The Study of Islamic Republic of Iran Foreign Policy Orientation in Iraq (Post-Saddam) based on the SWOT Model

Moslem Haghi - PhD Student in International Relations, Department of Political Science and International Relations,Tabriz Branch, Islamic Azad University Tabriz, Tabriz, Iran.

Mohammad Yousefi Jouybari [*]- Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science and International Relations, Tabriz Branch, Islamic Azad University Tabriz,Tabriz, Iran.

_____

Abstract

Providing strategy in foreign policy orientation makes the following categories important: the necessity of correct and complete understanding and manipulating of national power and strength; the requirements and characteristics of the external environment, governing rule and pattern in a regional and international environment; recognizing the opportunities, environmental vulnerability, and existing threats and many other factors. Due to the geographical and cultural proximity of the two countries, as well as their neighborhood, the expansive relations between Iraq and Iran are very essential which lead to security establishment in the Middle East. This study's purpose is to show the capability/validity of the SWOT model used in the Islamic Republic of Iran foreign policy orientation field in Iraq post-Saddam. The main question is this, "based on SWOT analytical model, what and how appropriate strategies can be presented in the Islamic Republic of Iran foreign policy orientation in post-Saddam Iraq?" SWOT model is based on strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats in both internal and external dimensions. Developing strategies based on SWOT is the new point of the current article. The findings show that one successful tool in the Islamic Republic of Iran's foreign policy orientation and policy-making in post-Saddam Iraq is a realistic understanding of Iraq's current situations. Proper analysis of opportunities, threats, and the associated strengths and weaknesses can determine Iran's foreign policy orientation towards its fundamental and defined interests.

Keywords: Orientation; Foreign Policy; SWOT; Strategy; Iraq.

_____

[*]E-mail : yousefijouybari@iaut.ac.ir

1. Introduction

The September 11 events in 2001 and the US Afghanistan and Iraq invasion were an opportunity in interaction with supra-regional powers and playing a superior role as well as expanding regional influence for regional powers such as Iran. Iran could not make the best opportunity use. However, Shiite power in Iraq paved the way for Iran influence expansion where Iran as Shiite world leader tried the best (Mousavi and et al,2016:168). Iraq as western neighbor has always been at forefront of Iran's security scenario for various historical, geopolitical reasons in recent decades. Happening of two wars and numerous tensions along the borders, as well as security threats after US occupation and Saddam fall, caused to pay special attention to Iraq based on Iran's political and security apparatus. Despite Saddam's fall and Iran' diplomatic actions anticipation, the existence of trans-national and sub-national actors in Middle East has involved Iran's security structures and foreign policy in a new security scenario. Also, the existence of ethnic and racial challenge in Iraq and also destructive actors along with foreign powers, has required the country's diplomatic organizations to select and plan smart games in Iraq and Middle East. According to a scenario, by relying on a new democratic structure formation in Iraq, Islamic Republic of Iran can gain a foothold in power game, but there are components that disrupt the order in Iraq.

2. Methodology

The present study tries to study Islamic Republic of Iran foreign policy orientation in Iraq (post-Saddam) based on SWOT model and also to examine, analyze and develop strengths and weaknesses of Iran's foreign policy orientation, opportunities and threats. Therefore, understanding Iraq internal situation and getting to opportunities and threats is very important in designing the adopted policy. This research can be summarized in following main categories:

1. Analyzing Iran's foreign policy orientation in Iraq in different periods.
2. SWOT analysis.
3. Analyzing Iran's foreign policy orientation in post-Saddam Iraq based on SWOT.
4. Analyzing the strategic data.

3. Theoretical Framework

SWOT method solves the problem by identifying the internal and understanding the external factors of an issue and also by formulating short-term and long-term strategies. This model has a macro perspective and helps have a clear understanding of current and future situation to make better decisions. In other words, SWOT is one of the most common strategic analysis techniques that examines internal and external environments (processes) and the effectiveness of outcomes and examines how the internal and external environment interact in one or more countries through an appropriate strategy formulation. Internal environment considers the strengths and weaknesses, and external environment helps the country to discover opportunities and threats. Strategic analysis involves actions and plans which result in maximizing strengths and opportunities and minimizing weaknesses and threats. This method, which is made up of the first letters of words Strength, Weakness, Opportunity and Threat, is one of the most important tools in adapting the country's policies (Ahmadi,2007: 13).

Although relations between nations and countries and interactions between ethnic groups have a long history dating back to first human societies, it is believed that foreign policy is fundamentally new and naturally western, which has been proposed and realized in modernity process and in relation to principles and requirements of national government. In this regard:

1..Foreign policy orientation should be considered as long-term planned measures that the states apply in their relations with other countries, nations and organizations regardless the nature, type and role of government.

2..Focusing on power and as an essential feature of any political action, foreign policy involves and means both country orientation and the various tools for orientation realization. In other words, foreign policy is a set of policies, measures, selection and adoption of positions and tools that states apply in dealing with foreign affairs and issues and within the political system general goals framework i.e., preserving independence and national sovereignty, public welfare, providing security and obtaining international recognition. In fact, foreign policy is an important part of the macro-government policy which follows the custom or rules and regulations contained in its country constitution. Therefore, it is obvious that under the influence of reformist or revolutionary social changes, foreign policy will

also undergo changes in principles, insights and methods (Azghandi,2015: 8-10).

The policymaker first task is to shape foreign interests and rank them in important order. The organization and alignment of interests is constantly changing, but it is nevertheless possible to draw a specific pattern which is used by almost all countries (Barber and Smith,2001). The outbreak of Revolution in 1979 and establishment of Islamic Republic completely changed Iran's foreign policy and relations. This change, of course is not only due to political structure extensive and fundamental transformation, but also based on new political actors emergence in political arena and their negative attitude toward international system nature. In addition, unlike the previous governments, Islamic Republic foreign policy is based on the revolution ideals and is strongly on Shiite scholastic principles. The central and universal personality is the prominent and important features in Iran foreign policy. In other words, the very decisive role of leadership in decision-making and executive process, pursuing trans-national goals, continuous internal political instability and mainly government security view toward the international system and its main actors are other features. Mentioning that trans-national goals are manifested only in traditional-ideological countries, which according to ideas and ideals of society ruling school, by a broader view in pursuit of national interests, feel trans-national. By defining itself as Islamic, the Islamic Republic is obliged to take into account the religious and ideological elements in foreign policy orientations without any reason or shortcomings, and have pluralistic relationships with a realistic world. Therefore, it is not unexpected that with cabinet change and relocation of main executives of diplomatic forces, the transition of Islamic Republic's foreign policy from complete and militant denial of international system to tolerant and expedient treatment by cooperation with many key members of international community (Azghandi,2015:11).

4. Finding

4-1. Islamic Republic of Iran Foreign Policy Orientation in Iraq in Different Periods

Foreign policy orientation is the general attitudes and commitments of a government toward external environment, where its main strategy is to achieve foreign and domestic goals and deal with ongoing threats. In relation to orientation, three basic orientations can be seen, which are:

Figure (1): Three Basic Orientations
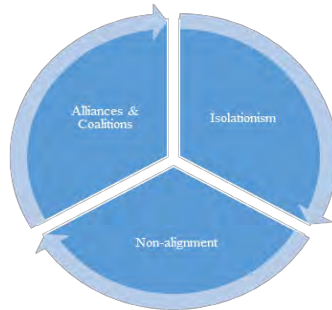
To choose any strategy or orientation, four situations or variables can be considered, including the international system structure, domestic needs, the extent to which policy-makers understand a continuing external threat that threatens their values and interests and the geographical location (Yousefi Jouybari,2015:11-12).

Iran and Iraq have similarities in many areas. This is true at least in terms of economics, geography, strategic position, religion and cultural diversity. According to these internal components, the political bond between two countries needs to have a special convergence, while the political relations between them have been accompanied ups and downs for a long time and have registered a sinusoidal trend. Iran general foreign policy orientation toward Iraq in different periods is mentioning as follows:

4-1-1. First Period: Realists Rule (1979-1980), Bazargan and Bani-Sadr General Orientation

Noticing the Caretaker Government length in power, no specific goals can be considered, but given its demands, including addressing internal issues to be as a model, not issuing the revolution, paying attention to "non-commitment" orientation and changing country political structure, some goals can be considered. In fact Iran's foreign policy was the pre-revolution foreign policy continuation. But "neither Eastern nor Western" policy was emphasized, Islamic Republic of Iran constitution was being drafted by experts. The Caretaker Government based its policy on pro-Western sentiment and feared Eastern influence (Izadi,2010:22).

Specific Orientation towards Iraq: On September 17, 1980, Iraq annulled the 1975 Algerian agreement. This decision was announced through Saddam Hussein's speech in Iraq National Assembly and was notified to Islamic Republic of Iran Embassy in Baghdad on the same day. Finally, Iraq's

aggression against Iran officially began on September 22, 1980, and a new horizon was opened in Islamic Republic of Iran foreign.

4-1-2. Second Period: Radicals Rule (1980-1988), Ayatollah Khamenei General Orientation

This period was associated with radicalism and the emphasis was on how-ness of relations among nations. The main characteristics of this period are: a) internal eagerness of revolution and belief in existence of Islamic values, norms and standards, which are largely patriotic; b) Iran-Iraq war, all Persian Gulf countries, the major world powers unification in helping Iraq and hostility against Islamic Revolution. From the new government beginning Iran's foreign policy main goal was to propagate and revolution expansion (Shayesteh and Iraqi,2015:79).

Specific Orientation towards Iraq: The Islamic Republic of Iran foreign policy output is in a war condition with Iraq. Also, by continuing Iraq-Iran war, efforts were made to assist liberation movements through cultural, political, economic, and sometimes military channels. At the end of this period, on August 20, 1988, in accordance with UN Resolution 598, the war end between Iran and Iraq was declared, and a ceasefire was established between two countries, and "neither war nor peace" prevailed (Yousefi Jouybari,2015:54-56).

4-1-3. Third Period: Pragmatists Rule (1988-1996), Ayatollah Rafsanjani General Orientation

The unprecedented symmetry of severe changes in power structures inside and outside of Iran slowly transforms revolutionary Iran foreign policy orientation. Inside Iran Ayatollah Khomeini passed away in June 1989 and Ayatollah Ali Khamenei was chose as leader and Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani as the president. In outside of Iran the Persian Gulf 1991War, the Cold War end, and the Soviet Union collapse, slowly but decisively changed Iran's foreign policy doctrines. Central principle of Iran's foreign policy orientation during Ayatollah Khomeini leadership i.e., "neither East nor West", both in theory and in practice is overshadowed by a new principle that can be called "both North and South" (Ramezani,2016:81). In general, after the 598 Resolution adoption, Islamic Republic of Iran foreign policy tended toward a pragmatic policy. The constructive cabinet members' view to politics and international relations was largely geopolitical rather than ideological. Hashemi Rafsanjani's pragmatism with his adherence to

revolution principles in establishing a powerful Iran under the international system auspices made extensive efforts with flexibility and expediency, so Islamic Republic could overcome the imposed political isolation during eight years of war. Resolving tensions with Arab and neighboring countries, and generally developing relations with other countries to maintain and continue the independence are foreign policy features.

Specific Orientation towards Iraq: During Hashemi Rafsanjani presidency Iran-Iraq war ended, Saddam again started another war and this time targeted Kuwait and conquered it. The United States and its allies did not tolerate Saddam's behavior. The Security Council passed a resolution against Iraq and Saddam response negatively to it, they first attacked Kuwait and then Iraq and drove Iraqi army out of Kuwait. Iran maintained its neutrality and told will not enter the battle. On Iraq invaded Kuwait day, Iran condemned Iraq action and called for the "Iraqi troops immediate withdraw to internationally recognized borders and conflict peaceful resolution" (Ramezani,2016:86). This war tested Iran's pragmatic policy. In a statement issued on December 11, 1991, United Nations declared Iraq as aggressor and responsible for starting the first Gulf War.

4-1-4. Fourth period: Realists Rule (1997-2005), Seyed Mohammad Khatami General Orientation

In fact, with Seyed Mohammad Khatami presidency a new era began in foreign policy, especially in domestic politics. In this regard in domestic, political development, civil society establishment and the law rule, and in foreign policy, de-escalation and cooperation with countries were in priority. Foreign policy orientation is the alliance and coalition and establishing relations and expanding it with world different countries. Due to unity orientation, the detente and civilizations' dialogue is one of basic issues that has been considered in relation to other countries (Yousefi Jouybari,2015:95-110). The civil society design, overwhelming attention to interaction and tolerance culture, and dialogue and understanding discourse, all indicate the domestic policy impact on foreign policy. Paying attention to mental, culture and identity elements and factors, and involving them in foreign policy decision-making and implementation process with constructive approach is on the way (Azghandi,2015:84-85).

Specific Orientation towards Iraq: According to Khatami's administration foreign policy principles, which emphasizes on de-escalation and peaceful

coexistence, Iran should act as a civil power on international stage (Karimifard,2009:179). This period is accompanied by foreign policy normalization based on regional arrangements and national interests' requirements. Therefore, de-escalation principle and peaceful cooperation with neighboring and Arab countries became a hierarchy in foreign policy priorities, so according to government's slogan in economic development, economic relations with Iraq increased.

4-1-5. Fifth Period: Radicals Rule (2005-2013), Mahmoud Ahmadinejad General Orientation

This period is called threat-elimination based on justice aggressive discourse. Islamic Republic foreign policy main indicator is fighting against injustice at the international level, which in first step believes removing the injustice obstacles and secondly thinking about establishing a justice system (Izadi,2010:24-25). The principle-oriented idealistic discourse dominance on foreign policy can be considered as influenced by various domestic and international factors. Iran nuclear issue, increasing international pressure, and numerous inspections by IAEA are as factors. The most important change in Iran's foreign policy is changing in foreign policy orientation from reformist-tolerant framework to revolutionary-aggressive approach (Azgandi,2015:148).

Specific Orientation towards Iraq: Iran expressed concern about two threats from Iraq: foreign and non-Iraqi level (US military presence in Iraq and whispers of regime change policy toward Iran); and Iraqi level threat (concern over the threatening or dependent on United States state-emergence and Iraq disintegration due to Kurds' independence) (Menati, A., Hadian, 2019: 140). Getting power by a friendly and allied government with Iran for the first time in Iraq history (with a Shiite majority) paved the way for relation expansion in various dimensions (Dehghan,2010:30).

4-1-6. Sixth Period: Realists Rule (2013-2021), Hassan Rouhani General Orientation

Rouhani's government main foreign policy indicators included principles as avoiding tension and de-escalation, rationality and prudence in foreign policy, building trust, imp.oving Iran's image and prestige in the world, active and dynamic diplomacy, efforts to balance and improve relations, especially with neighboring countries. Perhaps the main aspect of moderation discourse in Iran foreign policy is de-escalation. The most important aspects of de-escalation in Rouhani's government can be avoiding

regional and international tensions and need for communication, pursuit win-win diplomacy, mutual respect, prudence and moderation in foreign policy, the necessity in avoiding ideological conflict as a serious need to maintain deterrence, practical readiness for peaceful coexistence and acceptance of political and economic pluralism (Tajkhosravi and Khosbani 2020:49).

Specific Orientation towards Iraq: Iran seeks to challenge US policy to exert maximum pressure on it, and specifically needs to maintain friendly relations with neighboring countries. Tehran is well aware of US pressure on new Iraq government to end Iran's role. After spending a great deal of resources to suppress ISIS in Iraq, Tehran is seeking to exploit its own gains and ensure that no political group in Baghdad will change its approach to Iran. This comes at a time when Iran needs to expand economic ties with its neighbors to compensate the US economic sanctions. In fact, after US sanctions, Iraq has become Iran's top trading partner, and a large part of Iran government's money is kept in Iraqi banks. The Iraqi government has& indicated in a series of high-level meetings with Iranian side that it does not want to be part of a campaign to put maximum pressure. Following the US implementation sanctions against Iran, Trump pressured Iraq to limit its relations with Tehran. This move was significant because Iraq is considered a banking channel for Iran to access the US dollar (https://donya-e-eqtesad.com).

4-2. Post-Saddam Period
While emphasizing on identity and foreign policy, Kate Cross in his article "Government and Regionalization", explains the governments' internal affairs level relationship and regional security, stating the government perception and behavior in challenging and violent internal conflicts, such as ethnic and religious challenges which have arisen in their nationalization process, impact on foreign policy behavior patterns, government interaction with other states and how to deal with security arrangements (Maoz,2004: 102).

Developments in Iraq and a new power structure and politics formation are considered a turning point in Iran and Iraq relations. In current situation, although the traditional military threats from Iraq have been eliminated, but the complex political and cultural nature, the instability and insecurity in recent years and foreigners presence, has introduced a new threats'

dimensions in Iran's foreign policy, while posing provided opportunities for Iran's foreign policy, including relation establishment based on mutual cooperation in bilateral, as well as in relations with regional countries, especially the Arab world. After Saddam fall, Islamic Republic of Iran, expressing satisfaction with this event, was dissatisfied with the occupiers presence, especially the United States in Iraq and did not consider it as national interest (Akbari,2015:64).

Among Iraq's neighbors, Iran with a positive view to new political structure realities has always supported the security, stability, territorial integrity, and national unity establishment in post-Saddam Iraq, while most of Iraq's other neighbors were not satisfied with conditions (Niakoui and Moradi,2015: 130). Iran, which pursued neutral policy during Iraq crisis (the second Gulf War), sought to maintain normal relations with new government to negotiate a way in improving relations in future. In post-Saddam Iraq, Iran has always insisted on Iraq's territorial integrity and supported formal government. In general, post-Saddam Iraq has had opportunities and threats for Iran. Even if the new Iraqi government shifts to a secular, pro-Western government, it will be far less threat to Iran because of new civil and popular structures. Each country's relations with its neighbors can usually be examined in peaceful coexistence, alliance, competition and conflict forms (Borna Beldaji,2005). In summary, regarding the relations between two neighboring countries, the following periods can be considered:

4-2-1. Coexistence and Relative Alliance (1920-1958)
From the British rule in Iraq (1920) and then the independence in (1932) and until the monarchy end in (1958), due to British influence in the region, Iran and Iraq relations whether in "Sa'adabad Treaty" form, or in "Baghdad Pact" or even outside it, has been more friendly, although there were a few border disputes. But it was usually resolved without significant conflict.

4-2-2. The Competition and War (1958-2003)
After the 1958 coup in Iraq, relations between two countries entered a serious rivalry period, which at first (1958-1968) was more limited, and then with the beginning of Ba'athist regime (1968-1988) entered to a tension, conflict and war, and from 1988 to 2003, a state of "neither war nor peace" prevailed.

4-2-3. The Peaceful Coexistence (2005-Present)
The rise of Shiites in Iraq since 2005, as well as relations between Kurdish and Shiite leaders who play an influential role in new Iraqi government, and the institutionalization of a "de-escalation policy" approach in Iran foreign policy strategy, it seems that the bilateral relations are going through a peaceful process (Borna Beldaji,2005).

Figure (2): Map Iraq

.

(**Source:** https://vista.ir)

5. Discussion
5-1. SWOT Analysis
The SWOT method use in international relations is not very common, it mostly used in basic sciences, management, business and in relation to organizations and institutions, etc. (Pahl and Richte,2012). But the efficiency and possibilities of this analytical tool caused using it in different humanities and social sciences' to organize their analyses (Ozerdem and Bowd,2010). While linking political science with the institutional approach as well as the organizations sociological attitudes entering which consider the government as an organization which has smaller organs in its subdivision and also at international level must cooperate or compete with other countries as cross-cutting or competing organizations, justify these tools using as much as possible. Therefore, this research is undoubtedly pioneering and daring due to initiative in applying and using SWOT method in political science and international relations issues. However, this method implementation, needed techniques and design development to increase its efficiency is time consuming and requires more effort. Since methods such

as SWOT try to obtain raw data outside of analytical systems, can be helpful in these cases. For this reason, new doors of political science research must be opened with more innovation and creativity. SWOT literally means strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats, and the process of identifying, reviewing and evaluating effective and potential internal and environmental variables is called SWOT analysis (Akraminia,2013:38).

SWOT matrix emphasizes the country positive and negative factors analysis inside and outside. If we adapt it to subject and purpose of research, i.e., the Islamic Republic of Iran government and its foreign policy orientation in post-Saddam Iraq, we find that Iran's policy-making system has some strengths and weaknesses as well as opportunities and threats. In SWOT analysis, the influencing factors on foreign policy orientation are divided into two categories: external factors and internal factors (Pahl and Richte, 2012).

5-1-1. External Factors

These factors have been outside the environment and affect its activities, but are not at the environment disposal and specific country has no effect on them. The purpose of an external environment study is to provide a limited list of opportunities that can benefit a country or threats that should be avoided.

Opportunities: Opportunity is a major situation in environment, i.e., what helps a particular environment to achieve its goals and as a driving force which multiplies the environment or an entity movement acceleration. In general, opportunity is the realities and potential external (environmental) possibilities that can be used in relation to specific goals realization of a country.

Threats: Threats are the major adverse situation in a particular environment that is seen as an obstacle and stands in the way of a specific space and place such as a country and prevents it from achieving its goals. Opportunity or threat is a relative factor. Understanding the environmental opportunities and threats helps governments to adopt a better strategy and determine the move orientation more effectively. Of course, what is considered a threat to one entity may be an opportunity for other. At the macro level and in countries, there are factors that need to be considered and included in national planning. In general, a threat is a set of negative external

(environmental) phenomena that adversely affect a country's goals and plans.

Figure (3): SWOT Analysis

	Internal	External
Positive Points	Strength (S): - - -	Opportunity (O): - - -
Negative points	Weak (W): - - -	Threat (T): - - -

(**Source:**http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/SWOT_analysis)

5-1-2. Internal Factors

Internal factors are at a country authority and therefore affect its internal activities. The purpose of examining the internal environment is to prepare a list of strengths to make the most profit and identify weaknesses to prevent losses. Internal factors like external, are in two categories:

Strengths: is a natural resource, skill or advantage over competitors and their needs, on which a country relies to achieve its goals. Based on them, countries often move in growth direction and supply their resources. Therefore, they should develop these strengths and use them as a competitive advantage. In general, strengths are positive assets and potential capabilities that a country or government possesses and can use them to achieve specific goals.

Weaknesses: are a limitation or lack of resources, skills, and abilities that may interfere with a country's achievement. Therefore, it is necessary to minimize these factors as much as possible or use them to achieve goals. All countries have weaknesses, only they should be identified and with strengths proper use and weaknesses avoidance, the appropriate strategy should be formulated and implemented. In general, weaknesses are negative internal characteristics of one country.

SWOT analysis is to identify these factors (internal and external) and use them to orient Islamic Republic of Iran foreign policy. Any environment strategy is affected by its interaction process with external one, therefore predicting future situation plays a key role in organization the country success process. Among these, recognizing environmental factors as well as identifying internal factors is very important. SWOT analysis is one of the

strategic tools for adapting internal strengths and weaknesses with external opportunities and threats. SWOT analysis provides a regular analysis to identify these factors and formulate a strategy that best matches them. To this end, strengths and weaknesses, opportunities and threats will be interrelated in the general context of SO.WO.ST.WT. And the strategy option is selected between them. This analysis always suggests four strategies:

1.SO Analysis: Strength-opportunity strategy, also called Maxi-max. In this strategy, the system seeks to take domestic strengths and international opportunities advantage. By using their strengths, senior executives and decision-makers are generally interested in being in a position to take current events and trends advantage. It is known as aggressive competitive strategy. Accordingly, this strategy should be a combination of internal strengths and environmental opportunities to serve goals and plans. In SO strategy, each country is interested in being in a position to maximize the capabilities and opportunities.

2.WO Analysis: Weak-opportunity strategy, also known as Mini-Max. In this strategy, the country tries to cover its internal weaknesses by taking external opportunities advantage or to make the most opportunities by eliminating its weaknesses. Sometimes there are important opportunities outside, but the country cannot take these opportunities' advantage due to internal weakness. This strategy type is known as review strategy and based on it using environmental opportunities, internal weaknesses should be overcome. WO strategy aims to reduce weaknesses and increase opportunities. In this case, due to its fundamental weaknesses the environment cannot take opportunities' advantage.

3.ST Analysis: Strength-Threat Strategy, also called Maxi-Min. In this strategy, the country tries to minimize external threats' effects with its strengths or eliminate them if possible. This strategy is known as diversification strategy and attempts to overcome external threats using internal strengths. The ST strategy is based on a country's ability to respond threats. Its goal is to increase existing capabilities and reduce threats.

4.WT Analysis: Weakness-Threat Strategy, also known as Mini-Min. In this strategy, the country is trying to take a defensive position and its goal is to reduce internal weaknesses and avoid external threats. This strategy is

known as defensive strategy and seeks to prevent environmental threats due to internal weaknesses, so it tries to cover its weaknesses considering threats. The goal of WT strategy is to weaken the weaknesses and threats as much as possible; the structure whose most factors are concentrated in this area is not in a favorable situation (Shirody,2016:93-99; Shayesteh and Iraqi,2015:85).

Figure (4):Analysis of SWOT Model Strategies
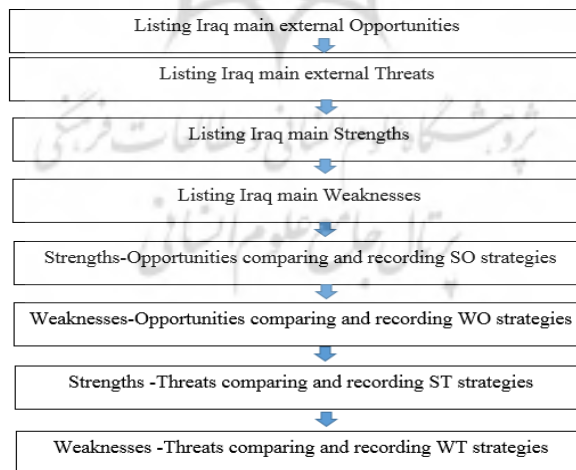**(Strengths; Weaknesses; Opportunities; Threats)**

Internal environment	Strengths (S)	Weaknesses (W)
External environment		
Opportunities (O)	SO Strategies	WO Strategies
Threats (T)	ST Strategies	WT Strategies

(**Source:** Fayz,2010:178)

5-2. Islamic Republic of Iran Foreign Policy Orientation Analysis in Post-Saddam Iraq Based on SWOT

What strategy should Iran choose in post-Saddam Iraq? How wide is the scope and radius of these strategies? And which one takes precedence over the other? Based on which model can the required data be extracted?

Figure (5): SWOT Model Stages

Listing Iraq main external Opportunities

Listing Iraq main external Threats

Listing Iraq main Strengths

Listing Iraq main Weaknesses

Strengths-Opportunities comparing and recording SO strategies

Weaknesses-Opportunities comparing and recording WO strategies

Strengths -Threats comparing and recording ST strategies

Weaknesses -Threats comparing and recording WT strategies

(**Source:** Ebrahimzadeh and Aghasizadeh,2009:114-115)

The SWOT model only analyzes a phenomenon in four categories of strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats in both internal and external

factors, but this article expands the SWOT model to analyze the impact of strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and Threats on the Islamic Republic of Iran's foreign policy orientation in post-Saddam Iraq to provide a way in determining Iran's Strategies.

5-2-1. Iran's Internal Environment (Strengths and Weaknesses)

A: Strengths (S)	
Iran has the following potential strengths in post-Saddam Iraq, these strengths emphasize Iran's internal assets that can take advantage of:	
S1	Iran's relative influence over Shiites and Kurds.
S2	Iran's influence on Iraq government.
S3	The security institutionalization and subsequent democratic process will ultimately benefit the Shiites.
S4	Iran's intelligence capability in the region (extensive information-security network existence and familiarity with the region).
S5	Highlighting Iran's position due to ethnic-religious tolerance and stable central government.
S6	Cohesive structure of armed forces and military superiority.
S7	Increasing economic cooperation and trade in areas such as: oil and gas, port cooperation, technology transfer and engineering achievements by Iran.
S8	Basically, the stability and security establishment in Iraq and its reconstruction acceleration will be in Iran interest.
S9	Existence of suitable sky, sea and land infrastructure between two countries due to neighboring.
S10	Existence of numerous trade and business agreements between two countries.

B: Weaknesses (W)	
Iran in post-Saddam Iraq may have the following weaknesses:	
W1	Establishing or not establishing security in Iraq, which serves the Islamic Republic of Iran national interests more effectively.
W2	Iraq government has not formally commented on the 1975 agreement so far, and has just referred it as a chronic issue to future opportunities.
W3	The negotiations tone of positions and provisions between current Iraq government and Iran indicate that Iran will not pursue or insist on compensation for the imposed war. In other words, the new government considers the non-pursuit of compensation as a precondition for establishing bilateral relations and good neighborliness.
W4	Shiites in Iraq cooperate with Americans far more than Sunnis. The globalization movement among Shiites is not to oppose the United States, while in Iran it is opposite.
W5	Inability to create diverse power and influence sources in Iraq (for example, ignoring other Shiite and other ethnic-religious groups)
W6	Unbalanced development in Iran (the cause of religious and ethnic divisions in Iran

	and separatist groups).
W7	The homogeneity between Iran and Iraq economic structures is one of comparative advantages which has made the both sides' economic approaches have little effect on creating convergence.
W8	Expressing some Iraqi and regional officials concern about Iran's political-security interference. For example, referring to the Al-Alam, Sahar TV networks, etc.
W9	The existence of a range of Islamists, especially Shiites opposed to Iran in Iraq.
W10	Weakness in predicting and shaping the identity crisis and its outcome, i.e., the emergence of ISIS.

5-2-2. Iraq's External Environment (Opportunities and Threats)

A: Opportunities (O)	
Iran has the following environmental opportunities in post-Saddam Iraq. These opportunities are not necessarily created by Iran, but provide a potential international condition that can take advantage of:	
O1	Iran opportunity-building in Iraq in economic, cultural and political-security aspects at bilateral and international relations.
O2	Redefining Iran strategy, policies and guidelines for/against Iraq Shiite community.
O3	Cultural and religious similarities between two countries.
O4	Preference of software approaches to hardware ones in modern Iraq, especially strengthening cultural functions.
O5	The main opportunity is to change Iraq sovereignty structure from a centralized military structure based on Ba'athist ideology to a decentralized democratic structure based on Islamic ideology.
O6	Using internal situation in Iraq to identify converging forces and bring them into new Iraq political system.
O7	Promoting political and economic relations with Iraq.
O8	Iraq withdraws from range of Iran's enemy countries, and paves the way for bilateral and multilateral cooperation in regional and supra-regional organizations.
O9	US actions have eliminated one of critical centers against Iran in recent decades.
O10	If the current situation in Iraq is considered an "opportunity" for Iran, then the ground will be prepared to make better use to exert diplomatic pressure on United States, European Union and even Shiite minority countries in region and since US also involves in Shiite issues, so its propaganda in exploiting possibility of Islamic Revolution issuing will be reduced.
O11	After a few decades the current relations with Iraq are considered as an important opportunity for Iran, at least in the sense that Najaf authority positions are in line with those of Iran.
O12	Iran's position is highlighted (stability island and political system)
O13	Creating bargaining opportunities in international negotiations (possibility of improving relations with the West, nuclear bargaining).
O14	In case of disintegration the emergence of a Shiite state in Iraq and a weak Baghdad (increasing Iran's influence in Iraq).

O15	Increasing Iran's geopolitical and strategic position in the region.

B: Threats

Paying attention to Iraq government performance, evolutions and the region, the following threats are to Iran:

T1	The regional countries' efforts to reduce Iran's influence in Iraq.
T2	Threat to Iran's national sovereignty (Iraq Kurdistan formation and, ethnic and religious tensions escalation).
T3	Radicalization of region through Shiite-Sunni division and rising al-Qaeda power.
T4	Threatening borders and endangering territorial integrity, and refugees' influx into Iran.
T5	Making past claims on territorial and border issues.
T6	The United States effective presence in Iraq state-building and its regional positions has undoubtedly had institutionalized effects on socio-political developments in Iraq.
T7	Completing the power circle: United States, Israel, Turkey in region and a serious threat to Iran. Disruption of power balance in region in favor of Saudi Arabia, Turkey and Israel.
T8	Institutionalizing US presence near Iran's borders through military-intelligence databases establishment.
T9	Challenges arising from Iraq's ethnic geopolitics and, Sunni and Shiite forces division.
T10	Lack of security in Iraq will perpetuate US presence, and public opinion will be drawn to Iraq affairs, and Palestine issue which is one of the fundamental issues of the Islamic world, will be engineered and guided by US and Israeli.
T11	If Iran sees Iraq current situation as a "threat", then tensions between Iran and United States will intensify and United States, due to its political and economic power, will be able to shake Iran's position among Shiite world in the long term.
T12	The fundamental conflict between Iran and United States, and the cultural and ideological solidarity between Iraq Shiite community and Iran, have made conditions sensitive for Iran to play smart in the new developments.
T13	How should Iran behave to remain both a reference for Shiites in region and to prevent United States from taking full advantage current situation.
T14	Religious movements in line with liberal tendencies have a strong presence in Iraq current state-building. This movement is in fact presenting a "new branch of political Islam" that is at encounter with Islamic Republic discourses. A model of state-building in which the majority of Shiites participate. This process has challenged Iran in itself if it can achieve the necessary efficiency in statehood in a timely manner.
T15	A conservative approach rooted in some Iraqi scholars, seminaries, and authorities from centuries past, and this approach is fundamentally different from what the Islamic Republic of Iran has been claiming for nearly four decades.

5-3. Offensive, Defensive, Review and Diversification Strategies

Based on SWOT model perspective, an appropriate strategy maximizes strengths and opportunities, and minimizes weaknesses and threats. For this purpose, internal strengths and weaknesses and external opportunities and threats in four general modes SO, WO, ST, WT are combined and strategy options are created and selected (Harrison and Karun,2003:192). SO strategies try to take advantage of environmental opportunities relying on internal strengths. In WO strategies, the goal is reducing internal weaknesses taking existing environmental opportunities advantage. ST strategies attempts to reduce external threats effects using internal strengths, and finally in WT strategies which are the worst case scenario, aim is to decrease internal weaknesses and avoidance from external environment threats (Ferdar,2000:360-364).

Figure (6): SWOT Strategies

Review WO	**Offensive** SO
Defensive WT	**Diversification** ST

5-3-1. (SO) – Strategies: Strengths – Opportunities

	By combining Iran's strengths and opportunities in Iraq, an offensive analysis can be presented as follows:
SO1	Iran's political, military and intelligence capabilities in Iraq, Iran should work to consolidate and enhance its geopolitical and strategic position in region.
SO2	Emphasis on Iran as a more successful political model (system, stability and security) based on success in state-nation building and ethnic-religious tolerance (In Middle East Iran politically has democratic and stable system with the least security challenges).
SO3	Using Iran's political-security power in Iraq as a power factor in international negotiations.
SO4	Using political-security power to establish peace in Iraq to harmonize regional and international order (which leads in highlighting Iran's position in region).
SO5	Bilateral security and intelligence cooperation, as well as security agreements and non-aggression between two countries.
SO6	Applying "carrot and stick" policy based on Iranian expression and logic should show the United States that it is not possible to play successfully in Iraq without Iran.
SO7	Iraq must be considered a country with an Arab structure and tendencies before it can be considered an Islamic country with a Shiite majority.

SO8	Redefining Iran's regional role as a regional actor and power.
SO9	Providing the necessary grounds for new security arrangements' formation: creating security balance in regional system and playing the first power.
SO10	Redefining Iraq's role in region, balancing relations with Arabs, and finally resolving strategic problems in the world and formulating Iran's international policy through Iraq.

5-3-2. (WO) – Strategies: Weaknesses - Opportunities

Taking into account the environmental opportunities and internal weaknesses, countries should formulate their "revision" strategy in such a way that using the opportunities the internal weaknesses are covered:	
WO1	Taking advantage of global consensus against terrorism and bargaining opportunities in international negotiations, with increasing intelligence cooperation to promote the ability to counter al-Qaeda and other terrorist groups.
WO2	The opportunity to improve relations with the West and increasing Iran's position in global energy markets can reduce the economic problems.
WO3	Using Iran's geopolitical and strategic position to influence and put pressure on influential powerful groups in Iraq, especially the Kurds (using the landlocked Kurdistan and the need to access energy transmission highways).
WO4	Increasing economic power and ability to pay regional costs via rising oil prices because of Iraq crisis.
WO5	Focusing on a weak and dependent Baghdad could create a sphere of political influence and power for Iran if the Shiite state in Iraq disintegrates.
WO6	Emphasis on stability in Iran should be considered as an obstacle to ethnic-religious divisions' growth.
WO7	Suspend the Resolution 598 follow-up process.
WO8	Involve Iran in cooperating to ensure Iraq's internal security, especially through border control.
WO9	Using Iran's economic and commercial facilities to overcome reconstruction difficult conditions.

5-3-3. (ST) – Strategies: Strengths - Threats

In this strategy, the country/countries should use their strengths to explain the strategy of "diversifying" policies to overcome threats:	
ST1	Using Iran's military intelligence capabilities to influence Shiites, Kurds, and the central government in Iraq to prevent disintegration.
ST2	Using Iraq dissidents to create security threats in ISIS-occupied areas, strengthening ethnic-religious tolerance pattern in Iran to counter radicalization of region and reducing Shiite-Sunni divide (pay close attention to turn the political conflict in Iraq into a regional religious war).
ST3	Efforts to diversify power and influence sources in Iraq through the intelligence facilities use and penetrate among different Iraq groups (intelligence facilities means extensive knowledge of different Shiites and Kurds groups).

ST4	Utilization Iran's trade-economic facilities and Iran's participation in reconstruction process.
ST5	Accelerate the relation institutionalization with Iraq governments through the regional relations context such as: OPEC, Persian Gulf Cooperation Council, and Islamic Conference Organization.
ST6	Emphasis on democratic processes institutionalization in Iraq and free timely elections holding, because "the ballot box intrinsic functions" will serve Iran's national interests, Iraq national unity and in particular Shiites.
ST7	Efforts to use non-governmental diplomacy to reduce environmental pressures, including the accusations imposition against Iran by some regional countries, especially Jordan, proposing categories such as the "Shiite Crescent".
ST8	The Iranian government should refrain from taking any guardian attitude or action toward Iraq Shiites or other groups, and only call for supporting Iraq general peace and stability in a democratic process. Because some uncoordinated actions cause sensitivities and irreparable damage.
ST9	Some groups believe that Iraq crisis continuation and US plans' challenge in development context in Iraq will challenge US model government in Iraq, which is pursuing in Greater Middle East Plan context, and neoconservatives in Middle East will fail, and this will benefit Islamic world and Iran.
ST10	It is desirable for Iran to pay attention to and respect Iraq Kurds' rights fulfillment within "united Iraq" framework in a federal structure. This will make relations friendly and as a result improve relations' quality between Iran and Iraq.

5-3-4. (WT) – Strategies: Weaknesses - Threats

Based on WT (Defense) strategy, countries should offer defensive strategies addressing weaknesses in the face of external threats:	
WT1	Dealing seriously with Kurdish leaders in pursuit the independence idea.
WT2	Cooperate and persuade Iraq authorities and change policy orientations to persuade Iraq government.
WT3	Introducing one or more Sunni figures in Iranian government positions (to overcome ethnic-religious divisions).
WT4	Intelligence work with layers of ISIL to obtain information
WT5	Involving elites and ethnic-religious minorities in local development programs in cooperation with central government.
WT6	Iraqis do not want to solve the fundamental problems between them at the moment.
WT7	Iraq believes in Western countries continued supporting and in the regional equations they often prefer Iraq rather than Iran.
WT8	Iraq's belief in Iran needs for problem complete resolving between Iran to implement economic and reconstruction policies.
WT9	The holy shrines issue can be placed as a new lever for Iraq. Occasional opposition from Iraq to sending pilgrims could create new socio-security problems for Iran.

WT10	Considering issues such as: the continued military presence in Iraq power structure, Iraq nationalist sentiment, and long-standing bilateral border disputes, Iran as a whole should pursue a "neutral, prosperous, militarily stable, and weak Iraq".

5-3-5. Combined Strategies (SWOT) - Strengths-Weaknesses-Opportunities-Threats

	SWOT model has ability to display relationship between different factors where using it by increasing the factors and complicating the communication, these relationships can be analyzed. (Feyz, 2010: 179).
SWOT1	Converting Iraq from a strategic enemy to a non-hostile and friendly.
SWOT2	Emphasizing the state-building process continuation through international mechanisms, the United States has so far sought to establish security using American and British forces. The fact is that the security issue and Iraq rebuilding mechanisms are still considered vague, problematic and a serious challenge for Iraq authorities.
SWOT3	Emphasis on maintaining Iraq's territorial integrity given the potential context for potential identity crises in Kurdistan and Khuzestan.
SWOT4	Iran's actions should not be such as to suggest its involvement in neighboring internal affairs, including Iraq through Shiites.
SWOT5	Efforts to accelerate the occupying forces withdraw, more importantly through the United Nations, in the sense that the UN Security Council is ousting the occupying forces and wants them to respect Iraq sovereignty and leave Iraq.
SWOT6	Separation of Iran-Iraq bilateral relations with Iran and United States, theoretically and in practice. Iran should pursue its national interests in Iraq and not jeopardize its vital interests based on procedural decisions.
SWOT7	If the new situation is "both a threat and an opportunity" for Iran, should be tried to take advantage of new opportunity for Shiites in Islamic countries for national interests, and to prevent division among Shiites and their tendency towards the United States.
SWOT8	Iraq Kurds situation and possibility of identity spreading, for Iraq Kurds as the second most influential force after Shiites in new Iraq government, it is necessary to avoid any ambition for Iraq independence and complete separation and ensure meet the rights and interests.

5-4. Strategic Data Analysis
5-4-1. Iran's Intelligence Function towards ISIL Operations
Civil wars tend to create more violence both between neighboring states and within them. Neighboring states often get dragged into civil wars either because they intervene to help rebels, or because rebels take refuge on their territory, triggering an attack from neighboring government. Israel and Syria repeatedly came to blows over Lebanon, and the Congolese civil war eventually sucked neighbors (Mossallanejad,2016:10). Although ISIL is not

and has not been a new player in the region's crises, and has long been active in Syria and some parts of Iraq-Syrian border but Iran with many other regional countries appears to be unaware about their operating and power in Mosul occupation and rapid expansion in Iraq and their rise in Syria. Reasons for this weakness include structural problems in information flow from conflict-affected areas to decision-making centers, inability to identify critical issues and security implications of Iraq government actions in Sunni areas, and the focus on other groups for example clashes between Shiite groups (Bourne,2015:2).

5-4-2. Diversify the Influence and Power Sources in Iraq

A country that is a regional power cannot rely solely on ideological resources. Concentrate only on regional ideological power and influence sources causes Iran to be limited to one ability to play the regional power role and to counter threats such as the ISIL insurgency. Confronting insurgents like ISIS requires very good relations and understanding of all social and religious groups, such as the various Shiite, Sunni, Turkmen and Kurdish groups. Iran could not prevent the ISIS spread in Iraq without using these groups' forces in the first place. Focusing on Shiite groups in Iraq has prevented the necessary relations with other groups and can have serious consequences for Iran. Apart from inability to counter the ISIS phenomenon and its spread to Iran borders and holy shrines, this unilateralization of Iran's influence and power sources in Iraq can cause Iran's regional rivals in Iraq, Syria and Lebanon become stronger and endanger Iran's interests. Ethno-religious conflicts have been most serious challenge facing state-rebuilding in Iraq since 2003. Indeed, Iraq maintains a long history of violence (Rastgoo and et al,2018:248). Ethnic-religious tolerance (investing in Sunni personalities creation and employing ethnic-religious elites) in Iran as a country composed of several ethnic groups with different religions, compared to regional countries, both at the people and government levels, the relations between ethnicities and religions has never reached the point led to insurgency and conflict as in Iraq, Bahrain or Saudi Arabia. Iran has high capacities and experiences to defend its territorial integrity and protect its values, the most important of which is the strong social capital cohesion (Seyednejad,2010:58).

5-4-3. Serious Confrontation with Kurdistan Leaders for Disintegration

The environmental crises impact on any country security, especially in ethnic crisis and independence movements are so serious. Being ethnicities groups across borders are one of the most important geopolitical issues and sources of latent tension in a possibility of crisis. A Kurdish issue with a history of struggle and the will to independence and a national unit formation, especially in Iraq is a tension matter. (Koolaee and et al,2016: 24). Iraq Kurdistan disintegration has serious consequences for Islamic Republic interests. In addition to using geopolitical leverage to counter this, Iran can use other tools that target separatist Kurdish leaders' interests to prevent their attempts in dividing Iraq. One of the separatist activities of Iraq Kurdistan region was, holding a referendum in October 2017 to establish an independent Kurdistan state. According to statistics, the majority voted in favor. However, this separatist referendum is ultimately failed due to the entry of Iraq and regional actors (Islami and Shamsabadi, 2018:65).

5-4-4. Using Iran's Power in Iraq, the Global Consensus against Terrorism

Better understanding of international community, resulting in Iran falling short and gaining more concessions (Iran can no longer have everything together in Iraq to succeed). The ISIS threat in Iraq and Syria and an international consensus to combat terrorism, as well as the alignment of Iran and international community in fighting against this group, has provided an opportunity for international community to take advantage of Iran's power in Iraq and cooperating with this country causes gaining a better understanding of Iran. Taking advantage of these conditions, Iran can gain more concessions in region by compromising on some issues. Iran must bear in mind that the conditions posed by ISIS threat could help strengthen Iran's regional position if Iran recognizes the legitimate interests of other regional powers and maximizes its absolute interests. Iran can demonstrate its power in region by recognizing others interests will be able to bring peace even among its regional rivals and use their power to counter threats such as al-Qaeda and ISIS. Independent military capability, regular and irregular war experience, self-sufficiency in arms production, non-involvement on various fronts, unity of religious, political, military leadership and dozens of other components in Iran, extremist groups face death (Maleki,2014:8).

6. Conclusion

Every political entity has a codified strategy in its foreign relations that helps its plans and goals in a particular period of time. The Islamic Republic, despite a set of clear principles in its foreign policy orientation, lacked a long-term policy and program in Saddam's Iraq, and until then the foreign policy was a function of domestic and foreign developments, such as revolution, war, ups and downs in relations with the West and so on. With Saddam fall, the countries in region, especially Iran changed their foreign policy orientation in line with their regional and national security goals and expanded influence in Iraq to prevent the increasing influence of other rivals.

What can be the Islamic Republic of Iran opportunities and threats, strengths and weaknesses as well as appropriate strategies in the foreign policy orientation in post-Saddam Iraq according to SWOT model? The SWOT model helps to solve a fundamental question in choosing a strategy. According to this model the main purpose of strategy is to use a strong position or overcome a weak position.

The SWOT final result analysis can suggest a wide range of strategies that can be used for the Islamic Republic of Iran in post-Saddam Iraq in which a combination of opportunities, threats and strengths and weaknesses of Iran are used. Applying SWOT analytical model in explaining the Islamic Republic of Iran foreign policy orientation in post-Saddam Iraq is an exercise in using it more broadly in similar cases. But trying to localize the SWOT analytical model can lead us to newer strategies. For example, the ISIS threat while exposing Iran's some intelligence weaknesses in Iraq, emphasizes the need to diversify its sources of influence and power in Iraq, and the need to adopt new strategies. Iran, on the other hand, should pay more attention to dialogue and cooperation with other foreign powers in Iraq based on maintaining mutual interests and increasing security in region, and work towards its realization. This study uses SWOT model, while examining the Islamic Republic of Iran strengths and weaknesses in internal and foreign arenas, as well as the opportunities and threats facing in post-Saddam Iraq, providing strategies for foreign policy orientation. In this study, by accurately identifying the internal environment based on strengths and weaknesses and the external environment based on opportunity and threat components provided appropriate strategies sue to matching the

logical relationship between each of the internal components with a combination of two factors that external strategies should be presented. Although the strategies of this research are in general, but it can provide a suitable background for further research.

7. Acknowledgment

.

References
1. Ahmadi, M.R. (2007). "Strategic Analysis Method", Hassoun, No. 13, 39-57. **[In Persian]**
2. Akbari, H. (2015). Iraq and its Neighbors in the Future, Tehran: Imam Hussein University Publication. **[In Persian]**
3. Akraminia, M. (2013). "Strategies of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran in achieving the goals of Vision 1404", Quarterly Journal of Strategic Studies, Volume 16, Number 3. **[In Persian]**
4. Azghandi, A. (2015). Foreign Policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Frameworks and Orientations, Tehran: Qomes Publishing. **[In Persian]**
5. Borna, B.S. (2005). Relations between the Islamic Republic of Iran and New Iraq (Challenges, Opportunities and Threats), Journal of Parliament and Strategy, Twelfth Year, No. 49 and 50. **[In Persian]**
6. Bourne, P.V. (2015). "You want to defeat ISIS", Fars News Agency website, January 6th. **[In Persian]**
7. Dehghan, Y. (2010). A study of political relations between Iran and Iraq during the presidency of Mr. Ahmadinejad, Tehran: Abrar Contemporary International Cultural Studies and Research Institute. **[In Persian]**
8. Ebrahimzadeh, I; Aghasizadeh, A. (2009). Analysis of factors affecting the tourism development in Chabahar coastal area using the SWOT strategic model, Quarterly Journal of Urban and Regional Studies and Research, 114-115. **[In Persian]**
9. Ferdar, D. (2000). Strategic Management, Translated by Ali Parsaian, Seyed Mohammad Aarabi, Tehran: Cultural Research Office Publications.
10. Feyz, D. (2010). Qualitative Research Status Strategic Analysis in Iran and Presenting Strategies for Its Development Using the SWOT Model, Strategy Quarterly, Year 19, No. 54, 169-185. **[In Persian]**
11. Harrison, J; John, K. (2003). Strategic Management, Translated by Behrouz Ghasemi, Tehran: Hayat Publications. **[In Persian]**
12. Islami, M; Shamsabadi, A. (2018). The Causes behind Appointment of Kurdistan Regions Separation Referendum. Geopolitics Quarterly, 14(51), 63-94. **[In Persian]**
13. Izadi, J. (2010). Diplomacy of the Islamic Republic of Iran (Foreign Policy, Energy, Nuclear), Tehran: Abrar Institute. **[In Persian]**
14. Karimifard, H. (2009). Analysis of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran based on the national identity components. Journal of Political and International Research, 1 (2), 155-190. **[In Persian]**
15. Koolaee, E., Hariri, R., Asadikia, B. (2016). Kurdish Question and Its Impact on Iran-Turkey Relations. Geopolitics Quarterly, 12(43), 1-27. **[In Persian]**

16. Maleki, A. (2014). "Islamic Caliphate and Change of Borders", Hamshahri newspaper, July 6, p. 10. **[In Persian]**
17. Maoz, Z. (2004). Building Regional Security in the Middle East: International, Regional and Domestic Influences. London: Frank Cass.
18. Menati, A; Hadian, N. (2019). The Islamic Republic of Iran's Foreign Policy towards Iraq From the perspective of Balance of Threat Theory (2003-2018). Quarterly Journal of Islamic World Studies, 7(15), 139-164. **[In Persian]**
19. Mousavi, S; Barzegar, K; Ghavam, S; Zakerian, M. (2016). The Impact of Arab World Upheavals on Iran-Turkey Regional Policies. Geopolitics Quarterly, 12(41), 166-188. **[In Persian]**
20. Mossallanejad, A. (2016). The Rise of ISIS and the Future of Iraq's Security, Geopolitics Quarterly, 11(4), 1-31. **[In Persian]**
21. Niakoui, A; Moradi, C.S. (2015). Competition of Regional Powers in Iraq, Quarterly Journal of Foreign Relations, Seventh Year, No. 1, Spring 2015. **[In Persian]**
22. Ozerdem, A; Bowd, R. (2010). Participatory Research Methodologies. Bulington: Ashgate Publishing Company.
23. Pahl, N; Richte, A. (2012). SWOT Analysis- Idea, Methodology and Practical Approach. Norderstedt: Grin Verlage.
24. Ramazani, R. (2016). An Analytical Framework for Examining the Foreign Policy of Islamic Republic of Iran, Translated by Alireza Tayeb, Tehran: Ney Publishing. **[In Persian]**
25. Rastgoo, M; Asadi, A; Mousavi Shafaee, S. (2018). Geographical Restriction and Interests as a Bulwark against Disintegration of Iraq. Geopolitics Quarterly, 13(48), 245-279. **[In Persian]**
26. Seyednejad, S.B. (2010). "Salafism in Iraq and its impact on the Islamic Republic of Iran", Strategic Studies, 47, 95-122. **[In Persian]**
27. Shayesteh, M; Iraqi, G. (2015). The Islamic Revolution of Iran policies evaluation from the SWOT matrix perspective, Quarterly Journal of the Islamic Revolution, Fourth Year, No. 17, 93-75. **[In Persian]**
28. Shirody, M. (2016). SWOT Strategic Model in Analysis: The Crisis of the Political Conduct of ISIS, Islamic Republic of Iran and Ways to Get out of it. Islamic Politics Research, 3(8), 81-106. **[In Persian]**
29. Tajkhosravi, M; Khosbani, Y.E. (2020). The future of Iraq and related scenarios (2020 - 2010). Journal of International Relations Studies, 12 (46), 49. **[In Persian]**
30. Yousefi J.M. (2015). Fundamental Analysis in Islamic Republic of Iran Foreign Policy (1978-2005), Tabriz: Islamic Azad University Publication. **[In Persian]**
31. https://donya-e-eqtesad.com.

32. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/SWOT_analysis.