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The Analysis of Iran's National Security Strategy Within The Framework of Sectoral Securitization Theory and Its Impact on Turkey-Iran Relations

İran'ın Ulusal Güvenlik Stratejisinin Sektörel Güvenikleştirme Teorisi Çerçevesinde Analizi ve Türkiye-İran İlişkilerine Etkisi

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THE ANALYSIS OF IRAN'S NATIONAL SECURITY STRATEGY WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF SECTORAL SECURITIZATION THEORY AND ITS IMPACT ON TURKEY-IRAN RELATIONS

İRAN'IN ULUSAL GÜVENLİK STRATEJİSİNİN SEKTÖREL GÜVENLİKLEŞTİRME TEORİSİ ÇERÇEVESİNDE ANALİZİ VE TÜRKİYE-İRAN İLİŞKİLERİNE ETKİSİ

ABSTRACT:

The threats within the securitization theory are divided into five sectors; military, political, social, economic and ecological threats. Despite the importance of each of these threat definitions, traditional military security conceptualization is still a priority and have an important position. In this article, it is aimed that the national security strategies of Iran, threat perceptions and methods of combating these threats are discussed in the context of the theory of sectoral securitization which is developed by Barry Buzan. A comprehensive literature search has been made about the subject and a resource review (Turkish and English Theses, scientific reports, academic articles, books, reports etc.), which is one of the qualitative research techniques, has been chosen as the method.

The main questions to be answered in this study are: What is Iran's conceptualization of security? Does Iran have a definition of a particular security threat? What are the methods and tools to deal with these threats? From which parameters does the national security definition be made? What role does the military and economic capacity play in

Iran's national security strategy? What are the impacts of Iran's national security strategy on Turkey-Iran relations?

The article is shaped with the hypothesis "Iran is pursuing a pragmatic and ideological foreign policy aimed at enhancing its nuclear, military, economic and political capacity in the context of "securitization" policy and thus protecting national interest by determining national security strategy through threat perceptions". Having strong defense systems and obtaining nuclear power for Iran is an important way to counterbalance the weakness of the conventional military power. In the context of national security, Iran's main goal is to rely on its own strength and deterrence.

Iran's national security strategy and political discourse after the 1979 Islamic Revolution influenced Turkey-Iran relations in a negative way in general terms. The security strategies of the two countries, their security priorities, the interests of the two countries due to their intent to become a regional power, have rarely become a co-operative area, but have caused conflict and threat perception.

Keywords: *Iran, National Security,*

USA, Nuclear Power, Islamic Revolution, Turkey.

ÖZ:

Güvenikleştirme teorisi içindeki tehditler beş sektöre ayrılır; askeri, siyasi, sosyal, ekonomik ve ekolojik tehditler. Bu tehdit tanımlarının her birinin önemine rağmen, geleneksel askeri güvenlik kavramsallaştırması hala bir öncelik ve önemli bir konuma sahiptir. Bu makalede İran'ın ulusal güvenlik stratejilerinin, tehdit algılamalarının ve bu tehditlerle mücadele etme yöntemlerinin Barry Buzan'ın geliştirdiği sektörel güvenikleştirme teorisi bağlamında ele alınması amaçlanmıştır. Konuyla ilgili kapsamlı literatür taraması yapılmış, yöntem olarak nitel araştırma tekniklerinden olan kaynak incelemesi (Türkçe ve İngilizce Tezler, bilimsel raporlar, akademik makaleler, kitaplar, bildiriler vb.) tercih edilmiştir.

Makalenin içinde cevap aranan temel sorular ise şöyledir: İran'ın güvenlik kavramsallaştırması nedir? Belli bir güvenlik tehdidi tanımlamasına sahip midir? Bu tehditlerle baş etme yöntemi ve araçları nelerdir? Ulusal güvenlik tanımlamasını hangi parametreler üzerinden yapmaktadır? İran'ın yürüttüğü ulusal güvenlik stratejisinde askeri ve ekonomik kapasitenin rolü nedir? İran'ın güvenlik stratejisinin Türkiye-İran ilişkilerine etkisi nedir?

Yukarıda belirtilen sorular doğrultusunda; "İran, ulusal güvenlik stratejisini tehdit algılamaları üzerinden belirleyerek, "güvenikleştirme" politikası bağlamında nükleer, askeri, ekonomik ve siyasi kapasitesini arttırmayı ve bu yolla ulusal çıkarını korumayı amaçlayan pragmatik ve ideolojik bir dış politika yürütmektedir." varsayımı belirlenmiştir. İran için güçlü savunma sistemlerine sahip olmak ve nükleer güç elde etmek, konvansiyonel askeri gücünün zayıflığını dengelemek için önemli bir yöntemdir. Ulusal güvenlik bağlamında İran'ın temel hedefi ise kendi gücüne dayanmak ve caydırıcılıktır.

İran'ın 1979 İslam Devrimi sonrası ulusal güvenlik stratejisi ve siyasal söylemleri Türkiye-İran ilişkilerini genel hatları itibarıyla olumsuz yönde etkilemiştir. İki ülkenin güvenlik stratejilerinin, güvenlik önceliklerinin farklı olması, bölgesel bir güç olma amacı gütmeleri sebebiyle iki ülkenin çıkarları, nadiren bir iş birliği alanına dönüşse de, zaman zaman çatışmış ve birbirlerini tehdit olarak algılamalarına neden olmuştur.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *İran, Ulusal Güvenlik, ABD, Nükleer Güç, İslam Devrimi, Türkiye.*



INTRODUCTION

In this article, it will be touched on the geopolitical position of Iran, the concept of security, national security^[1], strategy^[2] and the “sectoral securitization” theory that underlines the basic framework of Iran’s national security strategy as it will be mentioned in the hypothesis. Dealing with these basic concepts and phenomena will ultimately create a strong infrastructure for assessments of Iran’s national security strategy. A literature search on this subject has been made. However, because of the fact that there is difficulty so as to get access the documents related to national security except for government programs the speeches of political and religious leaders and related matters of the Iranian Constitution, it is mostly benefited from sources such as articles, reports, theses, analyzes, declarations, news etc.^[3]. In the light of literature survey, there is no other academic resource besides this thesis which examines directly Iran’s national security strategy in the context of securitization theory. In this regard, this article will contribute to the literature. Iran’s security strategies and threat perceptions will be clarified (Annex-1).

Iran is located in the Middle East region, which has two thirds of the proven world oil reserves and one-third of the gas reserves^[4]. Iran, who is trying to develop long-range ballistic missile systems and obtain nuclear energy, wants to become a nuclear regional power. It is also one of the countries with the most complex security problems and threats in the region^[5]. Elements such as religion, nationalism, economy and geopolitics are important in shaping the aims and methods of Iran’s security policies.

1. Main Security Strategies and Sectoral Securitization

In order to analyze the national security strategy of a country, it is necessary to first define “strategy”. Narrow sense of strategy, the art of generalism in ancient Greek tradition; that is, military means are used to reach the purpose of war. Similarly, as stated in the book *Strategy: Indirect Attitude*, which made first publication in 1941 written by British military historian Sir Basil Henry Liddell Hart: “strategy is the art of distributing and implementing military possibilities for the achieve-

1 For detailed information see also; Hasan Basri Yalçın, *Ulusal Güvenlik Stratejisi: ABD-İngiltere-Fransa-Rusya-Çin*, SETA Publications, İstanbul 2017, p. 18-40.

2 Barry Buzan, *İnsanlar, Devletler & Korku*, Emre Çıtak (trans.), Röle Academic Publishing, İstanbul 2015, p. 107-110.

3 There is a directly related PhD thesis to the subject written by Bilgehan Alagöz called “Securitization Policy as an Effective Tool in Foreign Policy of Islamic Republic of Iran: Iran’s Persian Gulf Policy After 2003 Iraqi War”.

4 Ervand Abrahamian, *Modern İran Tarihi*, İş Bankası Publishing, İstanbul 2014, p.252-254.

5 Yunus Emre Yapıcı, *Ulusal Güvenlik Bağlamında İslam Devrimi Sonrası İran Dış Politikası: Mahmud Ahmedinejad Dönemi Örneği*, (Master Thesis), Yalova University, The Institute of Social Sciences, Yalova 2015, p. 3.

ment of the aims of politics”.^[6] Based on these definitions, the national security strategy; It is the distribution and use of military, economic and social opportunities for the realization of political goals, ensuring national security and protecting national interests.^[7] Security can be detected in general terms; but can only give a specific meaning to concrete events. Ideally, theoretical studies and case studies should inform and complement each other.

The basic strategies as to security are in general terms:

- a) Regional and global cooperation through the Alliances,
- b) Taking part in multinational operations,
- c) To take diplomatic, political or even military measures to intervene in crises,
- d) Procurement of weapons of mass destruction or opposition to those,
- e) Using space or opposing users, improving the ability to receive and monitor news,
- f) Preparing for a war in a high intensity, or ineffective extraction of high technologies with primitive methods,
- g) Ability to use psychological and sociological elements.^[8]

The theoretical sub-structure of the study in this context will also be mentioned. The sectoral securitization theory that we have considered in defining and explaining Iran’s national security strategy was developed by Barry Buzan in the Copenhagen School and is based on two main concepts of the traditional security approach: Existential threat and survival. In this theoretical framework, threats and securitized issues / elements are divided into sectors.^[9] Kenneth Waltz’s definition of security has also been very influential on the theory of securitization.

6 Mustafa Aydın (Ed.), *Strateji ve Güvenlik*, Anadolu University Publish, Eskişehir 2012, p. 3.

7 The term “national interest” is used to describe the goals that States want to achieve in the international arena. National interest contains many good and beautiful ideas in a totally abstract quality that are conscious of the society. Although there are many different opinions about what the national interest is tangible, the most basic national interest that people can agree on is “to preserve their self”, that is to protect the national security of the country; Mehmet Gönlübol, *Uluslararası Politika: İlkeler, Kavramlar, Kurumlar*, Siyasal Publishing, Ankara 2000, p. 86-87.

8 Ramazan Gözen (Ed.), *Uluslararası İlişkiler Teorileri*, İletişim Publishing, İstanbul 2014, p. 111, 112.

9 The threats within the securitization theory are divided into five sectors; military, political, social, economic and ecological threatp. Despite the importance of each of these threat definitions, traditional military security conceptualization is still a priority and have an important position; Buzan, *İnsanlar, Devletler & Korku*, p. 104-119.

According to Waltz, though states have different goals and strategies, they have a common final desire: Survival.^[10] The expression of the existence of an existential threat legitimizes the taking all the necessary measures to remove the threatening actor from the process, which finally reaches the securitization. In this sense, securitization is a political process, and the actors who initiate the securitization process can designate any issue or threat as a threat through discourse.^[11]

Whether it is individual, national or international, it is undeniable that security is at the top among the problems that humanity faces. National security has a special central feature; because states are dominant in many other conditions that determine the security of the individual and the community.^[12] Throughout the history of states, a state has often become insecure due to the existence of others. The military, political and economic actions of each state trying to establish its own national security often went together with the war and the economic problems of others. The density of the national security problem and the character have dramatically diversified over time; sometimes extreme, and sometimes occasionally in the nineteenth century, with a low degree of tension and increased cooperation, as was the case today. But despite these fluctuations, the security problem and all the uncertainties it produces continue.^[13]

In this context, in order to fully understand the national security problem, the concept of security must first be understood. Especially in definitions where security is associated with policy making by the state, this concept has been developed to be inadequate for the task. This study will focus on how a more sophisticated and thoroughly based security concept provides a constructive redefinition of the national security problem.

Indeed, in national security approach, the only concept is not security. Traditionally, much of the literature, which is an attempt to make analysis and rule, is based on concepts of power and peace. At some point today is still so.^[14] The proponents of the approach to power take their thoughts from the realist school of international relations represented by authors such as E. H. Carr and Hans Morgenthau.^[15]

10 Kenneth Waltz is a theorist who explains the main points of structural realism from the perspective of defensive realism. For detailed information see also: Kenneth Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*, Reading MA, Addison- Wesley 1979, p. 90-95.

11 Kenneth Waltz, *Man, The State and War: A Theoretical Analysis*, Columbia University Press, New York 2001.

12 Barry Buzan et. al., *Security: A New Framework For Analysis*, Lynne Rienner Publishers, London 1998.

13 Yalçın, *ibid.* 2017, p.18-20.

14 Tayyar Arı, *Irak, İran ve ABD, Önleyici Savaş, Petrol ve Hegemonya*, Alfa Publishing, İstanbul 2004, p. 27.

15 E.H. Carr, *The Twenty Years Crisis*, Macmillan, London 1946; Hans Morgenthau, *Politics Among Nations*, Knopf, New York 1973.

Power: It can also be argued that not only does it reveal the basic patterns of the capabilities of the international system, but a basic motive for the behavior of the actors. The supporters of the peace-based approach are related to the idealistic school. Idealists argue that they do not only see the problem in a holistic sense, but focus their attention on the battle, which is a fundamental issue. Since the dominant threat from the national security problem is the war, a solution to this would be to remove this problem from the international agenda.

Until the 1980s, these two approaches dominated the understanding of the national security problem. They have often offered highly polarized and conflicting suggestions. Realists tend to see safety as a byproduct of power; an actor who has the power to rise to a dominant position will ultimately gain security. Idealists tend to see security as a result of peace; a lasting peace will provide security for everyone. By the end of the 1980s, with the end of the Cold War era and the bipolar system being regarded as relatively stable, security began to become a priority concept in addressing the high politics in the emerging post-war international system.^[16] The idealistic and realistic view that prevailed until the 1980s has been revised due to conjunctural changes.

2. Iran's National Security Strategy and Threat Perceptions

The most basic national interest of states is to protect the “self-existence”, that is to protect the national security of the country. We can divide the factors that provide national security into two: the first is the natural factors such as the emergence of the countries or the geography (territorial integrity), the understanding of military service, the unity and solidarity of the nation.^[17] The second is the legal factors such as contracts between countries, treaties of disarmament, alliances.^[18]

The concepts of national security, power, peace and conflict, as well as the concept of “capacity” that are important for such factors and “security studies” should be considered when examining Iran's national security strategy. Indeed, it is important that states' capacities and discourses and foreign policy practices are consistent. Moreover, we see that in this matter there is a similarity between the nature of the states and the human nature. At the individual level, a harmony is expected between discourse and behavior; at the state level, the assumption that the politicians are shaped according to the capacity of the country and the national security and foreign policy implementations must be in harmony. Using a discourse below or above the owner's capacity and taking an action in this direction will threaten

16 Buzan, *Security: A New Framework For Analysis*, 1998.

17 Haydar Çakmak, *Avrupa Güvenliği*, Akçağ Publishing, Ankara 2003, p. 26.

18 Osman Tunahan Berk, *Iran'ın Güvenlik Politikaları*, (Unpublished Master Thesis), Military Academy, Institute of Defense Sciences, Ankara 2006, p. 90-100.

the security of the country or undermine that country's credibility in the international arena.

In this context, Iran, who prioritizes basic concepts such as state security, national security, power, is in a constructive capacity to become a regional power and have a deterrent power. The importance of nuclear power for Iran is due in part to this strategy. The harmony between Iran's foreign policy discourses and practices and the effective role of the Iranian Revolutionary Guards in this issue are striking.^[19] First, Iran wants to maintain national security and to have an effective regional role. One of the main security strategies of Iran after the 1979 Revolution is the Anti-Westernism. This is one of the important elements that ensure the continuity of the revolutionary export in Iran's domestic politics.

Seeing the United States (United States) as its primary enemy, Iran has been able to maintain its social and political unity in the early years of the revolution in order to export the revolution^[20] and to come from the upper hand of the struggle with Iraq. But Iran's West enmity and American enmity are not at the same level each period. This perception of hostility and threat; The periodical change of the Presidents of Iran (Reformer-Conservative) and the Presidents of the United States (Republican-Democrat) of the two countries has taken a tumultuous course according to the softening or hardening in national security strategies. In this context, it would not be wrong to say that Iran pursues a coherent strategy in the context of national security and interests.^[21]

However, the harmony / consistency between Iran's foreign policy discourse and its practices is not observed between economic-military capacity and foreign policy implementations.^[22] Iran, who recently increased its spending on military activities^[23] outside the country, has focused on external security policies and has not succeeded in the era of moderate President Hasan Rohani, who is aiming to repair the worn-out economy.^[24] Various socio-economic crises within the country, internal security issues have been neglected recently, and Iran's expansionist poli-

19 Mustafa Küpeli, "Dış Politika Aracı Olarak Yaptırımlar: İran'a Uygulanan Yaptırımların Etkileri", *Turkish Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol:3, Issue: 1, 2016, p.116-123.

20 It is aimed to expand Iran's cultural, sectarian and ideological hinterland via "revolution export strategy".

21 Ercan Çitlioğlu, *İran'ı Anlamak*, Başkent University Publishing, Ankara 2015, p. 21.

22 Ebrahim Mohseni, "Iran's Presidential Election and Its Domestic and International Ramifications", *Center for International & Security Studies at Maryland*, Presentation, July 2013, [irans_presidential_election_and_its_ramifications_v2.pdf](#), (25 May 2016).

23 Military activities abroad include Yemen, Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, Iraq, etc. means taking an active role in conflicts and conflict resolution in the regions through its own military forces or its proxies in the region.

24 Mustafa Caner, "5 Soru: İran'daki Gösteriler", <https://www.setav.org/5-soru-irandaki-gosteriler/>, (1 January 2018).

cies have taken a great response from outside and inside the country.^[25]

As a matter of fact, the protest movements in Iran, where erupted in the last days of 2017 after 2009, and the statements that the activists used in this protest^[26] showed us a civil uprising against the expanding policies of the Iranian in the region and the economic troubles in the country.^[27]

When we come back to the main objective of Iran's security policies, it is to protect the territorial integrity of Iran, to ensure the political independence of the Islamic Republic and to play an active and leading role in the Islamic world as a regional power^[28], as stated in Article 152 of the Constitution. While rejecting the "Neither East, Nor West" policy adopted by Iranian Khomeini^[29], refusing to intervene in the domination and superintendence of superpowers, Article 146 of the Iranian Constitution prohibits any power to establish a military base in Iran.^[30]

For Iran, the US and Israel are always a potential threat. US presence in the Gulf of Basra is defined as foreign occupation and is seen as the most fundamental source of instability for the region. Iran has basically set three security strategies to achieve the national security objectives listed as protecting territorial integrity, ensuring political independence and being a regional power; establishing an alliance with major Asian powers such as India, Russia and China against the US's attempt to isolate Iran from the international system and being able to reach its own stronger and sufficient defense capacity against the US, nuclear power and missile defense systems to be able to deter their enemies and to obtain military sufficiency to preserve the geopolitical position.

Currently, the most important issue that gives direction to Iran's security policies is the effects of the Islamic Revolution, which took place in 1979 and lasted for 25 years. In the Islamic Revolution, Muhammad Riza Shah's administration of

25 It has been particularly criticized by the Trump administration, and the US's accusations against Iran are also included in the new national security document. "Trump redoubles support of Iran protests, saying the 'world is watching'", <http://www.foxnewp.com/politics/2017/12/30/iran-slams-trump-as-opportunistic-and-deceitful-after-support-anti-government-protestp.html>, (31 December 2017); M. Seyfettin Erol, "2018'in Adı: İran ve Yeni Soğuk Savaş", *Milli Gazete*, <http://www.milligazete.com.tr/makale/1477964/prof-dr-mseyfettin-erol/2018in-adi-iran-ve-yeni-soguk-savas>, (1 January 2018).

26 "Eylemler İran'ın Orta Doğu siyasetine eleştiridir", <http://aa.com.tr/tr/dunya/eylemler-iranin-orta-dogu-siyasetine-elistiridir/1019144>, (31 December 2017).

27 "İran'daki halk gösterilerinin boyutu ve nedenleri", <http://aa.com.tr/tr/analiz-haber/irandaki-halk-gosterilerinin-boyutu-ve-nedenleri/1019284>, (31 December 2017).

28 *Iran (Islamic Republic of)'s Constitution of 1979 with Amendments through 1989*, https://www.constitute-project.org/constitution/Iran_1989.pdf?lang=en, p. 37.

29 Bekir Halhalli, "Humeyni Dönemi İran Dış Politikası (1979-1989)", *The Journal of Individual and Society*, Vol: 4, Issue: 8, Autumn 2014, p. 77.

30 *Iran (Islamic Republic of)'s Constitution of 1979 with Amendments through 1989*, p.36.

Iran has become increasingly dependent on the military, political and economic aspects of the West and especially on the US, increasing income inequality, risk of losing the power of land reform and the trade class and the development of heavy penalties for the dissidents led to the emergence of massive resistance backed by Shi'i religious authorities.^[31] Iran, the strategic partner of the United States and the West before the Islamic Revolution, has become the biggest enemy of the interests of the United States and the West after the Islamic Revolution.

This revolution has caused a deep break and change in all Iranian policies. From this date on, internal policy issues in Iran's security policies have become more influential than many other issues.^[32] As a matter of fact, 15 different ethnic groups live together in Iran.^[33] Unlike other ethnic and religious minorities, Azeris and Persians are fused. However, the Iranian Azerbaijani have a considerable potential gain when considering the proportions within the population, as well as the shares in the Iranian economy.^[34]

In spite of this mixed ethnic structure of Iran, the most important contribution to survive without fragmenting for hundreds of years is the well-established Persian civilization. The most important issue that directs Iran's security policies is Persian nationalism coupled with Shiite sects.^[35] Other important determinants of Iran's security policies are Iran's geopolitical position and its dependence on oil revenues.^[36] Iran is one of the countries with the world's most important oil and natural gas reserves, as well as an important country in many issues, from the Arab-Israeli conflict to the fight against terrorism (fighting against the Daesh and Al Qaeda organizations)^[37] and nuclear disarmament.

The modernization of the Iranian society and the industrialization policies of

- 31 Nurbanu Bulgur, *Siyasî ve Toplumsal Değişimler Doğrultusunda İran'da Din Adamlarının Rolü ve Etkisi (1925-1979)*, (Unpublished Master Thesis), Sakarya University, The Institute of Social Sciences, Sakarya 2017, p. 72.
- 32 Hadian Testimony, *Iran's Emerging Security Environment and Relations with the United States: Dynamics and Prospects*, <http://foreign.senate.gov/testimony/2003/HadianTestimony031028.pdf>.
- 33 Having a heterogeneous demographic structure is also an important factor affecting Iran's foreign policy orientation. For detailed information see also: Doğan Başaran, "Realizm-İdealizm İkilemi Bağlamında İran'ın Dış Politika Yönelimlerine Teorik Bir Bakış", *ANKASAM: Journal of Regional Studies*, Special Issue on Iran, October 2017, p. 224.
- 34 P. Gülden Ayman, "ABD'nin Yeni Orta Doğu Vizyonu ve İran", *Bogazici University- TUSIAD Foreign Policy Forum*, December 2003.
- 35 Yaşar Kalafat, "Azerbaycan-Türkiye İlişkileri, Kafkasya'nın Jeopolitik Sorunları", *Khazar University, Center for Eurasian Strategic Studies, 27- 28 September 2001 Baku Conference*, ASAM Publishing: 53, Ankara 2003, p. 8.
- 36 Başaran, *ibid.*, p. 222-225; Harun Öztürkler, "İran Ekonomisinin Genel Özellikleri", *Middle East Analysis Magazine*, Vol:4, Issue: 40, 2012, p. 92.
- 37 Atay Akdevelioğlu, *İran'da Dış Politikanın Etnik-Dini Temelleri*, (Unpublished Master Thesis), Ankara University, The Institute of Social Sciences, Ankara 1999.

the economy have increased Iran's dependence on natural resources. The petroleum economy and politics are affecting Iran's external and national security policies. The increased role of oil in the economy has led to the strengthening of the economic dimension of foreign policy. In the Shah period, promoting direct foreign investment, establishing foreign trade zones and establishing deep economic relations with the Western world has become the main targets of Iranian foreign policy.^[38] While oil revenues increased the possibilities of Iran from 1950 to 1970, Iranian leaders have also been able to influence regional developments. Thus, during this period, Iran has sought alliance with powerful non-regional states and has developed its military capacity in a comprehensive manner.^[39]

Iran's national security concept includes the protection of the existence of the motherland, as well as religious and ethnic areas of influence, and especially its national interests. In this context, in order to understand the security policies of Iran, which is a wide national security conceptualization, it is necessary and important to consider historical, political and social fields together with geographical integrity and geopolitical position in the framework of sectoral securitization.

Iran's geopolitical position is becoming increasingly important in the creation of security policies.^[40] In recent years, Iran has begun to focus on centralizing its economic interests, taking into account more geopolitical sensitivities, and developing policies on ethnic and regional issues, while setting foreign and security policies.^[41] An important factor in guiding Iran's security policies is the lessons he has learned from previous warfare in the region. Between 1980 and 1988, Iran had a political, social and military consequences with Iraq, a very heavy war for both sides. Iran, who has been exposed to isolation by almost the whole world during the war with Iraq, has suffered great difficulties in meeting its needs to survive the war.^[42] While the West was the most reliable partner in the region, Iran remained all alone in the face of an Iraq supported by all the important Western states and the Arab States. In order to ensure the security of its people from this war, Iran has learned that a single army must rely on its own resources and that it must have a strong army.^[43]

38 Bulgur, *ibid.*, p. 76.

39 Abbas Ali, *Kapitalizm Öncesi İran*, Avesta Publishing, İstanbul 2007, p. 151-189.

40 Mehmet Burhanettin Coşkun, "Güvenlik Politikaları Üzerine Bir Değerlendirme: Türkiye Ve İran", *ASSAM International Refereed Journal*, Vol: 2, Issue: 4 (2015), <http://www.assam.org.tr/dergi/index.php/assam-uhad/article/view/51>.

41 Daniel Byman, P. Chubin, A. Ehteshami and J. Green, *Iran's Security Policy in the Post-Revolutionary Era*, RAND Co., Santa Monica 2001; B. Scowcroft and R. Murphy, "Differentiated Containment", *Foreign Affairs*, Vol: 76, Issue: 3, (May-June, 1997), p. 20.

42 Byman, *ibid.*, p. 19-20.

43 Francis V. Xavier, "Iran And Iraq: A Prediction For Future Conflict", *The Research Department Air Command and Staff College*, (March 1997), p. 1,29.

Another important historical development that affects Iran's security policies is the collapse of the USSR. This new geopolitical change has brought new threats and new possibilities to Iran. Iran has struggled to reduce the effects of the "dual containment" policy of the United States, the only superpower that seeks to isolate itself from the world, and to be able to get rid of its isolation. At this time, the USSR had troubled neighbors in which a struggle led to the disintegration of hundreds of thousands of immigrants into the country (Iran). One of the most important historic events is the 9/11 attacks and the US response to this attack. The September 11 attacks also had a serious impact on Iran's regional and even national security policies. The United States began to pursue a policy based on the use of more force after September 11, 2001, attacks at home. The occupation of Afghanistan by the US on the grounds of "war against terrorism" poses a serious threat to Iran.^[44]

The US government has taken the list of countries that have nuclear weapons in the framework of the Bush Doctrine and Preventive War strategy and that have links to terrorist organizations to rogue countries and they have also been described as "Axis of Evil".^[45] In particular, the Middle East countries, Iran and Syria, the increased pressure of the invasion of Iraq and the military forces of US further threatened Iran.^[46] Iran understands that it is not enough to deter the conventional power of the US after this occupation, and that it should plan its defense for an asymmetric war strategy.

For this reason, nuclear weapons have become an indispensable issue in Iran's security policies.^[47] Iran is perceiving the greatest threat to national security from within the country. The most obvious of these threats is economic problems. The Iranian economy is experiencing great difficulties due to embargos, intense military expenditures and commercial problems. The ongoing adverse effects of the Iran-Iraq War, the petroleum-dependent economy, the economic and political embargoes imposed by the US both affect Iran's security policy and cause social problems.^[48]

Being aware of this situation, Iran has begun to focus on pursuing pragmatic

44 A. William Samii, "The Nearest And Dearest Enemy: Iran After The Iraq War", *MERIA: The Middle East Review of International Affairs*, Volume 9, No. 3, Article 3, (September 2005).

45 Tayyar Arı, *Geçmişten Günümüze Orta Doğu: Siyaset, Savaş ve Diplomasi*, Dora Publishing, Bursa 2014, p. 442.

46 Samuel W. Lewis, "The Infernal Triangle; Iran, Israel and United States", *Iran and Its Neighbors: Diverging View on a Strategic Region*, E. Whitlock (Ed.), German Institute for International Security Affairs, Berlin 2003, p. 9-13.

47 Kori N. Schake and Judith P. Yaphe, *The Strategic Implications of a Nuclear-Armed Iran*, McNair Paper 64, Washington D.C. 2001, p. 48, 49.

48 *International Crisis Group East Briefing*, İran : Discontent And Disarray, Middle, (Amman/Brussels, 15 October 2003), www.crisisgroup.org.

policies based on national interests as well as revolutionary export policy.^[49] Iran is also aware of the threats to the integrity of the country, the regime's prerogative and national security policies, both within and outside the country (Annex-1). This has affected Iran's security policies, threat perceptions and priorities.^[50] In the process starting with the invasion of Iraq, the greatest threat to the security of the country comes from the United States. This threat alone has overtaken all other issues in the creation of Iran's security policies. None of the regional countries poses a similar threat to the regime of Iran and the territorial integrity of the United States and Israel.^[51] For this reason Iran; Russia, China, India, and so on, is important for Iran to balance the power of the United States and Israel in the region.

After touching Iran's national security strategies, threat perceptions, it is necessary to briefly mention the methods and means of dealing with these threats. In defining Iran's security priorities, the existing decision-making structure as well as external events / actors are quite influential in the formulation and implementation of security policies. There is a complex structure in the theocratic and democratic institutions as well as other issues in security in Iran.^[52] In this context, it is necessary to examine the decision-making mechanism in Iran and take into account the role of defining security strategies.^[53]

The Iranian security forces, which are the means of Iran's national security strategy, include the Regular Army Corps, the Revolutionary Guard Corps (Pasdaran)^[54], the Anti-Military4. Defense Corps, the Besic People's Guards, the Jerusalem Power and internal security forces. Iran is using the security forces within and outside the country (eg, proxy war) within the framework of national security strategies. Since the establishment of the Islamic Republic of Iran, it has lived under very important security threats and in the post-9/11 period, perceptions of these threats have increased to a crucial level for Iran. In this context of "securitization" within Iran's national security agenda, nuclear power of Iran have attracted the efforts of the international community's response to Iran, in particular pose a serious security threat for the region including Turkey.

49 Bařaran, *ibid.*, p. 220-221.

50 Lewis, *ibid.*, p. 9.

51 Eisenstadt, *ibid.*, p. 15.

52 Byman, *ibid.*, p. 2; Ünal Gündođan, *İran ve Ortadođu*, Adres Publishing, İstanbul 2016, p. 170-182.

53 Ertan Efeđil, "İran'ın Dış Politika Yapım Sürecini Etkileyen Unsurlar", *Middle Analysis Magazine*, Vol: 4, Issue: 48, 2012, p. 60-65.

54 The army, which was established in May 1979, gained a constitutional presence in November. It is the building block of Iranian security forcep. For detailed information see also: Hakkı Uygur, "Devrim Muhafızları'nın Siyasetteki Rolü Bağlamında İran'da Ordu ve Siyaset", (Ed.) Veysel Kurt, *The Military and Politics in the Middle East*, SETA Publications, İstanbul 2017, p. 19-25; Frederic Wehrey et. al., *The rise of The Pasdaran: Assessing the Domestic Roles of Iran's Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps*, Rand National Defense Research Institute, California 2009, p. 2; *Iran (Islamic Republic of)'s Constitution of 1979 with Amendments through 1989*, p. 37.

3. The Role of the Nuclear Program in Iran's Security Policy and its Regional Impacts

In 1941, the British and the Soviet joint occupation of Iran, and in 1953 Prime Minister Mossadeq was supported by a CIA-sponsored government coup.^[55] In this respect, it is meaningful that Iran, who is confronted with the 'invasion and coup' syndrome, defines the 1979 Revolution, which is the Shah and the USA, as the "twin revolution."^[56] After the 1979 Revolution, the Tehran administration, which canceled its cooperative agreement with the United States in the field of nuclear energy, reached an agreement in 1995 on nuclear cooperation with Russia. The US administration has begun to embargo in 1999 against Iran, who has continued to develop its nuclear program. In 2002, the Iranian nuclear crisis came to an end with the announcement of information about some secret facilities of the People's Mujahideen opposition regime in Iran, and this problem started to be updated today. Subsequently, Iran's nuclear program has become more of a struggle for the mutual hostility of the US and Iran.^[57]

It should not be overlooked that Iran's nuclear program is a regional issue at the same time, although it does not seem to be largely a matter of great power in the context of the P5 + 1, and especially of the United States.^[58] It is also not a rational choice for Iran to enter into a nuclear war with the United States.^[59] Indeed, as Kenneth Waltz puts it, in fact, nuclear weapons are dangerous if the nature of the enemy does not exist.^[60]

Despite the fact that Iran possesses nuclear weapons does not represent a threat to the United States, the theses about the effect this could have on the Middle East, including Israel, have led Iran's nuclear energy production to gain global importance. In this sense, Iran, with its nuclear weapons, will threaten the region it is in

55 For more information; Muriel Atkin, *Russia and Iran: 1780-1828*, Minnesota, The University of Minnesota Press, 1980; In May 1951, following the appointment of Mousaddik as prime minister, Iran National Oil Company was established and all oil industry in the country was controlled by this company. But the British government, whose interests were tainted, overthrew the Mossadish government on August 19, 1953, with a coup led by General Fazlullah Zahid with the help of the CIA and the Shah. See also; Stephen Kinzer, *Şah'ın Bütün Adamları*, Selim Önal (trans.), İletişim Publishing, İstanbul 2004.

56 İsmail Sarı, "İran'ın Nükleer Programı: Küresel ve Bölgesel Etkileri", <https://iramcenter.org/iran-in-nukleer-programi-kuresel-ve-bolgesel-etkileri/>, (03.08.2016); Ruhi K. Ramazani, "Iran's Foreign Policy: Contending Orientations", *The Middle East Journal*, Vol: 43, Issue:2 (Spring 1989), p. 203.

57 Sarı, "İran'ın Nükleer Programı: Küresel ve Bölgesel Etkileri", 2016.

58 Bilgehan Alagöz, *İran İslam Cumhuriyeti Dış Politikasında Etkili Bir Unsor Olarak Güvenlikleştirme Siyaseti: 2003 Irak Savaşı Sonrası İran'ın Basra Körfezi Politikası*, (Marmara University, The Institute of Middle Eastern Studies, PhD Thesis), 2013, p. 173.

59 Hasan Basri Yalçın, "İran Nükleer Müzakereleri", *SETA Analysis*, Issue: 130, (June 2015), p.19.

60 Kenneth N. Waltz, "More May Be Better", *The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: A Debate Renewed*, Scott D. Sagan ve Kenneth N. Waltz (Ed.), W.W. Norton and Company, New York 2003, p. 3-45.

most, so focusing on its far-reaching regional impact and consequences from its global outcomes will lead to more productive analyzes. As a matter of fact, Iran's access to nuclear weapons or the capacity to produce these weapons will also change strategic balances in the region. In this case, it can be said that Iran wants such a technology to defend itself against the US and Israel, which have troubled relations, with a deterrent factor.^[61]

Iran has started to use nuclear negotiations as an opportunity to expand its spheres of influence in the region.^[62] Iran's regional expansionist foreign policy, when considered together with the nuclear deal, has triggered the historical reflexes of Gulf governments, especially Saudi Arabia, and other regional countries towards Iran. However, this situation can make Iran become a part of a deeper regional bloc that is trying to get rid of global loneliness at a time when regional bloc is getting clearer and the parties are in mutual struggles in Bahrain, Syria and Yemen.^[63]

4. Effects on Turkey-Iran relations of Iran's National Security Strategy

4.1. After 1979 Turkey-Iran Relations

After the 1979 Islamic Revolution, Turkey approached Iran's revolution export discourse cautiously. The revolution disrupted the relatively close relations during the Pahlavi Dynasty (1925-1979). Political problems and the crisis of confidence caused by these problems negatively affect Turkey-Iran relations. Since they are two countries with leadership potential in the Middle East region and they compete within this framework, problems often arise between Turkey and Iran. In 1979, after the revolution that took place in Tehran, Iran's regime issued policies in 1980, after starting and Ankara dating back to the 1990s, but supported the PKK and the Iranian accusations^[64], yet some of the assassinations that took place in Turkey in the 1990s due to Turkey's Iran in the accused Iran and 2010s Syria, to follow an expansionist policy in Iraq and Yemen charges, whereas Tehran Ankara accuses Syria and Iraq interference in internal affairs accusations and Malatya / beads to criticism of the deployed NATO Missile Defense Radar System can be expressed as the

61 İsmail Sarı, "1979 Devrimi Sonrası İran'ın Rejim Paradigması ve Dış Politika Yönelimleri", *Turkish Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol: 2, Issue: 1, 2015, p. 124-127.

62 Hasan Ürküt and Gökhan Sarı, "İran Nükleer Programının Türk Dış Politikasına Etkisi", *The Journal of Security Strategies*, Issue: 20, 2010, p. 221-223.

63 Ürküt and Sarı, *ibid.*, p. 222-225; Sarı, "İran'ın Nükleer Programı: Küresel ve Bölgesel Etkileri", 2016.

64 Kemal İnat, "Ekonomik İşbirliği Örgütü'nün 30. Yılında Türkiye-İran Ekonomik İlişkileri", *SETA Analysis*, Issue: 132, 2015, p. 9-11.

major problems that have recently been experienced between the two countries.^[65]

It should be emphasized that these problems, which are experienced in political and especially in the field of security, have an effect on economic relations; in general this effect is negative, but this negativity is not at the same level in every period. Steps towards the resolution of the problems in the political arena and in particular the efforts to prevent the negative effects of these problems on economic relations vary according to the political approaches, security strategies and economic visions of the powers in both countries.

4.2. After 2000 and the Turkey-Iran Relations

When it came to the 2000s, it was seen that the AKP government acted in a political understanding that Turgut Özal developed the economic development priority foreign policy approach applied in the 1980s and considered the neighboring countries as actors to be economic cooperatives. While ideological battles among important problems in the 1990s were left on this side, the issue of the PKK became a matter of tension between Ankara and Tehran and the two countries cooperated on PKK / PJAK.^[66]

However, Arab Spring erupted in Tunisia with splashes Syria (March 2011) there has been a break in the negative aspects of strategic cooperation in the context of Turkey-Iran relations.^[67] For example; area with an initiative in favor of Iran Trade Treaty in 2010. Turkey has been cautious against nuclear treaty, which was signed in 2015 due to the crisis in Syria.^[68] Turkey-Iran relations after the Arab Spring will be separated before and after the date on which Hasan Rohani came to power in June 2013. The first reason for this is liberalization policies of Rohani and the signing of the nuclear agreement; the second is that Iran is more visible on the battlefield in the fight against the Daesh during the Syrian crisis.^[69]

After 2013, Iran's global relations softened, while regional relations were har-

65 Ürküt and Sarı, *ibid.*, p. 221-223; Kemal İnat and Abdullah Yegin, "Türkiye'nin İran Politikası 2014", Ed. Burhanettin Duran, Kemal İnat and Ali Balcı, *Türk Dış Politikası Yılığ 2014*, SETA Publications, İstanbul 2015, p. 145-160.

66 Utku Çakırözler, "Askere İran Sorusu", *Milliyet*, 26 August 2005.

67 Positive developments such as the "Barter Agreement" signed with the mediator between Turkey and Brazil in 2010, joint operation against the PKK, Turkey's opposition to the sanctions imposed on Iran, efforts to develop economic relations, and the activation of the High Level Strategic Cooperation Council (YDSİK). It was interrupted by the Arab Spring. The spread of popular movements to Syria has led to tensions between Turkey and Iran, who take part in different sides.

68 Özden Z. Oktav, "Suriye Krizi Sürecinde Türkiye-İran: Değişen Roller, Çatışan Çıkarlar, Küresel Güçlerle İlişkiler", Hasan Basri Yalçın ve Burhanettin Duran (Ed.), *Küresel ve Bölgesel Aktörlerin Suriye Stratejileri*, SETA Publications, İstanbul 2016, p. 197-222.

69 Oktav, *ibid.*, p. 200-202.

dened due to Arab Spring. In this context, we must primarily take into account the threats that Turkey and Iran are conceptualized in the context of security strategies and opportunities. Threat perceptions and priorities of the two countries are very different. For Turkey SDG (Syrian Democratic Forces) a terrorist organization in the north of Syria and the first threat based on ethnicity is the possible establishment of a Kurdish state, while for Iran, Daesh is a terrorist organization as fundamental sectarian threat in the first degree.

Turkey, for the termination of instability in the region preceded the overthrow of the Assad regime. Yet, the presence of the Syrian regime is crucial for Iran in terms of protecting the habitat that Iran established before the civil war in Iraq and Syria. As a matter of fact, Iran is making security strategies (Resistance Axis, etc.) by establishing front lines. Because of strategic differences in such interests and threat perceptions; Turkey and Iran have an obstacle to cooperate in many areas and find a permanent solution to the conflict. However, on behalf of resolving the Syrian crisis, Astana Summit, which was held under the leadership of Turkey, Russia and Iran, has been an indication that cooperate.^[70]

CONCLUSION

National security is called a state in which all states are free from danger and threats to their own assets in a political structure composed of nation states. National security, which means preserving the sovereignty and territorial integrity of a state, is an extension of national power according to the realist teaching, the basic theory of international relations. According to Kenneth Waltz, it is the maintenance of the ultimate purpose of the states. States are using it as a force to maintain their assets and ensure their security. According to Morgenthau, the concept of power can be used as a means of realizing the goal in one place while creating the main purpose of politics in another.

National power is all the potential that a state can use to force a state to do or not to do with a particular attitude and behavior to another state. Some of these possibilities are entirely material-physical, while others are entirely social and moral. Political infrastructure, economic situation, geographical location and size, population and technological level are very important, as well as being the military force at the top of national power elements.

According to the realist teaching, national power is the basic element in the formation of international politics and foreign politics, and it forms the basis of international politics as both a means and a direct aim. In this study, it is aimed to take a broader view of the issue from the perspective of sectors by using sectoral

70 "Astana'da yeni Suriye zirvesi", <http://www.dw.com/tr/astanada-yeni-suriye-zirvesi/a-41168423>, 30 October 2017.

securitization theory, in which Iran's national security strategy uses the conceptual framework of classical realist teaching to better understand and presents us with a more comprehensive understanding of security. In this respect, it is reached that the Islamic Republic of Iran applies its policies, in the above-mentioned theoretical framework, in order to achieve national interests and ensure national security.

This study was based on the period after the establishment of the Islamic Republic of Iran in 1979, when there was a dramatic change in Iranian security policies. Although it had to deal with the fact that it had entered into the subject of studying some earlier historical events from this date and left deep traces in Iran's perception of security, the study of 1979 and later developments was the actual period of study. Iran is trying to build its national security on the axis of "securitization" policy by building on threats that may come from inside and outside. In line with these strategies, it also increases its military and economic capacity. In the light of all this information, we see that Iran has four important points in its national security strategies: independence, self-sufficiency, being a regional power and having a deterrent military power. When Iran's recent security policies are examined, it is seen that Iranian leaders and important institutions are as pragmatic as they want to reach ideological targets (Resistance Axis, Proxy war, Revolutionary Exporters, etc.).

Iran's national security strategy and political discourse after the 1979 Islamic Revolution influenced Turkey-Iran relations in a negative way in general terms. The security strategies of the two countries, their security priorities, the interests of the two countries due to their intent to become a regional power, have rarely become a co-operative area, but have caused conflict and threat perception.

Annex-1

Iran's National Security Strategies*	
Security conceptualizations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Scope: broad • Shape: concrete, aggressive, and diffuse • Theoretical Mentality: Sectoral Securitization • Strategic Mentality: Superiority (we can understand from pre-1979 emphasis on Persian civilization and the understanding of the Ummah after the Islamic Revolution (the speech of Ali Larijani of the Islamic Council of Iran and the preface of the Iranian Constitution), security prior, capacity building,

<p>Factors affecting national security strategy</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Historical heritage and security policy <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ The concession granted to England and the subsequent tobacco protest (1891) ✓ The invasion of Iran by the United Kingdom and Russia (1907 and 1941) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ The exclusion of the clergy in the period of Pahlavi dynasty and the excessive expenditure of the Shah, the inequitable distribution of oil revenues (1973 oil crisis) ✓ The nationalization of the Iranian oil in 1951 and the coup d'état of the US and Israeli intelligence in 1953 (Ajax Operation) ✓ The collapse of the USSR in 1989 caused a major power vacuum and instability in the immediate vicinity of Iran. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ 2003 occupation of Iraq <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Arab Spring • Political security and regime security <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ 1980-88 Iran-Iraq War ✓ Capacity construction and self-sufficiency <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Nuclear Studies • Social security and Islamic identity discourse <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ As stated in the Iranian Constitution (Article 12), the Twelve Imams are the official denominations of the country. (Caferiyye) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Persian nationalism ✓ Ayatollah Khomeini's rhetoric and leadership that strengthens the revolution and keeps different segments of the society together
<p>Security Threats</p>	<p>External Threats</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Firstly, USA and Israel <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Regional wars • Foreign policy discourses of the USA (Axis of Evil, etc.) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Daesh and so on. terrorist organizations • Economic sanctions <p>Internal Threats</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sectarian diversity (disadvantaged Sunni groups in the Iranian system, etc.) • Ethnic problems (separatist terrorist organizations: separatist Ceyşü'l-Adl based in Sistan-Belugan, Ahvaz-based Movement-Nidal, PJAK, Democratic Party of Iranian Kurdistan (IKDP) etc.) • Opposition political groups <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Drug trading • Unemployment (12.4%) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Economic troubles
<p>Security Forces</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Regular Army Corps, • The Revolutionary Guards Army (Pasdaran), the new defense unions established after the Islamic Revolution, <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Military Defense Corps, • Basic Public Guards, • Jerusalem Force and internal security forces.

Methods of Security Policies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Front line • Proxy war • Balancing against • Building force • Power concentration • Forward deployment <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Armament • Deterrence • Indepence ✓ For example; the discourse of “Neither East Nor West, Islamic Republic” • Selp-help, Nuclear Power
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* This table is intended to provide summarized information to the reader while it was created and prepared by using the resources referenced in the article. Hasan Basri Yalçın's book named *National Security Strategy: US-UK-France-Russia-China* was used in the process of drawing the basic template of the table and in this frame, the events, actors, phenomena and concepts that have been leading the national security strategy of Iran were analyzed and tried to be materialized.

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