

# The Internal and International Changes which Affecting on the Iranian Foreign Policy Towards the Arab Gulf Countries

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## **Abstract**

*Iran has a distinct geographical location, special historical determinants, in addition to a diverse social environment, as well as a unique political system, which created several factors that affected and still affect the process of making its foreign policy, because of its repercussions, including what is negative and what is positive, and we through this research as we look with the most important variables parents for external affecting it. The importance of the research lies in the fact that the Islamic Republic of Iran is a country with a distinct regional position and has a clear influence in many countries in the region, whether Arab or non-Arab. Therefore, the importance necessitated studying the most influential actors in making its foreign policy.*

**Keywords:** Internal, international, variables Iran, foreign policy, Arab Gulf states

## **Introduction**

The Islamic Republic of Iran, like other countries, is affected by its internal changes in drawing its foreign policy, so it was necessary to study these variables in order to understand its foreign policy, especially since Iran is a central country in the Middle East region. The Middle East region witnessed several events that directly affected the Iranian foreign policy-making process, and among these events are regional, such as the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, and some are international, such as the American and Russian intervention in the region.

## **Methodology**

The researcher follows the original analytical method

## **Literature e review**

### **1. The constitutional variable**

The constitution is the basis of every state, as it regulates the structure of states, and defines the bodies and powers, including the issue of foreign policy, as the effective Iranian constitution deals with foreign policy in its tenth chapter through four articles (152, 153, 154 and 155). And for these constitutional articles a major role in the decision - making process outside, as it left its impact on many of the decisions that wanted to government data Iranian successive taken with regard to economic and political foreign relations, which had a prejudice to some of these materials and foreign such as investing your free economic zones sector and others.

### **2. The political variable**

The political parties in Iran have several active roles in political life, as their visions differ politically, economically and culturally, and some of them may converge on one side and differ on the other side, for

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example the right-wing conservative movement and the liberal and moderate current all converge in adopting economic views that emphasize individual ownership and the importance of the sector. The private sector, freedom of trade, reducing state intervention, opening up to the West, and joining the World Trade Organization, while the reformist left trend on the economic side adopts measures of economic development that protect the poor, (Noor, 2018) as this current believes in direct government intervention in the economy and the emphasis on social justice and political independence. The economic and opposition to privatization and economic freedom in the field of foreign policy and tends to defend the weak and export the revolution. (Nauman, 2017)

### **3. The social variable**

Iran has a large group of clerics who have a clear influence on the process of making foreign and domestic policy alike. Iranian decision-makers are working to deepen religious sentiments in order to preserve the united forces of the Iranian people and seek to enhance national confidence in the Iranian state. (Noor, 2019)

### **4. The cultural variable**

New readings and visions about life, religion and people have appeared since the outbreak of the Islamic revolution in Iran and until today, which left their mark on the people. They worked on re- updating the concept, contents and vocabulary of religion, its authority, its limits, its extent, and its interaction with human social, scientific, political, cultural and economic issues and his shape of the core of the talks between the conservatives and the reformists. The reformists went on to say that has no religious legitimacy, and in addition to the secularists, several Iranian religious personalities are taking it. (Inasio, 2007)

### **5. The economic variable**

The Iranian economic reality is exerting severe pressure on the Iranian decision-maker and has forced him to change many internal and external policies in order to address the chronic economic crisis in Iran. After the end of the Iraq-Iran war in 1988 AD, the trend towards economic reform began. During the first five-year plan (1989-1994), it became clear that the trend towards the mechanisms of the free market in terms of money, investment, industry and trade was clear. Reducing the amount of water donated free of charge; This is because Iran's priorities lie in rebuilding, supporting the private sector and the free market, granting important guarantees to investors, adopting a policy of economic openness and encouraging foreign investment as part of the quest to develop Iran's relations with international institutions with a view to integrating into the global market, and to create new opportunities to invest the economic capabilities that qualify it to compete with countries. The developed sector in particular has a lot of resources such as steel, copper, aluminum, tin, lime, carpets, and gas, so that its revenues can be a companion to the task of reforming the economy. (Maher, 2018)

### **6. Military variant**

As it is known, the military power of any country in the world is one of the most important elements through which the foreign policy of countries is drawn. Here, we find that Iran has used the military variable to draw its foreign policy through its direct or indirect interference in the countries of the region. Therefore, the objective you want to reach Iran to develop its military capabilities, not the ability to answer the external attack or internal rebellion but attain deterrence rank of the enemies through attention to the diversity of appearances and the ranks of those traditionally a nuclear power, has escalated the sense and the need to prosecute military capability especially developed after the imbalance of military in The Middle East, the collapse of the Soviet Union and the occupation of Afghanistan and Iraq in 2001 and 2003 respectively, which prompted Iran to increase and expand its military capacity building for several reasons, perhaps the

most important of which are: A to maintain the continuity of the ruling regime in Iran, due to the increase in demands for reforms, especially after revolutions Arab Spring and adaptation to the new regional reality after the occupation of Afghanistan and Iraq. Prepare for potential confrontation with potential regional and possibly international powers. Preserving the values of the Islamic revolution at home and striving to spread them abroad. (Maher, 2018) in order that worked Iran to expand the capabilities of her the military to face many risks and challenges, approximately (2 3%) of the total public expenditure during recent years to buy new weapons and equipment. (Basma, 2019)

*The Third Gulf War in 2003:* Here, before discussing the impact of the American occupation of Iraq in 2003 AD, on Iranian foreign policy, it is necessary to present the beginning of the American approach to occupying Iraq and present the occupation's arguments and objectives. Throughout the nineties of the last century, the United States of America was able to effectively protect its security interests in the Arab Gulf region, by using the policy of (double containment), but this policy ended with the announcement of the inauguration of "George W. Bush" on January 20, 2000, the President of the States. United States forty-third. (Ahmed, 2008) On September 11th, 2001, the United States of America received the hardest blow in its history. When the United States of America was struck in its own house, after the fire and devastation that befell Washington and New York that day, US President Bush Jr. appeared, shocked and astonished, to describe what happened as "declaring war on the United States of America." (Zbigo, 2004) This event was global, inclusive and historic by every standard. International: Because the excitement affected the world, led by the United States of America, as well as the Islamic and Arab world more. And comprehensive: Because its impact was psychological, economic, political and military. Historically: Because it was a watershed event in terms of his expression of American strategies and policies that mixed with a kind of feelings of fear, anger and the desire for revenge. In the events of September, the American administration found the opportunity it had always dreamed of, in order to achieve its security and justify its military policy and strategy against other countries, and from here its main concern became the fight against terrorism. (Naseer, 2006) the world to develop in the face of a new phase address terrorism, the United States has taken a series of specific situations and which the accurately reflected its vision of international politics at this stage, as he was in the light of this event got the following developments: (Nazim 2007) 1) After September 11, 2001, the concept of terrorism emerged as a new global enemy, and the United States of America mobilized the countries of the world to fight this enemy. 2) This enemy was embodied in the first stage as "Islamic terrorism", and the parties deemed terrorists were identified, and the confrontation against "Osama bin Laden" began. And Al Qaeda, in addition to the Taliban, and its regime in Afghanistan as partners in terrorist operations. They were violently punished by the overthrow of their regime and the destruction of their bases in Afghanistan in 2001. 3) After Afghanistan, the United States of America started working to eliminate terrorist cells outside Afghanistan , and it also released "Sharon "'s hand to liquidate the resistance movements in Palestine, as they are considered terrorist movements according to the American - (Israeli) concept. (Anatoly, 2003) With the continued refusal of the United States of America to define terrorism, the picture became clear that every country has the right to declare war against whomever it wants, and whenever it wants, if it assesses that this enemy is carrying out a terrorist act, whether this supposed terrorist is an individual, a group of individuals, or a state, And this is without going back to any legal reference. The American administration has also set a new goal for it, which is to confront what it calls (rogue states) , limit the spread of weapons of mass destruction, and work to spread democracy, and it proceeded from the conviction that Iraq would be turned into an American protectorate and considered it the

first step to impose American peace in the Middle East, (**Yasmin, 2009**) considering that this region is the most important to the United States of America and its ally (Israel), especially after the removal of the communist threat, for several reasons. The Arab Gulf region contains the largest oil reserves in the world, as mentioned previously, and controlling it means controlling the nerve of the economy and the industry at the international level. There are political regimes in the region that do not owe allegiance to the United States of America and are considered hostile to it, in exchange for the presence of countries in the region allied with the United States of America and allow the American military presence on its soil. The presence of (Israel), the strategic ally of the United States of America in the Middle East, which considers preserving its security a priority of American policy. (**Yusef, 2003**) For these reasons, the United States of America worked to impose its presence in the region since the beginning of the nineties of the last century, taking advantage of that the Second Gulf War and the accompanying unfair economic sanctions on Iraq and through the military operations that it was carrying out from time to time and which culminated in the complete occupation of Iraq The year 2003 AD, and based on the above, it is possible to redeem American policy after the creation of September 11, 2001, with the following: The United States of America raised the slogan (Whoever is not with us is against us). The world was divided into states of good and evil, which was later embodied by the concept of (the axis of evil). Change her view of her European midsection. I raised the slogan of fighting terrorism. (**Fathi, 2005**) In addition, the United States of America, under its leadership from the neoconservatives, adopted the principle of (preemptive war), instead of the principle of (deterrence policy), and to replace the policy of (regime change) with the policy of (containment), and preference for (individual decisions) over (Shared decisions). (**John, 2006**) This strategy also indicated political and economic turmoil, and the history of Americans 'knowledge that they will be economically and culturally strong in the world when they are the strongest militarily in the world. This US strategy, according to this document, is based on what follows (**Muhammad, 2005**) 1) that fighting militarily weak states will spread fear in other countries. 2) Carrying out pre-emptive wars will represent a real opportunity to test the largest amount of advanced weapons. 3) The Middle East is the natural entry point for implementing the new American strategy. 4) Focusing on completely destroying the armed forces of the targeted countries, so that they do not form armed resistance cells. (**Paul, 2006**) It is worth noting that the strategy of preemptive war was not only theoretical, but was formed six months after its emergence the main pillar of the invasion of Iraq, claiming that it had an advanced program to produce chemical, biological and nuclear weapons, which Saddam Hussein might have used one day against the United States of America, or It might fall into the hands of anti-American terrorists, they think. (**Francis, 2007**) as it took the form of the American escalation against Iraq throughout the year 2002 AD, until the start of the military operations, several forms, the most important of which is the escalation of the American language of the Iraqi regime, in a manner that focused on showing the aggressive nature of the Iraqi regime, confirming the US administration's insistence on eliminating the danger that He is represented by this system, and Bush Jr.'s speech at the opening of the United Nations General Assembly session in September 2002 AD was one of the milestones in the development of the American discourse on Iraq. (**Muhammad, 2008**) This is how the US administration stood before all diplomatic solutions to solve the Iraqi crisis. She declared frankly that there is no alternative to military operations in Iraq, even without obtaining a UN resolution, which was opposed to resorting to force unless all peaceful solutions were exhausted. (**Atef, 2004**) Instead of the American response to that position, it waged war without seeking approval from the Security Council, in a clear message to the whole world that, starting from that time, it is the greatest and greatest power. The United States of America

mobilized its state-of-the-art military machine in an unprecedented global show of strength. **(Anthony, 2004)** This large crowd came as a result of the continuous (Israeli) pressure on the American administration to overthrow Saddam Hussein's regime. It was stated by Dick Cheney on August 16, 2002, in front of the Association (Veterans of Foreign Wars) saying "(Israel) urges American officials not to delay launching a military strike against Iraq." **(John, 2015)** Likewise, the number of Jews in the Bush Junior administration constituted a number that had not been recorded before, as their number reached (24) persons who rose to important and sensitive positions, most notably Paul Wolfstiz. With the beginning of April - April 2003 AD, signs of US military superiority over Iraq began, as the Iraqi regime collapsed during a record period, until April 9 of the same (year), the day when the page of Saddam Hussein's regime that ruled Iraq was announced. Almost (35) years, and the start of a new page in the new history of Iraq. A. What about the goals of the occupation began the United States is considering ways to overthrow Saddam Hussein 's regime under the pretext that it is a regional and international threat because of his quest to acquire weapons of mass destruction, and in retaliation for the victims of Washington and New York in 2001, the US administration considered that the invasion of Iraq and overthrow its political system will be the first to fight terrorism in the region, so that the rest of the region could be changed, and indeed it was established without looking at international legitimacy, relying on the logic of force in that. **(Haitham, 2002)** The United States of America had sought to use various pretexts and arguments to achieve its basic goal of occupying Iraq, among the most important of these goals: Goals related to getting rid of Iraqi weapons of mass destruction goals related to the elimination of Iraq's support for international terrorism. Goals related to building a democracy model in the Middle East. Ensuring the security of (Israel), Trying to revive the US economy, Terror and intimidation of the world by waving military force. **(Ashraf, 2007)** As for the Iranian government's position on the crisis of the occupation of Iraq, it was: Iran has a real interest in overthrowing the Saddam Hussein regime, which fell in love with it for eight years 1980-1988 AD, during which Iran's human and economic resources were squeezed, and the American administration's attempt to strip Iraq of the weapons of mass destruction that the former claims Iraq possesses comes in Iran's interest because it wants Iraq Weak and not strong, as it worked to host Iraqi opposition figures during the rule of Saddam Hussein's regime in order to work together for Iraq after Saddam Hussein. And as we have previously shown that the Iranian government was working according to several options, and after completing the American occupation of Iraq, the Iranian government chose the pattern of positive neutrality, which means after condemning and denouncing the war, neither fighting against American forces nor obstructing their operations, nor participation in military operations against Iraq, nor Fight alongside the Iraqi regime. **(Talal, 2003 )** also said Iran 's interests in Iraq , driven by the presence of the works of these interests , the emphasis on the existence of an Iraqi regime friend led (Shiite) and helps the territorial integrity, is also working on ever since Iranian influence across the porous border, through its allies inside Aera BC. **(Cresens, 2005)** Iran's awareness of its interests in Iraq contributed to the crystallization of a three-dimensional strategy: the promotion of democracy and the promotion of creating a degree of constructive chaos and investing in a wide range of actors. **(Muhammad, 2007)** That is why it can be said: Iran has so far succeeded in employing the Iraqi card in managing its regional and international affairs, which prompted many Arab and regional powers to express their concern about Iranian influence in Iraq, and it was not surprising that the United States of America had to Accepting dialogue with Iran, its traditional enemy in the region, to help manage Iraqi affairs in a manner that facilitates the tasks of the American forces there, while Iran is delaying conducting such a dialogue, as Iran currently does not wish to divide Iraq, but rather to establish a weak Iraqi confederation based on religious

foundations. And ethnic dominate in the Iraqi south. (Khalil, 2006) Finally, the occupation of Iraq in 2003 AD, under the American occupation, and the fall of Mosul in 2014 AD, under the occupation of "ISIS terrorist", had a very important shift in the regional environment of Iran, as the latter moved to fill the regional void in Iraq with a clear ease that aroused the annoyance of the parties And the United States of America and its European allies alike. All this was at the expense of the Arab countries in general and the Gulf countries in particular.

#### **7. Turkish variable**

The Islamic revolution in Iran in 1979 CE formed waves of shock in delaying the Turkish political system that was controlled by the army at that time, and at that time the new Islamic state in Iran formed the antithesis of the secular state that follows the approach of Atatürk, in Turkey, not only because it seeks to overthrow the regional geopolitical system But because it also threatens the identity of the Turkish state, and its existence, in the eyes of the Turkish elite at the time. (Stefan, 2013) Therefore , Turkey sought to reduce the effects of the Iranian Islamic Revolution in its effects and repercussions on the Turkish interior, as political, social and security considerations made Turkey welcome the new changes in Iran. And after that, Turkey's interests and energies were focused primarily towards the European Union, instead of the Middle East, until the Justice and Development Party took power in it in November-November 2002, and Turkey's primary role during that period was to protect southwestern Europe from the Soviet expansion in order to Admission to the European Union. (Haseeb, 2017)

*The Kurdish issue:* The Kurdish issue is one of the most important issues linking Iran and Turkey along with other countries, as the Kurds are one of the important nationalities in the region who are not united by one state, and the separatism trend that characterized Kurdish nationalism remained one of the most important threats that faced the countries of the region in historical periods Different. It represented the Kurdish issue and one of the important issues raised in contrast sharply between Iran and Turkey, Turkey , Iran has accused the support of Kurdish organizations, most notably Hezbollah Kurdish, in addition to accusing Iran of organizing training camps for more than three thousand , most of them Kurds, and intensified differences after the government discovered Turkish training camps set up by Iran to train the Turkish Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK), as well as Iran allowing its members to use its territory to launch its military operations against the Turkish government. (Thana, 1999) With the outbreak of the Third Gulf War and the occupation of Iraq in 2003, a new arena for the conflict between Iran and Turkey in Iraq was opened. During the nineties of the last century, Iran supported the Iraqi exile parties, which infuriated the Turkish government; especially in the area of Iran's support for the Union the Kurdistan Patriot (Jalal Talabani). (Jeff, 2004) The year 2011 CE witnessed an increase in the intensity of the conflict between Turkey and Iran after the outbreak of the Arab Spring revolutions, as there was a difference in visions between the two countries regarding the Arab Spring revolutions, as Iranian leaders sought to portray these revolutions as an (Islamic awakening), inspired by From its Islamic revolution in 1979, on the other hand, Turkey viewed these revolutions as an expression of the overwhelming popular desire for more democracy and transparency, and it saw in them a potential opportunity to strengthen its regional influence .

#### **8. The American variant**

The beginning of US-Iranian relations dates back to the middle of the eighteenth century, but the last years of the First World War witnessed an escalating American effort to strengthen and consolidate influence in Iran faced the aim of curbing the Soviet influence in the Middle East and maintaining the flow of oil to the West. At the same time, this meant the emergence of new international powers that some wings of the

Iranian opposition could rely on, especially before American intentions were revealed for what they really are. So those wings began to work for change more boldly than before because they were expecting American economic and political support for them. (Peace, 2006) With the arrival of Mr. Muhammad Mossadaq to power in Iran and his nationalization of the oil industry, there was no need for the American and British administration to take a radical measure that would guarantee their interests, as a military coup was orchestrated that overthrew the government of Mossadegh and the return of power to the Shah, and this is an important feature that brought the two countries into a new phase of the relationship. (Dalder, 2006) The role of Iran as the first ally of the United States of America in the region was one of the most prominent features in US-Iranian relations during the period from 1962 AD to 1978 AD, as the United States of America supported the approach of developing Iranian military power, as well as providing support for programs. Iranian development, such as agrarian reform, as it described the Shah as a progressive reformist. In return, the Shah was working to show the United States of America as a supporter of Iranian national stability. (Najeh, 2000) But this policy did not last long, as the fall of the Shah of Iran in 1979 CE, the impact of the Islamic Revolution, led to major repercussions, the most important of which was the exit of one of the allies of the United States of America from under its umbrella, in a sensitive area where the most important American strategic interests are concentrated The rise of the Islamic revolution in Iran in 1979 A.D. also contributed to a turning point in the course of relations between the two countries because of the new trends of the Iranian political system. With the failure to find entrances for dialogue between the two countries, the United States of America placed in its agenda feeding the tendencies of the war between Iraq and Iran to be at the core of the new American strategy. The American strategy in the Iran-Iraq war was based on creating a kind of balance between the two parties and preventing a decisive victory in it in order to destroy the capabilities of the two countries and thus enable the United States of America to regain its lost influence again. (Hamid, 2007)

#### **9. Russia**

Russia used to see in 1992 AD that the Islamic regime in Iran posed a threat to its national security because it was close to the republics of Central Asia, but this view gradually faded, after the trade and cooperation agreement was signed between the two countries, and then a deal to build the Bushehr reactor was concluded, starting from In 1995, so Russia began to consider the importance of cooperation with Iran, due to several considerations: Russia's need for funds, by supplying Iran with weapons, enriched uranium. I found in Iran openness against the policy of the USA and NAT and stopping Iranian support to Islamic organizations in Chechnya. (Nasser, 2012) As a result of these principles, Russia has taken positions that some consider in favor of Iran and among these are: the Russian position on Iran's nuclear program, and the Russian position on Iran's support for the armed Islamic resistance: (Rana, 2008)

#### **Conclusions**

It must be said that the political system in Iran has been able to exploit all the internal, regional and international variables in its favor, and Iranian diplomacy has proven successful in this regard, and Iran has pursued a policy of escalation and de-escalation, through the rise of the conservative movement at one point, followed by the rise of the current of reformers at other times.

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