the making opportunity of Shiite agent	The internal revolution of Iraq and national security of Iran Religious challenges The interests of international and regional competitors of Iran in modern Iraq
Establishing strategic coalition by government in modern Iraq	Geopolitics role of Iraq in national security of Iran Strategic-politic effects The interests of international and regional competitors of Iran in modern Iraq
Supporting territorial integrity of Iraq	Challenges resulting from ethnic identities The geopolitics role of Iraq in national security of Iran
Promoting regional cooperation strategy	The interests of international and regional competitors of Iran in modern Iraq Religious challenges The geopolitics role of Iraq in national security of Iran Challenges resulting from ethnic identities

**Conclusion**

Geographical attaching of Iran and Iraq and genealogy of the previous security relation determine the effect if Iraq is on national security of Iran. Iraq only is country which has attacked Iran in recent 150 years; and dissident groups of Iranian governments constantly have been activated in this country. the presence of Kurdish agent, Iraq geopolitics, water and land borders, 60% Shiite population in this country, lack of national security of this country after the attack of 2003, powering political forces of Shiite, economic-developmental needs and potential of this country, the presence of international powers and competition of regional powers in this land, and many other instances are cases which has distinguished Iraq in national security of Iran. Modern Iraq has characteristics having deeply differed from governing Baath regime. The style of new revolutions and political structure and power in this country has removed different political-security challenges of Iran. The revolution trend of Iraq has created attitudes and several approaches in the view of Iran in form of realistic and

idealistic to modern Iraq among wide range of executive authorities and universities authorities; that the view to new structure of Iraq and security-political strategies of Iran to revolutions of this country have been some of these approaches. But, whatever must be practical about the Iraq revolutions is to accept modern Iraq as a present reality, by pragmatic view to its internal arena and interested actors in this country. the type of view about the interests of regional competitors and America in modern Iraq, the revolutions of north of Iraq, powering Shiite in power structure of Baghdad after Saddam, the determination of border contracts and other effective factors are considered as present realities in the relation of these two country(Iraq and Iran). Thus strategic purposes of Iran must be followed and Iran must have effective and efficient interaction with international and regional actors who play important role in policy of Iraq for increasing national interests and providing optimally national security according to this condition and pragmatic view and interaction in the area of Iraq.

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