

Courses of Cultural Policy Making of Tsarist in Transoxiana (1864-1917)

Seyedeh Fahimeh Ebrahimi*

Assistant Professor of History of Islam, University of Islamic Religious, Iran

(Date of receipt: 14 Dec. 2014 - Date of acceptance: 01 Sep. 2015)

Abstract

The first years of Russian marching to Transoxiana were not the climax of their authority. Some of the reformist advocates tended to proceed inside the country after the defeating *Crimea* (1854). The idea even permeated among the greater community. These groups wanted to establish liberal institutions and Constitutional government as those of European countries. *Alexander* the second, the new Tsar (1855-1881) had deeply found out that the Russia was too weak to stand against the opposing powers and, thus, started to reform immediately. Among the reformative actions, there was the freedom of peasantry from the past slavery in social reform to establish the selective associations in administrative reformations. To restore the national pride, the country's military forces, and to obtain the trade benefits, the orientation was though toward east rather than west, namely *Turkistan*. The reason for this orientation could be considered from the political viewpoint. Russia's failure in *Crimea's war* meant that Russia as a political and economic power could not be on a solid ground in west and south Europe. Involving in *Crimea's war* several times and having conflict on Balkan under the pretext of protecting Christians, Russia was trapped in wearing out and fruitless wars in

* Email: sfahimeehbrahimi@gmail.com

which the European states under the leadership of England were a hinder in front of the Russia's purposes against Ottoman Empire. Russia had no more initiative in Eastern Europe and Mediterranean area because the British-French secure umbrella over Ottoman government was the determinant factor in failure of Tsar Policy in foreign affairs. Russia, in these circumstances, had no other alternatives except to focus on the surrounding areas particularly *Transoxiana*, in order to compensate for what was lost.

When they arrived in *Transoxiana*, there were lots of other problems that made Russia a weak colonizer. From the very beginning, it was obvious that they have real problem in wielding new occupied lands and policy making for it, but distinguishing the reasons was not that much easy. In this time, there were new political identities such as Italy, Germany, and the Balkan nations which were forming based on a unified nationality, history, language, culture, and common religion. Alike Europe, Russians began to establish history and form thoughts for the great Russia. Here, the focus is how a civilized government allows the different religions to exist inside its borders. They stated that the Islam's flag was flying in Islamic nations before the Christian civilization, but it was under the Russian's governing. The powerful government of Russia converted into Islam in Tatar region. This power got Polish- German quality in western borders and Tatar- Islamic in Volga part. This doctrine named *Eurasianism* discusses that the Eurasia is the Tsar Empire territory and is unique in its civilization and separated from the Europe and Asia. This civilization should not be mistaken with European civilization or the other ones; hence, it could not be one of their sub civilizations. The most important cultural components of this civilization are orthodox Christianity, Buddhism, and Islam. Nevertheless, the Russian culture is the most advanced and widest element in this composition. In order to implement this political thinking, Russian

needed to turn the people who were interested in the regions to the Great Russian Empire, into loyal followers. That is, if there was a Muslim in the region, considered himself/herself as a Russian citizen. Apart from this doctrine, those politicians who were affected by Christian nationalists believed that existence of different religions in their empire would cause confusion in the area. They couldn't accept other religions and nationalities besides themselves so by motto of "faith, Tsar, homeland tried to dominate on non- Slavic people by strong support of Orthodox Church. They were interested in changing the religions of new nations.

Within the study of all these trends we can come with this idea that church, ministry of war, ministry of interior, foreign affairs along with ethnologists, Russian Orientalists and other groups disagreed in the components of their attitudes toward Muslim people. Political discourses among these groups led to two final ideas that were conservative: The first one was considering order and law in new occupied lands (giving Russian civilization) and considering Russia position in the eyes of other Muslim countries by tolerant policy.

Besides that, another important issue was Muslim reaction against Russian authorities. Naturally Russian politicians couldn't ignore native people especially Muslim scholars and elites who were followed by society. These elites during the occupation were exposed by modern world and new trends that had entered the other Muslim communities as well. They had different kinds of reactions against these modern waves and by passing the time these reactions had been changed. The most famous elites were Jadidi and conservative scholars who were against each other. Although Russian officials tried to intensify these quarrels, these attitudes had affected their policy making in the occupied lands.

All these issues had undermined Russian operation in the region. Therefore, the disagreement of politicians with Christian nationalists

and local reaction, the weakness of appointed commanders and regional and global developments have all conducted the final policy of Russification with specific features. When we study the whole period of Russian presence, we cannot see a unified policy (especially in cultural field) toward Muslim people.

This article studied different sources and analyzed a variety of data to investigate the elements that affected cultural situation of Muslim people. Our main questions are that: in cultural aspects, how we can study these periods in different courses, what were the courses of cultural policy making in Transoxiana, and why did it change? Our answer is that the Russian commanders had shown three different courses of policy making that some sets of local, internal and global factors caused its changes in each period.

Keywords: cultural policies, Russia, Russification, transoxiana, Turkestan.

The Role of Shanghai Cooperation Organization in Making Balance of Power-Based order in Central Asia

Davoud Aghaei*

Professor of Regional Studies, University of Tehran, Iran

Hosein Rahdar

M.A. of Regional Studies, University of Tehran, Iran

(Date of receipt: 13 Jul. 2014 - Date of acceptance: 07 Sep. 2015)

Abstract

The collapse of the Soviet Union resulted in formation of 15 new republics as independent political entities. Hence, being situated among countries such as Russia, China, India, Pakistan and Iran, the Central Asia has become a “geopolitical junction”.

In such circumstances, the “Shanghai Cooperation Organisation” (SCO) was created in this region. In order to examine the role this organization plays in the regional and international arenas, we have to study the factors that form the foreign policy behaviours of Russia and China as the most important players of this organization, that is, identity interests, their perception of threat sources, as well as their economic and security motivations.

In this paper, the main hypothesis is that Russia’s interests in becoming a great power and China’s interests in its long-term economic security in the Central Asia have directed them into forming a soft balance against the United States within the framework of the SCO. The main question is how this Organisation has led to a power balance in the Central Asia. The authors have conducted this study by

* Corresponding Author: sdaghaee@ut.ac.ir

descriptive-analytic method, using Persian and English books and articles as well as Internet resources.

In fact, it is asserted that as the two great powers, China and Russia, while cooperating in order to achieve some common goals in Central Asia, have their own approaches in this regard. Russia has adopted the hard version of balance of power and China has followed the soft version of that. This stance, of course, due to presence of China as a balancing force and also in the SCO framework, has been ameliorated and represented by Russia as the soft balance against the United States.

Although leaders of the organisation do not want it to adopt a controversial aspect as a result of the competition with the US (this can be proved by the disagreement with the requests of some countries for joining SCO whose membership might probably end up in some unwanted political issues), most of regional theorists concur that the relationships among today great powers, i.e. the United States, European Union, Russia Federation and China, imply that a new soft cold war is being constituted between NATO members led by US on the one hand, and SCO members led by China and Russia on the other. In SCO itself, the shared threats on the one hand, and the overlaps at regional and international desires, on the other, are the two pivotal variables that construct China-Russia relations in spite of their profound conflicts in different regional and international issues. This type of relationship could be defined as a “strategic participation” which has made SCO not to conceal its prospect toward the WEST interventions.

SCO's anti-American stance was culminated in the manifesto of the Organisation meeting: “SCO will actively contribute to establishment of the global new security structure based on mutual trust, mutual interests, equality and mutual respect. In addition, discerning the methods and mechanisms to guarantee the region

security is the right and also responsibility of the regional countries only". Moreover, it is pointed out that a special mechanism to preserve complete security of the region is the right and responsibility of the regional countries. Meanwhile, the SCO will provide a constructive contribution to building a new architecture of global security.

Recently, Crimea peninsula annexation to Russia and the recent tensions between the west, especially US, and this country, has once again redoubled the significance of Central Asia. The west realized, as he had done in Cold War Era, that if he were to control Russia, he would have to establish a so-called "New Iron Curtain" (of course, not as intense as the one in cold war) around it. Generally, American Leaders consider the SCO as a collection of several authoritarian countries being directed and steered by two nuclear powers including China and Russia. Some other researchers, on the other hand, think of the organization as a "Modern Warsaw" intending to reduce the America`s global influence and encounter its expansionism and prevalence in the region. SCO, of course, cannot amount to Warsaw, particularly in terms of security and military activities. However, this is according to Russia influence on these two organizations; particularly both of them have assigned US as their target to pose against.

Finally, although SCO is still far from necessary rules and features for turning into a structure similar to NATO in the east, its structure, goals and the composition of its members, especially in the period when the gap between US and Russia is widening, are in such a way that enables it to reduce the American hegemony in the region. It is expected that the organization will gradually turn into a prominent actor in the political and economic arena behind the boundaries of Central Asia. In other words, China and Russia tried to implement their own version of so-called Asian new order in which there is no

room for US presence and influence. But also, as evidence indicates, SCO will not reduce an explicit anti-American union in that its members have neither the tendency nor the power to directly encounter US. To put it in another way, according to some analysts' views, it is not advantageous for China and Russia to engage the organization in a straight political anti-American program and derail the organisation from its intended objectives.

Reviewing and explaining current processes in SCO as growing structures, this essay seeks to demonstrate that this organisation, unlike some other regional ones, during its short period of activity not only has not lost its dynamism, but it also offers a promising prospect for the regional countries; besides, it can be considered as one of the most conspicuous emblems for cooperation of independent countries aiming to create multi-lateral collaborations and a new axis against the United States unilateral strategy.

Keywords: balance of power, the Central Asia, China, Russia, security, Shanghai cooperation organization, the United States.

The Comparative Examination of Iran and Turkey's Foreign Policy in South Caucasus with Emphasis on Azerbaijan and Armenia

Mohammad Ja'afar Javadi Arjomand*

Associate Professor of Political Science, University of Tehran, Iran

Ehsan Fallahi

PhD Student of International Relations, University of Isfahan, Iran

(Date of Receipt: 08 Jul. 2014 - Date of acceptance: 01 Sep. 2015)

Abstract

With the collapse of the Soviet Union, vacuum of power emerged in the South Caucasus. This matter has sparked trans-regional and regional powers competition. The newly established Republics create challenges and opportunities for Iran and Turkey. The result of this situation is the competition between Tehran and Ankara in the region. This topic is highly important in regional equations because of common border between the two republics with the Iran-Turkey. Islamic Republic of Iran and Turkey lost the strategic importance of the cold war period after the 1991. However, in the post-Cold War geopolitical changes, Iran and Turkey configured as the bridge land that link the important regions of the world. However, the perception of Iran and Turkey regional policy can be more understandable with comparative method.

In this article, we have attempted to answer these questions; what is the most important aspect of competition between Iran and Turkey in the South Caucasus? And how is the orientation of Iran and Turkey foreign policy in the region? We discuss the origin of this competition

* Email: mjjavad@ut.ac.ir

in the three dimensions; political-security, economical, and cultural aspects. Iran has regional approach to the South Caucasus. But Turkey performs its policies in the South Caucasus through trans-regional approach and cooperates with the West. We try to examine the above hypothesis by descriptive- analytical method.

On the surface, the competition is going on between Ankara and Tehran. But both of these countries have aspiration in global and regional levels. Although in South Caucasus subsystem they automatically stand at the special alliance and formulate indirect competition. Thus, Turkey stands at the West axis and Iran stand at the Russia axis. This indirect competition analysis is by critical geopolitics framework. Unlike the old geopolitics approach, critical geopolitics believes that international politics has not been created exclusively by Nation-State. This attitude considers geopolitics as a discourse. Critical geopolitics unlike the dreadful geopolitics of the Past Centuries tries to reveal the reality beyond the ideology, fanaticism and capitalism. Critical geopolitics is a starting point to provide a different form of geopolitics. Caucasus issues have security nature for Iran. Along the same vein the Republic of Azerbaijan is the center of dispute between Iran and Turkey in the South Caucasus. Separatist idea and military cooperation with Israel and Turkey lead to more concerns of Iran. On the other hand, Armenia as part of the North-South axis is placed in Russian-Iranian triangle. Russia, Iran and Armenia triangle tries to prevent the Azerbaijan penetration as a west's pressure leverage, and to reduce the Turkey influence on the region and also constrain the West's presence on the Caspian Sea.

Therefore, culture is one of the aspects of South Caucasus issues. But culture has duplex function. In one hand, it can cause integration and on the other hand the divergence. In Iran-Azerbaijan Cultural relations, difference factors are more than cooperative factors. Turkey and Armenia have low level of cultural relations because of ethnic

differences and political conflicts. Statistics show that economic relations in South Caucasus are affected by political and security issues. Despite the existence of shared border between Armenia and Turkey the volume of imports and exports is much lower than Turkey's trade with republic of Azerbaijan. It is important to point out that the economic relations of Iran and Armenia is much more than Iran-Azerbaijan relations. According to the critical approach in the international relations, foreign policy of the states has hidden this dimension. Turkey's regional policy is closer to Iran and west program in the south Caucasus.

Ankara by the influence of America in the region not only benefited from economic advantages, it also performs its cultural policies as a function of economic power. The relations of South Caucasus countries are affected by political and security issues in all aspects. In fulfilling the regional interests, Turkey has been more successful than Iran. Position of Iran and Turkey in the South Caucasus has not been formed on the basis of their real abilities. From the perspective of critical geopolitics, many regional orders have not been formed by the willingness of nations, as it was created by the great powers. But the possibility of changing the status quo, the formation of a relationship based on shared values and enjoyment is more equitable from the economic benefits.

Keywords: critical geopolitics, foreign policy, regional competition, south Caucasus, Vacuum of power.

The Arrival of Iranian and non-Iranian Tribes in the Caucasus, their Lasting Impacts on This Area

Jamshid Roosta*

Assistant Professor of History, Shahid Bahonar University of Kerman, Iran
(Date of receipt: 11 Aug. 2013 - Date of acceptance: 13 Sep. 2015)

Abstract

Upon initial investigation, the rich and tumultuous history of Caucasus riddled with an abundance of complexities leaves researchers bewildered. Throughout this vast land, dozens of tribes each comprised of different races and ethnicities are intertwined, while maintaining their unique cultures and customs. Thus, this complicated the researcher's task at hand. However, this elaborate perplexity further prompted the writer to follow the trends of various tribes to answer some questions. Answers to questions, such as: What (Iranian or non-Iranian) tribes have migrated to Caucasus since the 12th century? Where did these tribes originate from and why did they leave their native homelands? How did these tribes influence the region? By employing an analytical method, this paper aims to introduce lesser-known tribes that migrated from Darband and Bab-al-Laan passageways to Caucasus between 5-12th century A.D. and to illustrate the continuing effects that they have on these lands.

Keywords: Alans, Caucasus, Cimeries, Goths, Roxolans, Saromatians, Scythians.

* Email: jamshidroosta@uk.ac.ir

Intellectual and Political Typology of Sufism in Afghanistan

Hosein Zahmatkesh*

Assistant Professor of Regional Studies, University of Tehran, Iran

Amanillah Shafaei

M.A. of Political Science, University of Tehran, Iran

(Date of receipt: 24 Jul. 2014 - Date of acceptance: 01 Sep. 2015)

Abstract

Prior to developments in the recent years, many studies have been conducted in relation to the mystics and Sufis in the context of cultural studies and ethnographic subjects. Sufi sect diversity, both Shia and Sunni represents a strong presence in Islamic history. Sufism almost at all times is one of the major and influential trends in the history of Islam.

The Sufis been always involved in two major challenges: one in the government and the official interpretation of the religion.

Therefore, Sufi sects in the Shia and Sunni have always been involved in the politics and government. They sometimes rebelling as an opposing force, sometimes were united communities, and sometimes even have directly been taken to establish a government such as the Safavid dynasty in Iran.

With the growth and spread of the Salafi movement in the region, the Sufi movement appeared as a force that can be an obstacle in the path of the activities of extremist groups. Some experts believe that Muslim governments have neglected the potential of Sufi movements to marginalize Salafi groups. Today, some research centers in the

* Email: hzahmatkesh@ut.ac.ir

West and Arab world have raised the idea that one of the extraordinary growth of excommunication and Salafi movements in the region and weakened and marginalized the groups of Sufism in Islamic societies. For this reason, the strengthening of such groups tends to marginalize excommunication by Western thinking as one of the proposed options and strategies in those states involved in the phenomenon of Salafism and its security implications. Sufis groups on foreign policy, unlike the fundamentalists, do not accept aggressive approach and recognized the system of international relations the legitimacy of national borders and against terrorism.

In these circumstances, analysis on the nature of these groups and their position in the regional security equation will be important, particularly in relation to Afghanistan due to its position as one of the main centers of Salafist movements.

Sufi sects in Afghanistan are considered less in terms of its political position. This study seeks to explain and analyze the dynasties of Sufism in Afghanistan from the monastery came into the world of politics. They have created special political and intellectual streams. In this study, we have analyzed the history and performance of Naqshbandi, Qadariyya, and the Ismaili in Afghanistan.

This research has used descriptive and analytical methods to analyze and explain this question that “what do political and intellectual streams of Sufism in Afghanistan have in the process? And what role they have played in the political and social developments in the country?”

It also raises the statement that “Given the situation in Afghanistan, Sufi groups can be found in the political landscape of the country. The formation of political blocks of Sufis as a relatively coherent political movement can create convergence among the Sufi movements in this country". This study examines the evolution of Sufi groups in Afghanistan and ups and downs in the contemporary history. Sufi

sects in Afghanistan, especially the two sects, "Naqshbandi" and "Qaderieh" are highly respected and have high social and political prestige.

In this article, Afghan Ismailis as a sect, unlike the other two, represent not national claims and claims of ethnic and regional people.

Certainly the special relationship between disciple and Sheikh, in the Sufi sects, and the absolute adherence of the disciples to elders, have something special to give political parties arising from Sufi groups and distinguishes them from other parties. We can conclude that the paper, suggests that, given the structural differences between the societies forming the Sufi groups in Afghanistan, seems to form a unified political block of these groups. During this study it was indicated that despite Sufi groups, because of their conservative approach, Salafism have survived, but they can flag tolerance and democracy in Afghanistan. In addition, the hierarchical relationships between the leaders and cadres of these parties are very personal and emotional and non-bureaucratic.

Keywords: hazarate mojaddedi, Gilani elders, Ismailia, Qadiriyya, Naqshbandi, Sadat Naderi, Sufism.

The Status of Caspian Sea Energy Resources in the Strategies of European Union on Central Asia and Caucasus

Bahareh Sazmand*

Associate Professor of Regional Studies, University of Tehran, Iran

Saeedeh Shams

M.A. of Regional Studies, University of Tehran, Iran

(Date of receipt: 28 Dec. 2014 - Date of Acceptance: 18 Oct. 2015)

Abstract

Security of energy is the major concern of the world, especially the large industrial countries. Countries of Central Asia and the Caucasus are the most important countries in the field of energy resources and energy transfer. Of the eight countries of Central Asia and the Caucasus, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan has in total 3.2 percent crude oil reserves and about 14 percent of the world's natural gas reserves. However, there are vast unexplored regions of these countries and the possibility of further increases in hydrocarbon reserves. According to the International Energy Agency predictions, the four country crude oil production will grow significantly in the next two decades. This increase may be resulted from the development of the existing fields and the exploitation of new oil fields in Kazakhstan and Azerbaijan.

European Union as one of the great powers in global system needs to have security and economic stability, competitiveness in the global economy, and maintaining its status as an economic power. For this

* Corresponding Author Email: bsazmand@ut.ac.ir

purpose, natural resources of energy in Central Asia and Caucasus are as supplier and transit route for access to a huge market. Therefore, this can link the Europe to Asia and China.

In fact, the EU is seeking to get its energy security and reduce internal and external factors. Internal factors are the increase in energy prices, decrease in production in the North Sea, increase in concerns about the ability of Europe future energy requirements. The external factors are tension increase in the relationship with global demand by emerging powers such as China and India, uncertainty in the energy-producing regions such as the Middle East, and Russian willingness to utilize energy for political purposes. Due to dependence of Europe on Russian energy, energy security of the region is faced with serious challenges. The problem of energy security in the region will intensify the growing demand of energy in Europe in the future. Thus, the European Union is vulnerable because of the reliance on Russia as the dominant provider of gas. Thus, the Central Asia and the Caucasus is considered as a potential area of oil and gas supply and transit route for Caspian energy to Europe.

Russia is one of the world major oil and gas producers and exporters. Economic growth due to high oil and gas production rate and increase in the prices of these products has been steady. In 2011, Russia was the second producer of oil (after Saudi Arabia) and the second-largest producer of natural gas. Given that about half of the natural gas and 30% of the oil imported into Europe comes from Russia and the growing dependence of EU on Russian energy with long-term agreements between Europe and Russia, some researchers predict that Russia would use this tool to influence the foreign policy and economic policy of EU.

Therefore, there are various factors that make the EU to pay attention to Central Asia and the Caucasus. This area has an importance in EU grant strategy. The rich energy resources of Central

Asia and the Caucasus could be helpful for the European states, on the one hand, and also reduce its dependence on Russian oil and gas, on the other hand.

The European Union, due to low oil and gas reserves in one hand and high consumption on the other is depending on the imports of gas and oil. A major part of European energy needs are importing from Russia. Thus, this (Russian domination over supply sources and routes) caused Europe discontent and its efforts to diversify energy supplies. The Caucasus and Central Asia is one of the areas located in proper geographic position for Europe. This region is rich of oil and gas resources and also considered as a key route to transfer Caspian resources to European markets. Due to an increase in global concern about energy security during recent years, the European Union paid more attention to this region. This increasing attention to the region has also increased the Russia's concern and confusion, because energy plays an important role in Russia's economic development and it also needs to the income in selling it to Europe.

Therefore, the goal of this present research is to find the reasons that make the region more important for Europe for the resources and alternative energy routes. Hence, the main question is that which factors can improve the position of Central Asia and the Caucasus in the European Union policies? In response to the question we review this hypothesis that the EU strategy to reduce its dependence on Russian oil and gas has improved the region's stance (Central Asia and the Caucasus) in the EU policies.

The paper consists of two parts, in the first part; we review the reasons that increased the importance of Central Asia and the Caucasus in the strategy for European Union in terms of two factors: the rich energy resources of the region and the efforts to reduce dependence on Russia. In the second part, EU multilateral policy in the Energy Charter and gas and oil transportation will be reviewed.

For this purpose, the diversification of the supply has become a key element of EU strategies. Thus, we survey this multilateral policy and review Energy Charter Treaty, Nabucco Pipeline Project, Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan Pipeline, Baku-Tbilisi-Erzurum Gas Pipeline, Trans Adriatic, Trans Anatolian Gas Pipeline (TANAP), Trans Caspian Gas Pipeline, and AIOCS.

Keywords: Caspian Sea, Central Asia and Caucasus, energy security, EU, Russia.

A Comparative Study about Communicative Situation of the North Middle East with Central Asia in Comparison with Other Areas of the Middle East

Ebrahim Abbasi*

Assistant Professor of Political Science, University of Shiraz, Iran

Bahareh Pourjan

MA in Regional Studies, University of Shiraz, Iran

Ali Mandegar

PhD Student of Geopolitics, University of Tehran, Iran

(Date of receipt: 12 Nov. 2014 - Date of Acceptance: 13 Oct. 2015)

Abstract

This study attempts to present the influence of new geopolitical developments in the boundaries of the Middle East. In the new era, geopolitics is an important factor in understanding the developments. So far, the Middle East has been defined on the basis of traditional studies of regionalism including the presence of superpowers and geographical criteria. For this, the region has been divided into some sections including Persian Gulf, CIS, East Mediterranean, North Africa, Caucasia, and Western South Asia. New developments have changed these divisions. But the classical regional studies cannot explain these developments. The research tries to discuss these changes in the Middle East on the shadow of new developments of regional studies to define a new structure for the Middle East. In the theory of network, communications is replaced by geography. North Middle East is a geopolitical concept emerged with new developments

* Email: e.abbassi.ir@gmail.com

in the area of the Middle East. This study is an attempt to examine the communicational indicators of this area (cluster) with Central Asia in comparison with the other areas of the Middle East. This research also draws communicational intensity of internal networking and extra networks in the Middle East.

North Middle East is a geopolitical concept that has emerged with new developments in an area of the Middle East. Network theory and its models provide the possibility of this new structuring. This study is an attempt to examine the communicational indicators of North Middle East (cluster) in comparison with other areas of the Middle East. Therefore, the security (geopolitical), economic (geo-economics), and identity (geocultural) communications of the North Middle East (Iran, Turkey, Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan) with the other areas of the Middle East suggests that this new cluster offers the largest intra network communications in the Middle East. Most regional communication of this cluster within the region is with Central Asia and Persian Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC). Also, extra regional communications for networking has been with China and South Asia or India. Therefore, the polarity of the regional network is focused on the communication flows on this cluster of the Middle East. The communication is classified in the form of geopolitical, geo-economical (the intensity of business communication between the clusters, multilateral and bilateral legal-economic agreements, foreign investment, energy, transit communications) and geo-cultural (Islamic fundamentalism and ethnic conflict) intra network elements. This study is focused on economic relations and uses the causality-explanation methodology of the network theoretical model in order to explain the intra networks of mobility communication in this area of the Middle East. It can also receive its information resources with content analysis of business, transit and security statistics; from libraries, and internal and external sites.

Therefore, the theoretical model is to explain the network formation of the North Middle East. The results have demonstrated the geo-political, geo-economical and geo-cultural elements of this network with quantitative data and their analysis. Finally, the aim of this research shows the importance of changes in looking at structures of Middle East for foreign policy of Iran. The structure has more compatibility with Iranian culture, civilization, identity and economy.

The research has three sections. In the first section, this article presents an approach termed "Network Theory" and an annalistic model about "The north Middle East". It introduces the internal and external variability in the multilateral relations of Iran, Turkey, Iraq, Pakistan and Afghanistan. The second section consists of the indicators of the north Middle East in comparison with other clusters of the Middle East including the Central Asia, the Persian Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC), East Mediterranean (shamat), Caucasia, North Africa, China and South Asia. The third section is focused on the relationship between the north Middle East and the Central Asia. Finally, the research findings present policies for policymakers.

The new emerging order in the Middle East has caused challenges and opportunities that classical theories of regionalism cannot explain these developments. This study uses "Network Theory" and relevant models to show that we should change traditional boundaries in the Middle East. Therefore, we can define a new structure in the Middle East as "The North Middle East". This structure is different from other sections and has some features including the core of Middle East, economic and security communications, and complimentary economic. Based on the statistics presented in this research, the North Middle East and the Central Asia have the most intensity in some indicators including energy transition, road transition, geo-cultural and geo-political relations. They can form a new geo-politics and geo-economic order. Consequently, integration respective in The Middle

East has been stated with new definition in structures of the region. The Middle East has an unstable network and we cannot receive integrity in the area. Therefore, we should reinforce communications among the clusters of the region. The history of foreign relations and the new developments in early 21st century have prepared the opportunity.

Keywords: Afghanistan, Caucasia, the Central Asia, communicational intensity, energy, export, GCC, import, Iran, Iraq, the Middle East, network theory, the North Middle East, Pakistan, road and energy transition, Turkey.

Status of Women and the Family in Contemporary Russia

Zahra Mohammadi*

Assistant Professor of Russian Literature, University of Tehran, Iran

Mahshid Jamali

MA in Russia Studies, University of Tehran, Iran

(Date of receipt: 07 Jul. 2014 - Date of acceptance: 01 Sep. 2015)

Abstract

This paper has investigated the impacts of modernism on women and consequently the family in Russia today. To this aim we have studied the history of the women presence in Russian society and the family condition in Russia before entrance of the modernity. Then, the effects of the social reforms at nineteenth and twentieth have been studied on women and Russian family. The entrance of modernism to Russia and its influence on women is investigated. This article expresses the positive and negative aspects of the modernism on women and family state. This is based on the theories of the social analysts and sociologists of the Russia and western countries.

Addition to the positive impacts of the modernism on the social lifestyle of the women, it had undesirable effects on position of the women in the family. Before the modernism, the marriage was regarded as sacred due to the society traditions and religious beliefs. Consequently, marriage has been mandatory and the refusal from that was unacceptable. The paternalistic spirit was prevailed to the Russian families in the past. Divorce concept was absurd and ugly.

* Email: zahra_mohammadi@ut.ac.ir

Monogamous marriage was the only traditional way. The fathers were responsible for economic tasks. The most important role of the women was the motherhood and parenting and the role of the wife. But, the modernism changed the social equations. The modernism took place in the Russia was emerged from the countries tried to impose their lifestyle. In fact, modernism was a son born in western countries

In communist era, it was attempted to highlight the role of the women in politics. Women held one third of parliamentary seats. This was resulted from competition between two superpowers of the United States and the Soviet Union during the Cold War. This competition grew to all areas. The women in communist party of the Soviet Union were the effective in the Soviet Union.

In the early 1990s, the disillusioned society from the requirements of the former government refused everything which remembered from the communist era. The idea of working moms was among these ideas which dismantled. The families of single child and without children are increased impressively in Russia after the collapse. This led to negative population increase. In the recent decades, we can see increasing number of mothers who are working outside the home. Economic independence of women has increased their social position and led to a redefinition of the marriage relationship. Today, women are trying to create a balance between work and family. But, men still insist on their former role in the family. The results of the studies show that the women may change their role outside the home faster than the men at home. This resulted in greater pressure on women. Excessive fatigue resulted in a reduction of emotional relationship between their husband and children.

Many studies have indicated that women economically dependent on men are more interested in marriage. Earning money and financial independence of women have raised the expectation of women in marriage and they are more stringent to choose their husband.

Furthermore, the women do not believe that they should provide the relief of their husband and every family member. If the women do not play their role, it is not possible to find any replacement for that and the peace and stability would be the missing link of the family relations.

One of the factors on evolution of the family is the globalism of the culture. This culture is one of the achievements of the modernism in contemporary era. All the indigenous traditions, values, customs, religious beliefs, traditional habitudes, family life, eating and even production are affected by the general western culture. The western culture has used the mass media such as social networks and TV to disseminate its shadow on outmost parts of the earth.

The desire to bear children in Russian families is dwindling. In 1970s the average of children in families was 2. In 1995, it was 1.4 and this number was 1.24 in 2002. Also, according to the expert's assessment, the childbearing was less than the requirements of generation revival in Russian Federation. Therefore, the growth of the Russian population by 2007 has been decreased to 800 thousand people per year and the population is reduced 4.3% (i.e. equal to 6.4 million) with respect to population peak in 1993.

The reasons of these adverse effects may be summarized as follow: Communist beliefs and its influence in private life of the people and ignoring the moral and religious values; excessive limitations of the communist in relation to the west which led to an extreme tendency of youth and women's attitudes to consumerist advertisement of the west; unstable economy and the crisis in Russia in beginning of the collapse and the years after that. It resulted in a decrease in the moral values and in the tendency of the families to revival of the national traditions.

According to the studies performed on the positive and negative aspects of the modernism on state of the women and the family in

Russia, it can be concluded that the modernism phenomena is neither positive nor negative. Politic conditions in communities and the public mentality can make it a social current with positive or negative aspects.

Keywords: family, modernism, pathology, Russia, women.

Overlapping and Competitive Regional Security Policy-Making in the Caucasus

Abbas Mosallanejad*

Professor of Political Science, University of Tehran, Iran

(Date of receipt: 11 Apr. 2015 - Date of acceptance: 5 Oct. 2015)

Abstract

Security policy-making in critical regions is one of the main concerns of the research centers and academic institutes. Security-building in the regions like the Caucasus is important because the historical roots of conflict could be seen in the policies of various countries. Whenever some manifestations of authoritarianism can be seen, some countries are in the state of cooperative action. However, the Caucasus is a context for violent confrontation of some groups with different cultural, identity and historical features. In the 16th century, the regional security structure was changed and, instead, the cycle of successive empires. The Russians managed to incorporate the region in their developing empire. In 1992-2016, the stage was set for the phased promotion of regional security institutions. This process has been influenced by functionalism; neo-functionalism, regionalism and integration approaches. It also provides the ground for the actions such as peacekeeping, and arms control. Coordination of foreign policies could be seen as a sign of regional security policy-making in the Caucasus. In this context, regional crises are the main factors in the formation of a process which makes it inevitable for security-building. Part of the regional security policy-making in the Caucasus has been related to the participation in security cooperation with the

* Email: mossalanejad@ut.ac.ir

UN and other regional and inter-regional institutions. In this geographical scope, a variety of governmental, non-governmental and inter-governmental institutions are responsible for implementation of the security-building processes. Hence, by 2016, 17 regional institutions have been responsible for conduction of joint peace-keeping and peace-making activities in the Caucasus. Historical indicators and processes impact regional security dynamics in Eurasia. It's for this reason that geographical and cultural issues are of a great importance to explain regional security policy-making in the Caucasus. Strategic security theoreticians insist that if a region faces the intersection of diverse cultures, it will face security problems. Therefore, understanding the realities of the regional security environment in the Caucasus requires a comprehensive and thorough analysis of the regional interactions of the actors such as Azerbaijan Republic, Armenia, Georgia, Nakhchivan autonomous region, Nagorno-Karabakh region, Adjara, Abkhazia, and Ossetia. The basic question of this article is "what are the features and symptoms of the regional security policy-making process in the Caucasus"? The article's hypothesis indicates that "regional security policy-making in the Caucasus after the cold war has an overlapping and competitive nature". Theoretical framework of this article is based on "overlapping security policy-making in quasi-chaos atmosphere". The research method is "content analysis and data analysis". From the whole set of data discussed in the article it could be concluded that whenever the relative power of some actors in geopolitical environments is declined or faced with fundamental changes, the stage will be set for expanding regional crises. In the Caucasus, Russia was considered as an influential regional and international power; but the regional crises have gradually weakened its position. Therefore, instead of trying to balance the power and security equation in the global sphere, Russia has no choice but to consolidate its position in the Caucasus, Central

Asia and “Near Abroad”. Thus, the symptoms of regional security policy-making in the Caucasus can be explained in the following propositions:

- Based on the NATO expansion approach, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization tries to expand its sphere of influence to the Caucasus. It's obvious that the realization of such a process is incompatible with Russian security goals. In such circumstances we can see signs of phased competitiveness in the great power relations.
- Regional actors such as Iran, Saudi Arabia, Turkey and Israel are attempting to expand their spheres of influence in the region. In such circumstances we can see signs of unstable balance in the relations between regional actors. The main characteristic of the unstable balance is that the quality of the coalition between regional actors and great powers is put in the state of change.
- Political socialization in the Caucasian countries is limited and unstable. Whenever the signs of social security are limited to the environments with geopolitical capability and formations, the necessary grounds for multilateral cooperation is appeared. Any type of cooperation could have special effects on bilateral and multilateral relations.
- Preventive diplomacy is the most important pattern which could provide the grounds for confidence building, defend of the sovereignty and territorial integrity and coordination of the foreign policies of the Caucasian countries.
- The realization of the above-mentioned goals requires developing “Security Regionalism”. This means that the Euro-Atlantic complex is trying to provide the necessary grounds to expand the sphere of western security norms in the Caucasus. The crises in Ukraine and the Crimean Peninsula will affect the Caucasian security policy-making pattern.

- Controlling “Regional Identities” is another factor which impacts the regional security mechanisms. Therefore, the regional security institutions will be replaced by regional and inter-regional organizations. In this process, necessities such as crisis management will be inevitable. Since stability and security equilibrium are limited in the Caucasus, “Regional Security Complexes” will not be formed in the Caucasian geopolitical arena.

Keywords: Caucasus security environment, institutional multilateralism, regionalism, security building, security policy making, vertex security.

The Spatial-Geo-Economical Analysis of Iran Trade Relations with CIS

Ali Valigholizadeh*

Assistant Professor of Political Geography, Maragheh University, Iran
(Date of receipt: 21 May. 2014 - Date of acceptance: 09 Sep. 2015)

Abstract

From the perspective of the states that their foreign policy is based on geo-economy, the economy is the most important mechanism of influence in target areas. Therefore, with the strengthening of trade relations would be in an appropriate level to increase the mutual relations. After the independence of central Eurasian states, geographical - political events of Central Eurasia led to the creation of new economic and political relations at the heart of Eurasia, especially in creation and booming of new markets for businesses in this region. This is while Iran as one of the most important neighboring states has a suitable strategic position to capture trade markets of this region.

Despite the fact that the promotion of mutual commercial-economic relations entirely in terms of economic - geographic facts, including relatively suitable economic capacities and strategic transportation position of Iran and the economic weakness of the majority of CIS countries and geographical isolation has a causal explanation, but based on the current facts and events, it seems that despite the recent relative increase in mutual trade relations, yet because of various reasons, Iran has not been successful in the

* Email: a_gholizadeh@hotmail.com

definition and introduction of its appropriate geo-economic position in the heart of the Eurasian transportation roads.

According to the available evidence, in addition to the fluctuations of the commercial value of Iran's trade relations with CIS countries, during the years 2001 to 2012, Iran's exports to this region with 202 percent increase has had about 16970 million dollars. At the same time, Iran's imports from this region were recorded with 79 percent increase to the value of 24081 million dollars, which is different about 7111 million dollars with the total exports. So, at first sight the commercial and economic value of Iran's total trade with the CIS is negative. In other words, the commercial value of these relations is about 41051 million dollars that of which the commercial value of Iran's total imports of this region is about 5.1 times of Iranian exports.

In the overall evaluation of Iran's trade relations with the CIS countries, in general, despite the increasing level of mutual trade relations from 2001 to 2012 (with 125 percent between 2314 and 5198 million dollars), the mainstream of trade relations, in terms of quality is not satisfactory. This is particularly important because of the significant increase in the level of trade relations in Iranian imports section, whereas the increase in the Iranian exports is significant only in trade relations with some of the CIS countries.

Now, given the above discussion, in fact, this research along with statistical study and analysis of Iran's trade relations with CIS countries, following the spatial - geo-economics analysis of the mainstream of business mutual relations. So the question is that, in terms of the principles of geo-economics how is that the general nature of Iran's trade relations with CIS countries? In this regard, this research will be done in accordance with the following hypothesis.

It seems that spatially - geo-economically there is no balance and much success in the general nature of Iran's trade relations with CIS countries.

The research has been done by using descriptive - analytical method, in particular descriptive analysis of the raw data statistics of Iran's trade relations with CIS countries and spatial analysis of the deductive models and the cluster analysis models extracted from the nature of trade mutual relations. In fact, given the qualitative nature of research, statistical raw data is evaluated in the form of descriptive analysis through the deductive reasoning and using the concept of geo-economics on the overall trend of trade relations. In this research, all of the analyses are the result of the author's extractive statistical data from the raw statistical data of Iran's foreign trade with the CIS countries during 2001-2012.

According to results of this research, the main geo-economical feature of Iran's Trade relations with CIS during years (2001-2012) is the complete leading of Iran imports, the dominance of the Non-dynamic trend of the trade relations, the place falling of the most CIS in the field of Iran's export and reciprocally their place enhancement in the field of Iran's import. Indeed, despite the causal elucidation to the enhancing of the mutual trade relations due to economic-geographic facts, now according to spatial analysis of the Iran trade relations with CIS, current trend in the different parts of mutual trade relations does not have a suitable geo-economical and spatial balance. Even sometimes this trend is not in common with geographic realities and geo-economical complementary principle not poses in mutual trade relations. So, according to results of this research, the geo-economical balance of relations is quite opponent advantageous and apparently the Iranian geo-economical influence area in CIS is limited. Indeed, the contraction on the geographic area of Iranian economic power in CIS, and eventually the decline of its economic competitiveness power in the geo-economical equation of this region is a simple geo-economical explanation of these relations.

Now, according to the current trend, despite the high commercial value and volume of total trade relations of Iran with some of the CIS countries, it can be seen the clear and practical influence and the spatial dominance as well as the geo-economic acting of the economic power of Iran only in the context of trade relations with states like Armenia and Tajikistan. In fact, apart from above mentioned states, Iran is not among the main trading partners of none of the CIS countries and apparently from the perspective of geo-economics and spatial distribution, there is not to be seen any geographical balance and much success in the general nature of the trade mutual relations.

Keywords: CIS countries, foreign trade, geo-economics, Iran, trade relations.