

# The Future of Cooperation of Iran and Russia in the Field of Security and Defense

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# Abstract:

Emergence of transformation in world system followed by the breakdown of the East and the development of the field of collective and individual competitions among the governments in universal and regional levels and development of convergence processes in the behavior of the governments have prepared the requirements of alteration in analytical field and components and geopolitics effectiveness in the 3rd millennium; consequently, Islamic Republic of Iran and Russia Federation reinforce and strengthen mutual security and defensive cooperation based on the perception of their interior and exterior potentials. In fact, these two countries have numerous reasons and motivations for cooperation in the field of security and defensive and strategic benefits particularly in the field of Caspian Sea, Central Asia, Afghanistan, and Syria; as a result, defensive and security cooperation between Iran and Russia, has a vital and effective role in the strategies of two international and regional powers upon current equations and future transformations, "initiation of basic alterations" and "the beginning of a novel structure in the middle east"; consequently, the current research tends to assess pleasant, possible and probable scenarios in the relation of the mentioned countries while re-identifying defensive and security cooperation between Iran and Russia.

#### Keywords: Futures studies, Scenarios, the defense and security cooperation, Iran, Russia

# **1. Introduction:**

Geopolitics of Iran is leading to becoming one of the most important foci of the region security and international system; so that in all of the regional security models cannot from the active participation of the Islamic Republic of Iran be neglected. Therefore, Due to the geopolitical changes Caused by the end of the Cold War and the collapse of the Soviet Union, Contexts and political motivations in order to expand cooperation in various fields between Iran and Russia prepared. Actually, with the occurrence of International developments after the collapse of the bipolar system, the Islamic Republic of Iran and the Russian Federation were placed in the new space and organizing their cooperation. Accordingly, Russia and Iran are needed strategic cooperation with each other in order to the realization their national interests and this cooperation are as their defense strategy against the West. For this purpose, relations between Iran and Russia can be explained at three levels:

- 1. Bilateral level: economic, military and nuclear cooperation.
- 2. The regional level: the settlement of regional crises and conflicts, Such as Tajikistan and Afghanistan crisis and newly the Syrian civil war, energy resources in the Caspian Sea, Prevent the infiltration of trans-regional powers.
- 3. The international level: Dissatisfaction with both countries unipolar system and Unilateralism of USA.



Indeed, common points of defense and security cooperation between Iran and Russia are concerns of USA political, economic and military Influence in the Eurasian region, and also counter the US unilateralism and NATO expansion to the East. Furthermore, Security cooperation between Iran and Russia in the fight against terrorism In the Syrian civil waris considered a landmark in the international equations. Because it considers in the first place solving the crisis in Syria and Iraq and on the one side, is meant the strengthening of defense and security alliance of Iran, Russia, Syria and Iraq and on the other side, to provide it undermines the position of the United States of America and its allies. So, both countries are looking to further the goals of their national interests through Deepening and expansion of bilateral ties in the field of security and the military.

Thus, cooperation of defense and security between Iran and Russia, has a vital and effective role in the strategies of two international and regional powers upon current equations and future transformations of the universe and region in such a way that strategic experts consider it as "a very significant transformation", "initiation of basic alterations" and "the beginning of a novel structure in the middle east"; consequently, the current research tends to assess pleasant, possible and probable scenarios in the relation of the mentioned countries while re-identifying defensive and security cooperation between Iran and Russia.

#### 2. Background of defense and security cooperation between Iran and Russia:

In the a historical review, in the defense and security cooperation between Iran and Russia should be this important point to noted that although the emergence of the Russian Federation in 1991happened following the collapse of the Soviet Union; but the military relationship between two countries requires paying attention to some of the developments That emerged in the final years of Soviet life. In these years, came into being new relations between Iran and the Soviet Union that it was an important role in the future of defense relations between Tehran and Moscow in the post-Soviet years. Therefore, in this research, for evaluating processes of governing the defense and security cooperation both countries, Iran's cooperation with the Soviet Union in the first place and then will be discussed with the Russian Federation.

The beginning of the 1960s, Moscow and Tehran have started to expand its relations in the field of defense and security. Approximately 15 years before the Islamic Revolution in Iran, many specialists' Soviet military has offered to help the advisor to Iran and many Iranian officers were studying in the Soviet Union. Thus, Moscow sends to Iran, their new defense technologies for ground troops, engineering troops, and Artillery. For example, should be noted to armored cars, air defense systems, short-range missile systems multipurpose, tanks for crossing the bridge, trucks Maz and so forth. In this regard, at Isfahan and Shiraz, also with the Soviet support, was established several factories for repair Soviet military technologies and armaments.

But the pinnacle of Soviet-Iranian cooperation in security and defense was towards the end of Soviet Union. Visit "Georgii Kornienko"; Deputy Prime Minister of the USSR in February 1986Evidence of this claim. During the visit, both countries welcomed of concluding contract various spheres of energy, economy, and trade. Also, extended to the field of security and both countries reached important agreements on the military cooperation.

An important event in the development of the cooperation is very important; Visit "Rafsanjani", the head of the Iranian parliament to the Soviet Union in 1989.During the visit, several important agreements were signed between the two countries. Including a military agreement whereby, Iran was allowed to purchase from Moscow, military aircraft such as MiG-29 and Su-24. Also, Representatives of Iran and the USSR



Signed Agreements In the context of the supply of Russian military technology such as Russian antiaircraft batteries, advanced radar, tanks T-70, armored APCs, missile technology and Submarine type(ssk Kilo).By the end of this visit the both countries signed a joint statement Whereby the Soviet Union agreed to strengthen the military capacity of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

From 1989to1991, four intergovernmental agreement was signed in the field of technology military cooperation upon which was sent to Iran 2 long-range of the antiaircraft missile system, 24 fighter airplaneMiG-29 and 12 bomber aircraft Su-24at the cost of 1.3 billion USD. Also, Tehran was purchased several helicopters improved and antiaircraft missile system "Igla" (Irna, 1394).

The collapse of the Soviet Union, have been considered to important developments in the history of relations between Tehran and Moscow in various fields, particularly military and security. Indeed, since the establishment of the Russian Federation till now, Despite ups and downs in their relationship, expanded trend of the defense and security cooperation both countries. In this way, a very important agreement was signed between the two countries in the field of defense and security that had great impact effect on long-term relations between Tehran and Moscow. Of the most important, was related it important to arms contracts worth it between 4 to 10 billion USD. Became clear that the goods covered by the contract of the initial agreement 1989 were inspired that which included three submarines of type (ssk Kilo), Tanks T -73, airplaneMiG-29 and Su-24, rocket launcher and long-range weapons (Amiri, 1387: 275).

This event was followed concerns of the major powers such as the USA. Therefore pressure from these countrieswas imposed to prevent of military and security cooperation with Russia and Iran that led to famous contract "Gore-Chernomyrdin"(1995). However, defense cooperation between Iran and Russia still continued; So that some military reports, credit Iran and Russia's arms deals between 1996 and 1999, have estimated approximately of 200 million USD. Also, Russia at equipment military transport jets (TU-324) cooperated to Iran. On the other side, "Vladimir Putin", President of the Russian Federation, in 2000, an important step to lift in the expansion and consolidation of Russia's relations with Iran and officially be neglected the contract "Gore-Chernomyrdin". Generally, Military cooperation between Iran and Russia after the Soviet collapse always has been growing. Sample outstanding it is the very close integration of both countries in the Syrian civil war.

According to published information, since 1991, relations between Iran and Russia are expanded in the various aspects. One of the most important parts it was defense. Tehran based on the next contracts was purchased six aircraft invasive (C-25), 29 antiaircraft missile system (Tor-M1). The validity of these purchases was several billion USD. Therefore, Iran after China and India reached to third place in the list of Russian military technology partners (Irna, 1394).

According to antecedent discussions, the defense and security cooperation between Iran and Russia in the post-Soviet years expanded under the influence of various factors and components. Therefore, explaining these factors and elements is need to identify and analyze how the formation of this trend. Thus, can be analyzed this aspect of cooperation between the two countries in the following three levels.

# 2. To explain Levels of defense and security cooperation between Iran and Russia

#### 2.1. Bilateral level: military and nuclear cooperation:

After the Soviet collapse, Tehran and Moscow on the basis of their national interests and regional and international requirements due to the end of the Cold War, Sought to defined new paradigm in expanding their of bilateral relations. Iran at this time had faced with challenges such as reconstruction after the



imposed war, promote relations with other countries, "D'Amato"sanctions, the need to rebuild industries and infrastructure military and defensive. Russia also was confronted with the challenges such as crises political and economic pervasive. For this reason, Can say that one of the main reasons for the expansion and enhancement military, technical and economic cooperation between Iran and Russia was in dire need of Russian industries, especially the military and nuclear industry this country to creditable foreign currencies (ja'afari& zolfaghari, 1392:21).Indeed, Iran was an important market for Russian arms. Because of it in this juncture, Russia needed to the revenues from selling armaments for their economic reconstruction. Therefore, according to the contract of 1991, Russia pledged to help Iran in produce some weapons Such as tanks T-72 and APCs Armored BMP-2. Thus, the transfer of technology and defense cooperation is considered including the important indicators of bilateral cooperation both countries.

Accordingly, after the end of the imposed war Iraqi Baathist regime against Iran, Russia became one of the main suppliers of armament to Iran. For example, sales of warplanes, air and missile defense system, Tanks and APCs and submarines are important military items that Russia has transferred to Iran. Moreover, Russia Vanguard in modern military technology transfer to Iran; training of Iranian students and specialists in the field of Science and Technology of the military, in the Russian universities and institutes and also Russian advisors and experts in Iran, are examples of security and defense cooperation between the two countries. One of the fundamental issues in relations between Iran and Russia after the Soviet collapse is the completion of the Bushehr nuclear power plant by Russian technical experts. Russia's nuclear cooperation agreement with Iran at the beginning of 1995 and Russia's commitment to complete the Bushehr nuclear power plant, in situations took place that the USA and Israel's regime were launched to wide propaganda about the threat of Iran becoming a nuclear power. In return, Russia According to political and economic reasons and Referring to Iran's compliance with the rules of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) and joining the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), was operating their decision on the nuclear cooperation with Iran. In fact, the Russians by announcing that Iran-Russia nuclear deal does not have any threat to the security and stability of the region and Bushehr nuclear power plant will be a peaceful only function, Insist on the continuation of the project (Athari, 1380:87).

After the victory of the Islamic Revolution in 1979, increasing deterrence against Israel regime were considered as one of the main priorities of Iran's foreign policy. Based on this, Iran revealed pay more attention to its basic utilities, such as missile sites and related equipment with advanced armament to strengthen its air defense. In result, Iran's strong desire to have achieved missile system S-300, MPU and Anti-missile systems Tor-1 and a range of Surface-to-air missiles (SAM).Other military equipment that Iran is seeking to be, Includes helicopters MI-17, Air defense missiles (Igla-1E), Surface-to-air missiles and air surveillance radar (Jalali, 1382: 166). For this purpose, during the visit, "Mohammad Khatami" President of Iran to Russia in 2001, Russian leaders pointed out that despite the opposition and Pressure from the USA, Russia is willing to sell more military equipment to Iran.

Here, should be noted that "Wladimir Putin" came to power in 2000 and cancel the contract "Gore-Chernomyrdin "Seen as a turning point in defense relations between the two countries. Because the expansion of defense and security relations between Iran and Russia can be Increase bargaining power with the USA and provides for military trading in ensuring their economic and strategic interests. After the cancellation mentioned contract, Russian leaders tried to have a significant role in military forces reconstruction to take advantage of strategic, political and economic benefit; Iran's military forces were seeking to achieve Russian advanced systems arms, fulfill your needs, agreements transferring arms to Iran with regard to economic difficulties that was created In the post-Soviet situation in the country, could be built for Russia credit and considerable economic benefits (Koolaei, 1384: 131).



In this regard, in 2005, took place agreements between two states for sale Anti-aircraft missiles, Patrol ships, and reconstruction of aircraft (SU-24) and MIG-29 and signed in 2006. Also, between Iran and Russia, bilateral agreements were signed during 2005 to 2011; they include:

- 1. "Kazan" helicopter factories, in March 2005, three aircraft MI-17v-5 with motors 2500-VKwas delivered to the Iranian Red Crescent.
- 2. Three aircraftSU-25UBK in 2005
- 3. Repair and modernization of three submarines Project 877 EKM in 2005
- 4. 29 sets Tor-M1Worth approximately 700 million USD in 2005
- 5. Cooperation in launch and construction "Zohreh" satelliteWorth 132 million USD in January 2005 (The delivery date, in October 2007 mentioned)
- 6. Purchase three military training aircraft SU -25UBTin 2005
- 7. Upgrade and update three submarines (ssk Kilo) in 2005. Delivery date: 2005 to 2009 during to upgrades, They were added capable of firing missilesSS-N-27
- 8. Upgrade and update 30 fighters SU 24MK in December 2005 (Delivery Time: in 2007-2008)
- 9. Upgrade to missile defense system (SA-6); (Delivery Time: in 2007-2009) (Balazadeh &Gheibi, 1392: 50-51).

Therefore, defense and security cooperation always has been one of the important issues in the development of exchanges both countries. About this should be noted to establish "military and technical cooperation commission of Iran and Russia". This commission, Has the responsibility to promote defense cooperation both countries and until now (2017), several meetings and agreements have been held in this respect. Including the results of those meetings, Can be noted to agreement on expand military and arms cooperation of both countries, transfer to air defense technology and radar systems, new anti-aircraft missilesTor-M1 (2007), signing the sales contract SU-30 to Iran (2016), delivery the system of S-300 to Iran (2017). It is noteworthy that from 2012 to the present (2017), defense and security relations between Iran and Russia, Especially during the Syrian civil war has been upgraded to the level of strategic partners. For this reason, more closely cooperation has been made in this regard.

Admittedly, Tehran's approach toward defense cooperation with Moscow is different from some neighboring countries as buyers spend armament and Iran's defense needs more than being fulfilled through technical cooperation and transfer of military technologies. In this context, can be seen the formation of suitable substrates for cooperation in the fields of military, security, land, air, maritime, cyber and space (Farsnews, 1394).Generally, Russia in the framework of the policy of maintaining its strategic partners has given to continue great importance security and defense cooperation with Iran. Also, Iran to fulfill its objectives and national interests insists on continuing bilateral cooperation in this field.

# 2.2. The regional level: settlement of regional crises and conflicts:

The collapse of the Soviet Union, caused the geographical moving away from Iran and Russia and became the formation of new regions (Central Asia and the Caucasus) and the new regional queuing. This was the



beginning of a new season in relations between both countries. Indeed, America's influence in the Middle East, Central Asia, the Caucasus, NATO enlargement to the East, crisis in newly independent (Tajikistan, Nagorno-Karabakh), the crisis in Afghanistan, Iraq, Syria and Yemen, the fight against terrorism and extremism are factors that Iran and Russia because of the common interest, became closer to each other more and more.

In this way, defense and security cooperation between Iran and Russia in 2000 and was expanded after the visit first high-level Russian military delegation headed by "Leonid Ivashov" to Iran. The result of this visit was signed the contract that whereby two countries about military and political issues regularly consult with together. Three important fields that Tehran and Moscow emphasized about their cooperation, Include NATO enlargement to the East, the influence of the USA in the Central Asia and Caucasus, the balance of power in the Middle East and Afghanistan situation (Kornienko& Pourhassan, 1382: 162-163).Must be acknowledged that in the document, "Russian foreign policy strategy" (in 2000), the issue of regional cooperation with Iran was considered in the top strategic priorities this country.

Also, about regional defense and security cooperation between Iran and Russia have said regional developments place in the post-Soviet, provided development of defense relations between the two countries at the regional level. The threat "of NATO expansion to the East" and in particular Eastern European countries to NATO membership, fear of the spread of regional crises within the borders of both countries, The most important factor was the expansion of this cooperation. Some experts believe that in the early post-Soviet years, "Boris Yeltsin" President of Russia federation by the establishment of strategic relations with Iran, exploited as a means to combat NATO to the East. NATO officials insist for the development of the organization in Central Asia and the Caucasus but was followed the implementation of the Partnership for Peace in this regions Russia and Iran sensitivity (Amiri,1392: 161).

For this reason, the majority of Russian elites (especially the Eurasianism) have opposed NATO expansion; and it was considered threatening its national security. Include three main reasons them: Moscow fears of being on margin and isolated, the opposition of Russian military forces due to security threats caused by it, Russia's Reducing Power International According to the strategists of this country. Also, Iran considered NATO expansion as a threat to its national security and It knows their security isolation and strategic. In fact, NATO's continuation of expansionist policies is the main factor strengthens the military and security cooperation between Iran and Russia.

In addition to bilateral relations between Iran and Russia, Regional developments in Central Asia and Caucasus and the Middle Eastled to the development of convergence both countries in this field. In fact, Iran and Russia began in Central Asia and the Caucasus, the Caspian and the Middle East have reached a common understanding of mutual interests, is the basis for their cooperation in the regions; Risk of expand the influence Western powers and their allies (Turkey, Israel, Saudi Arabia and Pakistan), contagion in the region within the borders of both countries and context created by the 1989 Agreement on cooperation are very effective (Osouli, 1392). In the meantime, well observed Iran's role in establishing stability and security in the newly independent republic in southern Russia, resolve the crisis in Tajikistan, the first stage of the Nagorno-Karabakh crisis and the Afghanistan crisis.

One of the fields of cooperation between Russia and Iran in Central Asiais the issue of security and stability. Accordingly, any tension and insecurity in the region for Russia and Iran, which have common security environment, is threatening. Tajikistan's civil war in 1992,caused to start extensive cooperation of Moscow-Tehran for mediation in this war and finally, by leaps and bounds and do a few rounds of talks between hostile groups Tajik, with the participation of Iran and Russia, was declared cease-fire and "Tehran Agreement" on 17 September 1994 was signed by the parties to the conflict. It was an important step in



furtherance of the peace talks (Koolaei, 1384: 24). Also, in the Caucasus issues, Iran and Russia were sensitive the regional ethnic crisis including the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict and it is considered a threat to their national and regional security. The Caucasus because of geopolitical, cultural and economic has strategic importance. It seems that Iran and Russia the regional defense and security cooperation in the Caucasus region, is a function of the security and strategic considerations; for Iran and Russia, The Caucasus region of unstable and involved in religious and identity crisis is challenging.

On the other hand, Power exercised by the Taliban in Afghanistan and drug production in this country and transiting through Iran and Central Asia and Russia was the national security both countries and even the whole region. The Taliban religious extremism was considered for both countries as a source of threatening. Russian officials believed that some extremist groups in Central Asia and Salafi and Wahhabi groups in North Caucasus, especially Chechnya are supported by the Taliban; also Iran was considered Taliban extremist ideology as Threat against its national security. So the existence of such a threat in the region was an effective factor in strengthening defense and security cooperation between Iran and Russia.

Issues such as the fight against Islamic extremism in the form of groups like ISIL in common areas between the two countries, on strengthening of cooperation between Iran and Russia is important and the two countries to prowling throw for the settlement of regional conflicts. Gain the cooperation of the Islamic Republic of Iran as an important hub of the Islamic world, can reduce tensions and sensitivities that are there about the presence of Russia in Muslim republics in the region, have a significant impact. In this context, Iran's role in confronting threats that Russia knows it religious fundamentalism in the region; it is very important (Saghafi Ameri, 1379: 21-22). So Russia can introduce Iran as a Muslim country with a progressive political system, which replaces anti-Russian patterns (Azimzadeh, 1393).

In the Middle East, elements that strengthen the cooperation between Iran and Russia have a significant impact, as follows: Iran's role as powerful actors In Iraq, Afghanistan, Syria, Lebanon and Palestine, Westoriented government, Arab spring and the growth of Islamic extremism; which in conflict with the interests of Russia and Iran. These factorsprovide Context of more cooperation between the two countries in the fields of defense and security. Should be stated that three factors were effective in expanding this cooperation: First, the prominent role of Iran at regional developments such as the victory of the "axis of resistance" against Israel (Hezbollah, Hamas and Islamic Jihad),the rise of Shiite government in Iraq, along with Iran, power exercised by the Houthis in Yemen, Iran's growing strength in curbing Takfiri and Salafi (ISIL)terrorists in Iraq and Syria; Second, Russia's prominent presence in the Middle East and the Persian Gulf (eg support of Hamas); third, the Syrian civil war.

In the Syrian civil war, strategies of Iran-Russia cooperation in security and defense can be directed to the inhibition of threats in the region. That's why the two countries are trying to increase their influence in the Regional crisis management. The use of mechanisms such as the participation of Russia and Iran in the Syrian crisis, Iran-Russia joint fight with terrorism and Takfiri-Salafi group slike ISIL and al-Nusra, can be evaluated as one of these strategies security cooperation between Iran and Russia.

# 2.3. The international level:

Soviet collapse became leading to the birth of a new republic, change borders, increase the number of regional actors; consequently, provided the influence of regional and trans-regional powers in the newly established Republic. Iran and Russia are serious opponent's unipolar international system, hegemony and unilateralism USA. This factor, in turn, played a significant role in strengthening relations between the two countries. Because the USA have been trying to play a dominant role in military conflicts at the heart of the crisis (Middle East, Central Asia, and the Caucasus). Due to the geographical proximity of Iran and Russia



to the heart of the crisis, two countries opposed the presence of trans-regional powers andthey knows that solve them responsible to local actors region. In other words, two countries are strongly opposed to any intervention of foreign powers in the regional issues. An obvious example of it, trying to find a political solution to end the civil war in Syria. According to the historical record the two countries and the strategic alliance with Syria, played an important role in the equations of the region (fight against terrorism Takfiri-Salafi) in favor of "axis of resistance "led by Iran and Russia's cooperation. In fact, opposition to the unipolar system forms the intersection defense and security cooperation between Iran and Russia. But, is not considered as the only factor in cooperation of two countries in the international arena; But also there are other factors that endorsed on the necessity of cooperation in the said fields. The following table can be seen Elements of international security and defense cooperation between the two countries.

# Table 1: Elements of international defense and security cooperation between Iran and Russia

Row	Element of defense and security cooperation
1	ProximitytoIran and RussiaIn order tocope with sanctionsthe USA and hostile policies of European and regional allies of USA
2	Cooperation between Iran and Russia in order to avoid the pressures of the USA for isolating the two countries
3	Iran and Russia's discontent of NATO expansion to the East and Expressing concern about the deployment of missile defense systems
4	Iran's support for Russia to attendas an observer inthe Organisation of Islamic Conference (OIC)
5	The expansion of Russia's relations with Iran in order to benefit from West
6	Iran and Russia's efforts for redefining its position in world in order tochange the status quo strategy and to achieve two countries to desirable status
7	Iran's willingness to support Russia at the international level such as the Bushehr nuclear power plant project

Resource: Amin Ghayour (1393), p. 165

Based on the above table, can be said that the most important factor of security and defense cooperation between Iran and Russia in the international arena indicate antagonism between the two countries with the USA. Need to consider this Factor in the balance of power, is effective at the regional and international level and so Iran in the guise of cooperation with Russia, meanwhile further strengthening its military capacity, to increase deterrent power against Israel. On the other hand, also the USA is serious opponent's defense and security cooperation between Iran and Russia. In fact, the attitude of the United States to this cooperation is odds with his policy based on weakness and international isolation to both countries. For this purpose, signature defense agreements between Iran and Russia have been always with opposition to the USA and some periods with sabotage. But, an event that endorsed on the necessity of military and defense cooperation between two countries in the international arena, was the Syrian civil war; although happened in the geographical area of the Middle East; however, due to the internationalization of its dimensions, Indicates the formation of new equations in this region. With the occurrence of the recent crisis in the Middle East (Iraq, Syria, and Yemen), It seems that again, "High politics" has dominated on the international system. According to the realities of the international system (being anarchic), governments in the first place should be sought to increase their power and military capabilities and Somehow have placed"Military Self-Sufficiency Policy" frontispiece of their security policy priorities. But since the countries probably will not be able to resist alone against some of the threats, to create alliances that would ultimately lead to the formation of the security agreements and strategic partners. Strategic partners can align in territory under thematic issues and support to against threats from each other:



- 1-The supply of weapons and military technology
- 2-Educational services and military advisors
- 3-The placement of military bases [in case of agreement countries]
- 4-Financial assistance and political support in the international community
- 5-The placement of military force
- 6-Joint military action against military threats (Karami, 1387: 226).

According to international developments and the formation of new equations in the international system and new regional security order in recent years (Especially after the Arab Spring and the Syrian civil war and power exercised by the Salafi-Takfiri terrorist groups), Iran and Russia have decided to continue military cooperation, consultation on security issues, and locate each other in the course of military doctrines, military army structure and common security threats. And more efforts to expand military and security relations, bilateral military exchanges and martial education and services of advisor (Bisotouni, 1379: 16-17). In this way, Due to security concerns in common; in the field of bilateral, regional and international, provided the arena of establishing and strengthen defense and security cooperation between Iran and Russia.

#### 3. Future scenarios for defense and security cooperation between Iran and Russia:

According to recent international and regional developments (2011) and the Syrian civil war, Iran and Russia found that is essential cooperation between the two countries in various spheres of political, security, science, culture and economy. In other words, Tehran and Moscow's security interests in the Syrian crisis, two countries placed in a trench. At the moment, Iran and Russia have close security and defense cooperation at the bilateral, regional and international underway. In previous discussions, alignment Factors of the two countries were defined in the three levels. This section describes scenarios will be discussed that can be expected for future defense and security cooperation between Iran and Russia. Since are still ongoing trends cooperation between the two countries in the areas mentioned, and on the other hand, cannot clearly speak of the future, here the most likely scenario analyzed:

At the bilateral level, Expected to security and defense cooperation between the two countries, continue according to current trends in national, regional and international. Because, as mentioned Iran in order to supply armament and Production of technical knowledge(Localization and self-sufficiency in the case of Iran) and strengthening defense capability, was inclined towards Russia. But should not be assumed that the relations between Iran and Russia are limited to the purchase and transfer of military equipment. Because of two countries, security concerns common in other fields have good relations with each other. In the context of military economy, it must be said that the arms trade is an important part of the Russian economy. So Iran's geopolitical; Proximity to the strategic "Persian Gulf" region, Russia attention to Iran in order to influence in the region. Accordingly, at the level of bilateral relations, the most likely scenario is that be observed expand and deepen relations between the two countries in the field of security and defense; the most favorable scenario, in this case, is that Iran and Russia be upgraded, strategic partners.

On the regional level, expected due to the high integration and common strategic interests, in the current situation in the Middle East and Central Asia and the Caucasus, continue Russian-Iranian cooperation in the fields of defense and security. Because the In addition to having consequences for both actors, can have important influence on the formation of new security orders in the region of Central Eurasia, the Middle



East, and the Persian Gulf. In fact, the alignment of national and international actors in the Syria and Iraq can transform existing structures in the Middle East. This means, transnational actors (the West and the United States) in order to increase its influence in the region resort to the new military alliances and pacts. It seems it is very likely, especially after the effective role of Iran in Syria and Iraq, and The beginning of a new era of security and defense cooperation between Iran and Russia in the fight against terrorism. With regard to the geopolitical competition in the region, is not unexpected the possibility of the formation of new security and military alliances and coalitions, by the "axis of resistance" led by Iran and with Russia as one of the five powers. After the Arab Spring in the Middle East, Persian Gulf countries increased buying weapons. This can be structural changes affect the future of the region. Therefore, plausible scenarios about the future strategic cooperation at the regional level, as follows: formation of new regional security arrangements, role of both countries in solving regional crises and curb terrorism (ISIL), reduction of Western actors power and aligning some Western allies (including Turkey) with Russia and Iran, formation of new regional defense treaty, Russia's cooperation with Iran in the construction of new nuclear power plants.

At The international level, according to the existing structure of international and Effort of the USA for hegemony in a unipolar system and Iran and Russia's strong opposition to this trend in the international system, two countries do not want that the United States have influence in the Middle East, the Persian Gulf, and Eurasia. Hence, it is expected to pursue both countries are continuance and development of defense and security cooperation in the higher levels (strategic). It seems, new weapon stransactions recent, visits by defense ministers of two countries and delivery of missile system S-300, were as signs of stabilization defense and security cooperation between Iran and Russia and promote it to levels deemed to be strategic. Actually, deliberate a response to factors such asto prevent more infiltration of United States in the region and the international system and fight against international terrorism (ISIL and al-Nusra). Although took place the growth of terrorism and fundamentalism in the Middle East geopolitical space; but it gradually became one of the most important international security issues. The fight against of terrorism was raised as a major concern of most countries and was formed "International Anti-ISIS Coalition", but since it had not outlined a clear vision for themselves, did not achieve much success. On the other hand, given the history of relations between Iran and Russia with Syria, cooperation between the two countries entered a new phase and now, most experts and thinkers of the world are emphasized on the important role of two countries in resolving the crisis (Due to the internationalization of its dimensions). Accordingly, at the international level, possible scenarios include: Promoting security and defense cooperation with Russia and Iran to higher levels (strategic), continuation of Iran-Russia cooperation in curbing international terrorism, more active role in solving regional and international crises, the formation of new international alliances, new Arms Race at an international level (missiles and nuclear tests major powers) under the pretext of combating terrorism, new war in the geopolitical space, but with an international dimension, and finally the possibility, however slight, Iran and Russia and USA cooperation In the settlement of international and regional conflicts.

As mentioned in antecedent debates, after the Arab spring, at the international level, can be seen a return to "high politics". This means that most countries are seeking to strengthen their defense capabilities. For example, Federal Republic of Germany has recently sought to increase its defense capability or Switzerland dreamed the idea of the convening of the national army. So can be say that defense and security cooperation between Iran and Russia, perform very important role at regional and international security and strategic issues and current equations and future developments in the region and the world; So that, according to strategic experts can be remembered it as "a very significant transformation", "initiation of basic alterations" and "the beginning of a novel structure in the Middle East".



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