

Security Threats to Regional Powers Investment in Iraq After the Defeat of ISIS

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Abstract

Iraq, as Iran's western neighbor, has the appropriate and potential capacity for regional interaction and cooperation. Accordingly, intelligent and planned interaction with this country can be important for the production of wealth, power and national security of Iran. Being aware of this, regional powers are also investing in Iraq ostensibly to rebuild the country, but in practice with political motives, and this could pose a threat to Iran. The present study seeks to answer the main question: What effect does the investment of regional powers in the reconstruction of post-ISIS Iraq, which is done in the shadow of the passivity of Iran's economic presence in this country, have on Iran's national security? The study claims that the investment of regional powers in Iraq, which leads to an increase in the influence of these powers and a change in Iraqi policies and orientations in the shadow of Iran's economic passivity in this country, increases Iran's national security threats in economic, political, social, military and environmental fields. The present study tries to investigate the subject with a descriptive-analytical method.

Keywords: *Iran, Iraq, foreign investment, regional powers, security challenges*

Received: 06/09/2020

Review: 102/11/2020

Accepted: 11/2/2020

Iranian Review of Foreign Affairs, Vol. 10, No. 1, Winter- Spring 2019, pp. 137-156

Introduction

With the victory of the Islamic Revolution, Iran became a serious threat to the west and the countries of the region, and for this reason, western powers, with the help of some countries in the region, tried to confront Iran through military means. After the Iraqi imposed war against Iran, the strategy of the western powers entered a new phase. Because changing a country's behavior and its political regime through military power comes at a high price to the "invader", imposing sanctions can be an appropriate measure to make the target country more normal and even change its political system. In this way, dealing with countries, instead of using hard power, ie using force, is to target the economic capacities of the "sanctioned" country (Merom, 1990: 76-77). Therefore, at this time, western powers are trying to change Iran's political through economic sanctions and putting the country in a difficult economic and financial situation. As Mark Dubowitz and his colleagues at the Foundation for the Defense of Democracy put it: "The goal should be to change the Iranian regime, not to stop its expansion" (Aljazeera, 2018).

In addition, foreign investment and gaining access to the target countries' markets, pursued by political and security motives, could have consequences for Iran, such as military action and economic sanctions. Due to its geopolitical weight and economic potential, Iraq is one of the most important players in western Asia, and after the fall of Saddam Hussein, new opportunities have been provided for Iran to develop its relations with Iraq. The political developments in Iraq, which have led to an increase in the role and power of the Shiites, have greatly

increased the power and influence of Iran. In this regard, Iraq can play a key role for Iran in the areas of security, territorial integrity, counterterrorism, and easing the pressure of US economic sanctions.

For this reason, the new developments in Iraq and the importance that Iraq has for Iran, caused the regional and supra-regional powers, in different ways and with different tools, to turn the trend in their favor. In fact, these countries are trying to change the policies of Iraq with their economic behaviors through terrorist groups and economic tools, and consequently weaken the resistance front. Therefore, examining the effect of "active presence of companies and investment of regional powers to rebuild post-ISIS Iraq in the shadow of Iran's economic passivity in this country" on "Iran's national security" is one of the main concerns of this study. The present study seeks to answer this main question: What effect does the investment of regional powers in the reconstruction of post-ISIS Iraq, which is done in the shadow of the passivity of Iran's economic presence in this country, have on Iran's national security? The study claims that the investment of regional powers in Iraq, which leads to an increase in the influence of these powers and a change in Iraqi policies and orientations in the shadow of Iran's economic passivity in this country, increases Iran's national security threats in economic, political, social, military and environmental fields.

This descriptive-analytical study tries to examine the investment of regional powers in the reconstruction of post-ISIL Iraq in light of Iran's economic passivity in this country as a threat to Iran's national security. In fact, the study of the effect of an independent variable "investment of regional powers for the reconstruction of post-ISIS Iraq in the shadow of Iran's economic passivity in this country" on the dependent variable "Iran's national security" is considered in this study. This study seeks to explain the new dimensions of economic, political, social, military, and environmental threats posed to Iran through the investment of regional powers in the reconstruction of Iraq. The

data collection method of the research is based on the documentary method based on library resources, websites and the author's analysis. The first section deals with the current state of Iran's economic relations and regional powers with Iraq. The second part will try to examine the investment of regional powers in the reconstruction of post-ISIS Iraq and its consequences for Iran, which does not have an active presence in Iraq. Finally, in the final section, we will discuss the conclusion.

I. Iran's Relations with Iraq

The overthrow of the Ba'athist regime in Iraq was a turning point in Iran-Iraq relations. The importance of the new Iraq in the field of Iranian diplomacy and the presence of the Shiites in the construction Iraq, turned the country from a strategic enemy to a friend and ally of Iran in the region. This provided a good opportunity for Iran to strengthen its relations with Iraq. Compared to other neighbors, Iraq has the most to do with Iran's national security. First, any developments in Iraq play a key role in Iran's political-security issues, such as terrorism, territorial integrity and national security. Secondly, there are good historical, cultural and religious ties between the two countries. Third, Iraq is one of Iran's non-oil export markets that plays an important role in stability, security and prosperity of the two countries' economies (Sadeghi and Asgarkhani, 2011: 935). Fourth, a strong Iraq that is far from the influence of regional and supra-regional powers can be effective for Iran's security and bilateral cooperations (Tavakoli, et al, 2013: 167-168). Thus, since 2003, Iraq has found a special place in Iran's foreign policy and trade relations between the two countries have expanded in recent years.

Table 1. Iran-Iraq trade relations

Year	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018
Iran's exports to Iraq	4439	5149	6249	5949	6131	6237	5959	6425	8960
Iraq's exports to Iran	43	121	83	68	60	50	55	77	58

Source: ITC; In million dollars

but it should be noted that these trade relations are more in Iran's interest, and this could be a serious challenge for the the two countries cooperations in various fields in the long run. Iran, in a traditional perspective, views Iraq merely as a consumer market for its products and does not pay attention to its economic empowerment, it has prompted Iraq to raise tariffs to counter goods imported from Iran. In 2017, Iranian juice and dairy products were exported to Iraq with a tariff ranging between 30 to 40 percent, while Turkey exported its goods to Iraq with a preferential tariff of two to three percent (Bazetab, 2017). In fact, poor performance of Iranian diplomacy has enabled its competitors with more active economic diplomacy to reduce tariffs and facilitate the export of their products to this country.

It can be said with certainty that the defense of Iraq is now more complicated than before, because with the defeat of ISIS, Iraq has entered into the phase of reconstruction of war-torn areas, which requires attracting \$ 100 billion in foreign investment (Hamshahri Online, 2018). As a result, the country's financial crisis and lack of sufficient resources to rebuild its infrastructure have prompted Baghdad to seek foreign aid. "Iran is always trying to gain more influence and solidify its base, both in the region and elsewhere," said state department spokeswoman Heather Navarre. The United States does not intend to focus on large projects and instead will force Iraq's neighbors to play a role in this process"(Tabnak, 2017).

As Saudi Arabia is trying to invest in Iraqi livestock and poultry industry by investing in an area of one million hectares

(Anadolu News Agency, 2019). Turkey is also expected to invest about \$5 billion in Iraq (ISNA News Agency, 2019). Even some European countries are trying to participate in the reconstruction of Iraq. For example, German Foreign Minister Haiko Maas stressed the readiness of German companies to invest in various sectors of Iraq economy (Anadolu News Agency, 2019).

The countries that once tried to weaken the Iraqi government by supporting ISIS, today have opened a new front in the form of participation in the reconstruction of Iraq by blocking Iranian presence in this scene. Therefore, these countries entered into negotiations with Iraq to participate in reconstruction projects. In fact, with their active presence in Iraq, these countries are trying to establish good connections between regional projects and their domestic economic clusters, and to strengthen their non-oil exports (Siddiqui, 2010: 20-21). On the other hand, with foreign investment, they try to improve their image in front of the Iraqi people (Tai and Soong, 2014: 32) in order to solidify their stance by participating in Iraqi reconstruction projects. As can be seen, the investment of regional powers in Iraq for the reconstruction of this war-ravaged country is not pursued solely for economic gains, and its political and security considerations must be taken into account; so any negligence can negatively affect Iran's influence in this country and the region.

Not only Iran rivals economically and politically are trying to expand their presence in Iraq to the detriment of Iran and the region, but even those Iraqi political elites who do not oppose Iran's influence in their country are taking steps to invite foreign investments. Haidar al-Abadi, the then Iraqi Prime Minister, said last summer: "We consider them (sanctions against Iran) a strategic and incorrect mistake, but we will implement them to defend the interests of our people" (Aftab, 2018).

Also, in early April 2019, Adel Abdul-Mahdi, the then Prime Minister of Iraq welcomed Saudi investment in Iraq during a meeting with King Salman, during which 13 cooperation documents, especially in the economic field, were signed between

the two sides (Pars Today, 2019). The Iraqi authorities' inclinations to attracting foreign investment and asking for help from countries such as Saudi Arabia is mainly due to Iran's one-sided and instrumental view of Iraq. With reimposition of US sanctions and Europe's cooperation in this regard conditions has led to the closure of the European and other countries' markets to Iranian goods and has made Iran more inclined to export goods to Iraq.

Table 2. Iran's exports to three European countries and Iraq in 2017 and 2018

Target countries	Germany	England	France	iraq
2017	359	48	42	6554
2018	254	29	27	8990

Source: Iran 6 Customs and ITC; in million dollars

The economic dependence of Iraqi companies to foreign investments, public approval of Iraqi people towards countries which invest in Iraq as well as influence of these countries in Iraq and the impact of their policies on the future of Iraqi developments, are among the consequences of Iran's misguided economic diplomacy towards Iraq. Therefore, the share of Iran's low economic investment in Iraq will affect Iran's influence in this country and the whole region. Thus, it seems that the presence of companies and investments of regional powers in Iraq, which is pursued in the shadow of Iran's economic passivity, poses economic, social, political, military and environmental threats to Iran, which in the following, its various dimensions will be examined.

II. Iran's Passivity and Investment of Regional Powers in Iraq

Economic Threat:

The idea of economic security is at the heart of highly political and unresolved issues that lies in the framework of international

political economy. Economic threats can be considered in the form of agent threats like sanctions (Sadeghi and Naderi, 2016: 182). The first type of threat targets the economic security of the sanctioned country, and the second type of threat, in turn, will have serious effects on the economy of the targeted country. A country that is in its early stages of growth and development, structural threats and the imposition of liberal ideas have a negative impact on the resilience of that country's economy.

In addition to these threats, there is a third type of threat that is considered in the form of access to targeted countries markets. This threat can be pursued for political and security motives and has consequences for the targeted country and other countries associated with it. Since Iraq is one of the countries which Iran has good trade relations with, Iran's regional rivals are aware of this and try to direct Iraq's policies with their economic behavior in line with the US policy of maximum pressure campaign. In recent years, the development of political and economic relations between Saudi Arabia and other Arab countries along with the Persian Gulf states has increased, and in this way they are trying to improve their engagement with Baghdad to use its power to intensify the US pressure against Iran.

According to Yahya Al-Ishaq, President of the Iran-Iraq Joint Chamber of Commerce, today Saudi Arabia spends a lot of money in the Iraqi market, especially in the field of dairy, and has established almost 300 offices in this country (Donya-e-Eqtasad Newspaper, 2019). According to Mehdi Nejatnia, a former Iranian trade adviser to Iraq, customs tariff between the two countries has not yet been zero, but countries such as Saudi Arabia sell their goods without customs tariffs under the brand of countries such as Jordan in the Iraqi market (Tasnim News Agency, 2019). On the other hand, Iraq has taken countermeasures against Iran and will continue to do so in the future. For example, "black cement", "lightweight concrete block", "juices, syrups and beverages" and "ice creams" are among goods that according to recent decisions, Iran will not be able to export to Iraq (Donya-e-Eqtasad

Newspaper, 2019).

The ban on imports of Iranian goods happens while Iraq is importing them from countries such as Turkey. This is more indicative of Turkey's active economic presence in Iraq. Sayyed Hamid Hosseini, Secretary General of the Iran-Iraq Chamber of Commerce, says: "Today, Turkey has more than 10 registered companies in southern Iraq and it shows their high desire to participate in this market" (ILNA News Agency, 2018). In addition to Iran's regional rivals, European investment in Iraq is to the detriment of Iranian exports. The French company Lafarge, which has invested in the production of cement in Iraq, was critical of the import of cement from Iran, and this led to the imposition of a 100% tariff and ultimately a ban on the export of cement from Iran to Iraq (Taadol Newspaper, 2019).

The Iraq government recent move to ban import of some goods from Iran, is related to the government's policy to support domestic production. Yahya Al-Ishaq, President of the Iran-Iraq Joint Chamber of Commerce, says: "The Iraqis say about some goods, such as cement or food stuff, that they are not always going to import these goods and are looking for self-sufficiency" (Donya-e-Eqtasad Newspaper, 2019). But this issue is causing concern when Iran's regional rivals and countries connected with the US policies are trying to seize Iraqi markets and invest in this country to materialize the US maximum pressure campaign on Iran.

Social Threat:

Today, national security is not limited to military might but lack of social security and reduced life expectancy is more important than military security (Tabatabaei and Fathi, 2014: 32). Social security is an issue that both individuals and governments are contributed to it. Given the declining control of governments over their communities, the increasing trend of migration, and transnational separatist movements, it is inevitable to study government-people relations. For this reason, social threats cannot be easily separated from political threats (Navidnia, 2003: 61). Since social security is primarily related to traditional patterns of

language, culture, religious and ethnic identity and customs, these values are often threatened from inside the country (Esmailzadeh and Ahmadi, 2016: 135). In general, a social threat relates to identity and respected values.

The presence of Shiites in Iraqi power structure changed the situation in the region in favor of Iran. Therefore, on the one hand, regional and supra-regional powerstry to show the government and the Shiites ineffectiveness in managing the country's affairs, especially in economic field, as well as linking it to Iran, and on the other by investing in Iraq and supporting certain ethnic and religious movements. So, they are trying to polarize and weaken the Iraqi government and its national identity. Lack of necessary infrastructures and Iran's lack of attention to Iraqi production sectors and inability to strengthen Shiite groups and the government of Abdel Mahdi, led to the main recent protests of the Iraqi people and some religious movements against corruption, lack of necessary services and unemployment.

Regarding the recent protests in Iraq, Mehdi Hamid Jassim, a member of the Baghdad City Council, believes that the recent protests are not subject to any internal or external elements, but to the uprising of the hungry and brave youth of the homeland (Javan Online, 2019). But the Saudi, Emirati and Israeli media tried to divert the Iraqi protests during this period. Emphasizing the role of the Zionist regime, Saudi Arabia and the UAE in the recent unrest in Iraq, Basra police chief General Rashid Fallij said that some people had taken money from these countries to destroy Iraq (Young Journalists Club, 2019).

The American newspaper Washington Post also writes in a report that the massive demonstrations in Iraq are a serious threat to Iran and its affiliates in Baghdad (Al-Arabiya, 2019). Therefore, these countries blamed Iran for the unsettled situation in Iraq by its cyber forces and infiltration among the protesters. Since many Iraqi officials have cordial relations with Iran, for this reason, slogans were chanted against Iran and some of these protesters attacked Iranian consulate in Karbala (Al-Alam, 2019).

Also, due to the absence of Iranian companies and investments in this country, the Iraqi government has taken trade measures against import of Iranian goods. Considering extensive investments of regional powers in Iraq, this step is aimed at further splitting Shiite identity and resistance may also increase.

Iraq's trade confrontation and the protests of some infiltrators against Iran could also lead to divisions within Iran. Therefore, foreign countries, especially Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates, and even Turkey, cause divisions and insecurity in Iraqi society by investing in Iraq and supporting ethnic and religious groups in the face of national identity and portraying Shiites ineffective. Consequently, by imposing their policies in Iraq, which mainly lead Baghdad pursuing policies inconsistent with Iran, they destroy the identity, collective cohesion, and unity of view in Iran about Iraq and the axis of resistance. Thus, Iraq's inconsistent policies with Iran could pose a threat to Iran's collective identity in support of the resistance front.

Political Threat:

Political threats, like military ones, can be so dangerous. In this type of threat, there is the issue of pressuring the government to act or leave the act until the political regime changes and also disrupts the political context of the government. On the one hand, the presence of Shiites in Iraq's power structure has strengthened Iran's influence in the region, and on the other it has increased cooperation between two countries. The type of political and ideological issues that the two countries have accepted, will play an important role in these relations. For this reason, regional powers are trying to oust Iraq from the Iranian front by increasing their economic influence in Iraq. For example, Turkey seeks to achieve its goals due to Iraq's communication routes to Europe, energy transmission pipelines, control over the Tigris and Euphrates water resources, and the use of ethnicities (Karimipour, et al, 2018: 29-30).

Saudi Arabia also seeks to weaken Iran and Iraq. In the current situation, Saudi Arabia is trying to prevent cooperation

and strategic ties between Iran and Iraq. Since Iran and Iraq have a single-product economy, their incomes are affected by changes in the oil market. For this reason, oil can provide the basis for cooperation between the two countries, so in the field of oil, they can pursue a common policy. Of course, the issue of oil always does not lead to cooperation between Iran and Iraq. In order to run the country and develop their infrastructures, the two sides need to pursue policies in OPEC (Organization of oil exporting countries) that could maximize their revenues.

Therefore, Saudi Arabia, with its economic presence in Iraq, which has been somewhat neglected by Iran, seeks to direct Iraq's oil policies with its own. This means that Riyadh is trying to persuade Iraq to work together in this regard in order to implement US dictates against Iran and intensify US sanctions against Tehran, especially in the oil field. In this regard, the two countries agreed on Saturday, November 10, to work together to stabilize the global oil market and prevent price increases caused by the Iranian oil embargo (Tabnak, 2018).

The Kurdish issue is also one of the subjects that has paved the way for cooperation between Iran and Iraq, and the two countries want to preserve Iraq's territorial integrity. This will happen when there is a strong government in Iraq and it does not follow the policies imposed outside powers. Given the views of the United States and Israel on the greater middle east plan and the partition of Iraq, which are pursued through means such as supporting terrorist groups, it poses threats to Iraq and Iran. During the Iraqi crisis, the Kurds showed more manoeuvres and the PKK also carried out such movements with the help of groups such as PJAK (Aghazadeh khoei, 2015: 3). This could hinder Iran-Iraq cooperation in securing their borders and territorial integrity.

It should be noted that Iran's unilateral economic policies towards Iraq and the lack of attention to the Iraqi economy will reduce Iran's influence and, consequently, increase the presence of regional powers in this country, and this will make Iraq's political

future and orientations under the influence of regional and trans-regional powers. So Saudi Arabia can increase its influence in the region to the detriment of Iran by joining Iraq and forming a coalition against Iran. Therefore, Iran's inattention to the Iraqi market and its economic opportunities, which is pursued in the shadow of Saudi-Turkish economic cooperation, will drastically reduce political cooperation between the two countries.

Military Threat:

In addition to the threats, the US occupation of Iraq in 2003 also created opportunities for Iran, and the new conditions doubled the balance of regional power, military security, and deterrence of Iran outside its borders (Amiri, 2018: 104-105). But the issue that threatens these strategic relations is the existence of a dysfunctional, bankrupt government in Iraq. Bankrupt government characteristics such as inability to provide services to the people, economic decline, increasing public dissatisfaction, lawlessness and delegitimization of the government, violent and armed conflicts as well as intervention of foreign political actors in Iraq are abundant (Carlsen and Bruggemann, 2012: 2). Thus, weak and unbalanced economic development of Iraq in recent years has led to the spread of ethnic-religious violence in Iraq. Therefore, the existence of a fragile government incapable of advancing balanced economic development, reducing poverty and unemployment in society, along with the intervention of regional powers has been one of the main factors in attracting the country's youth to the ISIS terrorist group (Haji Yousefi and Hosseinzadeh, 2018: 51-52).

Since the degree of Iran's influence and its role in the region depends on the degree of strategic connection and direction of relations with allied and friendly political groups in Iraq (Barzegar, 2007: 86) Iran's rivals are also trying to destabilize Iraq and form their own government by abusing the failed Iraqi government and supporting insurgents and opposition groups. Therefore when Iraq was involved in ISIS in recent years, Saudi Arabia, Qatar and Jordan tried every means to defeat the central

government of Baghdad and bring a government to power which was in line with their policies (Navaki and Ahmadian, 2015: 62-63) Turkey also supported ISIS terrorist group because of its rivalry with Iran.

Even in the post-ISIS era, regional powers ostensibly try to invest in Iraq in order to expand their influence in the country. In this period, Saudi Arabia and the UAE, along with investment projects in the country and with the support of domestic protesters, also sought to make the government of Abdul Al-Mahdi look ineffective and bring their desired government to power. Therefore, if a government comes to power whose policy is not in line with Iran's goals and interests, security and military cooperation between the two will not be possible and will increase the presence of regional and trans-regional powers and even will cause insecurity in this country. With the fall of Saddam Hossein, due to the US military presence in the region especially its close proximity to Iran the American security threats and Israel's military threats have increased against Iran and Israel has been able to get closer to Iran geographically (Sohrabi, 2017: 60-61).

Although Iran has been able to help Iraq counter-terrorism militarily and act as an advisor, the country does not pose a military threat to Iraq. The presence of foreign companies and the investment of regional powers in Iraq's infrastructure, are due to Iran's economic absence in this country and it is a warning to Iran in the field of military security. Because the post-ISIS reconstruction period in Iraq has provided opportunities for the presence of countries such as the United States and Israel in Iraq, and they can better advance their goals against Iran through a weaker Iraqi government. Turkey and Saudi Arabia can also pursue a policy of increasing their influence in the region to the detriment of Iran. This will lead to the severance of Iran's ties with Hezbollah and the regional resistance movements. Therefore, this can create threats and challenges for the Islamic republic of Iran and by upsetting the balance of power, will greatly reduce Iran's ability to deter enemies military threats.

Environmental Threat:

In the past, with the prevailing perception that environmental threats are part of natural and accidental conditions, this threat was not much on the agenda of security issues. But today, due to the fact that environmental issues have a great impact on human societies, more attention has been paid to the past. The development of new weapons with high technology, looming water and energy shortages, health risks and climate change are the main indicators shaping this dimension of security (Tabatabaei and Fathi, 2014: 33). If the environmental issues of the countries are not resolved, these conflicts can lead to the formation of conflicts between countries (Pourahmad and Heidari, 2016: 155). Even due to the influence of regional powers in some countries with weak governments, the lack of cooperation between countries and the consequent increase in insecurity will intensify.

This can also be mentioned on the issue of environmental relations between Iran and Iraq. Between 1968 and 2003, due to the wrong policies of the Iraqi Ba'ath party regarding the country's wetlands, the phenomenon of fine dust appeared in three countries: Iraq, Iran and Turkey (Maleki, 2018: 354). Also, water control projects in Turkey, Iraq and Iran have caused the drying up of wetlands and lakes located in Iraq (Araghchi, 2014: 109). This caused environmental problems in Iraq and the drying up huge part of the Hoor al-Azim wetland. In the summer of 2018, a large fire broke out in the western part of Hoor al-Azim located in Iraq and caused environmental and respiratory problems for the people of the southern Iran (Young Journalists Club, 2018). However, according to Kiomars Hajizadeh, Director General of Khuzestan Crisis Management, the Iraqi side didn't cooperate to extinguish the fire, Even according to Ali Sari, a member of parliament from Ahwaz, it took about 20 days to get permission to bring the plane into Iraq to put out the fire (Khane Mellat News Agency, 2018).

Although the main cause of dust and fire in the Hoor al-Azim wetland goes back to Turkish policies, Iran cannot pressure on

Turkey because basically these rivers do not lead to Iran and only Iraq can put pressure on Turkey. Here we can clearly see the presence of companies and investments of foreign countries, especially Turkey, and its impact on the environment of Iraq and Iran. However, the construction of dams upstream by Turkey has led to drying up of agricultural lands and environmental problems for Iraq and, consequently, for Iran, but because of its effective economic presence in Iraq, Turkey has been able to prevent Iraqis from protesting and reacting to its construction activities especially dam building which it has built on the Tigris and Euphrates rivers. Another part of the problem goes back to the Iraqis themselves because the Iraqis are not fulfilling their obligations to comply with the rights of rivers. As Kiomars Hajizadeh, Director General of Crisis Management in Khuzestan, believes that the Iraqi side is not committed to providing water to the wetland in accordance with international obligations and conventions (Khane Mellat News Agency, 2018).

However, when the wetlands of Hoor al-Azim, Shadegan, Mesopotamia, etc. dry up, all of these will become the center of fine dust and air pollution and will have the greatest impact on the people of Khuzestan and Ilam provinces (Kaviani Rad, 2017) The result will be abandonment of Agricultural lands and loss of employment for the people of the region and finally will lead to protests and insecurity in Iran border areas. Therefore, with its economic presence and investment in Iraq, Iran could put pressure on Turkey through Iraq and oblige Iraq to fulfill its obligations in the field of water. Iran's failure to pursue such policies toward Iraq could pave the way for regional powers to influence the government and direct its policies, even in the environmental sphere. Thus, the issue of Iraq's environment and Iran's vulnerability in this regard could be exploited by regional powers to put pressure on Iran to advance its goals.

Conclusion

This research has tried to take the concept of security out of the

tight military approach and consider the issue of security in various dimensions. Although in the international anarchic structure and the turbulent region of West Asia, military threats have an important place in security thinking and should not be ignored, but security has taken various dimensions and the neglect to these new components can threaten national security of a country as military threats do. In this study, considering the threat of foreign investment for the reconstruction of Iraq in the shadow of Iran's passive economic presence, the security dimensions of this threat to Iran in the economic, political, social, military and environmental fields were examined.

The current and future state of politics and power in the West Asian region shows that regional and supra-regional powers are trying to enter the arena of competition through various dimensions and snatch the field of influence from their rival. Since Iraq is important for Iran's security and presence in the region, and the regional powers are aware of this and are trying to get Iraq out of the Iranian front, it is necessary for Iran to take the lead in the game in Iraq. Iraq needs to be rebuilt in the post-ISIL era and its economic and development needs have provided an opportunity for Iran's rivals to push Iraq toward their own policies through their active presence in the country. The occurrence of such policies can directly and indirectly threaten Iran in the economic, political, social, military and environmental fields.

In this regard, Iran must pay attention to the movements of regional and supra-regional actors, as well as the demands of Iraq and not allow the country to be surrendered to its rivals. For this reason, the government must take important steps to strengthen and stabilize the Iraqi Shiite government in order to reduce the threats to the country's national security. Therefore, through investment, export of technical and engineering services and active economic presence in Iraq, Iran can manage the security threats to the national security of the country and bring these existential and security threats under its control.

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