

# RUSSIA AND THE WORLD SYSTEM; NEW REGIONALISM AND RELATIONS WITH IRAN

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## Abstract

The way things are changing in the world right now is really complicated. It seems like we are moving away from how things used to be, even compared to 10 years ago. Today, things are different in the world compared to the time when the United States had a lot of power and acted on its own. We need new ways to understand what's happening internationally. After 2007 and 2008, when the United States became less powerful, countries like Russia and China wanted to change how the world works. Russia is a big player in criticizing the United States' one-sided actions and trying to bring back a system with different powers. After the Eurasianist took control of Russia's policy, they wanted to become a powerful and influential country in the world. They saw that the United States wasn't as dominant in some regions, so they wanted to use regionalism to have more influence, especially in areas like the Middle East and Eastern Europe. The research looks at how Russia's foreign policy has changed in the new world order, and how its relationship with Iran has evolved. It has been found that Russia now focuses on building strong ties and working closely with Iran, which has had a big impact on Iran's national interests, especially in terms of forming alliances and working together on military and security issues.

**Keywords:** Important words: world system, group of countries in a certain region, countries like Saudi Arabia, Israel and Iran, country in Europe, country in the Middle East, two countries in conflict, country in the Middle East.

## Introduction

After the Cold War ended, the United States became the most powerful and influential country in the world. The United States uses its power to control the world and stop other countries from becoming strong. They use sanctions, military force, and other tactics to make sure they stay the most powerful country. It wasn't even. Zahra Ghasemi Koktabeh et al. (2023) conducted a study entitled in the line of fire: a systematic review and meta-analysis of burnout among nurses, in which the quality of benefit due to non-burnout was discussed (Zahra Ghasemi Koktabeh et al., 2023). Hakime Dost Mohammadlou et al. (2023) conducted a study titled knowledge sharing as a moderator between organizational learning and error management culture in university employees, which showed the issue of management quality (Hakime Dost Mohammadlou et al., 2023). Jamal Valipour et al. (2023) conducted a study entitled Designing a credit risk management model in the network of agencies of after-sales service companies, using the financial components of after-sales services and innovative meta-algorithms. They dealt with risk management in their study. (Jamal Valipour et al., 2023).

Compared to the Cold War, Moscow's policy in the last twenty years has been more practical and clear. The Russians are in trouble because their security area is limited and many important people in surrounding countries are changing. With the United States getting weaker and other strong countries like China rising, Russia sees a chance to change things in their favor. Rewrite this text in simple words: (Paikin, 2021). Rewrite this text in easy language: (Paikin, 2021).

After the Soviet Union fell apart, Russia had to adjust to the new world situation and find its place in the global community. Billington in 2004 and Trenin in 2019. Between 1990 and 2000, there was a gradual shift in global power away from America being the dominant force to the West and Europe also playing important roles. This led to a world with multiple powerful countries instead of just one. In the changing world, Russians want to become strong and powerful globally. It might take a long

time, but they want to be one of the important countries in the world. Russia, led by Primakov, Dugin and Putin, wants to create a regional security alliance called the "Collective Security Treaty Organization" and a regional economic project called the "Eurasian Economic Union." Stepanova, 2016, pages 1-2. Basically, Russia's global policy focuses on three things. First, in Syria, Putin is trying hard to make sure he doesn't lose power and influence there. He wants to support the Bashar al-Assad regime to protect Russia's interests. Please simplify this text. Secondly, the Russians are worried about how America behaves in places like Ukraine. Thirdly, they feel that Russia and Putin's desire to take part in global affairs in the Middle East and Europe is being ignored. Danvers in the year 2016.

Watching towards the East is a part of a certain way of thinking and a theory about politics in Moscow. Alexander Dugin came up with this idea and, along with Limonov, started the National Bolshevik Party in 1993. Later, in 2002, he created the "Eurasian Party" and the "Eurasian Movement". Dugin thinks Russians will become powerful again in a different way, even if they don't want to. He believes they should make friends and allies in the East to protect their important interests. (especially India, Iran, China and Turkey) not Western countries. The person who came up with the idea of "Neo-Euro-Asianism" (new Europe-Asia) thinks that for Russians, Eurasianism or Neo-Eurasians is not just a theory or an ideology, but also a political idea. This is because of where Russia is located geographically. This country is located between Europe and Asia and was created by Tozan. (Shlapentokh, 2007) (Shlapentokh, 2007) Dugin's fourth political theory is looking for new ideas to oppose the powerful Western ideas of the 21st century. Ideas like the end of history, postmodernism, and globalization say that the West has won all the wars until the end of the 20th century, and other nations and identities have to either follow the West or fail. Dugin, along with American theorists, is not happy with using just military, security, and strategy. He takes ideas from sociologists who study how countries relate to each other, historians, and socialist and neo-Marxist theories of international relations. Neo-Eurasianism focuses on five main factors: tradition, geopolitics, anthropology, sociology, and structuralism. jamal valipour in 2024 year had paper via investigating the relationship between the quality of management's expected profit and equity( jamal valipour ,2024).

The current research is the investigation and evaluation of Russia's foreign policy in regional and international issues and the analysis of why it's critical and revisionist approach to the existing order and its results on Iran's national interests. The trend and historical investigation of the subject is especially in the period from 2008 to 2023, and the analytical approach is a sample study using the theoretical and conceptual principles of "transformation in the global system and new regionalism". The necessity and importance of the research is also due to the very important effects of Russia's foreign policy in international issues, especially in the Middle East, Eastern Europe, Central Asia and other Russian peripheral regions. In other words, the issue of Russia's foreign policy is one of several important issues in the study of international relations and foreign policy, and considering the pattern governing relations between Russia and Iran, its results are very important for Iran's national interests and can guide and It should be a valid guideline for Iran's future policies towards regional and international issues.

### **Theoretical and conceptual foundations**

#### **Changes in the international system and new regionalism**

The disintegration of the former Soviet Union was the beginning of a decade of unipolar order and a turning point in the history of international relations after World War II.

Systemic changes in international relations have also resulted in regional results, which include: emphasis on competitive dimensions and even conflict in regional relations: especially among countries adjacent to the Soviet Union (competition between Turkey, Pakistan and Iran in The southern area of the former Soviet Union and Iran's cooperation with the West, especially in the Persian Gulf region, to improve its regional position). Second, reducing the role of ideology in regional relations. Third, improving the position of pro-Western countries and reducing the position of anti-Western countries. (Hunter, 2010: 8). Fourth, the efforts of the actors to revive and establish the multipolar system gradually. In 2022, Dehghani and Sharifi conducted a study titled Compact



Development Policy and Urban Resilience: A Critical Review (Dehghani&Sharifi, 2022). In 2023, Dehghani et al conducted a study entitled Density and Urban Resilience, Cross-Section Analysis in an Iranian Metropolis Context (Dehghani et al,2023).

September 11 was a new beginning for the end of US unilateralism. Adventurous interventions in the Middle East and attacks on Afghanistan and Iraq were the beginning of crises and challenges that the United States did not have the ability to manage and control comprehensively. Killing the jihadist groups of the Taliban and ending the powerful government of the Baathists in Iraq was only superficially beneficial to Washington, and its legacy is the lack of power in these regions, the growth of Islamic radicalism, and the creation of opportunities for actors such as Iran and It was Russia. With the recession of the world economy in 2007 and 2008, the economic, security and even military restrictions of the United States stood out more than its political capabilities.

The great developments of 2011 in the Arab world did not end in the same results as the color revolutions in the security belts of Russia. From one point of view, the Arab uprisings are considered successful for the West, achievements such as the spread of Islamophobia, the strengthening of the reading of radicalism from the Islamic religion, and as a result the political downfall of Islamists such as the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt and the imposition of many costs. For some activists in the Middle East, there are several examples in this regard. But on the other hand, the withdrawal and indirect surrender of the United States in a big competition like Syria and even Iraq are considered the first (after Vietnam), the most extensive and the most important strategic failure of the United States during the current two centuries. It is a worthy beginning of the hypothesis of "the end of the American order of the international system". A review of events and events from 2011 to early 2023 shows three developments that are inconsistent with the interests of the United States: consolidation of the power of revisionist activists and the retreat of the West and Arab allies in front of Iran and its proxy forces, and beyond that praise and praise for Iran's extensive measures to counter with religious radicalism and terrorism. Second, limiting and weakening the official reading in the international system and creating the first alliances and models of friendship with the West after the Cold War period and Russia's entry into the first international confrontation, and finally, the normalization of independent and inconsistent policies with The West and the increase of its examples in the international system, such as some nationalist policies of Turkey against NATO and Washington in Syria, northern Iraq and in connection with Russia and beyond that, the conquest of Eastern Europe by the Russians and confusion in the Western camp. . Also, the weakening of alliances and the adoption of independent policies based on the interests of the United States' competitors, such as Saudi Arabia, and the strategic approach (step by step) to revisionist actors such as Iran (under the strategic guidelines and instructions of actors such as China and Russia). Therefore, each of the regions has turned into a confrontation campaign between local activists and the United States, and the trend towards a multipolar system - at least at the theoretical and primary level - is considered to be the demand of most revisionist activists. Failure and instability in various regions, especially in the Middle East and Eastern Europe and to a lesser extent in Southeast Asia, are the results of the new developments in the international system, especially after 2011. In 2023, Dehghani and Soltani conducted a study entitled Site Selection of Car Parking with the GIS-Based Fuzzy Multi-Criteria Decision Making (Dehghani & Soltan,2023). In 2024, Ganji et al conducted a study entitled Evaluation of intercity road passenger transportation using a novel double-frontier game-regret-cross-efficiency (Ganji et al,2024). From one point of view, regionalism was organized based on attitudes, ideas and rational components of power.

The new regionalism is a complex process that aims to expand and improve the market beyond national governments. It also involves political actions to support social unity at a regional level. (Warleigh-Lack & Van Langenhove, 2010: pages 553-554) The main things about new regionalism are making people feel like they belong together, getting different groups to work together, helping governments in post-communist countries, and making people feel connected in a positive way. (Yuval-Davis, 2011: 9-10) - Source: Yuval-Davis' book, pages 9-10. Regionalism helps activists to have a strong impact on the world. Put simply, the revisionist actors are trying to advance their international interests in the most likely areas and at the start. This is done for two main reasons. At



first, it's impossible to succeed internationally without understanding what's really needed. Mearsheimer suggested in 2010 that smaller countries could have success by focusing on their own regional interests and separating from global powers. This could be done by gradually moving away from global concerns and forming alliances with other countries in the region. (Kingah & Quiliconi, 2016) Soderbaum (2005) discusses how to be strong in dealing with major global problems.

Changing the way countries act in regional and global matters needs important platforms and factors. The development of "regionalism" is one of these factors. Other things that are also part of this topic include: changes in who has power and control, new people getting involved at different levels, changes in the kinds of problems we focus on, and changes in what is most important, like economic issues being more important than just military ones. This is discussed in Buzan & Bansen's work from 2009. There are also new ideas and beliefs coming back, and some powerful countries are starting to focus on them, like Islam in the Middle East and North Africa. Furthermore, in the new regionalism plan, people work together to achieve goals that will benefit everyone for a long time. Create depth and don't settle for temporary interests. Many countries like Russia and China try to advance their foreign policy in places like the Middle East without harming the goals of other countries in the region. They aim to find common interests with other countries. Create different ways to work together better (see: (Kingah & Quiliconi, 2016).

Usually, regionalism is about helping and fixing problems within a specific area caused by other people or groups. The value of regionalism can vary based on the environment, conditions, and international system. Warlig-Lake and others in 2011, some people think that Russia is showing it wants to help its neighboring countries by providing things like protection, money, and special loans. Of course, this type of partnership doesn't always have the same features as the European Union or NAFTA. Researchers studying new regionalism believe that regions coming together around the world don't need to copy European experiences. Instead, they can develop their own way of working and growing. The research by Warleigh-Lack and others was published in 2011.

Mansfield and others. In 2008, experts thought that when the Soviet Union ended, it would make it easier for countries to work together. They believed that if countries in the same area worked together, it could be a good chance to cooperate with each other. be used in the best way possible. Some researchers are unsure if authoritarian governments can give up some of their power to join together with other countries. They think only democratic governments with market economies can be successful in working with other regions, and authoritarian regimes cannot. Succeed in making deals with other nearby areas. But this may limit their freedom and give less benefits to their supporters. (Mansfield and others, 2008: pages 67-93). Unlike what Mansfield et al. say, it should be noted that conditions and nature of world and regional events were not such that dictatorships couldn't succeed in using regional integration plans. But the way they do it has changed. These researchers haven't focused much on two points in this field. The strong countries in the world can't always stay in power by themselves, and other countries can also weaken their position. Next, the international system is not focused on promoting democratic ideas. Authoritarian examples are still prevalent and they are finding new ways, especially through regionalism, to achieve their goals and interests. They will gain a lot. Based on this, using regionalism in foreign policy means not restricting or controlling their freedom to act and not questioning their authoritarian ways.

There are several points related to regionalism and emerging activists. First, one of the challenges facing emerging regional and international powers is internal competition and jeopardizing their interests and changing the status of actors. Second, despite the presentation of some powers as effective actors in international issues, they cannot be considered completely equal and similar to the United States. In other words, despite the influence of emerging players on international crises and sensitive issues, there is a great distance between them and the dominant powers. Third, many terms and concepts have changed in terms of meaning, function and internal and external mechanisms compared to the Cold War era. In this regard, regional powers have changed and changed from the point of view of function, degree of independence, type of role-playing and influence compared to the past.



Therefore, the question arises that if the emerging actors, despite influencing the issues and the power to confront the superior power of the international system in some issues (such as Russia and China, respectively in military and economic); Why can't their position be considered similar to powers like the United States? The answer to the mentioned question explains many issues in the international system. In explanation, it should be said that the oppositional powers like Russia, which have been able to challenge the interests of the United States in issues such as the Syrian or Ukrainian crisis, are facing several fundamental problems. First, the acceptance of international authority and legitimacy by the majority of global actors, as well as the type of overtaking other similar actors and overcoming internal competition. Second, the difference in other aspects of power and incapacity at all levels, including military-security, economic, political and social, media, ideological and worldview power. In fact, although emerging powers such as Russia or China can achieve success in front of the United States in matters such as military confrontation in Syria and global economic growth, they do not have the ability to confront on other levels, especially in the long term.

Third, due to weaknesses and inabilities in other levels of power, due to the high costs of competition, they hardly have the possibility of continuing and maintaining a position in the long term. Fourth, the transformation and change of polarization in the international system, especially from unipolar to multipolar, is a long-term and gradual process and is accompanied by many possible risks and threats - for the leading players of confronting the dominant order. On the one hand, transregional and international actors who have the ability to become one of the poles, although they have commonalities in confronting the interests of the bigger power of the international system, but they are not willing to surpass the other. . On the other hand, none of them are willing to take a wide risk and accept the risk for a wide confrontation with a superior power at all levels. Therefore, revisionist actors compete and confront superior power in situations where they are hungry for the possibility of achievement and success. In this regard, the most probable, attainable and closest policy and strategy to deal with the superior global power is to pursue policies and interests in the regional and peripheral environment. In other words, the spatial scope of the competition is mainly in a specific region, and the region is for the revisionist actor as an independent world that must achieve its goals by organizing alliances and patterns of friendship and enmity.

The reasons for the tendency of revisionist actors to regionalist policies in front of global power should be found in three cases. First, the proximity and proximity of the region to the revisionist actor and the possibility of using all the capacities and potentials and the absence of some costs and the existence of more opportunities. On the other hand, the superior powers do not have the possibility of mobilizing all the forces and facilities in some distant areas, and the existence of many costs in the long run will make them withdraw and entrust the roles to other allies. Second, the most important reason is actually rooted in the nature of the international system and the level of power of the top global players. Undoubtedly, in a situation where the world's superior power is at the level of extraordinary and hegemonic power, the international system is defined based on the interests of the hegemonic power's unilateralism. In this situation, the revisionist actors often advance their policies with caution and conservatism, and examples such as the US attack on Afghanistan and Iraq during the hegemonic order have made them understand that adopting confrontational policies in a sensitive manner (like Russia's behavior in Syria and Ukraine) will be very costly. But in a situation where, firstly, the superior power from the point of view of power is in the stage of contraction and degradation, and some levels of its power such as economy, military and weapons issues are challenged by other actors such as China, Germany and Russia, and secondly, regional actors If they prevent the realization of the interests of world powers in each of their regions, the possibility of adopting unilateral and punitive policies will be minimized.

Third, the trend towards regionalism policies has many advantages and results, such as geographical proximity, familiarity with the local game rules, cost reduction, no need for some preparations and grounds, the possibility of confronting and threatening, and creating patterns of friendship and enmity. Among the actors of the region and other cases. As a result, regionalism is the beginning of the internationalization of power and the initial stage of the arrangement of patterns of friendship and enmity.





## **Russia and Orientalism in the international system; The possibility of new leadership and regionalism**

Regionalism is very important for Russia. It means focusing on the East and Eurasianism, and opposing the influence of the West. This also involves changing the Russian identity to be more like the West. Russian Bolshevik nationalists believe that globalization will lead to the dominance of capitalist ideas and the loss of Russian identity.

Some people believe that Russia's plan to bring together different areas is mainly about achieving its political and economic goals within those areas. Hilary thinks it's about moving back towards making those areas more like the Soviet Union again. (Klapper, 2012) (Klapper, 2012) wrote about this in their research. Dugin is focused on neo-Eurasianism and turning towards the East to challenge the West, particularly the United States and its Western European allies. Dugin's levels work well with regionalism and a world with many powers. He wants to change the way America runs things and create a world with many countries having power. Russia is a big part of Eurasia and plays a big role in global decisions. At the middle level, we are looking at countries around the edge of the Soviet Union and how they are coming together in a global sense. (Dugin, 2012) -> (Dugin, 2012).

The "Look East" strategy has been part of Russia's foreign policy for a long time. It has become even more important in the last ten years. After the war in Ukraine, Russia has to go to the east. (Niakooee, Rahdar, 2021, page 493). To strengthen regional ties, Russia is focusing on the involvement of Asian countries and their concerns. For instance, it has made the Eurasian Union more important and has started doing things to help the Union grow. Even though annexing Crimea and increasing military competition in Eastern Europe are important, Russia is focusing on the Eurasian Union as a top priority. Despite facing Western sanctions and a lack of capital, Russia has secured a lot of money for the Eurasian Union's goals. With Russia and the West competing more and facing those problems, regionalism can really help Russia deal with its problems and challenges.

Russia's economic plans are part of their strategy for regional development. For instance, the Eurasian Economic Commission (EAEC) is a group that helps Russia with its business growth by working with other countries in the area. The reasons for Russia's actions outside its region and internationally began between 2007 and 2011. Efforts to make the Middle East and surrounding areas important again started during this time. Russia has two different plans for how they deal with each region. First, taking charge in the local areas of Central Asia and Eastern Europe and encouraging shared historical and social ideas and interests, giving strong help to friends, and dealing firmly with different actors like Ukraine. For instance, many people are happy that Russia is seen as a leader in Central Asia, Belarus, and Armenia because they share a common history, culture, and heritage. They also face similar political and economic challenges. This leadership is an important part of regional cooperation to achieve economic goals. Second, we should work on getting support and building trust among Middle East activists. We need to encourage everyone to find common goals and not fight against each other. Lastly, we should show that we are a reliable and strong group. For instance, we can look at Moscow's actions in how it makes friends with countries like Iran and Saudi Arabia, and sells defense systems to many countries in the area that don't align with any major powers.

The new Russia's foreign policy, called regionalism, focuses on getting close with nearby countries, especially in the Middle East and Central Asia. This plan has become more important after the increase in fights with the United States and the attack on Ukraine. The idea of strategic proximity is connected to Orientalism and Neo-Eurasianism. It involves working closely with two groups of countries that are somewhat different from each other. Actors who are friends with the West, like Israel, Saudi Arabia, and Turkey, are important because they might not take sides against the West, and the United States can't use them to help Russia. To say they will harm others, the Russians also think about what is good for them when they make decisions. If he thinks about Israel when attacking Syria or makes the Saudis happy before selling weapons to Iran and tries to make Turkey happy by following Western policies. (Barmin, 2018), (Orlov, 2020) He has done a lot and tried to be a good actor for his friends.

The talk about Russia being a global leader is too simple and needs to consider many different things.

Even though, with the arrival of Putin, the leadership of Russia was associated with the strengthening of convergence and successes in the field of foreign policy, but their leadership at the global level has been shaky in practice, and only their presence in Syria [and the attack on Ukraine and the threat of some European countries] It has led to the strengthening of the leadership role of the Russians in world affairs. The role and leadership of the Russians in each of the regional organizations such as the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), the Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO) and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) has faced many limitations and shows the competition within BRICS players. It is about regional leadership. On the other hand, some requests for regional integrations such as the Eurasian Economic Union (EURASEC) have been raised not only by Russia, but also by other secondary actors such as Kazakhstan. (Kingah & Quiliconi, 2016: 245-246).

The Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, Yevgeny Primekov, presented for the first time the plan of an international multipolar system known as the Primekov Doctrine. The point of view of this doctrine is the news of the end of Russia's participation in the North Atlantic Treaty and the gradual emergence of a multi-dimensional and less western-oriented foreign policy in the perspective of Russian foreign policy. The countries in favor of this approach proposed the formation of a block consisting of Russia, China and India to counter the hegemony of the United States. (Kunadze, 2000). The evolution of the international system after 2001 and especially after 2011 shows the creation of multiple power blocs between global and regional powers against each other. With the confrontation between Russia and the West on the one hand and China and the United States on the other hand, these two Eastern powers are somehow forced to not only cooperate with each other to achieve some common interests, but also involve some regional powers in Against the United States and European players, make friends with them.

Russian analysts believe that the involvement of powers in international and regional issues has increased today. Therefore, Moscow is trying to create a new world order and rules., 2015: 2) (Zvyagelskaya. The signs of transformation in the new Russian policy in the current two decades should be seen in gradual and step-by-step policies and strategies. A policy that was extended from the peripheral environment to other semi-peripheral and international areas. and it has four milestones from 2000 to 2023. First, the arrival of Putin and the anti-Western and Eurasian elites in 2000. Second, Moscow's revisionist and critical policies towards the West's approach to the peripheral countries and the Middle East and the elite's change from Through the soft subversive operation and as a result the tendency of the Russians towards pragmatic policies similar to 2008. Thirdly, the explicit confrontation and pragmatic policy in the Middle East, especially from 2012 onwards in Syria, as well as supporting Iran and Efforts to revive new alliances (Kaczmarek, 2020). Eastern European actors for not keeping up with the West (Kobayashi, 2017).

The position of the Russians as one of the emerging powers in the current decades is more evident in comparison with other actors such as BRICS members. In Table No. 1, some indicators are compared between Russia and powerful international players - who are mainly present in BRICS as well:

**Table No. 1: Comparison of some power indicators of Russia and some BRICS members**

The type and nature of confrontation with the United States	Common situations	Military-security issues	Economy and global balances and price volatility	International financial institutions	
-Conservative policy/absence of strong identity-civilization conflict/taking advantage of	- Cooperation to overcome the European crisis/ reform the International Monetary	- The policy of accompanying and maintaining independence, especially in regional	-Being affected by the devaluation of China's currency due to the increase in the import of Chinese industrial products/criticism of the extensive financial	Demand for better presence in international financial institutions	<b>Brazil</b>

some common economic fields -The existence of two incompatible cultural-identity models between Russia and the West and efforts to highlight common areas/ combat identity threats in peripheral areas	Fund/ maintain regional security and joint leadership	issues/transition from security dependence and playing independent security roles	policy of the United States/keeping up with the United States against market regulation		
	-Creating financial mechanisms within BRICS and increasing the resources of development banks/creating a common regional security system with the presence of European actors	- Dealing with alliances and security patterns - a military inconsistent with Moscow's interests / non-interference in the internal issues of Eastern European actors and non-support for Western-oriented discourses	-Focusing on the revival of investment in Europe, the non-interference of the US in vital European issues, and ending friendship patterns in opposition to Russia/playing independent roles by European actors and behavior based on common interests and mutual respect.	- Reforming and revising the structure of international financial institutions and their independence	<b>Russia</b>
-Strategic alignment and sharing and creation of common regional systems based on new identity values	-Maintaining the common ground with the West and playing a wider role as an international power	-Accompanying the United States and taking advantage of existing opportunities/lack of increasing tension with China and increasing military power without causing sensitivity	-Being affected by trade and economic relations and confrontations between China and America/supporting the broad financial policy of the United States and playing bigger roles	- Revision of the structure of international financial institutions and demand for more contribution/creating international and regional financial institutions to facilitate affairs -Revision of the structure	<b>India</b>



				of international financial institutions/ expansion of regional financial institutions as an alternative and system of regional systems	
-Identity-cultural conflict and dealing with the influence of western norms and preserving identity and civilization authenticity/presenting a positive image of Chinese identity in the peripheral and semi-peripheral environment	-Gradual policy and efforts to create common grounds and put it on the agenda for the future of the international system	-Not confronting America directly and dealing with threats and negative perceptions/ creating regional order with the participation of effective regional players such as Iran and Saudi Arabia	-Precautionary policy and not creating sensitivity and avoiding direct confrontations and trying to present a positive image of oneself/reform policies in order to distribute international institutions more fairly/role-making and create new models of friendship in other regions, especially Middle East		china

**Sources: Kingah & Quiliconi, 2016: 245-246 and authors' additions**

The Russians think that after the Soviet Union broke up, the United States and other Western countries used three strategies that went against Russia's interests. During the Cold War, countries in the Eastern Bloc like Libya and Iraq in the Middle East formed alliances with governments and powerful people. Secondly, moving Russia's friends from the east to the west, especially the countries in Eastern Europe and Central Asia, which have usually supported or joined the Slavic group. For instance, countries like Belarus and Georgia were seen as part of Russia's control even though they were independent. However, their growing Western influence was because of the actions of the United States. So, Russia wants to be a strong and important country in the world. It wants to have a say in what happens in nearby countries and stop the West from having too much control there. It also wants to stop Western ideas from spreading. In the Middle East, it's important to address the problems in countries that are usually friendly with each other, deal with subtle attacks, and work with other countries that don't agree with the usual way things are done.

According to Clunan (2018) and Gotz and Merlen (2019), it should be said that the politics of the Russians in the current two decades shows the revival of a new identity, revision of the neoliberal order and the need to change the ruling patterns in the international system. Unlike during the Cold War, when there were dual views between Russia and the United States regarding the governance of the world system and its management, the views of Russian Orientalists are somehow newer and more complex. Under the influence of the hegemonic and undisputed power of America in 1990-2005, the Russians adopted a more passive and conservative approach and somehow waited for the creation of better opportunities. The unilateral attack of the United States on Iraq was perhaps the last event

that the international system saw under the unipolar order. The formation of soft and colorful revolutions in the traditional block close to Russia and especially in the Middle East gradually indicates the beginning of a new era in the international system. The era that with the uprisings of the Arab world gradually convinced the Russians that Syria is the first serious attempt to revive the multipolar system. (Remler, 2020). Therefore, the policies of the Kremlin from 2000 [especially after 2008] to 2016 [and until now 2023] represent a new form of politics in comparison with the periods of 1990-1945 and 1990-1999. (Kobayashi, 2017).

#### **Middle East and Eastern Europe; The key to effective international roles**

Russia has pursued a new active policy in the [Middle East] region to prove itself as a major international actor, and therefore has pursued and instructed similar diplomacy in Iran's nuclear program and the Syrian crisis., 2015: 2) (Zvyagelskaya. The issue of strategic cooperation with Iran is one of the important issues of Russia's foreign policy, especially in relation to America. However, many believe that the gaps and contradictions between Iran and Russia in in this regard, the question arises as to how the cooperation with Russia will be based on the interests of Iran and Syria (De Young & Filipov, 2016). In a report entitled "Claims of Russian planes flying from Iran, humiliated America", it stated that despite the efforts of Moscow and Washington to find solutions in Syria, Washington has been deceived, because in the situation that Washington is in There has been a consultation regarding the Geneva Peace Accords, Russia has deployed air bases in Syria. Also, with the benefit of Iran's cooperation, they have increased the intensity of the bombing of the positions of the rebel forces in Syria, and finally, the take off of Russian planes from Iran's territory Attacking its targets in Syria is more difficult for Washington (Lake, August 17, 2016) - the famous analyst of the Strategic Studies Center - has also stated that the use of the Hamadan base by Russia has many implications. And it is considered a strategic development in the Middle East, and this action shows the failure of America's efforts in the region to contain Iran. (<http://edition.cnn.com>, August 22, 2016). Charles Krauthammer, an American neoconservative analyst in the Washington Post, stated in a note entitled "The Price of Powerlessness" that "unlike the era when America and Egypt were the basis of regional order in the Middle East, balancing and order, Russian-Iranian (using (from Iran's bases) in West Asia is rapidly forming, and this is the result of America's withdrawal policy and withdrawal from the region" (Krauthammer, 2016).

. Russia's foreign policy in the Middle East is important for two reasons. Firstly, they support the leaders in power and build trust and confidence in this area. Secondly, they focus on improving the economy and keeping everyone safe.

In the next ten years, Russia is focused on getting more involved with regional cooperation in Eurasia. Eurasian regional integration can help solve global problems and is not just a way to help individual countries develop, but also a way to promote overall development. (Abugattas, 2004: 3). = (Abugattas, 2004, page 3). Russia and China are thinking about what the Arab revolutions mean for the Middle East. They are looking at how it affects the region's growth and safety, and they know it's a complicated situation. So, we are working on making the economy better in the long run and helping different regions work together to improve together. We want everyone to benefit in multiple areas. In economics, this process makes it easier to trade with certain countries, gives loans to help people, invests money directly, and shares technology and knowledge. In politics and society, it helps to get ready for emergencies, makes the military work together, helps make policies, and allows for educational, cultural, and immigration interactions. to the people in our community. (Retrieved from: Kingah & Quiliconi, 2016.)

The Russians are trying to be present in the Middle East to counter the West's strategy of causing division and gaining control. A rule from the Roman Empire when Caesar was in charge. The Roman army invaded Macedonia and split it into four parts. This policy is about always being at war. So, the Middle East will have an effect on the entire world. So, America wants to control the world and its resources, and if Syria loses this war, it will face the same problems as Iraq or Libya. Guzman, August 24, 2013. Guzman, August 24, 2013. Russia being in Syria shows that in order to be important, it is necessary to get involved in solving global problems. (Yadlin, 2016: 11). Yadlin, in 2016, page 11.

Russia did not team up with the US and its friends to fight against the Assad government because it has its own goals in the Eurasian region. Instead, it has joined forces with Syria, Iran, Iraq, and Hezbollah. Putin thinks that fighting in Syria is better because it keeps the terrorists away from Russia's borders. Mirfakhrai, 2017: 16 In fact, because Russia is cooperating more with Iran's military and Assad is still in power, Russia doesn't want to give up its relationships with Tehran and Damascus to get better economic ties with Saudi Arabia and the Arab countries around the Persian Gulf. Katz, 19th August 2016.

Russian leaders want to make friends in the Middle East to help them feel less lonely in the world after having problems with Ukraine. The sanctions from Western countries are making Putin want to make new diplomatic relationships and take advantage of the Arab countries being unhappy with the United States. Reports say that during the international economic conference in St. there were some meetings happening. In Petersburg, Putin and Prince Bin Salman agreed to six deals. They involve working together in space, building things like roads and buildings, and making 16 power plants that use nuclear energy. They made an agreement about nuclear weapons. Zvyagelskaya (2015) mentioned something important.

#### **Ukraine; Revisionism in peripheral areas**

The confrontation between Russia and Ukraine is not a new issue in international politics and only its nature and form have changed. Since the collapse of the Cold War, the Russians have been critical of the policies of the Western-oriented leaders and elites of Ukraine and have repeatedly threatened them to reduce security and political relations and not to be in the bloc with the West. In this regard, the Russians have taken several policies, including supporting left-wing currents, parties and groups, economic wars such as August 2013, border and territorial threats, preventing the creation of blocs. Atlanticist organizations and unions and developing cooperation with other countries and trying to play the main role in the issues of Ukraine and other peripheral actors.

The annexation of Crimea by Russia and the way in which such an activity took place is in line with the unpredictability of showing this country to its neighbors. While Western political analysts were ready to observe some form of Russian pressure on the post-revolutionary government in Ukraine, no one predicted the unilateral annexation of a part of Ukraine's territory. This event has caused a degree of concern among Russia-friendly states with a Russian minority population such as Kazakhstan or Kyrgyzstan. However, the acceptance of the action taken by these governments is shown by their refusal to vote on the UN resolution regarding the Crimean independence referendum and the emphasis on the territorial integrity of Ukraine.

In general, there are four main assumptions regarding the adoption of an aggressive policy by Russia towards Ukraine. First, the Western tendencies of the later generation of some Central Asian countries and the non-acceptance of Russia's role as a "naturally privileged" partner. In this regard, he considered Russia's behavior as an attempt to open the breathing layers and implicit threat of these countries and a worthy reaction to the western actors. Second, "policy of manipulation" and "aggrandizement" from the West. It means that they have provoked and encouraged the Russians to do this with their complicated policies and behaviors. Although from a realist point of view in the short term it may be interpreted that Russia has achieved some of its goals and established its national interests, but from the point of view of some critical, neoliberal and structural theories Apparently, in the long run, the results of this invasion will not be less than the developments at the end of the Cold War. The adoption of this policy gives powerful Western media organizations and institutions the possibility to project a "belligerent" and "threatening" image while justifying the behavior of Western actors, whether it is attacking Iraq or sanctioning Russia. "from Russia, provide grounds for wider isolation and sanctions, and finally, reduce its role in international equations to the lowest level.

Third, the assumption mainly derived from the theory of illusion of conspiracy and trade of powers, based on which after the success and role of Russia in issues like Syria, the development of relations with many actors in the Middle East and Central and East Asia, between them and The United States has become a kind of strategic "debtor". In the light of the mentioned possibility, Russia will greatly reduce its role in the Middle East, especially strategic cooperation with Syria and Iran, and the United



States will accept the interests of the Russians in Eastern Europe (especially Ukraine and Belarus). . One of the effective variables in this assumption is the intensification of the confrontation between China and the United States and the possibility of its spread from economic sectors to other levels. In any way, it is a big challenge for the future of the international power of the United States, and apart from the conflicts and disputes in the economic field, the interests of the two in East Asia (the South Sea, the Korean issue, Taiwan, and even naval competitions in Indian Ocean and other regions), the Middle East and Central Asia are in conflict with each other. Therefore, the United States prefers to pay less to confront China, and other disparate actors, especially Russia and Iran, play a neutral role at best.

Fourth, some people think that the United States is not as powerful as it used to be. They believe that other countries like China and Russia are becoming more powerful and could threaten the security of the United States. This belief is based on the idea of "self-help" and "anarchy" and how countries deal with security and strategic threats. They also think that the Soviet Union is trying to take control of the region again. The United States has not been successful in dealing with problems in Syria, Iraq, Afghanistan, and the Middle East. Israel's enemies have become stronger, and China is challenging the United States in East Asia. The United States is also reducing its security efforts, especially in Europe. This shows a big change in the United States' position compared to the past. Russia is using this chance to make up for mistakes from before and make changes in the international system by making alliances with countries that don't support the United States. In some situations, Russia has gone further and started working with American allies like Saudi Arabia and Turkey on military and security. This has threatened the diplomatic and economic relationships with powerful allies of the United States in Europe. Especially in the field of energy.

#### **Russia and Iran: The impact of new regional alliances and the return of a more balanced global power structure.**

As mentioned, Dugin sees Iran as a very important ally in his theory of international strategy. Iran is not part of the old Soviet countries, but it's in a good spot and has strong ties with the West. It's also important for Central Asia and the Middle East. So, it should be included in making a world with many important countries. Dugin thinks Iran should lead the Arab world, Afghanistan, and Pakistan. Iran and Russia are friends and not a threat to each other. They both don't like America. Iran is a strong friend of its nearby countries. It is important for getting to warm oceans and it's also important for the nearby land. Russia should give Iran better weapons to help them. Dugin wrote about this in 2012. In the last 20 years, Russia and Iran have become closer and have more interactions, even though they have different cultures and beliefs. Having the same worries and problems has brought them closer and made each one more interesting and different. In many ways, Russia's success, especially in its conflicts with the West, is closely tied to Iran's interests. The actions and plans of both countries greatly affect the outcomes of their strategies. Is - This means to exist or to be present. Table number The text talks about the interesting things to see in Russia and Iran and also mentions things they have in common.

**Table No. 2: Russia and Iran's attractions for each other**

Russia's attractions for Iran	Iran's attractions for Russia
<p>Russia's international power and global position, especially with the possible assumption of becoming one of the poles of the multipolar system in the future</p> <p>Taking advantage of Russia's political and military-security power as a member of the Security Council in various issues, including support for political sovereignty, nuclear and missile programs, Middle East interests, etc.</p> <p>Absence of any conditions and preconditions for the development of relations</p> <p>Using Russia's power to play a role in some regions (in other words, accepting Iran's role in Central Asia and southern peripheral regions as Turkey's controlling agent)</p> <p>Economic, industrial, military and technological achievements and Iran's dire need for them</p> <p>There is a strong need for economic resources and trade relations after two decades of sanctions and creating common alliances against the West and ending two decades of economic isolation.</p>	<p>Iran's strategic and geopolitical position in four communication channels</p> <p>The role and military power of Iran in the heart of the Middle East</p> <p>Iran, the closest and best way to access open hot waters</p> <p>A lot of oil and gas energy resources and the role of Iran as an alternative for transferring energy to Europe</p> <p>Iran's natural and unnatural resources and diverse potentials to meet most of Russia's needs and the pristine and unrivaled economic market [especially in the conditions of sanctions] and the lack of foreign actors and investors.</p> <p>The power and growth of Iran's weapons, especially in the development of drones and missiles</p> <p>Iran's almost non-adventurous policy towards the issues of Central Asia and the Caucasus, especially the territories separated from Iran during the Qajar era.</p> <p>Absence of demanding policies from Iran in various issues including the Caspian Sea, the nuclear issue, past promises, etc.</p> <p>A non-political attitude towards Russia's internal issues, especially ignoring issues such as the oppression of Muslims</p> <p>Iran's card game in the Middle East and the Persian Gulf</p>
<b>Common attractions</b>	
Opposition to domestic separatist movements and similar political approach to domestic and foreign issues	
Opposition to the order and unilateralism of the United States and the anti-Western nature of the elites of both countries	
Participation in the strategy of the multipolar world and multilateralism	
Similarity in western embargo and economic isolation	
The need for allies that are not aligned with the West	
Common interests in different areas	


**Source: authors' findings**

Since Putin took over, Russia and Iran have been slowly and carefully building their relationship with careful and conservative actions. The types of relationships are: staying neutral and not getting too involved, making small and medium military agreements, having economic ties with the United States in charge, working together politically and militarily, supporting each other politically, and making important strategic agreements. From the end of the Cold War until 2008, Russia tried to avoid conflict with the United States because the US had a lot of power and influence. For instance, even though some people were against and said bad things about America, it slowly stopped being involved in Iran's nuclear program. In 2003, it didn't do anything when the US attacked Iraq. It was like it was just watching to see if it could find better chances.

After 2008 and especially after the protests in 2011, Russia started doing things on its own and sometimes getting into arguments with the United States, especially when it came to Iran and Syria. They also started doing a lot of business with other countries. He made friends with many of the actors in this area and tried to become involved in important military and security issues in places like Syria, Yemen, and Iran's nuclear situation. However, up until 2012, Russia did not openly spend money on important issues that needed military spending and direct involvement, or supporting local groups.

With the arrival of the Russians in Syria and the deepening of security cooperation with Iran and the tightening of sanctions on both of them from 2015 onwards, the Russians have inevitably been against the sanctions. Washington and Moscow in relation to Iran's nuclear issue have gone to the border of crisis in the last two decades. Moscow has shown that it has accepted Iran's acquisition of nuclear power to some extent and is worried that Iran has secretly acquired nuclear power through non-Russian channels. (Perkovich & Manzanero, 2004:27-28) In general, Russia's opposition to sanctions is due to three reasons. evaluates its side and considers tactical sanctions as a destructive factor against the diplomatic solution. Second, Russia has many economic interests in Iran, for example, Russia's





exports to Iran increased from 920 million dollars in 2000 to 2.08 billion dollars in 2004, and many energy contracts are under review. Finally, sanctioning Iran is contrary to the strategic calculations, the regional, geopolitical and global interests of the Russians. However, Russia's reason for supporting sanctions is rooted in Moscow's security, and that is not accepting a nuclear Iran, and Putin also showed that Russia does not want to increase the number of members of the nuclear club. (Jentelson, 2007:27-28)

Nevertheless, Russia's behavior towards the United States after the withdrawal of JCPOA and non-compliance with international sanctions is due to several basic issues: First, international and regional issues after 2016, especially the nuclear program. Iran has changed from the previous state (2001 to 2015). With the field victories of the Assad government over the opposition and the domination of many areas with the direct help and consultation of Iran, it has led to a change in some approaches of the great powers towards Iran. This situation is more important for the Russians; Because Iran has been the launching pad for the globalization of Russian power and they do not want their most important strategic partner to be exposed to threats and international sanctions. This does not mean Moscow's all-round support for Tehran, but it means that the Russians are somehow indebted to Iran for the strategic alliance. Nevertheless, the Russians also demand that Iran abide by the JCPOA obligations, and if Iran moves towards nuclear weapons, there is a possibility that they will be accompanied by the sanctions of the Security Council.

Second, the international image of Iran increased to some extent after the withdrawal of America and the martyrdom of General Soleimani. Despite the West's numerous propaganda against the nuclear program, Washington's unilateral behavior towards withdrawing from the JCPOA has even led to the criticism of many neoconservatives and most of the Democrats in the US Congress, and other members of the 5+1 also considered this decision hasty and without. They have evaluated the argument and considered it as an insult to all efforts for the Geneva negotiations. Based on this, Russia has more reasons and arguments than a decade ago for not following the sanctions of the Security Council.

Thirdly, it is revisionism towards the existing order in global issues, paying attention to regional actors and Middle East issues. Despite the passivity of the Russians towards their neighbors, Eastern Europe and other allies of the Cold War era during the years 1990 to 2011, based on a realistic understanding, they no longer follow a passive and cautious policy. The crisis in Georgia, Iraq, Libya and even Egypt has taught the Russians that it is not possible to support the allies only through the podiums and it should be done in a practical way like the Syrian crisis. But the fact is that despite the paradigm shift in Russia's foreign policy, their approach to Iran's issues is dual and contradictory. The aforementioned duality is caused by Russia's fear of the presence of a nuclear power in the Hanubian borders, the tendency of many other countries to acquire a nuclear program, the fear of Islamism, and finally, doubts and concerns related to the coming to power of the government or There is an anti-Russian government in Iran. Therefore, they behave with doubt and caution in front of Iran, and despite not complying with the sanctions of the Security Council, they are worried about Iran's trend towards nuclear weapons and the increase of Iran's deterrence power. Of course, this issue has also attracted the attention of many Iranian elites.

Many critics consider Russia's policy very dangerous for Iran and other actors. Citing numerous historical cases such as the Qajar era (the division of vital parts such as Azerbaijan, Georgia and other regions) and the Pahlavi era (occupation of northern Iran and support for the separatists of Kurdistan, Azerbaijan and Gilan) are the basis for this hypothesis. The Russians are not willing to accept a regional power separate from their identity in the southern part, and to play international roles and have access to warm waters, have a weak, dependent and non-aligned power with the West in their south. Also, referring to cases such as not selling the S-300 system, repeatedly breaking promises on the nuclear issue and making the relations between Iran and the West expensive, developing relations with Iran's enemies in the Middle East and other cases are considered as other examples of Russia's real intentions. Critics of Russia's policy believe that they are using allies like Iran as a tool and are seeking to play a greater role and opportunities by taking advantage of the power of Iranians in the heartland of the Middle East. From this point of view, there is a possibility of any secret deal between



the US and Russia. There is a lack of support for the Assad government, strengthening of relations with Saudi Arabia and Israel, and failure to fulfill obligations in the nuclear issue, in contrast to ending the sanctions and accepting a greater role in Ukraine and annexing parts of it.

However, the way that Tehran and Moscow are connected shows that they are working together on political, military, and strategic matters. This cooperation is getting stronger and expanding in different ways. But, there are still some concerns and cautious attitudes in some areas. Please simplify this text.

People who criticize Russia's actions in Iran think that Russia cannot be trusted as a partner and ally in the long run. The main reasons for criticizing the Russians and their conflicting beliefs are:

The bad history of our relationship with Russia in recent politics.

The Russians broke their promises about nuclear weapons and wasted a lot of money.

Russia is working with Iran's usual enemies, like Saudi Arabia and Israel, and selling them lots of weapons without asking for anything in return.

Worry about Russia and the United States making a secret agreement about their nuclear program or the situation in Syria. For instance, stopping support for the Assad government or agreeing to sanctions on Iran in return for letting Crimea be taken by the West, or taking away the security zone on the borders, or lifting sanctions and allowing Russia to have a say in important matters.

"Worldwide"

The Washington Institute looked at this problem in an article in February 2017. They were asked if the Americans can separate the alliance between Russia and Iran. The Institute thinks that to answer this question, we need to look at the relationship and shared interests between Tehran and Moscow in recent years. They said "Russia and Iran are currently working together in a way that has not happened in the last five hundred years. " They have made a temporary partnership that can harm America if it continues. However, Trump may ignore the short-term interests that were mentioned. He also says that it's not likely that Trump will end the friendship between Tehran and Moscow. The Russians are important in the Iran nuclear deal, and Putin thinks that the deal with Iran will help them work together more, especially in the Middle East. "The Russians are not as likely to be a problem for Iran as the Western world, especially NATO. " (Borshchevskaya, (Borshchevskaya, 201

Several studies demonstrate that one way Russia puts its orientalist and neo-Eurasian ideas into action is by selling weapons and military systems. Russia noticed that the power of the United States was getting weaker and the nature of international issues was changing. So, they started to support the idea of having multiple powerful countries in the international system. (Flockhart, 2020) could be rewritten as: According to Flockhart in 2020. Oldberg's research was written when the United States was acting on its own. It shows that Russia wants to be more involved in selling weapons around the world. (Oldberg, 2005) is used to indicate the source of the information. The weak and uncompetitive economy is holding Russians back from becoming a global power. So, Russians want to focus on getting good economic outcomes in their plans and actions. Selling Russian weapons in the Middle East is mainly to make money. Mankoff wrote about it in 2009. Blank and Levitsky's research shows that after ten years, it supports Oldberg's beliefs. They also think that Russia's foreign policy and its main goals for selling arms focus on the Middle East and East Asia. Rewrite this text in simple words: (Blank & Levitzky, 2015). Rewrite this message in easier words: (Blank & Levitzky, 2015).

In 2011, when there were protests and changes in the Arab world and the US lost some of its power, Russia started selling a lot of weapons to countries like Egypt and Iraq. For instance, Russia now sells a lot of weapons to Iraq. The amount of weapons they sell has gone up a lot in the past few years. Azizi, Azizi's article from 2019. Between 2014 and 2019, Egypt bought many different kinds of military equipment from Russia, like jets, missiles, and helicopters. Their purchases have been increasing. However, the small number of weapons sold to the Assad government also indicates a focus on making money. Selling weapons to nearby countries like Iran, Turkey (especially the S-400 system), Saudi Arabia, and Israel also proves this. Even though Iran and Russia work together on military and security matters, Saudi Arabia buys a lot of weapons from Russia. Chatham House wrote this in 2016.

Russia and Iran have a lot of secret dealings because they work together on military and intelligence stuff. Some parts of their relationship are made public depending on how important and sensitive

they are. That being said, it's also very important to consider the kind of relationships, how strong they are, and how strategically and militarily important they are. Table number in the past few years, three shows how Russia and Iran have been connected in the military industry market.

**Table No. 3: Part of arms sales and military industry relations between Iran and Russia**

Relationships and types of weapons	سال
Increasing military-security and technical cooperation Iran's request for 24 Sukhoi-35 and Sukhoi-30SM fighters	2017
Klaskillo submarine, BMP 2 infantry armored vehicles, Mi-17 helicopters, T-72 tanks, anti-tank systems (in different types)	2018 2019
Increasing military, technical and security cooperation at different levels Sale of air defense system S-400 and Pantsir-S1	2020
Iran's demand for other advanced weapons (similar to Saudi Arabia), especially the Russian Sukhoi-30 aircraft, Yak 130 advanced pilot training aircraft, T-90 tanks Demand for Russian tanks (new type), Bastion coastal defense missile system	2021
Continuation and expansion of military, security and technical cooperation to the maximum extent and becoming the main supplier of new military hardware. Iran's demand to speed up military and nuclear promises and agreements, and not to disrupt, postpone and delay such as the S-300 system Re-demanding military weapons, especially in Russian planes, fighters, tanks and new type systems such as Ka-300 Bastion mobile coastal defense missile systems and the purchase of some industries and weapons such as new multi-purpose fighters.	2022
Increasing military, technical and security cooperation at different levels Strategic partnership, Russians' efforts to increase the role of Iran as an ally in international issues and also to drag Iran into the war in Ukraine. The use of 80 Iranian drones by the Russians in the attack on Ukraine Providing some essential military equipment through Iran in the Ukraine war The presence of Iranian military advisers and trainers for training and advice on the use of drones Finalizing the agreement to buy ballistic missiles to Iran	2023

منابع: (Geranmayeh, 2020), (Chatham House, 2016, 2019), (Mardasov, 2020), (Gramer & Mackinnon, 2023)

### conclusion

Changes in the world after 2011 and the global financial crisis show that we need new ways to understand what's happening. Some important things happening in international politics show that a new era is starting and the United States is not as powerful as it used to be. Some examples of this are the complicated issues in the Middle East and how the Assad government in Syria is still in power. Other examples are groups in the Middle East that don't follow the United States, more countries making their own choices in the region, and conflicts with the United States in different places. The United States is also not as involved in global roles as before and has pulled its military out of some areas, letting its allies take over. Some countries are also going against the United States and its allies, like Russia's actions in Ukraine and threats to other countries in Eastern Europe. New groups of power like Russia, China, and Iran are also becoming more important.

Undoubtedly, at the international level, in the current decade, Russia has had the most confrontations with the United States, and military policies such as military presence and interventions indicate the Russians' efforts to start a new era in the system. It is international. In this regard, in the research, this question was evaluated and analyzed that, considering the change and transformation in global issues compared to decades ago and the emergence of revisionist activists, as well as the importance of issues such as new regionalism and the possibility of transformation in The nature of power and the assumption of the revival of the multipolar system, what is Russia's



foreign policy (especially since 2008) at the level of the regional and international environment, and considering the strategic relations between Russia and Iran, what are the effects on the nature of relations, relations and interests Iran has had at different levels.

The results of the research, considering the multi-level and conceptual connection of the above-mentioned problems, express several propositions and basic issues. In this regard, the findings and results at both theoretical and experimental levels indicate that, at the theoretical level, with the end of the unilateral and authoritarian rule of the United States (2005) and developments such as the international economic recession (2007 and 2008) ) over time led to a relative reduction of hegemonic power and unipolar construction. The beginning of popular changes and uprisings and its combination with some modern cognitive wars and soft and colorful revolutions, along with some achievements, especially in Eastern Europe and Russia's security axes, led to the creation of new alliances and patterns at the regional level. and "new regionalism" replaced "internationalism" and "globalism" as the dominant mechanism of the world system. Modern regionalism is a mechanism for foreign policy as well as a special kind of approach and worldview towards issues, and unlike the previous decades and eras, it is parallel and aligned with the independence and reassurance of the revisionist and anti-order activists. In this regard, the eastern policy based on the military power of Russia has been operationalized on the basis of multi-dimensional regionalism in each of the peripheral and semi-peripheral regions (centered on strong patterns of friendship).

Also, with the approach and practical approach of other international revisionist actors such as China, as well as the temporary behavioral independence of some cautious extra-regional and international actors such as Brazil or Germany, the unipolar construction of the international system at the operational level is gradually It is the development of a new era that is more than anything aligned with the elements of order and the "multipolar" system. Possible costs and lack of reassurance and the process of extensive intertwining of issues on the one hand and the internal competition of revisionist activists on the other hand, lead to the continuation of the gradual and step-by-step process in planning the multipolar system in an explicit and pragmatic way. has been Although in practice this is important at levels such as military power (led by Russia and China and some regional powers in the fields of drones and new missiles), economic (by actors such as China, Japan and Germany) and cultural (culture) Eastern identities and identities, including Russian, Islamic, to some extent Indian and Chinese) have been limited and threatened, and it shows the structure and system of the "multipolar system" more than in the past.

1,903 / 5,000

The results at the practical and experimental level (with the conceptual link in the above cases) indicate that the change in Russia's orientalist worldview and foreign policy has led to the adoption of new strategies and behaviors and patterns of friendship based on common and strategic interests. Taking advantage of the two tools of "new regionalism" and working towards a "multipolar system" are among the mechanisms of revisionist activists to confront the existing order led by the United States. The formation of transformations and different examples of transformation at the regional and international level indicate a new evolution and dynamics in global issues. In the current two decades, examples such as the withdrawal of the United States from competitions such as Syria and even Iraq, the weakening of the level of tension and competition and confrontation with Iran, especially in relation to the issues of the Middle East and the Persian Gulf, and the tacit acceptance of the role of the Moscow-Tehran alliance model, It's the result of the regressive and revisionist policy of Russia and allies like Iran. The anti-system ideological and strategic nature of Iran and Russia and some structural similarities such as Western sanctions and the position of energy and military power have played a great role in creating alliances, military and security cooperation and regional interactions.


Cooperation and various military, security and commercial relations with a range of competing actors such as Iran, Israel, Turkey, Saudi Arabia, Egypt and some other effective actors indicate Russia's long-term and gradual intentions to play a role in the current and future issues of this region. Is. Striving for a suitable image of Russia's new policies and abandoning interference in the internal affairs of countries and implicitly supporting existing governments (unlike during the Cold War) are

new mechanisms and methods that lead to the tendency of the sector. It has become a wide range of activists (despite maintaining traditional relations with the West). Despite some numerous claims regarding Iran's military and advisory role in issues such as the Ukraine war, Iran's elites while declaring neutrality have wanted the return of peace. However, in practice and goals, the Iranians want to play a role and advance the interests of the Russians as one of the strategic partners in the Middle East. On the other hand, despite many criticisms of Russia's instrumental and opportunistic policies, while emphasizing their interests, especially in the Middle East, Iranians have tried to gradually expand the level and depth of strategic cooperation. The relations and interactions between Iran and Russia, especially in confronting the West and sanctions related to it, cooperation and relations in the arms sector, and finally the continuation of alliances and friendship patterns based on regionalism, indicate the deepening and quality of relations, especially after It has been this way since 2016. In fact, it can be said that, in recent years (especially since 2020), the type of relations and behavior patterns between Russia and Iran and other allies and unofficial forces are such that the change in the construction of the international system and the role Creation of other non-western actors in important global issues have been considered as strategic priorities.

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