In the name of God

Area Studies Department

M.A Degree Dissertation

Title of the Dissertation

Role of Cultural Iran in promotion of Multilateralism in
Central Asia and Caucasus

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"DEDICATED TO MY PARENTS"

Abstract:

Cultural Iran is a scope that is more extended than the political territories of Iran as a political unit. This concept means that cultural geography(Mehdi Moghanlo-1383-1) of Iran is greater than its political geography which, according to history, has a long history extending west-east from Kandahar to the Euphrates and north-south from the Persian Gulf to the Caucasus including Transoxiana and also covers sub-continent(Hossein Goudarzi-1387-14). Cultural Iran is a mosaic of ethnicities, religions and different languages, which have formed, based on the inherent diversity and still it exists. Cultural Iran hasn't been created around specific identity of sex, language, ethnicity and religion, rather it can be considered culture-centered identity(Nasser Takmel Homayoon-1386 - 23) but this multi-cultural diversity or cultural diversity, that exists in cultural Iran between various beliefs, ethnicities and languages today, can be a suitable potential for affinity among nations, ethnicities and religions to solve their conflicts and also increase their economic, cultural, political and social ties.

In present situation, the increasing globalization, regional multilateral and economic and political integration has led to the importance of cultural multilateral and convergence alongside or even prior than political and economic issues. Meanwhile in Central Asia and the Caucasus, cultural Iran's elements and components are so much present and influential which is notable in different

spheres such as language, religion, ethnicity, custom, art, music and architecture and other forms of shared cultural symbols throughout this area and even beyond.(Ali ashraf Nazari- 1388 - 22) These shared cultural components can play effective role in strengthening bilateral and multilateral ties among various nations of the region.

It is noticeable that although cultural elements have shared an important role in regional and international ties, but sometimes these elements are overshadowed by political and economic factors and some limitations are created in the way of cultural and civilization pole. Cultural Iran is not an exception to this rule; thus in order to become a cultural pole faces, on one hand, significant opportunities and on the other, serious constraints. This study tries to understand these opportunities and constraints in order to create cultural pole in cultural Iran's scope.

CHAPTER 1

Relevance and importance of the thesis subject:

Increasing globalization process, regional multilateralism and economic and political integration in the world has increased the importance of multilateralism alongside or apart from political or economic issues. Meanwhile in Central Asia and the Caucasus, elements and components of cultural Iran are extensively present such as languages, religions, ethnicities, customs, arts, music and architecture and other forms of shared cultural symbols throughout this area and even beyond it(Nasser Takmel Homayoon,1386:23). Due to the increasing importance of convergence movements and regionalism, which has extended during recent decades, cultural Iran with regard to the common myth, history, culture and civilization is capable of formation of cultural pole.

  With the formation of multilateralism in cultural Iran's sphere, the probable political and economic challenges and problems facing the region could be overcome and tackled .Of course since the independence of the countries of the region after the disillusion of Soviet Union, several efforts were made to increase economic and political regionalism, but due to the regional structural constraints these efforts have not been associated with expected success.

Regarding these points, this dissertation tries to explain the importance of creating cultural multilateralism in cultural Iran's sphere that will enhance the regional economic and political ties.

Theoretical framework of the thesis:

This study is inspired by "regional system theory" of the two international relations experts, Lewis Cantori and Steven Spiegel. This is one of the famous international relations theories that describe the important role of "regionalism" in three international system analyses:

1 - Dominating system or global system.

2 - The sub-system or regional system.

3 - Internal system or national government.(Jafari valadani,1385:223&225)

According to this theory the regional system is intermediate of the global system and internal systems, each one of the sub-systems can cooperate with one, two or more neighboring countries, which together are associated with bonds that are cultural, social, historical, ethnic and linguistic identity and sense of self-identity. Therefore, close historical, cultural, social, ethnic, linguistic, religious and racial ties plays main role in creating regional system. Also economic needs of countries of a region can help formation of a regional system.

Cantori and Spiegel's points of view about features of a region or a sub-system include:

1 – Geographical extension suitable for shaping and creating a sub-system may be formed from the gathering of several neighboring countries.

2 – Complex interdependency among actors in different issues such as geographical, social and political issues

3-Joining national governments preferably in a sub-system

4 - The role of foreign powers in the identification of a region.

5 - Effect of various factors such as, historical, cultural, linguistic, political and ideological elements in the emergence of a new identity to form an ideology of coalition or cooperation

6 - Internal relation between regional actors(Jafary valadani,1386:223&225)

Cantori and Spiegel then express a four-variable model for determining the various regional streams that with the condition of the area, provide the formation of the regional system and can be used in the subject of Cultural Iran and multilateralism process and examination of formation and study about the limitations and opportunities of this cultural pole.

Generally speaking, Spiegel and Cantori's theory has been formed to describe the process of seeking integration and regionalism, which looks to explain the formation of regional-level relations. Since the research is seeking the process of formation of the cooperation process among the countries of cultural Iran and the possible limitations to increase the convergent movements and regional economic and political measures, it will be effective as a framework to advance theoretical research. Regarding the elements of regional system, according to the theoretical framework of Cantori and Spiegel, the following research hypotheses are expressed and examined.

Main hypothesis of the thesis:

1- It seems that public diplomacy that is inspired by shared values and common cultural and civilization capacity as an influential opportunity(Nicholas J Cull,2008), can promote relations and interactions among countries located in cultural Iran's scope and can be a base for contracts and agreements and thus lead to the formation of cultural and civilization bloc(Nicholas J Cull,2008).

2- It seems that some cultural features of given countries such as the lack of cultural pluralism and tolerance between cultures and sub-cultures in the culture Iran's scope(Nasser Takmil Homayoon,1386:23)is an important factor to limit the scope of public diplomacy.

3- Priority of the security interests and political considerations rather than the cultural components in the foreign relations of countries located in the cultural Iran and also the interventions of ultra regional powers are the main obstacles for cooperation of these countries.

The main research question:

What are the limitations and opportunities facing Iran's public and cultural diplomacy(Nicholas J cull, 2008) for formation and strengthening multilateral system in cultural Iran area?

The Subsidiary questions:

1-What is the role of cultural, religious, ethnic, linguistic and sub-cultural diversity in formation a regional pole?

2- What is the role of economic and cultural structures (hossein seyfzade:119 &1140) of the countries that are located in the scope of cultural Iran to create a regional pole?

3- What are the effects of the roles, interests and interferences of the external countries in creation of the regional pole in cultural Iran's scope?

Methodology:

The study will use the descriptive and explanatory approach as research method. By utilizing related written researches and academic works, articles, magazines and also internet websites, the study will discuss the cultural Iran and multilateralism in central Asia and Caucasus.

Literature review:

This thesis has originated from cultural Iran's conferences which were held by the National Studies Institute two years ago. Although the published proceedings and full articles of the conferences is a rich document to be used during my study, but unfortunately no direct published source found during my pilot study. It means that this thesis would have strong innovative and productive feature and tries to present new reflections on the subject. However some of the books and articles that have focused on the subject includes as follow:

Dr Hussein Deheshyar, (1388) , Cultural Iran's public diplomacy and globalization, **Abstract International Conference on Iranian culture and globalization**, Publication of Iranian civilization.

This article explains the process of globalization and the role of public diplomacy in achieving interests through peaceful ways and explores the role of cultural issues and employing public diplomacy in the spheres of cultural Iran, but this thesis studies the process of multilateralism in cultural Iran scope, which is not covered fully in the aforementioned paper.

Dr. Aliashraf Nazari, (1388), Public diplomacy: the fields of integration and cooperation in cultural Iran's scope, **Abstract of International Conference on Iranian culture and globalization /** Publication of Iranian civilization**.**

The article focuses on the importance of public diplomacy and explains the economic and political interests and the potentials of public diplomacy to achieve interests in cultural Iran and other regions concerning the capacity of cultural elements and also observes the limits of official diplomacy in today's communications.

Dr.Ali Karimi, (1387), Regional cultural convergence; cultural Iran,s scope, opportunities and challenges, **Abstract of International Conference on Iranian culture: past, present, future** / Jihad University Press.

In this paper, due to the increasing role of culture in international and regional experiments, the opportunities and challenges of cultural Iran are explained in order to make convergence of the common regional, historical, cultural, civilization, religious and geopolitical ties.

Neda Shahnori, (1387), The role of cultural Iran in the development of multilateral international system / **Abstract of International Conference on Iranian culture and globalization /** Publication of Iranian civilization**.**

In these papers the authors try to explain the increase of international cooperation after the Cold War and disillusion of bipolar system. Accordingly different actors paid strong attentions to re-define their goals and interests based on multilateral system and cooperation based on international law. This article has also theoretical definition of multilateralism and the importance of cultural Iran's potentials for creating multi-cultural comprehensive integration in the region.

NICHOLAS J. CULL, 2008, **Public Diplomacy: Taxonomies and Histories**, The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science; 616; 31

This article which is based on a report commissioned by the British Foreign and Commonwealth Office in the spring of 2007, sets out a simple taxonomy of public diplomacy's components and their interrelationships. These components are (1) listening, (2) advocacy, (3) cultural diplomacy, (4) exchange, and (5) international broadcasting. It examines five successful and five unsuccessful uses of each individual component drawing from the history of U.S., Franco-German, Swiss, and British diplomatic practice. The failures arise chiefly from a discrepancy between rhetoric and reality. The final section applies the author's taxonomy to the challenges of contemporary public diplomacy and places special emphasis on the need to conceptualize the task of the public diplomat as that of the creator and disseminator of "memes" (ideas capable of being spread from one person to another across a social network) and as a creator and facilitator of networks and relationships.

Gilboa- Eytan, 2008, Searching a Theory of Public Diplomacy,**The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science** . 616; 55

This work presents and critically evaluates attempts to theorize and conceptualize public diplomacy within several disciplines, including international relations,

strategic studies, diplomatic studies, public relations, and communication. It also examines research methods used to examine public diplomacy, including models, paradigms, case studies, and comparative analysis. The work identifies promising directions as well as weaknesses and gaps in existing knowledge and methodology and outlines a new research agenda. The presented analysis and examples suggest that only a systematic multidisciplinary effort and close collaboration between researchers and practitioners can lead to a coherent theory of public diplomacy.

Louis cantor and Steven L. Spiegel, 1970, **The international politics of regions, a comparative approach, los** Angeles: University of California Press.

This is an original book and the main source for a theoretical foundation of this study.

Key words:
Cultural Iran, public diplomacy, multilateralism, regionalism

Conceptual definition:

Cultural Iran:

Cultural Iran is a scope more extended than the political borders of Iran which historically been on the shadow of Iranian culture and civilization and is existing too. This means that cultural geography(mehdi Moghanlo-1383-1) of Iran is greater than its political geography which, according to history, has a long history extending west-east from Kandahar to the Euphrates and north-south from the Persian Gulf to the Caucasus including Transoxiana and also covers sub-continent.(hossein Godarzi-1387-14)

Public Diplomacy:

"The term *public diplomacy* (PD) is new. It was first applied in 1965 to the process by which international actors seek to accomplish the goals of their foreign policy by engaging in foreign publics and has gained international currency only since the end of the cold war. Its constituent parts are, in contrast, old: essentially as old as statecraft. Generally simple taxonomy of public diplomacy, divides its practices into five elements: listening, advocacy, cultural diplomacy, exchange diplomacy and international broadcasting (IB). It will consider, in turn, the nature, past success, past failure, and possible future of each element".

Multilateralism:

Multilateralism is a term in international relations that refers to multiple countries working in concert on a given issue. Most international organizations, such as the United Nation (UN) and the world trade organization are multilateral in nature. The main proponents of multilateralism have traditionally been the middle powers. Larger states often act unilaterally, while the smaller ones may have little direct power at all in international affairs aside from participation in the United Nations (by consolidating their UN vote in a voting bloc with other nations, for example). Moreover, multilateralism involves all nations acting together as in the UN and does not involve regional or military alliances, pacts, or groupings.

"Multilateralism - the application of democratic principles to relations between states - precisely aims to create a society of states. However, multilateralism runs up against two fundamental difficulties. Firstly, state realities themselves - the inequalities between states - mean that, whatever its egalitarian dynamic,

multilateralism cannot erase the very core of states and, in the first instance, their desire to retain control of legitimate force - especially military force. Secondly, multilateralism aims to be universal and yet, in seeking to integrate all states into the same rationality, it is Western. For the foreseeable future, multilateralism, while helping to discipline and civilize states, will not and cannot constitute perpetual peace

Regionalism:

Regionalism is a term used in international relations. Regionalism also constitutes one of the three constituents of the international commercial system (along with multilateralism and unilateralism). It refers to the expression of a common sense of identity and purpose combined with the creation and implementation of institutions that express a particular identity and shape collective action within a geographical region.

"Joseph Nye defined international region "as a limited number of states linked by a geographical relationship and by a degree of mutual interdependence(J.Nay,2004) ", and (international) regionalism as "the formation of interstate associations or groupings on the basis of regions".(E.B.Hass:607-610) This definition, however, was never unanimously accepted, and some analysts noted, for example, that the plethora of regional organizations founded at the initiative of developing countries had not fostered the rapid growth of regionalism in the third world.

CHAPTER 2

Framework:

Introduction:

The concept of integration was introduced by mathematicians in the 17th century(M.Vygodesky,1975:401). Then the term was used in sociology, economics, engineering, biology, physics and other social sciences. The theory of integration, as it developed from the middle of 1950`s to early 1970`s was directed primarily toward explaining political unification of states.(Donald Jpuchala,1981:146)

Convergence theories were considered by theorists and politicians in various and diverse forms; including the simple cooperation to full integration based on the degree of correlations. However, Spiegel and Cantory believe that relations are not built just based on cooperation, but also war and strife are effective in the formation of relations in of regional subsidiary systems(cantor and Spiegel,1970:11). Of course both Cantory and Spiegel and others like Karl Deutsch and Mitrany recognize the lack of war and existence of mechanisms to resolve the conflicts peacefully, as at least criteria for convergence condition.

Meanwhile, the convergence can be classified into three levels:

1 - Convergence   2 - Correlation 3 – Coherency(cantor and Spiegel,1970:13).

Convergence in this classification is located at the highest level; and the absence of war assumed definitive. Correlation defined as some countries preparation for war against another group who do not have a tendency to the merger; and finally

coherency is conformity and supplements for a few countries in a condition which the risk of war still has not been gone. Generally identifying of cooperation and integration level is important for the consistency of convergence demonstrating (Naghibzade,1382).

Definition of integration:

According to Oxford English dictionary, integration means " to make a whole". Christopher Morris also defines integration as, incorporating different elements or units that function together. He further explains the process of combining different elements or acts into a function whole (Morris,1992:110).

Another definition by Karl Deutsch, denotes that integration is the attainment within a territory, of a sense of community.(Hodges,1987:237) According to Hass, integration is a process by which, the actors concerned voluntarily, give up certain sovereign powers and evolve new techniques for tackling common problems and resolving mutual conflict(Hodges,1987:239). He further says the process where, political actors of several distinct national settings are persuaded to shift their loyalties, expectations and political activities towards a new and a larger center(S.Hffmann,1965). Also Hodges argues that integration consists of a merger of separate institutions and communities usually within a geographic region into a larger unit(Hodges,1987:242). According to Malick and Rai , integration means the amalgamation of different social cultural and ideological group loyalties into a single compact community , representing a national outlook(A.K Rai and Malik,1989:339).

 Several definitions of integration allude to these five types: national integration, territorial integration, value integration, elite-mass integration and integration behavior(Winner,1975:150). The term integration is now widely used to cover an extra ordinarily large range of political phenomenon(Winner,1976:150).