The impact of Iran's nuclear program on the Middle East from the perspective of realism

Minoo Ghanbary[1]

Abstract

During recent years Islamic republic of Iran nuclear file has turned to one of the most important cases in the Middle East issues. In this regard, United States, Iran, and Persian Gulf countries are the players which are directly related to the consequences of nuclear files security issues. Dominant look of western countries especially the United States of America considers Iran's foreign policy as an aggressive one and resulting from enhancement of its relative power in Middle East. Given the challenging situation of United States and Arab countries toward Iran peaceful nuclear program, while this study is based on the belief that Iran's goal is more defensive and in order to increase the relative power of Iran, the main question of this study is that why United States tries to reflect Iran nuclear power as a threatening one and shows it as a threat for the members of Middle East region. The hypothesis of this study is based on the fact that securitizing Iran nuclear program activities is supplier of United States strategic benefits in Middle East and United States through this act can decrease Iran power in the Middle East.

Keywords: Iran's nuclear file, Middle East, United States, Defensive realism

---

[1] M.A. Graduated in International Relations from Islamic Azad University, Qom Branch
Email:minoo.ghanbary69@yahoo.com

Introduction

Decision making process in the foreign policies of countries, especially effective and important countries in terms of international policy is an always interested issue. What have led to the importance of Middle East in the world are its rich resources of oil in addition to its geostrategic situation. The point that any other country around the world cannot compete it. This area has the biggest energy sources around the world, due to this reason it has a significant situation in the United States foreign policy and European Union one.

At the same time, Iran has a specific situation among the Middle East area and west. Achieving nuclear technology resulted in threatening the benefits of great powers of world and creation of insecurity for the Arab countries of this area. The Arab countries of this area try to fear others from Iran in order to hide their weaknesses considering the problems in politic structure, Runtier economic system and their social gaps, and pretending being concerned about providing the security of region increases the presence and intervention of western countries in the region.

Dominant look among the western and Arab countries considers the main reason of Iran's effort to increase its role in the Middle East as increasing its relative powers. This look considers Iran goals and approaches in order to achieve peaceful nuclear power as an aggressive, expansion demanded, opportunistic, and in some cases ideological one. However it is quite usual that Iran like any other country exploit new chances, analyzing Iran foreign policy goals in the way that western and Arab countries do is along with magnification. While the main aim of Iran, in order to increase the regional role, is increasing relative safety of this region.

Before anything Iran tries to destroy security challenges resulting from new political- security challenges in the region. These challenges are: presence of United States troops in the Middle East and Iran's neighbors, the process of changing the order of region to a new security-political form resulting from new geopolitical changes. Increasing its role and presence in the Middle East, Iran tries to destroy security threats via linking its security issues to the region political affairs, and playing an active role especially in the borders, prevent security crisis resulting from new geopolitical changes and evolutions in creation of power and policy in this region and its political climate.

However, western and Arab countries try to change the balance of region forces serving their profits and expensing Islamic republic of Iran, due to being afraid of Iran taking power in the Middle East and achieving nuclear power. In this paper it has been tried to show in the framework of defensive realism that the United States and Arab countries showing Iran's nuclear power as threatening one and enhancing fear of Iran try to reduce this country role in the Middle East in order that in this way achieve easier and cheaper access to the region energy sources and increasing sales of army products to earn considerable economic benefits.

1- Theoretical framework

The theoretical approach of this paper considering the effect of Iran nuclear program in the Middle East security arrangements is based on defensive realism. Understanding government behavior in the anarchic situation or providing a proper theory for the foreign policy is yet the most important goal of international relationship science. Realism great theory is one of the highly paid attention paradigms in the international relationships, which has been experiencing inter- paradigms discourses in the clarifying and analyzing process of international system reforms and its result is emergence of several theories stemming from it. The most important ones of these approaches are: Hans J Morgenta realism, count Waltz's neo-realism(structural realism), Gideon Rose neoclassic realism and also aggressive and defensive realism which both were born from neorealism.

All of these approaches have some similarities which keep them under the name of realism but some partial distinctions or their ideas about some of the natural issues of international relationships such as security, anarchy, forces balance, power, and etc. make them distinct from each other (Ghavam, 384, pp 84).

Generally speaking from realists points of view, the main characteristic of international policy is its anarchic nature, government is a logical actor and the main actor in the international relationship, the main goal of international policy is consistency, and since unlike national structure the international one is anarchic so in this chaos structure the most necessary practice rule is self- help (Moshirzade, 1384, pp 74-90). Also, they do not believe in creation of revolution and fundamental evolution in the international system, since they believe that the anarchic system leads to similarity and behavioral similarity in the actors (Doerty & Faltzgrapg, 1388, pp 144).

It dares to be mentioned that what has caused the dignity of defensive realism is presence and emergence of John Mirshaymer. In other words defensive realism is the other side of aggressive realism coin which it has not accepted John Mirshaymer hypotheses about the necessities of anarchy, safety, and increase of government powers.

In the defensive realism the security concern is the most important concern. In other words the defensive realists look is sometimes completely safe and along with aggressive realism, studies of the international relationships have led to being security oriented ones and in fact these two approaches are aiming to answer the crux of security in the international anarchic system. The main question for this group of realists is that how much power is needed or enough for the governments? Or fundamentally, how much governments do must change to maximize their power. Some answers are provided to this question and have distinguished these realistic items (Jonathan, 2010, pp 4). Defensive realist also takes the relationship between anarchy and international system needs on the one hand and government's behavior on the other hand into account but it considers this relationship much complicated. In contrary to the aggressive realism, the defensive realism hypothesis is that the international anarchy is usually benignant, it means that security is not hard to be fined. As the result governments which take the point will not have an aggressive behavior and will have reaction only in the cases that they feel a kind of threat is faced them and this reaction is also at the level of creating balance and limiting threats and only in the cases that the security crisis turn to be very complicated some clearer reactions will be shown as creation of conflicts. In other words organizations will try to increase their influence and power at the time that they feel unsafe. According to this fact presence of government out of the national borders is just made at the lack of safety situations (Barzegar, 1388, pp 125). So safety in the defensive look is having enough power to create a balance and as far as balance is present, safety is present either. If a country is aimed to distract safety or balance, other countries must make a new one and increase their power in order to have safety.

Additionally they do not consider the international anarchy as a malignant phenomenon, instead they believe that it cannot be understood clearly and it is the duty of governments to analyze the level of threats or lack of which in any particular situation. In other words governments'

understandings and their mental perceptions plays an important role in the process of forming their behaviors.

Defensive believe is similar to aggressive believe that war in some of the cases is unavoidable. Since there are some aggressive and developing demanded countries which challenge the global order and also some countries only in order to continue their national benefits may make conflicts unavoidable (Bellis & Smith, 1383, pp31). Stephen Walt emphasis is on the importance of threats balance instead of powers balance. Threat from his point of view is a combination of government offensive power, military capabilities, geographical proximity, and its possible aggressive intentions. So it is not possible to say that power is the only important factor and other factors are important either. In other words what is important in the relationship of governments is their perceptions from each other as threat and it is not just the amount of their power. On the other hand safety will increase in a system provided that creating balance change to creating a norm and ideology is not as important as before. Governments will act balancing in face of governments which seem to be a serious threat toward their entity or interests (Moshirzade, 1384, pp 31)

Although defensive realists do not have the aggressive realists pessimism toward international agencies, like neoliberals believe that war is avoidable through creating security agencies (like accords or groups of controlling arms) which can decrease the security duality and provides mutual security for the participated governments, but having this distinction that they do not consider agencies as the most effective way in order to prevent wars. Although defensive realists believe that there are some areas of common profits, they are worry about lack of commitment or cheating of some governments especially in security policies.

So it can be said that defensive realism is stated in front of aggressive realism and presenting a specific definition from threat and security has a different look to the issue of power and its application. In their point of view these perceptions of governments and leaders of them are of issues such as anarchy and security which forms their behavior, since governments consider anarchy as a benignant fact (in contrary of aggressive ones), so they would not take an aggressive approach while facing other governments. Aggressive and defensive approaches have two main distinctions: first is that aggressive government seeks security in the deliberately reduction of security of other countries while the defensive

country does not do so. The second point is that the aggressive countries threat each other security deliberately while the defensive countries do not threat each other security deliberately.

Considering issues which were mentioned the defensive realism theoretical framework presenting a specific definition of threat and safety it has a different look at the issue of power and its application. Since governments consider anarchy as a benignant issue they would not take an aggressive approach toward others. Due to this reason this theory needs a proper context in order to analyze the fact that securitizing Iran nuclear programs activities is going to supply its strategic benefits in the Middle East and reduce Iran acting power in this region.

Increasing Iran regional role of Iran, principles and goals

The issue of Iran nuclear file in 1390 has turned to one of the foreign policy of Islamic republic of Iran challenges. Western world newspapers and centers of thoughts production showed their continuous effort in order to highlight Iran's nuclear threats. Obama's government official tried to make the United Nations approve a new resolution in order to develop economic, technologic, and security sanctions against Iran, but disagreements of China and Russia led to approval of some bills in the United States congress which made the context of unilateral sanctions against Iran. Through this way technologic and economic sanctions were made by western world and some signs of making increasing limitations against the banking structure of financial system and economic procedures of Iran in European Union.

Such a process is called security mystery. Threats of far countries lead to creation of mobility in other countries. Other countries do some activities in order to limit the threats and try to change the traditional balance of forces. Since the security dimension in realism is purely military, actors try to increase their military forces in order to face security threats in this region.

Basically, discussions on the emergence of Iran regional role for the first time was mentioned by executives and university centers and researchers of western world and then it was pursued by Arab Sunni elites and Israeli officials. This theory tries to loom the threat of Iran presence in the area much bigger. Based on this emergence of some regional reforms such as Afghanistan, Iraq, and Lebanon crisis(after 2006) increased the stabilization of Shiite element in creation of power of policy of region and pursuing of Iran nuclear power, increased Iran

ability to make roles and play roles in the Middle East political- security issues and this issue has endangered the traditional balance of forces in the region, to arm the benefits of United States and its regional allies such as conservative Arabs and Israel. Such a conception considers Iran role development as an opportunistic and non- maker one which tries to fill the made gap in the region (Verth & Bekri, 2008).

2- Western approaches toward increase of Iran regional role

Western views accept the basis of increasing Iran regional role but they provide different ways in order to face with that. Radical views, consider increase of Iran regional role harming the profits and security of United States and its regional allies which through any possible way like making use of power and forces it must be avoided. The main strategy of these approaches like foreign policy during cold war is based on containing and confrontation (Friedman, 2008).

However along with new developments such as United States disability in controlling regional crisis (Lebanon, Iraq, Syria, and etc.) and also UN reports about Iran effort in order to achieve nuclear weapons, the basis and legitimacy of such questions were kept under question in the United States society. This approach is yet making the main core of military confrontation in order to curb Iran's regional role in Washington (Podhortez, 2007).

Are set in front of moderate views which consider increase of Iran regional role resulting from a set of new geopolitical changes in the region such as political crisis and reforms and the characteristics of creating power and policy in this country and state that this issue is harming United States national profits, but the way to deal this issue is considered to be possible through speeches, adoption and banning of the Iran new regional role (7). Some of the researchers believe that Washington policy in facing Iran through military presence, direct pressure and also creating regional groups against Iran does not have any effect. On the contrary, Washington must make this country responsible through combining Iran in the security system of the region and creating satisfaction from the current situation. They believe that making some motivations such as dialogue, trade and business are the best tools for Iran adherence to the creation of stability in the region (Takeyh & Nasr, pp 2007).

Garry Sick one of the other proponents of this theory in addition to accepting the acting role of Iran and its regional power believes that

United States policies in overthrowing Iran's enemies (Taliban and Saddam Hussein) has freed the political- security power of this country and this issue has destroyed the traditional balance of forces in the region in the interest of Iran and harming United States traditional allies in the Arab world and Israel. He mentions the new emerging strategies in which informal alliance against Iran is forming among the United States, Israel, and Arab Sunni governments in the region. The motivation for this alliance is preventing the increase of Iran effectiveness in the security political affairs of the region of Middle East (Garry Sick, 2007).

Finally United States tactics to convince the world to accept a malignant security state in the region is a combination of classic Diplomacy and diplomacy of media. Since we cannot show the world with its various complicatedness, news values, advertising pressures, extortion, and imposing the meaning is presented in the form of a set of technical and content complexities (Watson & Hill, 2006, pp 248). This is at the situation that the basis of United States extensive advertisement in the past decade not only did not have solid foundations, but also it was along with conflicting reports, forged documents, and magnification.

Regardless of United States strategies in order to fuelling fears from Iran in the region, security competitions between great powers will always be seen. The logic of these competitions is mostly based on fear and in order to achieve more power. It can be said that fuelling the perception about Iran nuclear programming threatening issue, United States is trying to solve the security problem of the Gulf Arab countries through selling them weapons, in addition to increase its effectiveness in the issues of the region, in order that through this way take back a huge amount of foreign exchanges which are paid to buy oil through selling its weapons.

3- Arab world Sunni elites' views about the increase of Iran regional role

Concerns about increase of Iran's role are mentioned among the Arab world Sunni elite from two different dimensions: first, the lack of power in Iraq and destroying the traditional balance of forces in the region, second emergence of Shiite crescent. From Arab world point of view, Iraq Baath regime for long years preserved the balance of powers with Iran and this fact from their point of view was the cause of security in the region. Along with the fall of Saddam Hussein who was the represent of Sunni minority rule in Iraq, creating power and policy in this country was

changed in the interest of Shiite and Kurds and this fact resulted in increase of Iran regional role and then the context for effectiveness in other countries was made for Iran. From their point of view presence of Iran in issues which are traditionally related to Arab world are very concerning. But in this regard Nasr mentions: "from Arab world point of view, the imagination that Tehran controls the political- security issues and oil policies in the region is really disturbing. This fact has encouraged Sunni leaders of the world that keep Washington under pressure to deal with Iran" (Vali Nasr, 2006).

The possibility of formation of Shiite crescent with the leadership of Iran in the region is very disturbing for Arab elites. From their point of view this concern has three dimensions: ideological entity, entity based on mobilization of Shiite groups of Arab world, and their loyalty to Iran and opportunistic exploitation and developmental of Iran from Arab world capacities, having the aim of increasing its role. However, the concern of Arab world elites from Shiite crescent is resulting from tendency of Arab world groups toward Iran. In spite of having a great part of population, Arab world Shiite did not have the responsibility of making the economic and political power in order to play role in their destiny. Due to this fact new reforms in Iraq and creation of first Shiite government in this country have made the concern for the Sunni elites that Shiite of the region will gradually tend to have a greater role in political and economic center of their countries and this in the long term period will lead to the economic, political and civil liberties demand of Shiite and will be results in pressuring the governing systems and ultimately stepping aside the Sunni elites governing the systems (Fouler & Franke, 1386, pp 172).

Having an extraordinary magnification about the aggressive role of Iran in the region, Sunni elites are following a special goal. Although considering Iran as a threat in Arab world has a long history, justifying prevention of Islamic republic of Iran ideological thoughts spread or demand of development by Islamic republic of Iran, Saddam Hussein started the war and this way achieved the support of Sunni regimes and conservative regimes of Arab world. Foad Ajami believes that Sunni elites , magnifying the threat of Shiite, are intending to make themselves close to Washington and this way achieve its financial, political and security support (Ajami, 2006).

4- Iran reasons to use nuclear technology

Iran due to having huge oil and gas resources cannot rely on fossil energy. Multiple reasons are which can modify this phenomenon: 1. limited fossil resources, 2. Increasing productivity of these resources provided that they are used conversion industries, 3. High amount of energy usage in Iran and increasing energy demand. High amount of using oil and gas resources in Iran has kept the exchange resulting from oil and gas under its effect (Gharib Abadi, 1386, pp 77).

Production of nuclear fuel is another path of Iran nuclear energy technology development which constructing different nuclear power plants under the control of Iran agency and the amount of their needed fuel have forced Iran to supply its needed fuel in the country and out of that (Asadi, 1385, pp 35).

Peaceful use of nuclear power, producing nuclear reactors in order to generate electricity and making use of them for ships, submarines fuels, radio isotopes, science researches, and test and training aims are of most important peaceful usages of Iran peaceful nuclear power for Iran. Production of nuclear electricity for Iran, according to demographic statistics and increase of country economic components and energy context are especially clarified in this issue.

The arguments of Islamic republic of Iran in term of entity and technique have enough acceptability in the global community, but Arab elites about Iran nuclear technology is also twofold. On the one hand they want Iran own a kind of nuclear presentation in front of Israel and about Palestine issue. But on the other hand they believe that if Iran nuclear programs are developed there is the risk that Iran dominates the Middle East.

On the hand after creation of region crisis and after those new geopolitical changes in the region from different point of view security dilemma is created for Iran: 1. direct presence of United States forces in Iran borders along with the possibility of creating new military bases, 2. Threats resulting from new geopolitical changes in the Middle East.

Presence of American military around Iran borders having special aims and strategies is the most important effective factor of formation of new security dilemma in this country. Westerns believe that fall of Taliban and Baath regime has made a peace of mind regarding destroying security threats for Iran (25) but from Iran security and national benefits, new insecurity felling and even maybe a bigger threat is replaced for that.

Pervasive presence of American forces and following long term presence policies in the region has been replaced for the previous security threats (Afrasiabi, 2008). After September 11 incident, united states regional strategies were more concentrated on Iran isolation in its region, creating and strengthening regional alliances against Iran and following the policy of changing Iran regime. Pursuing these policies have led that Islamic republic of Iran chooses a defensive reaction towards United States goals in the region.

Policies which from United States points of view are considered as increasing the regional security, have reduction of regional security for Iran as its result. Although new political reforms in Iraq and formation of new constructions of power and policy in this country is in profit of Iran security and interest of Iran and this country naturally demands a secure, sustainable, friend and developed Iran, but presence of United States military forces and this country goals in creation of military centers in the region has kept Islamic republic of Iran in a defensing position.

On the other hand, although new geopolitical changes and reforms resulting from emergence of crisis in the region have kept Iran at the center of region policy and have provided Iran acting context, but it had made some security crisis for Iran national security of Iran. Although Shiite groups in the countries of this region result in increase of Iran's role but some new challenges such as geopolitical competitions, strengthening Sunni extremism, religious and civil war and the possibility of countries breakdown and generally instability and insecurity in all over the Middle East region. Fear of Sunni identity overshadowing and the Arab one have forces Arab countries to follow Shiite issues more exactly (Alfer, 2007).

Creation of new emerging security and geopolitical issues in the Middle East have made some new chances and challenges for Iran, in order to deal challenges and make use of opportunities Iran needs a degree of effective presence in regional political and security issues. Looking west and Arab world, consider the increase of Iran presence in the region having a developed demanding entity and also an aggressive one and it considers Iran presence a threat for the power of region. While Iran look for such an increased presence is preventing new security challenges and threats which are emerging in the region.

5-   Analyzing Iran foreign policy from defensive realism view

Having a look to Iran performance in the region it can be found that Iran follow a realistic foreign policy. Is this policy in the entity and nature of policy an aggressive realistic policy or it is a defensive one? As it has been mentioned in the theoretical framework of this paper, realistic aggressive foreign policy is intended to increase the relative power of countries in the international level. According to this fact the chaos nature of international system is in a way that governments always try to increase their relative power and in this situation they try to reduce the power of their competitors. On the contrary realistic defensive policy just demands the relative security of governments in the international system scene (Jeffry Taliaferro, 2000) governments just want increase of security and just they try toward developing their influence and power which feel insecure. Presence of governments out of national borders happens at the situation of imagining insecurity. The main concentration of aggressive realism discussion and defensive realism one are on the performance of government security dilemma.

Considering what has been mentioned till now in the paper the fact that Iran nuclear foreign policy goals and performance is analyzable based on which one of aggressive or defensive policies have a great importance for western powers and countries in the region. If Iran performance is considered at the framework of aggressive foreign policy, meaning that Iran seeks to rich nuclear weapon and try to threat other countries deliberately, a logical choice for other involved powers in the region is effort to prevent the role and influence of Iran. On the contrary Iran follows a defensive policy it means that it seeks peaceful nuclear technology and do not have the intention of threatening other governments security, in this case a logical choice for other actors of this region who has some profits in this cases, effort to cooperate with Iran. Currently what has prevented cooperation and trust between Iran and United States country is an incorrect perception of United States from Iran foreign policy.

But how we can find that entity and goal of Iran foreign policy is defensive or aggressive? Different characteristics are providing to distinguish this type from realistic foreign policy. Some of the theorists of international relationship are emphasizing on factors such as ideological performance of governments, type of economic strategy, type of relationship regulations with great powers, are emphasized (Andrewkid,

2008, pp 141). In this study three main factors, following ideological and performance oriented foreign policy, making use of connected security and making use of foreign policy based on alliance and unity, to determine defensive goals of Iran foreign policy entity.

6- Ideological and performance oriented foreign policy

If Iran make use of its Shiite ideology and active one in order to achieve the ideological goals in their policies so its foreign policy is ideological. But if they make use of ideological tool as a tool to create relationships with neighbors' government or political groups, a performance oriented policy in order to preserve their national benefits and security. Iran regional policies always accepted two factors of geopolitical realities and ideological orientations. These two factors in Iran foreign policy have always tried to balance each other in a way. Although in the recent years the level of effectiveness of these two factors is different regarding different times threats and challenges, but geopolitical component has affected ideological one in ordering Iran foreign policy (David Manshari, 2007).

Iran foreign policy in new Iraq was a proper case for this issue. Some of the pundits mention the topic that Iran foreign policy in Iraq abides ideological component. In order to prove their point of view they emphasize on the close relationship between Islamic republic of Iran and the Shiite political groups all over the region, an issue which is mentioned as Iran effort to create a Shiite crescent with an ideological entity (Barzegar, 2008). But here we can say that Iran relationship with Sadr Moghtada group is more tactical and based on achieving short term aims and in the situation of relative increase of threat and insecurity for Iran rather than planning to achieve strategic and long term goals. Such relationships are more in order to weaken United States monopolization in order to minimize Iran role in different domains of policy and power in Iraq and generally in Middle East region. In this framework Iran always supported the legitimate government of Nuri al-Maliki and the moderate Shiite groups such as Shia Dawa party and the upper chamber of Islamic republic in political issues. Since this group wants development of strategic relationship with Iran in a long term period. On the contrary, Sadr Moghtda group, not only has never mentioned having strategic relationship with Iran, but also it does not hide its national-oriented Arabic feelings. Undoubtedly profits of Sadr group to preserve relationship with Iran are in the framework of preserving and continuing

its relationship with Iran in the framework of preserving its life and also balancing its political status in the Iraq power structure. So both for Iran and this group preserving cross- sectional relationships in the situation of developing insecurity is necessary and does not have a strategic logic (Kamal Nazar Yasin, 2008).

Regarding making close relationships with Shiite groups via Iran this issue is acceptable that due to the presence of multiple cultural, religious, and identical similarities among ordinary people and the elites such relationship is present but this relationship in the only framework of creating Shiite ideological alliance cannot be made. Since such an alliance needs to be internalized both in Iran and in Arab society. Although ideology is an important part of Islamic republic of Iran global look, some realities are present that show Iran performance is under the effect of pragmatic considerations and taking geopolitical needs and security- political characteristics related to the country national profits. So it can be said that ideology just as one of the national power tools is at the service of achieving national aims and profits so Iran foreign policy is more a reaction to the security threats resulted from emerged crisis in the region.

Second point regarding identification of aggressive or defensive foreign policy is that does Iran follows a security based approach in its regional policy or its foreign policy is more following developmental approach and cooperative one? There are various evidences which prove that Iran fundamentally needs a developmental and cooperative approach in the region, but in insecurity it changes its foreign policy. In order to achieve it 20 year view goals, Iran has two aims: Creating security and development through providing economic opportunities. During last century the most important duty of Iranian government in the first place is destroying security threats in the surrounding and all dimensions development of economy and policy. Achieving goals needs a safe, secure and stable environment at urgent security circles of the country with its neighbors in order that the energy resources and prosperity of the country be used in order to develop the country. Currently due to having high economic capacities Iran is at the best situation to fill the demands of region markets and this way providing economic opportunities to develop its fledging manufacturing industries and its businesses. Transiting energy sources and its geopolitical exploitation, filling the consumer markets of the region, like Afghanistan, Iraq, and Syria, is all a

great part of Iran demand to have a greater role and more highlighted regional presence. In fact, broader economic activities need following an activity based foreign policy in order to develop its strategic- political relationships with neighbor governments.

7- Connected security strategy

Do Iran performance and political goals are based on achieving region hegemony or it is based on a defensive basis and tries to resolve security threats in the intensification of insecurity condition?

Iran foreign policy is defined based on a reaction to the threats made by United States and also new security- policy reforms after the region crisis. If Iran's goal is reducing the acting power of other actors having profits and being related to the crisis in the region, so it is following an aggressive foreign policy. On the contrary if Iran is trying more in order to create stability and safety in this region simultaneously with considering its security legitimate concerns, so it is following a foreign policy through defense. Islamic republic of Iran has accepted the present security challenges with some of its effects on the region as a whole and it is trying to solve it. Iran considers the security of region as a game with the non- zero sum in which the best policy in order to preserve Iran national profits and security is moving to follow a win- win game.

Development of cooperation with the United States and other involved actors in the region in the resolving crisis and insecurities is another evidence of Iran foreign policy. Iran's desire to have direct talks with United States about region security issues shows that Iran strategically has accepted the United States role and it is trying to minimize the threats resulting from presence of United States military forces in the region through cooperation and holding talks (Milani, 2006).

About Iran's relationships with other main actors involved in the region such as Saudi Arabia and Egypt it also tried to maintain and develop friendly relations through developing cooperation and security guarantees. Iran has always been trying to increase its security – political cooperation among governments in the region and in this regard in many of the region conferences it had an active role having the aim of resolving crisis of the region such as those in Iraq and Lebanon, such as Sharm al-Sheikh, Istanbul, Amman on Iraq, and Doha about Lebanon. (Iran had an active role in all of the regional conferences about Iraq security, such as those in Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Jordan, and Istanbul but the significant point is that even the presence of Iran in these conferences is one the

concerns of Arab world, since it is representative of Iran considerable influence in the issues of Arab world.)

Strategically, Iran geopolitical situation, power resources, and its special cultural and political resources are in a way that has always made it dependent to a level of presence in the region issues. The logic of Iran presence in the region is based on insecure and instable environment, connected safety, and preventing security threats in the future.

8- Deployment of connected security strategy and deployment of foreign strategy based on solidarity and coalition

Dominant view in the theories of international relationship, the main reason of creating unity and integration between governments is considered as fighting the common foreign threat. According to Stephan Walt, governments unify with each other in order to tackle foreign threats and to improve their power. In this framework entering an alliance by a government is in order to create interaction of power or in order to tackle the source of threat in a security or foreign threat environment. From this point of view, benefiting from the coalition and unity in Iran foreign policy in the region is a defensive reaction in order to tackle security threats, and it is not just one to increase power in the region. This policy has two dimensions: 1. Creating unity and coalition with the region's governments or political groups in the region in order to weaken the common sources of security threats, 2. tackling these threats through effective and active presence in economic – political issues in the region (Walt, 1985).

In this framework, the second view in Iran foreign policy which in a way we can call its fan as new region- oriented is believed in the simultaneous use of geopolitical and ideological components in application of Iran foreign policy in the region. In this case, creating unity and alliance with Syria and Hezbollah in Lebanon and greater presence in the second security ring are in order to balance security threats (Israel) in the region and bargaining to tackle the main threat and common one (United States). So simultaneous exploitation from the role and all tools of creating chances in foreign policy are considered, geopolitical, cultural and ideological (Shiite component) realities of Iran are in a way that connects Iran to the Arab world. Emerging Islamic republic, the role of Iran in the region has been changed from being marginal and turned to be a main factor. From a realistic point of view, the issues of Arab world enters a great number of chances and threats into the domain of foreign

policy of Iran and since Iran has few tools to affect the issues of Arab world, making use of Shiite component as an opportunity making tool in order to keep security and supply national profits of the country are important, as an instance making alliances with Shiite and friend groups in the region, Iran can tackle the traditional threats. Increasing the scope of this coalition with friend group in Syria and Lebanon (Hezbollah) can lead into increase of Iran bargaining power in the region in order to supply its strategically interests. So from this point of view Iran various presences in the issues of Arab world are defined in the framework of realistic goals but having different ways.

The main goal of increasing Iran presence in the political security issues of the region, joining its security to the region one, increases the amount of effectiveness and its bargaining power and tackles security threats in the security environment of Iran. Definition of security from Iran point of view is in the form of security dependent to the region countries, having a defensive approach related to other countries of the region. According to this fact, goals of foreign policies of Iran in the region are made strategically and in an activity based manner. The theory of unity of friend Shiite governments in the region, such as Iraq, Russia, and Lebanon (Hezbollah) is a strategically coalition having the aim of tackling common security threats and based on realistic and defensive approach more rather than being defined based on ideological coalition and Shiite component.

Generally, unity and coalition, having a defensive look, with different ways try to supply Iran national security. During recent years the main conflict was about the degree of presence in the region and the way of making balance in using geopolitical and ideological elements in Iran foreign policy orientation and this issue leads to increase or decrease of degree of foreign threat.

Increasing the foreign threat and direct presence of United States in the region, concentration on the security approach and more presence of Iran in the region are also increase. In the current situation Iran foreign policy through improving unity and coalition with Syria and Hezbollah is simultaneously trying to tackle the immediate threats of United States and Israel and tries to make close relationships with effective Arab countries of the region (Saudi Arabia) in order to increase the bargaining role in the region. (Since the early 1990 to 2005 Iran official foreign policy against

Arab world and especially Persian gulf region was based on destroying crisis and creating trust) (Barzagar, 2000).

Conclusion

During recent years, under the pretext of Islamic republic of Iran achievement to peaceful nuclear science and technology has tried to make the issue of fearing from Iran to a factor to show the climate of the region as a security one and making context to increase its power and selling its weapons. While Iran has stated multiple times during recent years that its military doctrine are defensive and deterrent and pursuing Iran nuclear program for Iran has peaceful goals and is at the framework of laws of international organizations. United States and Arab countries have tried to fuel the security problem of Arab countries through imposing fear of Iran in the region and creating fear and crisis resulting from that and this way lead them to buy military weapons widely.

Iran's goal in the region, on the contrary to what western countries and United States try to show, has a defensive nature. These goals are a reaction to tackling the new threats resulting from direct presence American army forces in Iran security environment through effective presence in regional issues. Iran policy at the first place, in order to tackle United States threat, making use of connected security strategy tries to tie its security to the region one. In Iran strategy, this country security threat in a way is security threat and emergence of instability in the region. It means that increasing or decreasing security threat will result in increase or decrease of Iran presence in the region. As the result the more degree of foreign policy is, the more use from ideological component (Shiite tool) and security approach in Iran foreign policy will be made. On the contrary the less foreign threats are, the more use of geopolitical factors and concentration on the economic development approach will be made.

Completive and always changing nature of Middle East issues after the crisis happened in the countries are in a way that all of the main actors of the region are trying to improve the new order based on their national profits and security. Also Iran as one the important governments of the region and having legitimate security concerns is not an exception to this issue. Iran efforts to increase its power and achieving peaceful nuclear technology as a way to path the development path in order to supply country profits and security in the Middle East and it is defensive.

Following such policies in the region will provide the context of securitizing region environment, deployment of region exchange sources and military competitions. So Iran at the first place must keep its priority as achieving security using trust making policy and avoiding extravagancy and at the second place follow policies to tackle crisis and also its usual benefits based on help to make the region secure considering international laws. Generally Iran must keep its foreign policy based on various profits and considering needs of international system while being loyal to three factors of honor, glory and advice.

References

1. Keyhan barzegar, détente in Khatami's foreign policy and its impact on improvement of iran saudirelations, discourse: an Iranian quarterly, fall2000

2. Stephan m. walt, alliance formation and the balance of world power. International security, 1985

3. Mohsen milani, Iran's policy towards Afghanistan, the middle east journal, 2006

4. Robert f. worth and nada bakry , deal for Lebanon factions leaves Hezbollah stronger, the new York times, may 22,2008 ,http://www.nytimes.com/2008/05/22

5. Tomas l. friedman, the new cold war, the new York times ,may 14, 2008

6. Nirman podhoretz, the case for bombing iran , june 2007, and stopping iran: why the case for military action still stands, February 2008, cited in: http//www.commentarymagazine.com

7. Ray takeyh and vali nasr, get Tehran inside the tent, council of foreign relations , December 6, 2007 , cited in: www.cfr.org

8. Gary g. sick, alliance against iran, an interview with gary sick by Bernard gwertzman, council on foreign relations , January 23 , 2007, cited in : www. Cfr.org/publication/12477/sick.html.

9. Vali nasr, behind the rise of the Shiites, time.com, December 19 , 2006 , cited in : http//www. Belfercenter.org

10. Grham Fouler & Rahim Feranke, Arab Shiite, the forgotten muslims. Translated by Khadije Tabrizi. Tehran: Ghom: the cented of identifying Shiites, 1386.

11. Fouad ajami, symposium on the emerging shia crescent:implications for the middle east and u.s.policy, council of foreign relations, june 5,2007 , cited in: www.cfr.org

12. Kaveh L afrasiabi,Iran Tries to make up lost Ground,February 4, 2008 , cited in: www.atimes.com

13. Yossi Alpher, Stopping Iran Must be The Objective in Irag, the strategy intrest, octobr 10, 2007 . except that the regime in iran is here to stay, the strategic intrest, February 6, 2008

14. Jeffry W.taliaferro, security seeking under anarchy, international security, winter 2000

15. Andrew kydd, sheep in sheep's clothing: why security seekers do not fight each other, security studies, 2008, 141

16. David menashri , iran regional policy : between radicalism and pragmatism , journal of international affairs spring 2007.

17. Keyhan barzegar , the shia factor , heartland : Eurasian review of geopolitics (the Pakistan boomerang issue , 2008 , cited in : http:// belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/publication/18228/shia_factor.html

18. Kamal nazar yasin, Irag: the tangled web of shia politics, ISN security watch, 2008, cited in:

19. http://www.isn.ethz.ch/news/sw/details.cfm?ID=18844

20. Gharib Abadi, Kazem, 1386. Iran nuclear program file according documents. Tehran: foreign affairs ministary press.

21. Asadi, Bijan. 1385. The effective factors in security and defensive cooperation of Iran and Persian gulf countries. An empirical study.

22. Vaezi, Mahmoud. 1389. The great western powers and Persian Gulf cooperation group: continuance and change in interaction issues. Foreign Policy Research Journal, 51.

23. Watson,james and hill, anne, 2006, dictionary of media and communication studies,7th edition,hodder Arnold publication.