### POLITICAL QUARTERLY

Managing Director: Sayed Fazlollah Mousavi

Editor-in-Chief: Mostafa Malakootian

#### **Editorial Board:**

Davoud Aghaee, Hamid Ahmadi, Bahram Akhavan Kazemi, Ebrahim Barzgar, Jalal Derakhshe, Hosseien Harsij, Kumars Jahangir, Mohammad Bagher Khorramshad, Mohammad Reza Majidi, Manochehr Mohammadi, Ebrahim Motaghi

Vol.43, No.3 - Autumn 2013

Fax: 66494990
Site: http://JPQ.ut.ac.ir
Email: Politics@ut.ac.ir
Indexed at:
- University of Tehran, Informatics Center:
WWW.ut.ac.ir
- Regional Library of Science and Technology:
WWW.srlst.com
- Scientific Information Database:
WWW.SID.ir
- Center of the Professional Press:
WWW.majalleh.ir

- Iranian Magazines Refrence :

WWW.magiran.com

#### **CONTENTS**

Bahador Zarei - Ali Mandegar GLOBAL DISCOURSE IN POLITICAL THOUGHT OF ISLAM AND ITS IMPACT ON APPROACH OF THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF IRAN
<b>Ebrahim Motaghi - Hassan Ahmadi</b> THE EFFECTS OF SHIITE POLITICAL IDENTIFICATION ON IRAN NATIONAL SECURITY
Mohammad Reza Majidi - Morteza Hamissi A STUDY OF THE ROLE OF POLITICAL AND SECURITY FACTORS IN THE POLICYMAKING OF IRANIAN NGOS
Vahid Sinaee REVIEW THE CAUSES OF FAILURE OF CONSTITUTIONAL MOVEMENT IN IRAN FROM ESTABLISHMENT A NATIONAL ARMY
Bahareh Sazmand - Fariborz Arghavani Pirsalami IRAN AND CHINA: THE CHALLENGES OF COMPREHENSIVE COOPERATION7
Seyed Davood Aghaie - Faezeh Ghasemi PROPOSED SOLUTION FOR THE REFORM OF THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL8
Samad Zahiri NEW EMPIRE AND TERRORISM
S.M.K. Sajjadpour - H. A. Masoudi DISCURSIVE CORRESPONDENCE OF HEGEMONIC IR AND US FOREIGN POLICY: GEORGE BUSH ERA
Elaheh Koolaee - Hamidreza Azizi DEVELOPMENTS OF TURKMENISTAN'S FOREIGN POLICY: POSITIVE NEUTRALISM, IN THEORY AND PRACTICE
Naser Farshadgohar - Ali Latifi THE IMPACT OF OIL PRICE VOLATILITY ON GOVERNMENT AND COMMUNITY RELATIONS
Alireza Sadra POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY CRITIC OF SOCIAL CONTRACT (IN THE SIGHT OF ROUSSEAU)

2/	Political Quarterly, Journal of the Faculty of Law and Political Science, Vol.43, No.3,	2013
Alia	ashraf Nazari - Ali Hasanpour	
	THINKING THE DEMAND FOR WILL TO POWER: DIFFERENT VERSION	
OF	THE CONCEPT OF POWER	1.4

# GLOBAL DISCOURSE IN POLITICAL THOUGHT OF ISLAM AND ITS IMPACT ON APPROACH OF THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF IRAN

### Bahador Zarei\* Assistant Professor, Geography Department, University of Tehran Ali Mandegar

Phd Student of International Relations, University of Shiraz (Received: 28 june 2012 Accepted: 5 Nov 2012)

#### **Abstract:**

The ideal order which is based on the unity of Islamic nation is basically opposed to present geographical order that is based on the traditional and westfally order. It seems that basic dishormony of Islam ideological order can be analayzed with westfally, in the following dimension: Isalm concentrates on the ideological borders, the national branch base and the rejecting the national gevernment. Another difference is related to the source of fixing and regulating laws among Action and humaniterain grouping. Islamic global order tries to put away the geographical, national, cultural, racial differences in order to achive some kind of unity and a power in the balance of power. The forth approach is related to a third world for which Iran is supposed to be responsible. to achive the above goals we need to move in a certain direction. Inspite of global challenges with the global order; Iran is trying to actually achive the above factors in the field of international scenes.

#### Key words:

Thought of Islam, The Ummah-based order, Westfally order, Ideological boundaries, the Islamic Republic of Iran

\* Corresponding author: Email: b.zarei@ut.ac.ir Fax: 66401894

### THE EFFECTS OF SHIITE POLITICAL IDENTIFICATION ON IRAN NATIONAL SECURITY

#### Ebrahim Motaghi\*

Professor; Political Science Department, University of Tehran

#### Hassan Ahmadi

Postbachlor of Political Science, Mazandaran University (Received: 18 June 2011 Accepted: 26 feb 2012)

#### **Abstract:**

Identity is described as a main axis of actor's interaction in Competitive environment after The Cold war period. to identify the actors after the cold war period is more effective in the process of securitization. Through secure issues such as security hypotheses by Moose Bari bozan and soft power by Jozeph nay, we can understand the influence of shiite religion in New power shaping at middle east and we can analyze It's effects and impacts on Islamic republic Of IRAN National security. After analyzing the reasons of shiites identification briefly, we can consider the elements of this identification. Then, we analyze these elements in terms of three issues including: population progressive growth, involvement in power, political geography (shiite geopolitics). Any finding identity (identification) has own specific effects or impacts. Thus, the impacts or effects of this identification on Islamic republic of IRAN National security are analyzed in terms of Threats and opportunities. Understanding the shitte identities can have other political impacts on the interaction domain of all region actors. The signs of these impacts can be seen in political changes (Middle East recent events) and is considered.

#### **Kev words:**

Identity, security, Shiite, Shia Crescent, Demography

\* Corresponding author:

Email: Ebrahim.motaghi@gmail.com

Fax: 66409595

## A STUDY OF THE ROLE OF POLITICAL AND SECURITY FACTORS IN THE POLICYMAKING OF IRANIAN NGOS

#### Mohammad Reza Majidi\*

Associate Professor; Department of Regional Studies , University of Tehran **Morteza Hamissi** 

Graduated-of National Security Studies Supreme National Defense University (Received: 8 Nov 2012 Accepted: 30 April 2013)

#### **Abstract:**

The establishment and development of non-governmental organizations, which are considered among the mechanisms for the people's participation at the local, national and international levels, has and continues to impact the different areas of the life of human societies. One of these impacted fields is the national security interests of the countries. For policy making in the field of these organizations it is necessary to understand different elements, especially political and security factors. This research will recognize those elements and the way in which they impact the different dimensions and levels of the national security interests of the country. The results taken from this research, which has been conducted through survey methods and on the basis of scientific documents and instruments as well as in-depth interviews, indicates that the said factors directly impacted three dimensions, namely "the idea of the state", "the institutional expression of the state" and "the physical base of the state" of the Iranian national security interests. In this regard the highest impact of those factors can be traced to the idea of the state of national security interests.

#### **Key words:**

non-governmental organization, national interests, national security, national security interests, policy making, political and security factors

<sup>\*</sup> Corresponding author: Email: mmajidi@ut.ac.ir Fax: 66409595

# REVIEW THE CAUSES OF FAILURE OF CONSTITUTIONAL MOVEMENT IN IRAN FROM ESTABLISHMENT A NATIONAL ARMY

#### Vahid Sinaee\*

Assistant Professor, University of Ferdowsi Mashhad (Received: 10 May 2012 Accepted: 30 Oct 2012)

#### Abstract:

The aim of constitutional revolutions is creating and sustaining modern state and its institutions in the framework of the constitutional nation-state model. In this model, the national army, as one of the main institutions of state, has an important role in establishment the sovereignty and the monopoly of legitimate force. But the constitutional movement in Iran and its supporters, despite the overthrow of the ancient regime, failed in the establishment efficient and powerful institutions of a modern state. This inability was obvious in create a national army. The causes of this failure were social and political structures and agent of the constitutional movement. The weaknesses of social structures and ignorance of the agent detained constitutional revolution from establishing a national army in Iran. These inabilities to establish a strong central state in turn finally bring about the failure of the constitution movement and to give up at least part of constitutional ideals.

#### **Key Words:**

constitutional movement, social structures, agent, national army, Iran

\* Email: sinaee@um.ac.ir Fax: 05118829584

### IRAN AND CHINA: THE CHALLENGES OF COMPREHENSIVE COOPERATION

#### Bahareh Sazmand\*

Assistant Professor; Political Science Department, University of Tehran

#### Fariborz Arghavani Pirsalami

Ph.D Candidate of International Relations, University of Tehran (Received: 6 feb 2012 Accepted: 28 june 2012)

#### Abstract:

The changing condition of post Cold War era with some characteristics such as interdependence and globalization have caused multiple actors advent and issues diverse in foreign policies. With concern of the context, the aim of this articles is study of Iran- China relations after Islamic revolution. This article argues Iran and China have more reasons to create comprehensive cooperation but some variables like Structural tensions, regional countries lobbies, different expectations and U.S role are the main obstacles to have strategic relations between the two countries. Reviewing of Iran-China relations, examining of strategic basis and finally obstacles of comprehensive cooperations are sections of this article.

#### Keywords:

Iran, China, Foreign Policy, Islamic Revolution, United States of America.

<sup>\*</sup> Corresponding author: Email: bsazman@ut.ac.ir Fax: 66409595

# PROPOSED SOLUTION FOR THE REFORM OF THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL

#### Seyed Davood Aghaie\*

Professor, Political Science Department, University of Tehran Faezeh Ghasemi

Ph.D. Candidate Of International Relations, University of Tehran (Received: 14 feb 2011 Accepted: 26 sep 201118 oct 2011)

#### **Abstract:**

After failing the ideals of the early twenty century for improving international environment, and in order to solve its problems, The United Nations constituted over the shattered structure of The League of Nations. But, despite of the UN, as a success institution, we must admitted that these were mirage in some aspect, and because of importance of state' interest, both of them failed to achievement of their goals.

Since the establishment, veto of five permanent members of Security Council, faced with some serious criticism, especially from small countries that were opposed to this unfair right. Today, in spite of this ratiocination that the world needs Great Power to save peace, there are sever objections against this right, Especially after the Iraq War. Now, we must know to what extent, these countries have the right to veto. And to what extent granting this right to the five members of the Security Council has been helpful for the international community?

Based on this uncertainty, some governments and various agencies have been tried to plan for the permanent members of the Security Council to provide alternatives.

#### Key word:

UN, Veto, Security Council, Democratic elections

\* Corresponding author: Email: Davood\_Aghaee2003@yahoo.com Fax: 66409595

#### **NEW EMPIRE AND TERRORISM**

#### Samad Zahiri \*

Assistant Professor, Political Science Department, Payame Noor University (Received: 28 June 2012 Accepted: 30 Oct 2012)

#### **Abstract:**

The concept of new empire points to state of contemporary globalization. The national states are important in the period of globalization, and deterrence logic out of the balance of powers between them is the important part of reason of keeping stability and safety in the world community (empire) security. However, new transnational and subnational actors and also appearance of new safety problems cause recent threats that has been created at the results of globalization processes. Terrorism is place at the center of threats at the result of processes of globalization in the space of empirical sovereignty. This essay tries to explain the condition of important of terrorism phenomena in the problem related to empire.

#### Key words:

Empire, Globalization, Security, Disperse of Power, New Actors, Terrorism

\* Email: Zahiri\_s@yahoo.com Fax: 0424-6221785

### DISCURSIVE CORRESPONDENCE OF HEGEMONIC IR AND US FOREIGN POLICY: GEORGE BUSH ERA

#### S.M.K. Sajjadpour \*

Associate Professor in IR faculty at the Ministry of foreign Affairs

#### H. A. Masoudi

PhD Candidate in IR at the University of Tehran (Received: 28 June 2012 Accepted: 25 Dec 2012)

#### Abstract:

Despite of extensive development of IR research in Iran, there is a lack of burgeoning literature focusing on International Relations per se. It is common to see IR as the timeless scientific schools and theories rather than scientific discourses which are constructed in the peculiar contexts. The article is aimed to examine contextuality of hegemonic IR knowledge in relation to the United States' foreign policy in G. Bush era. The article seeks to ask how IR discursive developments are affected by US foreign policy. In other words, relationship between US foreign policy and IR knowledge in post-cold war era is under scrutiny. Using Discourse Analysis as its method, and analyzing selective texts, article shows that there is a meaningful discursive correspondence between IR dominated knowledge and US foreign policy in G. Bush era. Corresponding contextualities, dichotomies and core propositions demonstrate how these texts are mutually constituted.

#### **Key Words:**

US foreign policy, International Relations, Discourse, cold war, New World Order

<sup>\*</sup> Corresponding author: Email: smksajjad@yahoo.com

### DEVELOPMENTS OF TURKMENISTAN'S FOREIGN POLICY: POSITIVE NEUTRALISM, IN THEORY AND PRACTICE

#### Elaheh Koolaee \*

Professor, Political Science Department, University of Tehran **Hamidreza Azizi** 

PhD Candidate of Regional Studies, University of Tehran (Received: 26 Dec 2011 Accepted: 26 June 2012)

#### **Abstract:**

The general orientation of the Turkmenistan's foreign policy in the post-Soviet era is known as "Positive Neutrality". On this basis, it is expected that this country stays out of the military alliances and wars, while showing an active cooperation in the international arena and in relation to the other countries. The principles of Turkmenistan's positive neutrality which has been approved by the United Nations in 1995, also suggest that Turkmenistan, as a full member of the international community, should demonstrate an active presence in various international fields, while observing the principles of neutrality in its foreign policy. Despite the clear nature of the principle of "positive neutrality", practical aspects of Turkmenistan's foreign policy have experienced many ups and downs and have gone through several changes. This article tries to analyze the nature of the "positive neutrality" principle in Turkmenistan's foreign policy and the reasons for adopting such an orientation. At the same time, it seeks to study the practical developments of Turkmenistan's foreign policy and analyze the nature of these developments. This article shows that the principles of Turkmenistan's "permanent neutrality" have been stable during the period under discussion, and what have changed, are the operational procedures and the tactics in use of this country's foreign policy.

#### **Keywords:**

Turkmenistan, Foreign Policy, Positive Neutrality, Saparmurat Niyazov, Gurbanguly Berdymuhammedov

<sup>\*</sup> Corresponding author: Email: ekolaee@ut.ac.ir Fax: 66409595

## THE IMPACT OF OIL PRICE VOLATILITY ON GOVERNMENT AND COMMUNITY RELATIONS

Naser Farshadgohar\*
Associate Professor, University of Economic Sciences
Ali Latifi

M.A. of Political Sciences of Islamic Azad Univdrsity (Received: 26 Dec 2011 Accepted: 26 June 2012)

#### **Abstract:**

Fluctuation of oil price during ex-president Khatami and President Ahmadinejad's presidency have had many effects and consequences in various political, economics and social fields. Somehow lower cost of oil in 1st period of expresident Khatimi's presidency caused a kind of micro-orientation in decision of government and had conclusions such as creating exchange reserve account, acceleration in privatization plan, ... etc. But unfortunately in 2nd period of Khatami's presidency by increase in oil price, we were witnessed of evolutions in policies and return to procedure of rantier government and somehow even we can know the failure of Reformers in 2005 related to this matter. This procedure continued by increasing the price of oil during Ahmadinejad's presidency and caused to taking distributive and supportive policies which with regard to international situation these policies appeared in the form of inflation, none-satisfactions,... et. In second period of Ahamadinejad's presidency decrease of oil price similar to first period of Khatami's presidency imposed a kind of micro-orientation to decisions of government and its conclusion was Plan of Economic Evolution, Purposivism of Subsidies, ... etc. Generally, in spite of this research policies and general effects entered into economics, politics and society during this period (1997-2013) are influenced very much and were parallel to fluctuation of oil price and its results is evident in the scale of inflation, increasing of cash flow, exchange reserve account, quota, Plan of Economic Evolution, Purposivism of subsidies, ... etc.

#### **Keywords:**

Fluctuation, Oil, Power structure, Iran, Rant

<sup>\*</sup> Corresponding author: Email: farshadgohar@gmail.com

### POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY CRITIC OF SOCIAL CONTRACT (IN THE SIGHT OF ROUSSEAU)

#### Alireza Sadra\*

Associate Professor; Political Science Department, University of Tehran (Received: 9 March 2013 Accepted: 7 may 2013)

#### **Abstract:**

Political philosophy Critic of social contract from view point of Rousseau: describes the general social contract and especially in Rousseau theories and political works, considers it as a main question and replies and processes them. In this thesis, beside consideration of the main contract, we are looking for text resource and the concept of contract as a proclamation and general common covenant. So, the role of religion and according to first interpretation by Rousseau, LAW and LEGISLATOR or legislation and in his final interpretation, civil religion will be determined. The relation between these, are two subjective pivot and pivotal subject of this thesis. The major theory and final goal of the thesis is to explain the positive and ipsilateral relation between faith and policy, religion and sovereignty and religious law and government in republic contract and in contract republication in political theoretical system and in Rousseau political system theory. In contrary with the present doubt ,contradiction and even the substitution of social contract in policy instead of religion and faith which is attributed to Rousseau, clarifying this doubt, is the secondary question and theory and it is the partial goal of the thesis .Beside this, the division of religion to humanity (civility or republicanism and democratic ) and inhumanity (social and politic and also systematic ) and incivility are also the secondary goal of the thesis. Appearance of Islam as a religion and humanism civilian religion or republican and an influential view, theory and its system in sight and Rousseau's political theory is the result of this thesis and its' applicable massage.

#### Key words:

contract (covenant), society, special, Rousseau, faith, religion, religious law, civil, republicanism, Christianity, Islam

\*Email: alirezasadra@gmail.com Fax: 66409595

### RETHINKING THE DEMAND FOR WILL TO POWER: DIFFERENT VERSION OF THE CONCEPT OF POWER

#### Aliashraf Nazari\*

Assistant Professor; Political Science Department, University of Tehran **Ali Hasanpour** 

Ph.D Student; Political Science of Islamic Azad University (Received: 25 Dec 2010 Accepted: 18 oct 2011)

#### **Abstract:**

Will to Power is an important concept in Nietzsche's thought. His approach in relation to concepts such as strength of will, freedom, influence and responsibility is placed. Will to Powerin the sense of human life and his works are based on logic and reason Jmlgy men are servants of the stretch. This stretch whenever the power fails, the collapse of civilization and the decline of life appear. The desire for power is the most important concept in Nietzsche's thought centered "life" is considered in a manner that makes the realm of imagination and action. Truth, values, knowledge systems and knowledge as a manifestation of this request. This article aims to examine the ontological and epistemological foundations for better understanding of Nietzsche's thought, the idea of "the will to power" is . Nietzsche's critique of philosophy, ethics, Christian, Scientologist and modern humans, and it ended philosophy into a new way of holism and Antzaygry abandoned and the path that leads to it being philosophy - called aesthetic. The results of his philosophical outlook, collapsing in a hierarchical system of science, society and the formation of attitudes in which the fundamental role of culture in the present. Nietzsche 's thought on power rather than military means ( power Weberian sense ), the basis of "culture" and the emphasis is on the same cultural foundations of power politics is an important new approach.

#### **Keywords:**

Nietzsche's ontology, epistemology, the Will to Power, change, ethics

<sup>\*</sup> Corresponding author: Email: aashraf@ut.ac.ir Fax: 66409595