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MAIN FOREIGN POLICY CHALLENGES OF ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF IRAN IN THE CAUCASUS (IN IRANIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY)

Following the collapse of the USSR, regional states of the Caucasus faced serious political and economic problems. It needs to be mentioned that some of the fundamental problems existing in the region can be traced back to various historical and social factors that can be analyzed under the issues related with the Third world countries. Recent developments in the region including territorial disputes, economic and military crisis, security and strategic vacancy in the region has caught the attention of major regional and global players like the USA, EU, Russian Federation, Turkey, Iran, Israel, Pakistan, Chechnya and Saudi Arabia. For instance, the USA see the Caucasus and Caspian Sea region as its strategic economic interests, and vital areas. The Islamic Republic of Iran (IRI) as the southern neighbor of Caucasus countries is considered as one of the major regional players. Historical, political, cultural and geographical links with regional countries beside prime and vital issues is of the most fundamental effective factors in regional policies of Iran. Furthermore based ideologies and principals over IRI's domestic and foreign policies have paved the ground for further relationships, confrontation, conflicts and coalitions with regional countries.

Keywords: *Iran, foreign policy, Caucasus countries, national interests, conflicts.*

Following the collapse of the USSR in October 1991 and the dissolution of military, political and economic unions in East bloc, the tensile competition of cold war lasting over half a century, came to end. After the collapse of the eastern super power, a new era in the nature of international relations was started. Emergence of independent countries in Central Asia, Caucasus, and Eastern Europe and the following changes in such areas, urged the compilation of proper strategies for the beneficiary states of the region. Without considering historical, political, ideological and economic situation of the cold war era, one can hardly analyze the nature of inter-state relations as changing ties between capitalist and socialist worlds. Along with advancing technology and science and increasing of variable factors in international structure, sovereign roles of that have become more complicated.

After ending of the rigorous era of cold war in the late XXth century and by the beginning of turbulent XXI century, great and rapid developments have been taken place in international relations arena. Growth of NGOs, increase in regional organizations and unions, formation of economic and political blocs, emergence of important phenomena like terrorism, clash between civilizations, environmental issues, military offences, genocide and growth of nationalism, growth of Islamism, human rights issues and spread of feminist movements continue to exist in recent years.

In such complex situation, all regional and universal players take measures in accordance with their national interests, so that all these actions carried out in the

framework of certain strategies. Based on such issues, one can ponder the strategies and challenges of foreign policies of Islamic republic of Iran (IRI) in the Caucasus.

Caucasus with the total area of 331000 sq km and a population over 27 millions, is located in the west part of Caspian Sea, east of Black sea, north of Iran, north east of Turkey and south east of Russian low lands. The area includes two parts of northern and southern Caucasus that are separated by mountains at the Great Caucasus. The southern part covering 171000 km, which includes three independent countries of Azerbaijan, Georgia and Armenia and the northern part includes autonomous republics of Dagestan, Chechnya, Ingushetia, Gabardine, Balkier, North Ossetia, Karachay Cherkassy and Adige which are inside the Russian Federation [2, p. 10-13, 15].

After the victory of Islamic Revolution in February 1979 and with the plodding consolidation of ruling clergymen (religious leaders) believed in unrestrained appointment of Valiy-e Faqih (supreme religious leader), principals, strategies and political, economic, social, civil and security perspectives with counting on the principal of Valiy-e Faqih establishment of Islamic state were founded [8, p. 44-55]. It should be mentioned that IRI during last 40 years of its life, has had constant and provisional policies, so that according to IRI's state men and with concerning of the nature of it, beside its variable policies some others are fixed and unchangeable.

As though IRI in confrontation with the events of its northern neighbor in 1991 perserving its ideological perspectives and relying on its religious and national interest values, started its regional policies a bit with delay and in a puzzling state. In the early months of the collapse of USSR, Islamic republic of Iran was evaluating the phenomena provisional and with skeptical dim view and according to the statements of Iran's Foreign Policy authorities, IRI's effort to establish relations with new independent republics had to be set with Moscow [14, p. 29].

The following events forced Iran to officially recognize the independence of new republics. The dominant principles over Iran's diplomacy in the early years of dissolution of Soviet Union in Caucasus and ensuing military and political incidents in the region, propagating political Islam and expansion of its economical interests took prime concern. But the lack of harmony among the religious commissioners and the sensitivity of Azerbaijan authorities over the expansion of political Islam did not make effective and persuasive results for Iran in the region. Also the growth of military conflicts and intensifying military and strategic level of Caucasus paved the way for further intervenes of regional and Trans regional powers which mostly in contrast with Iran's policy in the region. And this made it important having a security out look over Caucasus by Iranian authorities. In 1994 after an approximate political and economical consolidation, a major part of Iran's opportunities turned to be a crucial threat against her. In the following lines some accounts of major challenges of IRI in the form of opportunities, threats and achievements will be given. It should be mentioned that the effects of triple factors i.e. internal condition, foreign policy and

the nature of international system will be taken as the most fundamental theory base of issue analysis [6, p. 17].

Before studying the remarked challenges, it should be stated that geographic, economic, social, cultural and humane conditions of IRI is so variable and sophisticated. Right Iran includes more than 1/6 million sq. k and a population over 80 million people including a large variety of languages, cultures, religious and ethnic groups. In the early of 1920, the government as a modern model was founded by Reza Khan after First world war. Reza Khan's puppet regime was founded on the base of the theories of Aryanism, Arianism, Pan farsism, secularism and parrot fashion imitation of west by supporting of political-social movements of the time with the aids of so called intellectual reformists regardless of considering socio-cultural states of the country. The 57 years of despotic ruling of Pahlavies, eventually overthrown by Iranian social revolution in February 1979. Right in the situation with positive and negative acts, people and IRI's government inherit historical, social, political and cultural shortcomings and achievements of Iran's former regime.

Islamic Republic of Iran based on the ground of Islamic ideology and at some points Arianism institute its internal and foreign policy. Major issues related to Islamic sovereign are clearly stated in Islamic republic Constitution. According to several certificates and documents, constitution and other Islamic sources like Holy Quran, Nahj-ol-Balagha, Vilayat-e Faqih theory, prophet Mohammed acts and other Shia jurisprudence sources can be said that:

1. The dominant political and ideological system over IRI is based on Shiite sect and the continuation of Vilayat-e Faqih.

2. The official religion of the country is Shia sect of Islam (believing in 12 Imams leadership) and unless Christians, Zoroastrians and Jewish's the activity of other religion believers are legally forbidden.

3. Despite stressing of the constitution (article 15), all ethnic groups and minorities except Persian speakers, are deprived of teaching and displaying their mother language and cultures except for a small group of Armenians who are free to practice their language and rituals.

4. Despite stressing of the constitution (article 19), there are considerable and outstanding social and economic discrimination among different provinces of the country.

5. Women rights issue beside the others like the problem of low-income families, workers and students demands, unemployment crisis, and other kind of social vulnerabilities like drug addiction and prostitution, all are in a very critical state.

6. The current ruling system by using of oil incomes, religious and national beliefs of people and by relying on middle class and low class, has succeed in making a large complicated religious economical bureaucracy.

7. The opposing groups including critics, opponents and anti-revolutionaries which in the form of undergoes of 1979 revolution, royalists, nationalists, seculars,

reformists, left wing groups, modernists, pro democrats and women right activists which the quality and quantity of their contest curriculums are different of each other.

8. Islamic Republic of Iran in comparison to pre revolution era has had some limited achievements in fields of technology, economy, and development of the middle class of society which is not unrelated to the growth of global economy, abundant oil income and regime's prognosis.

Regarding above issues and assuming that the foreign policy of a country is tracing the internal policy, IRI's foreign policy principles can be summed up in:

Principles of IRI's foreign policy are founded on the ground of ideological and national interests which is performed through glory, expedience and wisdom. Trying to establish a universal Islamic state, supporting tyrannized against tyrant, supporting world Muslims, spreading through Islamic revolution, preserving Islamic sovereignty and independence of the country and also preaching Islam to non-Muslims, all are of the major principles of IRI foreign policy [12, p. 36-44]. Meanwhile elapse of time and effects of internal, regional and international incidents over presenting, interpreting and performing issues participated in different paradoxical policies.

Considering above issues, the foreign policy of IRI in regard to regional countries and her neighbors has diverse fluctuations. According to this, Iran designs and adjusts her foreign policies in regard to regional issues like Palestine crisis, USA direct intervention in region, Afghanistan and Iraq issues, matters related to Central Asia and other regional issues.

The present changes in Caucasus and IRI's foreign policy challenges are of significant importance which takes concerns of Iran, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Armenia and other beneficiary states. It's worth telling that Caucasus problems and challenges cannot be studied without linking it to other global issues. In conformity with the essence of having concern on plans, strategies and major events concerning region including the project of Big Middle East, NATO expansion to east, Trans-Caspian project, South-North Corridor Plan, growth of Occidentalism and anti-Russia groups and major energy projects are necessary.

After Soviet Union dissolution and in its aftermath, the following changes in Caucasus region had direct and indirect effects on its southern neighbor. IRI used up the existent cavity (of power) followed the policy of Active Corporation. But the ensuing events of entering regional and cross-regional players, plodding establishments and consolidation of their regimes, growing a comprehensive contribution with west, having Occidental tendencies and approaching and reconciling IRI's ideological enemies and rivals have squeezed up Iran's acts in the region. IRI authorities puzzled in confrontation with changes of their northern neighbor, trying to call the events just some provisional and temporary, had to balance her bonds through Moscow until full collapse of USSR and declaration of independence of Caucasus republics happened. For this reason IRI delayed in recognition of the independence of Caucasus republics. Interfering other players as with Iran's failing state in accomplishing of her plans has brought about sophisticated

situation which set the stage for considerable challenges and opportunities for IRI. In exact time Iran is facing with security challenges in Caucasus region. Iran's view over Caucasus and regional issues is fully a security view and tries to adjust and balance all her relations according with security issues. Though challenges, threats and opportunities related with Iran can be summed up in:

1. Confrontation of political-economic, western-oriented bloc including the United States, Turkey, Azerbaijan and Israel with regional, strategic and military bloc including Russia, Iran, Armenia and their allies.
2. Issues concerning Caspian Sea including its fair division and militarization.
3. Expansion of all-out ties among Turkic-speaking states under Pan-Turanism and formation of the united Azerbaijan.
4. Armenian aggressions to Azerbaijan's territory and Nagorno-Karabakh crisis.
5. Varied cooperation of NATO member states with states of the region and the issue of NATO expansion toward East.
6. Growth of Islamism in some parts of Azerbaijan Republic and Autonomous Republic of Chechnya.
7. Expansion of economic, trade and oil ties among region states and the west.

It should be mentioned that brief explanation of above-mentioned items is fully necessary to get familiar with the subject of the article.

The first important regional issue is confrontation between western-oriented coalition (the United States, Turkey, Azerbaijan, Israel and their allies) and regional conservative coalition (Russia, Iran and Armenia) in different ideological, political, economic and military aspects [13, p. 193-212]. Without any detailed elaboration and by considering basic historical oppositions between two main players, i.e. the United States and Russia, the position and stance of Iranian government, concerning regional issues is clarified.

In brief, Islamic republic of Iran is accused of trying to achieve nuclear weaponry, support of terrorism and violation of human rights by the United States. The U.S and its allies have arrived in the Middle East and they invaded to Iraq and Afghanistan for democratization of the region and uprooting terrorism. The flexibility of Libya and North Korea in front of America and its allies can be analyzed under this framework. In such a situation, to maintain its former revolutionary stance and its internal and external status, Iranian government has to assume stance. Along with this, it had to create a strategic, provisional and unstable alliance with countries and groups opposing west's influence in region. These interactions have ideological inconsistencies and are totally political. So, we can say that although Iran's alliance with Russia and Armenia can meet short term interests of the parties, the continuation of these relations in long run will be against Iran's religious and national interests. Because by taking a look at principles and ideals of Islamic revolution, stabilization method of Vilayat-e Faqih system, leaders' ideas, principles of foreign policy of the Islamic republic of Iran, peoples slogans and their attitudes toward officials on one hand and Iran's varied ethnic, religious and geographic structure along with external

factors like independence of former soviet republics and democracy growth in the region, in other hand, one can perceive complicated and critical situation of Iran and the region.

The second challenge of Iran in the region is the varied issues related to Caspian Sea. Influence and intervention of non-littoral countries in Caspian Sea issues, issues of fair division of the sea, issues concerning discovery, extraction and transit of Caspian Sea energy, its militarization, environmental issues, transit facilities and food-water resources are the important issues that have drawn attention of countries of the region and foreign countries, after the collapse of the former Soviet Union. It should be mentioned that before the collapse of former Soviet Union, varied issues of the region including Caspian Sea, had very little importance. After the collapse of Soviet Union, great developments have occurred in Caspian Sea zone. In recent years, the littoral states (Russia, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Iran, and Turkmenistan) have asserted different plans and ideas regarding above mentioned issues. At present situation, water borderline of Astara-Hosseinghulu has determined Iran's share as 12,5% and the other countries, based on bilateral or multilateral treaties, have divided bed and surface of the sea into national parts. Islamic republic of Iran acclaims that according to Golestan (1813), Turkmenchay (1828), Movaddet (Friendship) (1920) and 1941 treaties, should possess 50% or at least 20% of the sea. Also Iran sees bilateral treaties as illegal and is in favor of non-militarization of the sea. In Iran's viewpoint, intervention of foreign countries and companies are totally against national and security interests of the region and any compromise should be made by participation of all of the littoral states of Caspian Sea [1, p. 126-128]. But during recent visits and contracts of the all countries around the Caspian Sea achievements important results.

The other important regional issue for Iran in Caucasus and central Asia is imagine the rapid growth of pan-Turkism idea and increase in security, military, political, economic and cultural interactions among Turkic-speaking countries of the region. This issue has considerable internal and external aspects. Varied ethnic-social structure and existence of different ethnic, lingual, religious, and geographic gaps in a so called national government which was established and introduced to the world as monarchy of Iran after the Britain-led coup of Reza-khan Mirpanj is obvious. Mismanagement of Iran's political-cultural officials since taking the power by Pahlavi family up to the present time and promotion of non-democratic and harmful phenomena like dictatorship, totalitarianism, chauvinism and mono-party systems under superstitious titles of Aryanism, Islamism and tendency toward creating unity and national convergence have had so many reverse and negative impacts. In the present society of Iran, there are Turks, Persians, Kurds, Arabs, Baluchs, Turkmens, Lors, Gilaks, etc and different religious groups including Muslims (Shiite and Sunni), Christians, Jews, Zoroastrians ,etc. which live in different parts of Iran. Ethnic and religious inconsistencies among them are increasing. For instance, historical and contemporary request of more than 30 million Azerbaijanis and another Turkic-

speaking people of Iran in cultural and economic and political fields are highly significant [10, p. 204].

Iran's officials have negative position about ethnic requests of people and they don't pay attention to it and also don't fulfill the least demands. It has led to critical security situation. In this situation, along with growing of different ethnic and religious thoughts including prolepsis of Turkism and formation of united Azerbaijan in Iran and Caucasus, consequences like centrifugal tendencies, lack of attention to sovereignty, hatred to officials, growth of nationalist political-cultural organizations, paying attention to over sea interests and finally tendency toward enemies of the central government are being formed, which have turned to one of the main sources of threat for Iran.

Nagorno-Karabakh crisis and Armenian aggregation to Azerbaijan's territory is one of the important and determining issues of the region. This crisis has direct and indirect effects on Iran's foreign policy in Caucasus. It is necessary to say that the old dispute between Muslims and Christians or in other words, the new dispute between Turks and Armenians that began since early twentieth century years. After ratification of Golestan (1813) and Turkmenchay (1828) treaties between Russia and Qajarian government, as well as Edirne Treaty (1829) between Ottoman and Russians empires, the way was paved for migration of Armenians to some parts of Nagorno-Karabakh and present Armenia. First World War events and consequently expel of Armenians from Ottoman Empire made many catastrophes, including Muslims and Azerbaijanis massacre in both sides of Aras river by Armenian Dashnaks [9].

In this case, we face an astronomic figure of 2 377 072 about Armenian massacre in the book "Massacre of Armenians" by Esmail Raein, which needs more thinking [5, p. 63]. However, the baseless claims of Armenians Does not comply with any scientific evidence. As they claim that during First World War and by mandatory migration of Armenians, millions of them have been killed. Dashnaks use this complicated issue as a pretext for justification of their atrocities, genocides and aggressions against people of Azerbaijan and Turkey and are dreaming about greater Armenia. After First World War and by increase in concentration of Armenians around Chokhour Saed (Yervan) and consequently formation of Armenia state (1918-1920) and by granting 9000 sq km to Armenians by Democratic Republic of Azerbaijan under Mohammad Amin Rasoulzadeh's leadership, considerable effect were made for security and stabilization of Armenia.

10 years support of Armenia by Bolsheviks and their mutual assistance have fortified the Armenian ideas of aggression and belligerence. Bloody events of 1905, 1906 and 1918 and beginning of Nagorno-Karabakh crisis in 1988 up to now have had regrettable results. At present during the clashes about 20% of Azerbaijan's territory is under Armenians occupation and approximately 30000 Azerbaijanis have lost their lives and 50000 Azerbaijanis have been injured.

Also nearly 1 million Muslim Azerbaijanis have been displaced. Depth of such aggression and atrocities is so great that it has attracted attention of world's public

opinion. In such situation, Iran's stance and actions as an Islamic and Shiite state is highly crucial and determining. Although Islamic republic of Iran, under the framework of the organization of Islamic conference (OIC) and by statements has condemned Armenians aggression to Azerbaijan's territories [1], by some focus on Islamic Republic of Iran's foreign policy principles and all-out cooperation between Iran and Armenia in different strategic levels and signing of more than 100 important pacts on political, security, economic and cultural fields, the real position of the Iran is clarified [7].

Anyway, Tehran's emphasis on dual actions and statements as well as reinforcement of aggressor Armenia's and Karabakh separatist groups' economic basis, regional prestige and position against Azerbaijan's national interests show the criticality of the issue. It can be said that decision making and implementing inconsistent policies against Nagorno-Karabakh dispute show involvement of Iranian government in an important internal and regional challenge.

After the collapse of former Soviet Union, NATO's attention toward East and expansion of military and political cooperation with eastern Europe and Caucasus countries have faced and eye-catching growth. As World War II finished, Soviet Union and the US established East and West blocs and their confrontation started. East bloc who was represented by former Soviet Union emphasized on Marxism-Leninism and West bloc who was represented by the U.S emphasized on liberalism and its manifesto capitalism. These two blocs formed all political, military, security and economic developments of 45 year period of the cold war epoch. In that epoch, military Warsaw pact as the symbol of East bloc and NATO as western countries symbol had decisive importance. After the collapse of former Soviet Union, Warsaw pact lost its efficiency in practice and the West bloc countries, by revision and improvement of NATO structure, could set new missionary duties for the organization. Based on this policy, expansion toward east and its influence in Eastern Europe and common wealth countries started. At present, most of Eastern Europe countries are NATO members and the rest of the countries on the region including Georgia and Azerbaijan have cooperation with NATO under projects like partnership for peace (PFP). It should be mentioned that expansion of cooperation among republics and NATO will facilitate the process of their partnership and merger into NATO.

NATO's expansion toward East and its approach to Iran and Russia borders have important military, political, security and economic threats and dangers. Islamic Republic of Iran, relying on Islamic defensive and offensive as well as anti-western, anti-American democracy, anti-colonialism positions, support for the oppressed, regional interactions and, if possible, expansion of Islamism and Iranism in regional level, has wholly opposed NATO. Influence of NATO on Iran's neighbor countries and its military operations in Afghanistan and Iraq are totally against interests of Iran and regarded as a military, political and security threat to Iran. So, Iran's government

follows policy of cooperation with countries opposing NATO's Eastward expansion, and this is one of the main challenges for Iran's foreign policy [3, p. 116-117].

Another issue which can be a source of opportunity or threat for Iran's interests is tendency for Islamism and growth of Islamic radicalism in Caucasus. Historical, racial, cultural and religious relations among people in both sides of Araz River are so obvious that, imposing political borders, in the past or at present, has never been able to destruct their profound favors. Caucasus people, during the history, have been dealing with 3 religions: Islam, Christianity and Judaism. By now, the majority of Shiite Muslims inhabit in Azerbaijan and Christians in Armenia and Georgian. Expansion of Islam in Azerbaijan and some parts of Georgia, Dagestan, Chechnya and some other autonomous republics of north Caucasus is so obvious.

According to this, growth of Islamism, after the soviet collapse, is very important. Beginning of new rounds of fighting of Chechnya Muslims against Russian dominance has gained ultra-regional aspects. Also, along with growth of Islamic identity in Azerbaijan republic, creation and activity of Islamic institutes is obvious. This is related to Armenian-Muslim wars in Nagorno-Karabakh and propaganda and influence of Islamic countries like Iran in the region [14, p. 77].

In any terms, Iran's government, regarding Islamism, has faced some very important opportunities and threats. Use of religious potential of people against secular states, gaining international prestige, implementation of political, security, economic and cultural plans by native Muslims and promotion of political and religious legitimacy of ruling regime in Iran are among the opportunities. On the contrary, lack of attention to Azerbaijani Muslims massacre by Armenians, not supporting fighting of Muslims in Chechnya, assistance and cooperation with Russia and Armenia as enemies and killers of Muslims, selective support of Muslims in Azerbaijan, Palestine, Chechnya, Iraq, China, Sudan, etc according to Iran's short term ideological goals, which is contrary to its foreign policy principles can turn to an effective threat against Islamic republic of Iran's religious and national interests. Now, emphasis on such contradictions by Iran's internal and external opposition is regarded as an effective challenge. Also it must be mentioned that Iran's position against Islamic radicalism and al-Qaida, which is hated by most of the world communities, is totally unclear and complicated.

The other issue is expansion of economic, trade and oil cooperation among the states of region, especially Georgia and Azerbaijan republic with west, which has various dimensions and is implemented in parallel with western states strategic and political plans. Most of the existing plans in Caucasus are aimed at penetrating in commonwealth countries and impeding dominance of totalitarianism in the region. Curtailing hands of avowed west from newly independent countries and hindering growth of communism, Islamism, totalitarianism and independent political systems are among the goals that have shadowed on regional projections and developments. Countries of the region have never been dissatisfied with expansion of economic ties with west and they have perpetually pointed to necessity of cooperation with western

countries in order to repair the injuries caused by collapse of Soviet Union and for economic growth [17, p. 146-147].

So, entrance of western trade, economic, service, and oil companies in the region, and signing of various contracts is increasing. Implementation of important regional plans like Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan energy transit pipe line, Baku-Supsa oil line, Azerbaijan-Georgia-Turkey railroad, Nabucco pipeline, Trans-Caspian project, various oil consortiums, economic-trade interactions among central Asian countries and Caucasus, granting different loans by World Bank and international monetary fund (IMF) are among them. Islamic Republic of Iran is bordering with all of them and has the opportunities to take the optimized adventures. But such issues like supremacy of west in political-economic situation and existence of intimate ties among the states of the region with west are so obvious. In other hand, Iranian government's emphasis on anti-western stances, various accusations on Iran about achieving nuclear weaponry, violation of human rights and terrorism, strategic interactions between Iran and Russia, unclear positions about regional developments, inconsistency of Iranian government in politic, religious and cultural terms with countries of the region are among the obstacles that confine Iran's economic-trade activities in Caucasus.

At the end it should be said that paying attention to above mentioned basic terms in future developments process is totally vital so that mismanagement of above mentioned issues will have crucial consequences and will affect the whole region of Middle East and Caucasus. According to this, one can conclude that the present issues in Islamic republic of Iran's foreign policy in its own way are extensive and decisive.

Also considering the challenges of Islamic republic of Iran in the region has the capacity to comprehensive analysis and the main frameworks of Iranian Internal and foreign policies have the capacity to create realistic outlooks. Therefore, Iran's position and attitude toward such issues like western predominance in the region, growth of pan-Turkism, united Azerbaijan issue, strategic cooperation with Russia and Armenia, Nagorno-Karabakh dispute, issues regarding Caspian Sea and Caucasus' economic-trade issues is highly decisive and will have effective role in current developments.

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Ефтехарі А. Основні проблеми зовнішньої політики Ісламської Республіки Іран на Кавказі (в іранській історіографії).

Після розпаду СРСР регіональні держави Кавказу зіткнулися з серйозними політичними і економічними проблемами. Слід зазначити, що деякі фундаментальні проблеми, що існують в регіоні, можуть бути пов'язані з різними історичними і соціальними чинниками, які можна аналізувати в рамках проблем, пов'язаних з країнами третього світу. Останні події в регіоні, включаючи територіальні суперечки, економічні та військові кризи, безпеку і стратегічні інтереси в регіоні, привернули увагу великих регіональних і глобальних гравців, таких як США, ЄС, Російська Федерація, Туреччина, Іран, Ізраїль, Пакистан, Чечня і Саудівська Аравія. Наприклад, США розглядають регіон Кавказу і Каспійського моря як область своїх стратегічних, економічних і життєво важливих інтересів. Ісламська Республіка Іран (ІРІ) як південний сусід країн Кавказу вважається одним з головних регіональних гравців. Історичні, політичні, культурні та географічні зв'язки з країнами регіону, крім першорядних і нагальних питань, є найбільш фундаментальними факторами регіональної політики Ірану. Більш того,

засновані на ідеології і засади внутрішньої і зовнішньої політики ІРІ підготували ґрунт для подальших відносин, конфронтації, конфліктів і коаліцій з країнами регіону.

Ключові слова: Іран, зовнішня політика, країни Кавказу, національні інтереси, конфлікти.

Эфтехари А. Основные проблемы внешней политики Исламской Республики Иран на Кавказе (в иранской историографии).

После распада СССР региональные государства Кавказа столкнулись с серьезными политическими и экономическими проблемами. Следует отметить, что некоторые фундаментальные проблемы, существующие в регионе, могут быть связаны с различными историческими и социальными факторами, которые можно анализировать в рамках проблем, связанных со странами третьего мира. Последние события в регионе, включая территориальные споры, экономические и военные кризисы, безопасность и стратегические интересы в регионе, привлекли внимание крупных региональных и глобальных игроков, таких как США, ЕС, Российская Федерация, Турция, Иран, Израиль, Пакистан, Чечня и Саудовская Аравия. Например, США рассматривают регион Кавказа и Каспийского моря как область своих стратегических, экономических и жизненно важных интересов. Исламская Республика Иран (ИРИ) как южный сосед стран Кавказа считается одним из главных региональных игроков. Исторические, политические, культурные и географические связи со странами региона, помимо первостепенных и насущных вопросов, являются наиболее фундаментальными факторами региональной политики Ирана. Более того, основанные на идеологиях и принципах внутренней и внешней политики ИРИ подготовили почву для дальнейших отношений, конфронтации, конфликтов и коалиций со странами региона.

Ключевые слова: Иран, внешняя политика, страны Кавказа, национальные интересы, конфликты.